Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY 2006

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A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY
ISSN 0348-9698 Volume 36

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THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Cover illustration: Man-made nature in Södskärsbassängen – an enclosed basin in the former sea bay of Torsviken, Gothenburg, protected within the Natura 2000 Bird Habitat preservation scheme. Katarina Saltzman.

Ethnologia Scandinavica is printed with the support of the Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals and the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture. The journal publishes original papers in English and German based on all branches of material and social culture, and in reviews, biographical notes and reports reflects ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries. One volume of Ethnologia Scandinavica comprises 200 pages, published in one issue yearly. Subscription price for volume 2006 is SEK 275:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to Grahns Tryckeri AB, Box 4117, SE-227 22 Lund, Sweden. (Phone: +46 46 31 19 80, Fax: +46 46 30 44 00, E-mail: info@grahnstryck.com.) When ordering please state clearly: Volume or year required, full name and address of the subscriber in printed letters.

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Contents

Papers

Biographical Note

Reviews

New Dissertations

Book Reviews

Editorial

By Birgitta Svensson

When Jonas Frykman, after eleven years as editor of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, passed on that task to me in last year's issue, he hoped that I would contribute something totally unpredictable. Since that is often what ethnology delivers, I think it should be possible to fulfil that. The most important thing about this journal, however, is its potential to reach out into the world as an international peer-reviewed journal of high quality. It was indeed with the importance of internationalization in mind that Nils-Arvid Bringéus handed over the post of editor in the mid-1990s. Since then it has become even more important to communicate in other languages than the Nordic ones. Boundary-crossing movements cause people's identity formation and affiliation to be affected by many different languages, and by transnational citizenship and mixed everyday cultures. As editor I hope not only to help *Ethnologia Scandinavica* to maintain its high standard as an international journal that shows the current theoretical discussion in Nordic ethnology, but also to carry this discussion out to a broader circle of researchers worldwide. For this purpose, I will allow authors to publish articles not only in English but also in German, a language read by many of our colleagues in Europe.

It is exactly 35 years since *Ethnologia Scandinavica* was started by Nils-Arvid Bringéus as a continuation of Sigurd Erixon's *Folk-Liv*. With that change the journal moved its editorial office to Lund, where it will remain in the future too. As editor, however, I wish to assert my base in Stockholm and the continuity from Sigurd Erixon. Above all, the editing should be viewed as teamwork between the Nordic ethnologists who together make up the editorial board. In a time of ambivalence within the subject, it is more important than ever that we also constitute something specific to our subject and fruitful to neighbouring disciplines. The strength of ethnology has been its diversity and heterogeneity; now it is important to show that there is also something that holds us together. The diversity of theoretical and empirical trends requires a scientific cement that is constantly debated and reformulated. But it is not just debate and theoretical development in article form that is contained in the pages of this journal; there is also the entire breadth of ethnological research that is pursued in Scandinavia, in that doctoral dissertations are reviewed along with all other Nordic ethnological literature. In biographical notes and information from congresses and the like, we also aim to continue keeping readers up to date with what is happening in the subject.

Perhaps it was unpredictable that this year's issue should have nature, environment, and landscape as its theme. This may seem like a large step from last year's focus on the family. But both phenomena are important contexts in which people organize their lives. And both are equally controversial and ambiguous. Nature must be protected and simultaneously used, it can be both produced and consumed, and it can be interpreted from so many different cultural angles that researchers like Bruno Latour claim that the concept of nature simply cannot be used. Latour's statement is a theme recurring throughout this year's issue, as in Saltzman's article, which argues that nature is not a separate part of the world, but the result of a division that must be understood as political.

Carina Ren begins by showing how nature today has become a resource for increased earnings and profit in an unholy alliance between a cultural staging of nature and a leisure industry that not only results in hegemonic ways of planning and accessing recreational areas, but also creates cultural clashes between

people. The commodification and privatization of nature in the Scandinavian context is compared to an American example of contemporary leisure and tourism in a ski town.

In an area on the outskirts of Gothenburg, Katarina Saltzman has found a site for hazardous waste and rare birds where nature is challenged. This allows her to discuss the contradictory character of nature experiences and arguments for the preservation of nature. Social networks and their actors are much more important in the understanding of the complex ecological issues than nature is, which shows how both nature and culture have a limited explanatory value. Nature is, quite simply, just an argument for certain things to take place.

Nature is sometimes used synonymously with the term landscape, and Iréne A. Flygare is interested in how the concept of landscape entered agricultural policy. One argument is that landscape emerges as linked to both moral and ideal values when politicians make pastures the abode of biological diversity. Depictions of the heritage of the pastures display the vision of the ideal pastoral life, a timeless existence with shepherds and grazing herds, a productive ancient oriental abstraction or motif.

The cultural perspective of the environmental discussion and its development in the post-war era is the focus of yet another of this year's articles. Based on Foucault's concept of *eventalization*, Kristine Holm-Jensen discusses a case of oxygen depletion in the Kattegat and the controversies about nature, environment, and agriculture to which it gave rise. The question is whether agriculture and nature can interact when a distinction is made between environment, nature, and agriculture.

That it is no longer possible to distinguish what is urban and what is rural is evident when Beate Feldmann discusses the reciprocal interaction between identity formation and landscape formation. In the Stockholm archipelago Henri Lefebvre's concept of *rurban* is manifested through the role played by history, place identity, and gender identity. Gentrification also makes itself visible in this landscape, asking questions about the significance of social networks and democratic cultural processes.

Does the environment play any role at all for the female entrepreneurs that Katariina Heikkilä interviewed in south-west Finland? Yes, but it is perceived as contradictory since it has to provide the foundation for their business while simultaneously giving themselves recreation. This article too shows that new values are created in the rural landscape due to the leading position of consumption today.

The article by Ardis Storm-Mathiesen and Ingun Grimstad Klepp also emphasizes the power of consumption, not in nature but in a comparison between teenage girls' and adult women's choice of clothing in Norway. The authors challenge frequently heard statements about females as victims of consumption, spending too much money on clothing. Instead they suggest, in line with Daniel Miller's argument, that fashion can be understood as elements in their endeavour to organize, find, and fill a space in society.

Also related to nature is history, and this year's issue ends with an essay by Brendan Sweeny, reflecting on the denotation of the past in modern Sweden as compared to the more history-based national identity in Denmark. He asks whether the future-oriented Swedish national identity also makes Swedes more inclined to be part of a European identity.

I should point out that it is pure coincidence that all the articles except one are by female scholars, in the year when the first female editor takes over.

After Inventing the Trail

The Staging and Consumption of Outdoor Recreation

By Carina Ren

Taking a stroll or run through the woods, hiking the hills, strapping on skis for a cross-country run. These are leisure practices that many Scandinavians recognize and cherish as their own. But using nature actively as a means of recreation is becoming an increasingly contested field, as ways of perceiving nature as an aesthetic backdrop for recreation and self-improvement are complemented by a view of nature as a resource for increased earnings and profit. This is highly visible in the recreational industry of today. As a consequence, other ways of looking upon, accessing, managing, and performing in the outdoors have been marginalized, as different forms of recreation have become increasingly staged and commodified by industry and government planners. This article argues that the unholy alliance between a cultural staging of nature and a leisure industry as the main supplier of outdoor recreation not only results in hegemonic ways of planning and accessing recreational areas, but also creates cultural clashes between people using, working with, and living next to (but no longer *on*) the grounds used for active recreation.

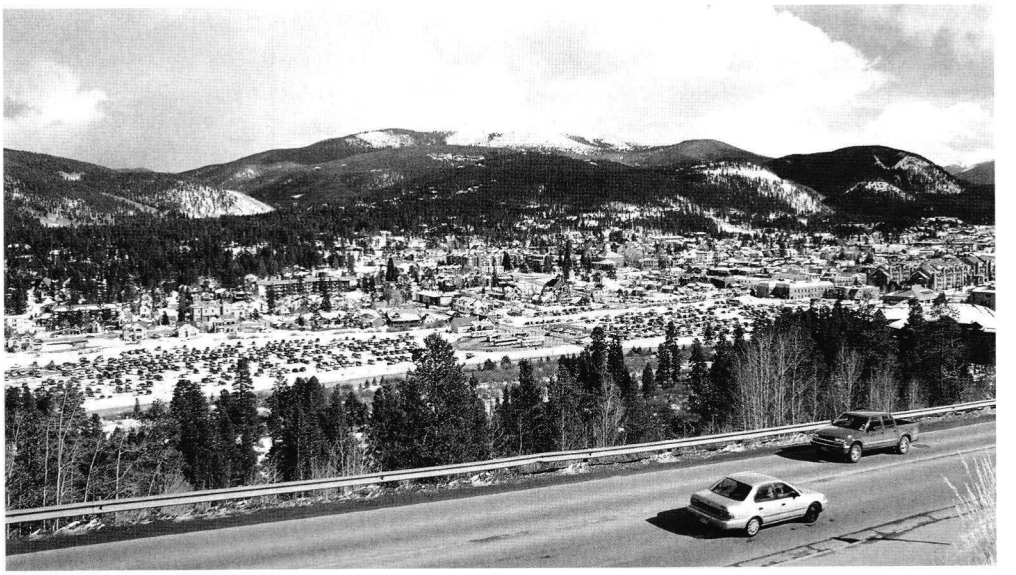
Setting the Stage

The idea for this article[1] originates from a trip to the American ski town and resort of Breckenridge, Colorado, in the winter of 2004–2005, where I was doing fieldwork for my master's thesis. My aim at the time was to try to identify and describe the processes and relations between the leisure industry, its workers, and its customers. The reason for choosing the US as a focal point was that the traits of the leisure industry that I wished to examine, such as extended leisure commodification, standardization, and privatization are – so far – much more developed here than in Scandinavia or Europe as a whole.

One of the main analytical points of the thesis was to stress that people's leisure choices and activities are neither just strictly determined and imposed by the industry or by mass culture, as described by Adorno & Horkheimer and others, nor are they, as many leisure providers claim, entirely free and strainless actions. Instead, the leisure field is to be seen as in constant creation and transformation through perpetual negotiations between many different leisure agents. This does not mean that all agents in this field of negotiating leisure are equally and fairly represented and weighed. On the contrary; in this article's American context powerful leisure corporations as well as the state and federal governments had much greater influence on the actual designation, planning and building of roads, ski lifts, restaurants, parking lots, scenery spots, golf courses and camping grounds than grass-roots organizations, local inhabitants, employees, or tourists.

In spite of the obviously different agendas of these many leisure agents, all of them nevertheless seemed to agree on certain aspects, both in relation to active recreation and in the positive valuation of nature. When asked, workers in the industry, planners, tourists, and locals all agreed that active recreation was important and should be encouraged, and that nature had a very important role to play in this. This led to the consideration that, in the ongoing process of shaping various forms of leisure both physically and mentally and in the actual social practices of active recreation, commonly shared *cultural ideas* about nature, activity, and experiences in relation to the two seemed to be of crucial importance.

In the course of this article I shall try to argue for the existence of these cultural ideas and trace their origin. It will be argued that these are not just linked to the recent emergence of



View of Breckenridge. Parking lots and the highway cutting through the town centre are visible from afar.

creative leisure habits, as claimed by one of the advocates of the New Economy, Richard Florida, in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, but can be traced back more than 200 years. And not only are ideas about specific ways of actively recreating in nature of a far earlier date than claimed by this author, they are also not *innocent*, not just "stress relief away from everyday work" (Florida 2002:171, 174) but also, as it is shown, *a field of struggle* for the power to define the "what, when, how, and where" of leisure.

Based on the description of the cultural idea of active, outdoor recreation, the article will furthermore provide examples of and discuss the consequences of the contemporary conditions for accessing nature through recreation; that is, conditions of increasing *commodification* and *standardization* of both products and spaces of leisure (Rojek 1995).[2] This discussion is of vital importance for all areas where active and outdoor recreation, such as skiing, trekking, hunting, fishing, canoeing, and camping, are being imposed upon by the commodification of a growing leisure industry and the rationalization of public resource management (Greer 1990). In a Scandinavian context this shows us that unlimited and free access to outdoor activities will not necessarily remain as "natural" in the future as it may seem today. Furthermore, it brings to our attention that recreation, along with work, everyday life, and all other aspects of our lives, are areas of social and cultural as well as economic and political struggle.

Active Recreation – A New Trend on the Rise?

I do remember how I had to do pilgrimages up hills and through moors and over plains or where there were neither roads nor paths to listen to the nightingale and see the sun set and find beautiful views, and how you towed me to that forest ranger's wife, for me to eat thick cream out of the wooden tub and one morning wanted me up before dawn so that I could see the sun rise (Rahbeck 1796, my translation).

This is how the Danish writer Knud Rahbek, over two hundred years ago, let a Copenhagen citizen bitterly remember his summer visits to his sister's country manor. He was allowed no rest, only a constant pursuit of what one might call, with a more modern term, authentic experiences. In his play, Rahbek sought to skewer the bourgeoisie of his time and their – in his eyes – ridiculous aspiration for the natural, the real, and the fresh.

In Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* the prevalence of leisure characterized by the active and constant search for experiences is ascribed to the emergence of a new creative class combined with the dissemination of a new economy driven by a demand for new ways of creating and consuming in both our work and our leisure time. According to Florida, the emergence of a new class has led to a "radical makeover of leisure in our society", in that "experiences are replacing goods and services because they stimulate our creative faculties and enhance our creative capacities" (Florida 2002:171, 168). Florida continues: "Because we relate to the economy through our creativity and thus identify ourselves as 'creative beings', we pursue pastimes and cultural forms that express and nurture our creativity" (Florida 2002:171), which in this case are characterized as highly active outdoor and physical forms of recreation such as biking, hiking, surfing, rafting, climbing, skiing, and snowboarding.

According to Florida, seeking active and experience-filled leisure is a new trend linked to the creative class. But as our distressed citizen hints above, the ideal of and quest for experience-filled recreational activities is far from new. On the contrary, we can already identify it in the upper classes of the eighteenth century, when country living in the summer time with its wide range of exciting, moving, and scenic nature was the height of fashion (Clemmensen & Raabyemagle 1996). As we see, this way of actively enjoying nature has not disappeared, but has rather spread to become even more widespread, accessible, and attractive to a much larger section of the population.

In this next part, I shall try to look more closely at how and when this whole idea about active and outdoor recreation came about and how it is based on a cultural notion connected to a particular view of nature that is propagated even today and highly influences the way we experience and make use of nature. Through this, it is my goal to show that abilities and ways to enjoy nature are not just linked to distinct leisure activities of different classes, such as the creative one, but are part of a broader and more fundamental struggle over power, exclusion, and dominance within the spaces of recreation (Gruneau 1983; Butsch *et al.* 1990). This struggle can be seen as a wish to define practice through cultural *hegemony*, which Raymond Williams defines as "a whole body of practices and expectations, shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meaning and values – constitutive and constituting – which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming" (Williams 1980:110). The American leisure researcher Richard Butsch also regards his field as a highly hegemonic one. For him, hegemony has appeared on the recreational stage as "a child of the marriage of corporate profits and consumer 'fun' [in which] social control and class expression are merged in the same practices" (Butsch 1990:19). It is this hegemony of pressures and limitations, possibilities and ways of self-expression that this article tries to reveal.

The Emergence of Outdoor Recreation

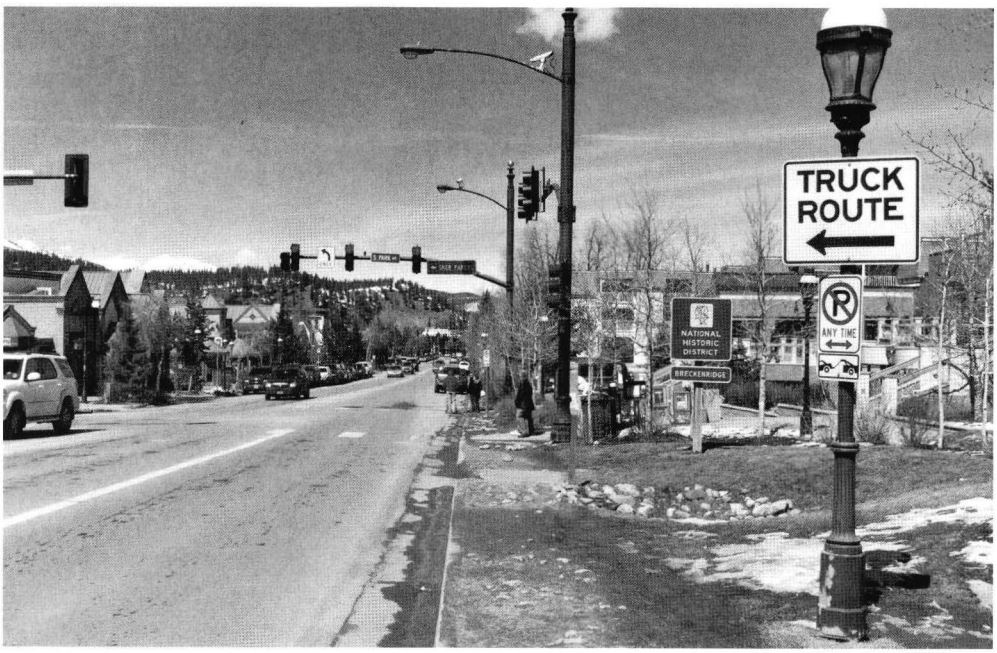
In the article "Promenades as the Form of Exercise among the Gentlefolk in 18th and 19th Century Finland", Antero Heikkinen describes how gentlemen of the time used physical activities and training as a part of a healthy lifestyle. The gentlemen were all members of the male Swedish-speaking upper-class with professions such as judges, officers, professors, and journalists.[3] For such distinct members of society, dirtying one's hands through physical labour was seen as improper, "a certain way to lose esteem", unless it was carried out as a recreational, as opposed to productive, activity, such as gardening" (Heikkinen 1992:92).

Along with recreational activities such as riding, bowling, sledge riding, dancing, and fencing, Heikkinen mentions the *promenade*. The promenade could be made in a boat or carriage, or more commonly on foot, and it was one of the more popular ways of exercising for gentlemen, not only because of its physical requirements but also through its communicative effects: "Promenades were in many ways intertwined with the whole upper-class way of life. In addition to actual exercise, one can discern in such activities an aesthetic dimension as well as a means of social intercourse" (ibid.: 89). Several places in the diaries that serve as Heikkinen's source material, it is noted whom one went with, met, or found absent and how one interacted with one's entourage and the people encountered during the promenade. In this example it becomes clear that the act of promenading is not just a means of exercise, but also a social instrument for approval, inclusion, and control.

In the article Heikkinen also mentions other more unrestrained ways of accessing the outdoors and nature. This is illustrated by yet another form of physical activity, the *wandering in the woods*: "A promenade was generally taken in a park, garden or road, although wandering in the forests was by no means rare. The aim of the latter was often different from that of walking in the park: one entered a forest in order to hunt and to *seek exciting experiences*" (ibid.: 94, my italics). The gentlemen were not the only ones to make use of the woods, as the residents of the woods used hunting as a sideline livelihood. In this case, however, the hunt served another purpose – to supplement of food and income – than for the gentleman, for whom hunting was strictly for recreational purposes.

Just like the creative class described by Florida, the Finnish gentleman sought physical challenges as well as experiences in the exciting outdoors, which was a glaring contrast to the daily work at the office: "Sitting in the middle of my pile of papers made me need exercise by which my weak constitution could regain some of its former strength" (ibid.: 97), wrote one of Sweden's first journalists, C. C. Gjörvell, in 1759 before his departure on a two-month long summer cruise in Finland. What he wished to find was "exercise and variety" (ibid.: 97). According to Heikkinen this shows us that recreation with a built-in physical and active aspect is far from a new trend.

Historical traces of the search for exercise and variety, here exemplified by the Finnish gentleman and the Copenhagen bourgeoisie of the 18th century, show us that the idea and ideal of outdoor activity are not derived from the rise of the creative class, but have roots traceable further back in time. As it were, this active use of nature also contributed to early forms of staging and standardization of gardens, parks and forests, in the both physical and mental mapping and construction of paths, landmarks, and picturesque sceneries. In that



A highway runs directly from the city of Denver to Breckenridge and its recreational facilities.

way, the first holiday makers as the historian Simon Schama puts it, "invented the trail" (Schama, in Inglis 2000:35). This first narrow trail towards the staging, standardization, and commodification of outdoor leisure space has since then been considerably broadened by a long series of tourist operators, planners, and visitors so that even mountain villages such as Breckenridge today have highways running straight through them.

Recreation as Way of Improvement

Before moving on to the contemporary staging of outdoor recreational space, some further prerequisites for connecting the idea and ideal of outdoor recreation to the leisure industry and its intense staging and commodification need to be added. It is striking when looking through tourist material on active recreation today how the use of the outdoors is often connected to an idea of *improvement of the self*.[4] We retrieve this same notion of improvement in Florida's description of how the creative class strive to "participate in active sports and physical exercise" in order to gain "a creative life packed full of intense, high-quality, multidimensional experiences" (Florida 2002:171&166) – that is, in order to gain a better life. And why, one must ask, are recreational activities such as kite surfing, as opposed to needlework and stamp collecting, seen as more rewarding, creative, and multidimensional?

In an article on historic views on nature, appropriately named *"Natur"*, S. E. Larsen puts a modern so-called *social* view of nature in opposition to its predecessor from the Renaissance, the *intentional* view of nature (Larsen 1995). The intentional view regarded nature as the creation of God and therefore as man's superior, whereas the social view made man the centre and pivotal point of the

relation. As a result, nature became valued for its ability to serve man's productive and recreational needs. Nature is seen as a tool, an instrument for physical recreation, social interaction, for seeking exciting experiences and as part of the improvement of the self mentally, physically, and morally. Although they might use nature in different ways, we find both among the nobility in the French gardens of the seventeenth century (Kalsgård Poulsen 1997) and in the adventurous traveller a century later (Löfgren 2002) the underlying assumption of nature as an instrument.

Particularly by the end of the eighteenth century we find a special new interest in and search for the "wild": "The worship of the sublime landscape partly originated as a reaction to the beautiful, after which the untamed landscape was considered aesthetically stimulating. Mountains, the ocean, the thunder and the dark forests became the stage for experiences, accessories to set the human mind in movement" (Oustrup 2004:51, my translation). Or if wild nature could not be found, as was often the case in flat and cultivated Denmark, it could be staged. Stiff and strictly symmetrical gardens were transformed into romantic poetic gardens or scenic parks with a wide and wild selection of plants, bushes, and trees in a hilly terrain cut through by streams and lakes and sprinkled with tea houses, hermitages and pavilions (Clemmensen & Raabyemagle 1996).

According to the historian Colin Campbell, the modern seeing of nature or the world as outside or exterior, what he describes – with inspiration from Weber – as the disenchantment of the world, is traceable back to ancient Judaism. It was, however, accelerated by the Reformation and attained its most complete expression in the Enlightenment. This transformation meant that emotions were seen as located *within* individuals as opposed to *in* the world (or nature or God).

> Objective reality and subjective response were now mediated through consciousness in such a way that the individual had a wide degree of choice concerning exactly how to connect them. Beliefs, actions, aesthetic preferences, and emotional responses were no longer automatically dictated by circumstances but "willed" by individuals (Campbell 1990:73).

It was no longer outside actions or events that commanded a given affect. Instead the affect was created, shaped, and performed by man, and nature changed from being a tool for exterior satisfaction to become an instrument for inner pleasure and experience.[5]

In his book *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Campbell describes how the ability to display emotions became justified, as they were seen as "a sign of moral and spiritual worth, with an ability to take pleasure in the beautiful and to respond with tears to the pitiable equally indicative of a man (or woman) of virtue. It was an ethic which inevitably provided powerful legitimation for the pursuit of emotional pleasure" (Campbell 1990:205). We hereby see how the individual is separated from nature but also how nature is simultaneously identified as a legitimate and emotionalized instrument of both pleasure and self-improvement. It is by making use of and exploring nature and the outdoors that self-improvement *and* pleasure is obtained.

Improvement and Pleasure through the Consumption of Leisure

Now only one link needs to be added to connect nature and the active outdoors as ways of improving and seeking pleasure to the recreational industry. This link is the aspect of *consumption*. As Campbell argues in his book, the study of consumerism should not only be

carried out by focusing on consumption itself, the goods and services, but should also seek to find the cultural idea that motivate them and the needs they seek to fulfil. In short, it is important not only to understand what made modern consumerism technically possible, but also what motivated and legitimized it.

According to Campbell an error has been made by focusing entirely on the rational aspects of consumerism. Passion, or rather "the creative dream born of longing" (Campbell 1990), should also be acknowledged. As in the case of Weber, who tried to explain the rise of capitalism by the creation of a *Protestant* ethic, Campbell describes the birth of a corresponding *romantic* ethic characterized by longing for pleasure, which in turn gives rise to an insatiable and constant creation of new wants and a hunt for experiences and, hence, a considerable and continuous consumption. In his description of the creation of modern consumerism, Campbell shows how consumption becomes "a voluntaristic, self-directed and creative process in which cultural ideals are necessarily implicated" (ibid.: 203). In this way nature's alleged power to improve the self and its ability to create experiences is tied together with the consumption of commodified, outdoor recreation of the leisure industry.[6]

Acting on Ideas

So far this article has tried to show how ways of perceiving and using nature as a tool to fulfil wants and longings are traceable back several hundred years in European history. It has also shown how this way of seeing and physically and mentally constructing nature was gradually linked to ideas of both self-improvement and consumption. In the next part, I shall try to illustrate the consequences of this strong linkage between nature and commodification for different leisure agents in recreational areas as regards *access*, *practice*, and *preservation*. This is done using the ski resort of Breckenridge, Colorado, as an example. I demonstrate how cultural ideas about nature and recreation with a high degree of commodification and standardization work together in creating distinct *spaces* through a transformation of the natural landscape of outdoor recreation and distinct *practices* for the performance of specific types of leisure activities characterized by a high degree of normativity and a high level of consumption.

As we have seen, ways of perceiving nature and active recreation and the resulting ways of thinking, planning, and acting in nature are not constant and unchallenged. As Orvar Löfgren points out, wild nature as the kind one finds around the ski town of Breckenridge is, although it might not seem that way, as constructed as a French baroque garden. This is because, in order to see or think any landscape (or mindscape), one needs to be equipped with certain sensibilities and technologies as well as cultural ideas about nature and recreation (Löfgren 1997, 2002). As shown by another ethnologist from Sweden, Tom O'Dell, this constant reference to ideas and ideals means hard work when in this case the tourists are acting and staging themselves on recreational grounds: "the tourists actively strain themselves to unwind, and it is not as easy as one might think ... The undertaking of relaxing and having a good time [comprises] a great deal of reflexive scrutiny, where the tourist constantly compares actual experiences with expectations and previous experiences" (O'Dell 1999:281, my translation).

The question remains how cultural ideas about nature and recreation in the present leisure context help to create both meaningful leisure activities and images of the self,

as was obviously the case when I talked to people about their Breckenridge recreation experiences, but also function as excluding and marginalizing principles in a process of standardization and commodification. This will be examined and discussed in the next section about the consequences of the activity-based consumption of nature and leisure space.

Friends Welcome™: Commodified Recreational Space and Practices

In her article "The United States Forest Service and the Postwar Commodification of Outdoor Recreation", L. Sue Greer describes how large pieces of rural America were transformed into official, highly planned and commodified recreational areas in the second half of the twentieth century. This process was in part implemented and stimulated by the federal government through the United States Forest Service to promote capital accumulation in rural areas and stimulate private investment in the recreational industry.[7]

On top of this, the government also wished to provide healthy outdoor leisure opportunities for the urban workers. As a commission established for that purpose explained:

> Outdoor activity ... is essentially a renewing experience – a refreshing change from the workaday world. This is true no matter what an individual actually chooses to do in the outdoors... Latent energy is tapped, unused powers of the body, mind, and spirit are employed, the imagination works on fresh material, and when all these things occur, the individual returns to his work with a sense of renewal (Greer 1990:157).

We see how the idea of nature as a regenerator is combined with a view of it as a social regulator. Different views of the capacities of nature and outdoor recreation were combined with an economic incentive to create not necessarily specific activities, but rather specific *spaces* of outdoor recreation.

As a consequence of this federal development that was implemented through the Forest Service, natural settings and leisure space became commodities, consumable "in all its beauty, grandeur, or peace via the purchases of a particular recreational good or service" (Greer 1990:152). Through investments in roads, parking, ski runs, campsites, and other amenities, the Forest Service sought to stimulate leisure businesses such as hotels, restaurants, and the sale of automobiles, campers, and leisure equipment. In this process the Forest Service also created an objectification of the physical environment. This was done through the conception of the scenic theme "Rural Americana". "Within this concept was offered packaged or event tours, such as 'fall foliage tours' or 'scenic overlooks', that could be controlled, measured, and of course, sold" (ibid.: 155).

The investment in and development of new recreational areas on a national scale went hand in hand with a transfer of private land into public on a local scale. Local needs and conditions were not taken into consideration, and many farms were condemned. According to Greer, the condemnations, which had severe impacts on a number of rural residents and small communities, was a consequence of the Forest Service's wish to exchange "the untidy, dynamic reality of farm life for a neatly packaged but static bucolic image served up as a recreational commodity" (ibid.: 161). This view of nature as a neat background for unfolding strictly recreational activities also meant that new boundaries arose between recreational land and private homes for local residents. The former characteristic integration of leisure activities and economic necessity, such as berry picking, fishing, and

hunting, was made impossible or illegal as overall access to recreational spaces was gradually limited and altered (ibid.: 163). At the same time a social and cultural divide was gradually established between the local, typically working-class blue-collar residents, and the outside recreational users, who were more likely to be middle-class and have a college education (ibid.: 163).

In this example, we clearly see how stated governmental and private visions about nature go hand in hand with a careful cultural and physical staging of nature. We also see how this staging works to exclude production activities from a space now seen (and fenced in) as strictly recreational, in which former ways of accessing and performing have disappeared. Although Greer's American example cannot be transferred directly to a Scandinavian context, it does suggest that access to and use of public or private land is not to be considered a universal or eternal right, but is strongly linked to changing private and governmental interests.[8]

Breckenridge: "A place Where You Can Be Set Free"[9]

Breckenridge is a typical example of a leisure space packed with numerous offers of outdoor and recreational activities. The old mining town at the foot of the Rocky Mountains offers sublime mountain views, many recreational activities and walks through the historic downtown. It is the perfect setting for "exercise and variety", just like the ones our Finnish gentleman called for and for enjoying

Strolling on Breckenridge Main Street. For many Americans, walking through downtown is an uncommon, yet appreciated experience.

and exploring nature, as the creative class, according to Florida, is demanding. Because of that people, both tourists and locals, generally express satisfaction over being there.[10] As a contrast to life in cities and suburbs all over America, vacationing or living in the mountains is regarded as a way to "recharge one's batteries" or in other meaningful ways relate to nature through body and mind.

Indeed, it seems as if Breckenridge is truly a space of uncontested leisure and lifestyles. On a beautiful sunny day, strolling on the pedestrian-friendly Main Street with glimmering icicles hanging off the historical wooden buildings, with stunning panoramas of snow-covered mountains, nothing could seem more perfect. Talking to people, there seemed to be broad unanimity about what makes the stay in Breckenridge attractive to visitors and locals, newcomers and second home owners from around the country.

Interviews with visitors, employees and local inhabitants of the ski resort strongly supported the notion of nature as a basis for people's way of perceiving their stay. Whether they preferred to stroll on the historic Main Street or enjoyed the wild scenery from a ski slope, nature – the experience and being outdoors and active – was a constant reference. "People come for the skiing and the Colorado blue sky, beautifully groomed trails, the snow. It's all about the experience," says Heather, who came to live in Breckenridge three years ago and now works for the mountain. "I'm not a sitter, we are not sitters", claimed Vicky, to explain her and her family's choice to vacation in Breckenridge.

The positive notion of the outdoors was equally propagated and played on by the leisure industry. As a PR director from the Breckenridge chamber of commerce puts it: "We really cater to the outdoor enthusiasts and the people that come to have an adventure. And they also wanna do all this in the setting of the Rocky Mountains. They wanna see the sun, and the mountains and the stars." And indeed, recreational activities are custom fitted as outdoors, rich in experiences, and related to nature.

Everybody seems to love it here, and why would they not? All is clean, beautiful, exciting, inspiring. The surface is spotless, but yet also proves to be slick. This slickness reveals itself in the difficulty of observing other practices than the ones all people seem to agree upon, or practices that have been altered and marginalized into non-existence. How does one study non-practice? And where? True alternatives, such as non-commodified and non-standardized leisure spaces and practices in Breckenridge, where even oxygen can be purchased by the dollar in "air bars", are very difficult to observe and rare to come across as they are either made illegal, penalized, or looked down upon. Package tours and events, where "experienced outfitters can provide lessons, equipment, and guided tours", as the official vacation planner suggests,[11] proliferate: "Breck experience" skiing, Main Street "shopping and dining", "Blue River canoeing" and impounded lake fishing. As opposed to the conspicuously advertised commodified outdoor recreational activities and products, alternative recreational spaces and practices remained difficult to observe and identify – or even invisible.

Contested Leisure Spaces and Practices

Who are the people that come to experience and recreate in Breckenridge? According to statistics and the local PR workers, so-called baby boomers, the generation born just after World War II, and middle-class families are

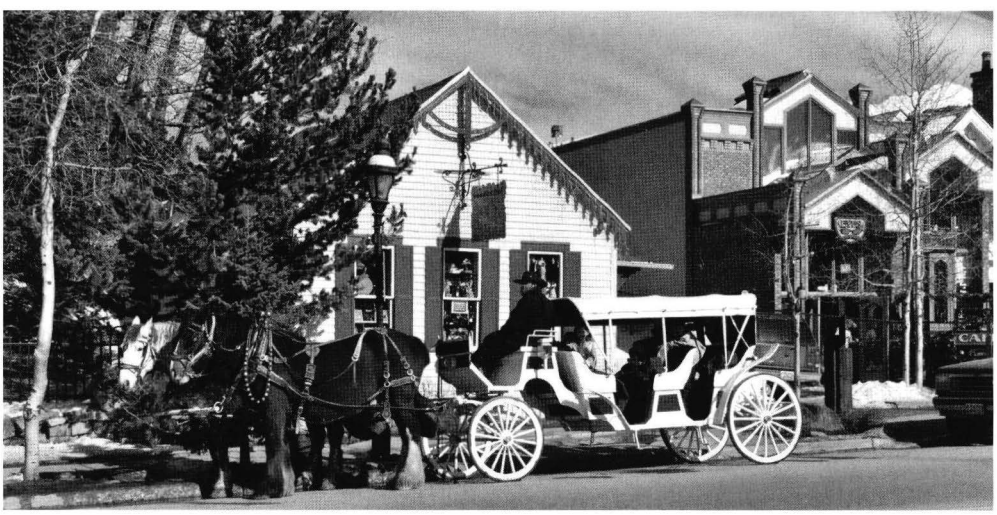
the people that come – and are invited to come – to Breckenridge. Or as the PR director of the chamber of commerce describes the typical visitor: "Someone in their thirties, forties and fifties who are coming to have a unique experience, to have that feeling." The resort's PR director agrees: "Families, younger. But when I say youth, I don't just mean age-related, because for some of the people, it's a kind of aspirational thing. People aspire to kind of that youthful image."

So, according to the leisure industry, people visiting are – or should be – on an adventure and aspiring to youthfulness. They should not be too old, but not too young either: "In business from lodging, to restaurants, to retail, that's what they want here too [a mature clientele], because teenagers don't spend that much. And you'd hate to say it's just the bottom line, but to create a sustainable economy that we need here year-round, these are the people that we *have* to attract," says a PR director.

Not only age and economy are seen as criteria for visiting Breckenridge. The PR director also mentions people's ability to enjoy culture and arts, because a lot of events, according to her, cater to "that kind of people". In that way, a lot of different visiting and recreational criteria are set up for using and identifying with the Breckenridge way of leisure in the active and adventurous outdoors.

At the same time, specific leisure activities are reinforced and encouraged in the city planning. An example is the revitalization of the Main Street area, the aim of which is to stimulate pedestrian activity. As the city engineer explains it, the goal is to obtain "a Main Street filled with people strolling down the sidewalks, socializing, attending festivals, shopping, relaxing in pocket parks and enjoying the quaint atmosphere of this historic town".[12] The physical organization of the cityscape hereby becomes an active tool in creating and stimulating certain leisure practices: strolling, socializing, attending, relaxing and enjoying.

Many examples can be given of the commodification of leisure space in Breckenridge.



The historical district of Breckenridge offers various possibilities of shopping and dining. It also has authentic – but expensive – means of transportation.

Most prominent is the publicly owned, but privately managed mountain, where it is illegal to enter without a lift pass, and then only in certain areas, within the hours and months of opening and with proper equipment. Areas that were previously incorporated into and inseparable from everyday practices are transformed into spaces specifically designated for recreation. The damming and impounding of water streams and the construction of fenced-off golf courses, cross-country ski trails, ice rinks and courses for mountain biking, snowmobiling and dog sledging are physical examples of this division between work and play. Other more subtle ones, which are more easily overlooked, relate to the city planning, where bus routes, pedestrian walks, housing and grocery prices, and the range of tourist-oriented shops together work so as to physically exclude locals and workers with modest incomes from more expensive and therefore less accessible or relevant recreational spaces and practices. Instead, they choose, or are forced, to move away from the pedestrian city centre sprinkled with souvenir shops and real estate agents, away from the mountain and forest, which are no longer freely open to the public, but are more likely to now be their workplace, as they cater to recreating visitors.

Confrontations on Recreational Practice, Development, and Preservation

As described at the beginning of this article, leisure is not just perceived as a duty imposed by industry. People need to feel, and often do to a very high degree, that their leisure life is a consequence of active and free choices, and they often use different strategies to influence their leisure activities, and how these are planned and developed. This point is supported by L. Sue Greer: "The population is not simply a passive mass upon which leisure activities and recreation development can be imposed in any manner desired by government planners" (Greer 1990:163). According to her it is both important and necessary that people identify with and thereby bring acceptance and legitimacy to projects of development. But "people" are not just people. Some, such as tourists, have great influence on the planning through test panels, questionnaires, on-the-hill surveys and guest services ratings. Others, such as young seasonal or immigrant workers, have less influence.

With regard to leisure, it is difficult to detect inappropriate and unwanted agents, hidden places, and "unsuitable" practices. Stories, or almost legends, did however flourish in town, stories of a few cabins at deserted spots in the mountain where mountain police or ski resort management could not find them. Here, according to the story, young people have been gathering since the 1970s, by hiking illegally onto the mountain. In the cabins they would play music on their guitars, drink "moonshine", smoke weed, and eat magic mushrooms picked in the forest. Such forms of recreation are of course condemned and penalized by the ski resort, and by the federal and city government. But, what is far more relevant in this context, they also incorporate non-hegemonic spaces and practices that are far from normative and far from the objectification of the leisure industry. These cabins, whether real or imagined, represent a physical as well as mental opposition to the leisure industry and its attempt to economically, legally, and morally control the practices and spaces of commodified, outdoor recreation in Breckenridge. It is a way of rebellion against a strong, but as we see, not totally unchallenged cultural hegemony.

In Breckenridge, different activist groups

have also sought more openly to challenge or at least gain influence on the development of outdoor recreation, for instance with the seemingly unending expansion of leisure spaces. An example is the constantly growing skiable terrain of the ski resort. In the winter of 2004/2005, a discussion was raging in the local paper about a planned ski lift on the so-called Peak 8. The building of this lift would make it the highest in North America. Many environmentalist groups were against the plans and raged against the Forest Service's approval of the plans, which had been based on a so-called environmental analysis. According to the environmental group Colorado Wild, the project should have been subject to a more thorough environmental impact statement. According to the organization, the Forest Service's standardization and streamlining of project evaluations was simply watering down the screening process.

This claim is not an uncommon one, and as Greer suggests, the critique exemplifies how the process of commodification of outdoor recreation, and the rationalization of its planning, has created a centralized, bureaucratic planning structure, that can "control conflict and shape the permissible issues to be addressed" (Greer 1990:159). Although a rationalized administrative system might help groups and organizations to raise limited and concrete questions, more general public concerns, such as the aforementioned expansion of recreational space for obvious marketing purposes, are often dismissed in the decision making process, severely damaging the public's ability to influence decision making.

The surprising thing about the lift dispute was that the environmentalists did not just, as one would expect, use arguments about natural preservation as reasons for not building the lift. Yes, they did mention that the pylons would ruin arctic tundra and wetlands, and that additional human access, snow grooming operations, toilets, power, patrol huts, etc. would have a potentially negative effect on the environment. But their strongest argument, which was often repeated, remained that the lift's marketing benefits could not economically justify the project. As written by a spokesman for a local environmental group, Colorado Wild: "It seems possible that the benefit of this lift will not exceed the environmental costs of its installation and management" (*Summit Daily News*, 23 March 2005). This ironical fact – that environmentalists use economic arguments to prevent the building of the lift – was mirrored in the argument pushed by the resort: that the building would offer an even better recreational experience, a better outdoor adventure (ibid.).

In this dispute, the typical arguments of profit versus sustainability have changed sides. Gaining profit – just somewhere else than on Peak 8 – is now used as an argument among environmentalists, since development and hence a sustainable or preferably growing economy has become the unavoidable reality. The arguments for discussing or even raising the issue of preservation therefore always need to have an economic backup. Also, a high yearly budget for land acquisition and development at both the Forest Service and the ski resort severely challenges the environmentalists' ability to demand preservation and sustainability: the money simply has to be spent each year. The only question remains: *how* and *on what*? This is what the environmentalists have to respond to. Instead, the "natural" arguments, describing the development of the lift as a way to reach, explore, and interact with nature, are left to the resort. In this way, the industry otherwise known for its profit driven actions ends up

standing as a proponent and provider of great outdoor recreational possibilities.[13] Expanding an already highly commodified recreational space is no longer promoted through talk of profit, but can instead draw on cultural ideas of the beneficial values of (commodified) nature and outdoor recreation.

Nature, Culture and Commodification: An Unavoidable yet Questionable Liaison

As I have shown in this article, people do not only seek physical outdoor recreation *in itself*, but also based on a cultural idea carrying references to a historical construction of nature, outdoor recreation, consumption, pleasure, and improvement of the self. The active recreation based on a wish for improvement and longing for pleasure has created new possibilities for an activity-based consumption which comprises a high degree of leisure and nature commodification. Promoting recreation as youthfully invigorating, active and outdoors not only works as an efficient marketing strategy, but also as a way of selecting the clients based on other criteria than economics. On the other hand, visitors who identify with the promoted active and outdoor lifestyle are clearly attracted to and find gratification in the leisure spaces and practices of Breckenridge.

Most visitors and locals talk about their stay in Breckenridge with enthusiasm. To them, the outdoor recreation on offer is exciting, identifiable, and meaningful. But clearly not all people are invited or even welcome to the experience. Cultural ideas help frame and restrict how and for what nature can be used. As they are gradually linked to a strong leisure industry, the cultural ideas more and more become a broader cultural experience, a universal frame for the way visitors, employees, and the leisure industry talk about and stage, use and see nature., so as to nearly become a leisure hegemony (Williams 1977 & 1980; Gruneau 1983; Butsch 1990). Yet in spite of both economic and cultural exclusion, different non-conformist leisure agents did nevertheless confront the normative frame in sidestepping the precepts of the places and practices of "the Breck experience". They demonstrated other ways of thinking and acting in a non-staged and planned recreational area.

This article has tried to serve as an illustration of the consequences of the invention of the trail. It is a trail to the active outdoors that, for better or worse, is increasingly affiliated with the commodification and standardization of recreational offers from the leisure industry. Following this line of thought, active recreational practices and spaces are not just, as was promoted by Florida, "stress relief" and a nurturer of creativity. For some people it might be just that. But it can also be *more* than that. Practice and spaces of leisure can be, and often are, areas of struggle and hegemony (Gruneau 1983:146).

The article, however, shows that cultural hegemony can never be total even in highly commodified and rationalized spaces of recreation like Breckenridge. Hegemonic practices are constantly circumvented and thereby challenged. The study of leisure and people's leisure practices is an example to all, of how commodifying, but also planning and legislating can have grave, often unintended consequence for people's leisure and everyday life, but also a reminder of how human ingenuity can never be predicted, prescribed, or obliterated. In a Scandinavian context this American example can make us reconsider the desired future for our recreational areas.[14] It can also direct our analytical attention towards questions such as how landscapes

and mindscapes are constructed today, and in which direction the constant (re)constructions and negotiations of spaces and practices is taking us. And of course, to ask ourselves which possibilities more diverse cultural ideas about nature and recreation could convey not only to a specific class or cultural elite, but to whoever might find meaning and fulfilment in various ways of walking the trail.

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Notes

1 The article is based on the master thesis 'Breck experience'. Leisure industry and leisure life in an American ski resort.

2 Skiing is an example of how a highly commodified outdoor recreational activity or product is connected to consumption through the purchase of lift tickets, skiing equipment and perhaps also ski lessons. It is also an example of how natural resources and spaces are increasingly commodified for the use of leisure. In the merging of outdoor recreation as a commodified sales object, millions of skiers each year get the possibility of feeling touched by nature and being improved, mentally, spiritually, or physically, by the activity of skiing. In Breckenridge in each of the last few years 1.4 million skiers were charged $70 a day for a lift pass. For other examples of the commodification of leisure activities and spaces in an American context, see Butsch 1990.

3 Interestingly enough, exactly the same jobs are the ones used by Richard Florida in his attempt to define the present-day "creative class".

4 Tourist material in Breckenridge often referred to the life changing possibilities of its recreational space: "A place where you can be set free", "A place where you can make it all happen", etc. Breckenridge Colorado 2004/2005 Official Media Guide.

5 Campbell explains this change with the spreading of literacy which replaced a collective symbolic manipulation of emotions with an individual one: "Only if the individual is himself in control of the employment of symbolic resources can true emotional self-determinism emerge. For this reason, a decline in the importance of the collective symbolic manipulation of emotions is important. Literacy, in conjunction with individualism, would seem to be the key development in this respect, for this grants the individual a form and degree of symbolic manipulation which was previously restricted to groups" (Campbell 1990:72).

6 Orvar Löfgren also notes this same passion or longing in the tourists' quest for new sensations built into tourism's tension "between routinization and improvisation, between the predictable and the surprising, which produces a craving for fresh sights and novel experiences" (Löfgren 2002:26c). Based on Campbell's assumptions about the creation of the modern consumerism, one might ask if Löfgren's tourist mechanism is not part of an overall modern mechanism applicable to many modern phenomena of consumption and experience-seeking.

7 For a similar but contemporary example of governmental tourist planning and commodification of leisure space, see Postmodern Tourism: The Santa Claus Industry by Michael Pretes, describing the creation of a "Santa Claus Land" in Finnish Lapland.

8 The "recreational conquest" of mountains and forests, with its social marginalization and new divides between production of local residents and recreation of outside visitors, carries traits similar to the ones in the ongoing plans to establish national parks in Denmark, which has divided many communities in two. For a number of current publications about the controversies over Danish national parks, see www.ruc.dk/teksam/forskning/forskningscenter/publikationer.

9 Breckenridge Colorado 2004/2005 Official Media Guide.

10 Town of Breckenridge 2004 Overview.

11 Official Vacation Planner 2004/2005:35.

12 Interview with city engineer Eric Guth.

13 The lift opened in winter 2006. The marketing material for North America's highest ski lift highlighted such things as "challenging oneself" in some of Breckenridge's most amazing terrain and "taking advantage of the much sought after, above timberline, groomed terrain". This terrain, which was previously only accessible by hiking, is now open, with a capacity of 600 people per hour. The resort expects it to have tripled next year.

14 For a Danish example and discussion about urban planning, disorder, liminal life, and exclusion, see Carlberg & Møller Christensen 2004 & 2005.

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Challenging Nature

A Site for Hazardous Waste and Rare Birds

By Katarina Saltzman

Situated in between a large harbour, oil depots and an abandoned airport, highly affected by pollution and refuse dumping, and since 1975 cut off from the sea, Torsviken is not the kind of place where most people would expect to be able to enjoy high-quality nature experiences. But despite the drastic transformations that this former sea bay and its surroundings have undergone, Torsviken has retained a reputation as a valuable piece of nature. Today the area is included in the Natura 2000 Bird Habitat preservation scheme, and is also proposed as a future nature reserve.

In an environment where rare birds and deposits for hazardous waste are able to coexist, it becomes obvious that nature is contradictory. In this paper, Torsviken will be the empirical point of departure for reflections concerning the role of nature in landscapes where the cultural impact is apparent and radical. Experiences of nature and conflicts over nature will be discussed, focusing on the ways in which certain features are identified as "nature", and how these are used, in practice as well as in argumentation. The fundamental critique articulated by the French sociologist Bruno Latour when considering the relations between politics and nature (2004) will be presented as a theoretical basis for a critical analysis of the use and effects of the notion of nature. His radical view of nature adds a political dimension to the interpretation of this landscape of conflicting matters. My assumption is that, by discussing the role of nature in an environment characterized by industrial and urban developments, the consequences of this concept can be made particularly clear.

The framework within which this research has been conducted is the interdisciplinary research project "Ephemeral Landscapes: Exploring Landscape Dynamics at the Urban Fringe". The ethnological approach that this paper represents is combined in the project with the perspectives of landscape planning[1] in order to study the interplay between spatial planning and everyday landscapes at the interface of city and countryside. One aim is to analyse what happens in transitory landscapes during the transformation process, while waiting for decisions to be made, plans to be fulfilled and developments to be realized. In the project we are interested in temporary spaces in-between clearly defined land-use strategies, and also examine the possibilities that these may offer for new biotopes and unplanned human uses of the landscape to become established (Qviström & Saltzman 2006).[2]

Perceiving Nature

Crouching in the high, dry grass from last summer, I move cautiously while slowly approaching the shore of the bay. An elder bush growing on the bank provides some cover, and hiding behind it I can move closer, reaching a good position from which to raise my head and look out over the partly ice-covered bay. Just a few metres from the shore I see a couple of whooper swans, peacefully feeding in the shallow water. Further out on the water I can spot wild ducks of different kinds, some of which I can recognize as the white and black coloured smew that is known to winter here. If I look up, straight across the enclosed sea bay, I see a number of large industrial buildings, by the hill to the left I notice pipelines and oil cisterns, and if I turn to the right, towards the sea and the outer embankment of the bay I can spot huge gravel heaps and a number of wind power stations. Behind these I can identify the silhouette of an oil tanker.

My depiction of this – rather inexperienced – birdwatcher's visit to Torsviken on a winter's

The local association "Torsviken Nature Reserve" has built a bird-watching tower next to a shallow beach where waders and wild ducks are often seen. Photo: Katarina Saltzman.

day in 2004 may be interpreted in relation to the ways in which we usually recount encounters with nature. Experiences of nature are often presented in accordance with its own particular genre, with well established ways to render in words the experiences of pleasant, idyllic, impressive and frightening encounters with nature. Such genre-bound narratives may well affect not only the way in which we describe our experiences, but also the way that we approach nature and the kind of experiences we are searching for in environments that we identify as natural (Saltzman 1999).

When considering the ways in which people may perceive "nature" and "natural values", questions have to be raised about the nature of nature: What exactly do we have in mind when we use the notion "nature"? What does it mean to experience nature? Does nature have a value in itself? These questions are certainly immense, and quite impossible to answer in any straightforward and objective way. According to a world view that is an established base of contemporary Western societies, nature and culture are fundamental constituents of the material world. The conceptions of nature and culture are not only intellectually taken for granted but also incorporated in vernacular, corporeal practices and routines. However, we do not all determine what in a given environment to define as "nature" or "natural" along the same lines, and we do not all value nature in the same way. The way we perceive our environment is connected to our social contexts, and the ways in which we have learned, through theory and practice, to make sense and use of the world we live in (cf. Ingold 2000). From one point of view, picturesque landscapes with good opportunities for recreation can be the equivalent of nature. From another, nature may be defined as the ultimate contrast to urban civilization. From yet another, nature can be seen as the equivalent of good supplies of biological diversity.

What's Wrong with Nature?

The division of reality into nature and culture is of course all but natural. According to anthropological and historical research, the understanding of the world as consisting of two separate spheres, one that is influenced by humans (i.e. culture) and another one that is not (i.e. nature) is far from universal. Rather, this is a culturally specific world view that is widespread today due to the influences of Western thinking (Latour 2004:43). Thus, nature should be understood as a culturally and historically specific notion, but it is nevertheless a powerful discursive practice.

The problematic aspects of the nature-culture dichotomy are well known, especially to researchers approaching environmental issues. These concepts force Western minds to place things, plants, humans, ideas and other features on either side, rather than to focus on complementary relations and processes crossing the border between what we call nature and what we call culture. One way to approach this problem is through a dialectical perspective, focusing on the multiple interrelations and constant interplay between nature and culture, rather than on the differences between them (Harvey 1996:186f; Saltzman 2001:106ff).

Bruno Latour argues that the notion of nature is so problematic that we would do better without it. He claims that a dialectical approach can offer no solution, as it merely confirms the division between nature and culture (2004:258, n. 40) and also the related distinction between object and subject (ibid.: 263, n. 23). The understanding of the world as consisting of two separate realms, the social sphere of human concerns and political issues on the one hand and the sphere of incontestable truths of a universal nature on the other, is according to Latour a fundamental problem. In his view, this idea of a separate, unquestionable nature has been a major obstacle to the development of a democratic society with the capacity to care for a world of humans and nonhumans alike. In fact, Latour argues, the very notion of a non-political nature can be nothing but political, as "conceptions of politics and conceptions of nature are as firmly united as the two seats on a seesaw" (ibid.: 28).

> From now on, whenever people talk to us about nature, whether they defend it, control it, attack it, protect it, or ignore it, we will know that they are thereby designating *the second house of a public life that they wish to paralyse* (ibid.: 18).

For Latour, nature is not a separate part of the world, but the result of a division that must be understood as political, a division that first and foremost separates the objective from the subjective. This separation renders impossible any politics with the ability to handle the kind of complex networks of social, chemical, economic, physiological and other actors and processes that constitute, for example, environmental crises. A particularly problematic aspect of this division is the fact that it separates nature (in the singular) from cultures (in the plural). While on the cultural side, variations and plurality are part of the picture, nature is understood as single, monolithic and incontestable. "It has been the *unity* of nature that produces its entire political benefit, since only this assembling, this ordering, can serve as a direct rival to *the other form* of assembling, composing, unifying, the entirely traditional form that has been called *politics*, in the singular" (ibid.: 29). Latour claims that in order to find solutions to the environmental crises we will need to get rid of the notion of nature:

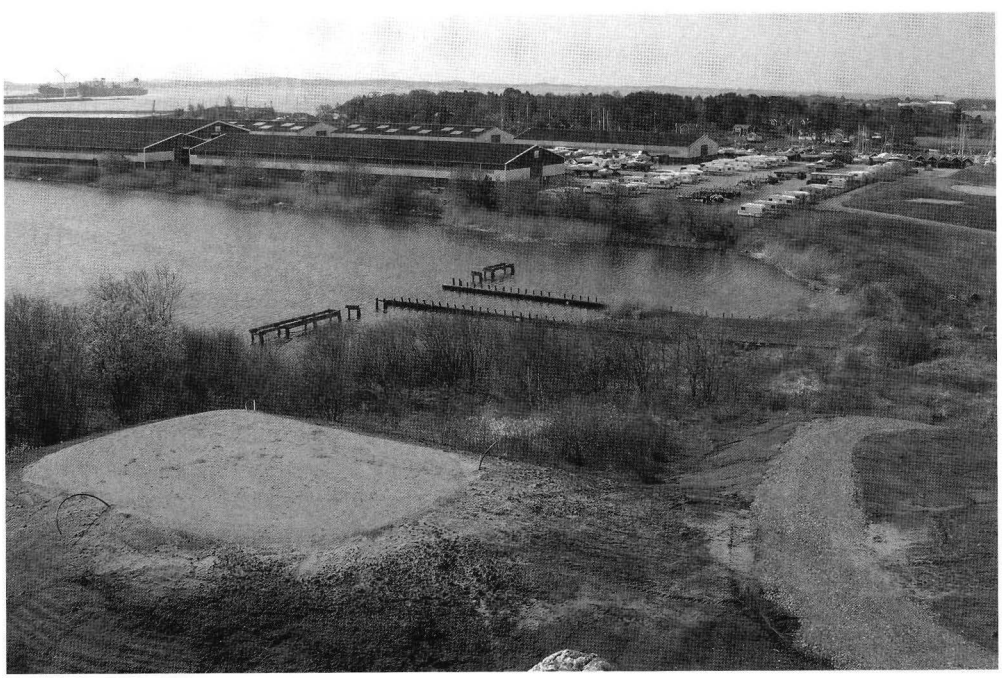
> Once we have exited ourselves from the great political diorama of "nature in general," we are left with only the banality of multiple associations of humans and nonhumans waiting for their unity to be provided by work carried out by the collective, which has to be specified through the use of resources, concepts, and institutions of all people who may be called upon to live in common on an earth that might become, through a long work of collection, the same earth for all (ibid.: 46).

However, despite its shortcomings, the notion of nature is still vigorously functioning. If we persist in looking for nature we can most certainly find it, even in urban, industrial or deserted places. As long as we accept the idea of nature it is ever-present and can be identified in a maltreated sea bay as well

as, for example, in New York City (Gandy 2002). Human experiences of "nature" can emerge in many kinds of places and under many different circumstances, also in seemingly trivial landscapes at the urban fringe. Even in areas characterized by extensive urban expansion, industrial developments, housing and infrastructure projects, it is possible to identify areas, structures, beings and moments that can be identified and experienced "as nature", and as such regarded as valuable. These features may remain from previous phases of the landscape, or appear as a result of processes of urban transformation. I believe that focusing on the role of nature in environments which people do not primarily associate with natural values can be a way to shed new light on these issues.

Torsviken in a Historical Perspective

The former sea bay area today known as Torsviken, sometimes also called Torslandaviken, is situated by the river mouth of the *Göta älv* – the seafarer's entrance to Gothenburg (a city founded in its current location in 1621) and large parts of western Sweden. Here, the fresh water of the River Göta blends with the salt water of the Kattegat. In earlier days, the shallow bays on the northern side of the river mouth do not seem to have had a common name (Wessberg 2001:12). These bays were located in a borderland; the western part of the Torsviken bay area belonged to the villages of Amhult, Kärr and Röd in Torslanda parish, while the rest of the bay was part of the village of Syrhåla in Lundby parish. This was the border not only between two parishes



The remains of a ramp for amphibian planes – one of quite few remnants of Torslanda airport, which was closed down in 1977. A marina with storehouses for pleasure boats has been established at the end of one of the former runways, and a golf course is about to be completed on top of tons of landfill (closest to the camera). Photo: Katarina Saltzman.

but since the thirteenth century also between the provinces of Bohuslän and Västergötland, and from that time until 1658 this was also a national border, as Bohuslän belonged to Norway (and hence since 1450 to Denmark) while Västergötland was Swedish territory.

The shallow bay was used by the villagers on both sides of the border for fishing, and farmers used the islands in the bay for grazing sheep and goats and kept cattle on the meadows along the shore. Birds' eggs were also collected on the islands. During the periods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the supply of herring was abundant along the coast of Bohuslän, many train oil cookeries were set up, one of these on the island of Lilla Risholmen in Torsviken. Parts of the fishing were collectively organized (in teams known as *vadlag*). The shallow bays were not least known for the eel fishing, traditionally carried out by fishermen with spears (*ljuster*) on the ice during winter (Eriksson 2001:11).

During the late nineteenth century, urban citizens of Gothenburg started to build summer houses by the sea and along the northern shore of the river. Arendal, located just to the east of Torsviken, developed into a settlement of bourgeois summer residences (and later, in the 1960s, Arendal was converted again, then into an industrial area). Many of the summer houses of this time were quite exclusive, but the peninsula of Skeppstadholmen on the western edge of Torsviken was turned into a summer colony with small cottages and low land rents.[3] Due to these settlements, the connections with city centre were strengthened, and steamboat services were started. During the early twentieth century it also became obvious that the riverbanks were, from the point of view of the city, regarded as valuable not only for summer recreation, but for industrial purposes as well. The first preparations for industrial developments in Torsviken were made in 1913 when a farmer in Syrhåla sold Hjärtholmen, one of the islands in the bay, to the oil company Shell (Wessberg 2001:15). Here the Torshamnen oil harbour was established in the 1930s.

The river has always been the vital artery of Gothenburg. A large harbour with shipyards developed during the nineteenth century and has thereafter continued to strengthen its position as the most important port of Scandinavia. During the later part of the twentieth century many of the old harbours and shipyards in the centre of the city were replaced by new and larger ones, closer to the river mouth in the west. In 1923 the main airport of Gothenburg was founded in Torslanda, next to the bay today known as Torsviken, and during the first years the bay itself was the most important ground for landings and takeoffs, as many of the early aircraft were amphibian planes. With the expansion of air traffic during the twentieth century, the airfield was continuously enlarged, and new landing strips were partly built on landfills in the former bay. During the second half of the century a number of huge industrial establishments, including large oil refineries and the car factories of Volvo, were built in this north-western part of the city.

Despite the proximity to the expanding airport and the new industries, large parts of the bay remained quite unaffected by these changes. While more and more of the former wetlands that were once situated along the river in the city were developed for urban and industrial developments, Torsviken continued to be an environment of lowlands and shallow waters. From the 1950s onwards, Torsviken was increasingly acknowledged as a prime site for birdwatching, within reach from the city. A large variety of bird species could be observed in the bay and on the adjoining meadows, and

eager birdwatchers defied the regulations of the airport to get close to the rarities:

> At times some exciting species chose to sit down just beside the runway. And so did we. There we could enjoy the magnificent flight of the short-eared owls and sometimes a colourful bluethroat hopping around in the borderland between asphalt and grass. And if you got a picture of them you were overwhelmed with happiness, until the airport guards arrived and confiscated the film (Andersson & Jacobsson 2001:21, my translation).

In 1977 Torslanda airport was closed down, replaced by a new and larger airport at Landvetter, to the east of the city. During the same decade, a number of new developments were carried out that came to affect the environment of Torsviken more drastically.

Oil, Landfills and Hazardous Waste

In the early 1970s the city of Gothenburg decided that Torsviken was to be used for landfills and developments in connection with the expected expansion of the harbour. During the following years the port of Gothenburg established a deposit site for dredged harbour sediment in the shape of an embanked basin in the southern part of Torsviken. A broad road bank was also constructed across the eastern part of the bay, a project that included the devastation of former islands that used to be breeding grounds for many birds. Additionally, parts of the inner bays were filled with crushed stone from the preparation of gigantic subterranean storage spaces for oil, and a deposit site for hazardous waste was established at some of the inner wetlands of the bay. Taken together, these changes drastically affected the environment of Torsviken. The effects of these and other nearby developments on the current situation have been soberly summarized by environmental scientists studying the bay:

> Possible impacts on the water and sediment quality include disposal of contaminated dredged harbour sediment, hazardous waste landfill leachate, oil refinery waste water, fly ash leachate, sewage sludge treatment and deposition of construction and demolition waste (Wernersson *et al.* 2000).

Towards the end of the 1970s, however, it became clear that the expansion of the harbour was not going to continue at the anticipated rate, and thus the remains of Torsviken were, at least for the moment, left without further developments. The remaining bay was already cut off from the sea and in practice consisted of several basins. The water circulation between these enclosures and the river and the sea at the river mouth was, and is still, limited and regulated.

For many of the birdwatchers the drastic transformations of Torsviken were perceived as "a tragedy". A group of local ornithologists (*Torslandaviksgruppen*) that had been following the bird life in Torsviken through systematic field observations and almost daily visits during the breeding season over five years, lost the enthusiasm to continue their studies. They were particularly upset by the operations in the summer of 1975, when excavators and huge drilling machines were preparing the blasting of the island of Rörskär in the midst of nesting birds, later described as "the sudden end of an epoch of untouched virginity" (Andersson & Jacobsson 2001:25, my translation). The birdwatchers' formulations reflect a rather common modern understanding of nature as female and virginal, threatened by the intrusions of man (Merchant 1990).

Despite the physical transformation of the area, however, the birds did not forsake the area. While a number of species are not as common as they used to be, and some might have disappeared, other species have increased subsequent to the changes. The enclosed inner

Wind turbines and a stone powder depot on a landfill area between two of the basins in Torsviken. The stone powder hills have been used by both moto-cross bikers and nesting sand martins. Photo: Katarina Saltzman.

basins seem to be popular among ducks all year around. For the rare smew (*Mergus albellus*, Swedish *salskrake*) for example, Torsviken is now one of the most important wintering sites along the west coast. Before 1975 the smew was only occasionally observed in Torsviken. And the basin in the south, where the Port of Gothenburg has been dumping dredged, polluted harbour sediments for 30 years, has – at least temporarily – developed into a shallow lagoon much appreciated by waders of many varieties (Thulin 2001:29f).

On a landfill area between two of the basins, stone-crushing activities have been carried out, and a stone powder deposit, forming a set of impressive hills, has been taken into use by actors of two different kinds. For bicycle and moto-cross drivers the steep hills provide exhilarating conditions for driving practice in an area where few people can be disturbed. Apparently a number of enthusiasts with their bikes find their way to this inaccessible site every summer. During summer, however, these gravel hills are also utilized by a growing colony of sand martins (*Riparia riparia*, Swedish *backsvala*) that have built hundreds of nests in the steepest hillsides. The possible conflict between bikers and sand martins has been much acknowledged, not least by birdwatchers.

On the Hunt for New Species

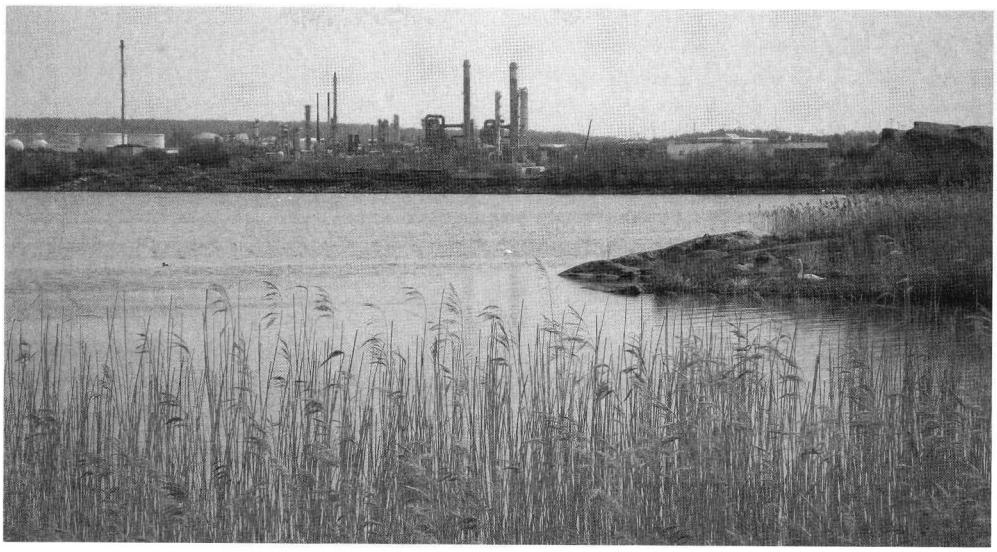
There are apparently many different reasons to go birdwatching, and a broad variety of different kinds of birdwatchers. For many of them, the possibility to spend some time in the outdoors is an important aspect of birdwatching, for some this activity is primarily a way to spend time with friends and family, while for others it is a practice closely connected to the scientific, ornithological study of birds. For quite a few, birdwatching is most of all a challenging competition and a continuous hunt for new species. Within this group, some spend just about all their spare time and money on following reports on rari-

ties that have been spotted somewhere in the country. Many of these so called "twitchers" (*kryssare*) are organized in *Club 300*, an association for birdwatchers with a particular interest in rare birds. Club 300 administers an "alarm system" through which members are instantly informed, through their mobile phones, about observations of rare species. They also keep registers of people who have made observations of more than 300 different bird species (www.club300.se; Samuelsson 2006). Another, more recent trend among birdwatchers has been labelled "microbirding", and stands for birdwatching at home, within the municipal borders of one's hometown (www.microbirding.se). The different varieties of lists of observed species – in the country, at a particular locale, from one's own back yard, during a particular time, etc. – are important to all these species hunters. Urban areas can apparently be as rewarding for the birdwatcher as rural landscapes, as many bird species seem to thrive also in built-up and industrial environments (Andersson 1998).

Birdwatchers have been influential in the formation of a local association with the slightly provocative name "Torsviken Nature Reserve" (*Torsvikens Naturreservat*). The aim of this group is no doubt to promote protection of nature in this culturally modified landscape, and within the nature that is to be preserved birds seem to be the primary focus. The association argues that the bird life of Torsviken should be seen as a resource when new plans are made for the former airport area. The group has also built a birdwatching tower next to the largest of the enclosed basins, a tower that is not very easy to reach as there is so far no road, no parking space and no signs, just a small path across the overgrown meadows between the former airport and the former sea bay.

The presence of a number of certain rare bird species, such as the smew, the whooper swan (*Cygnus cygnus*, Swedish *sångsvan*) and the ruff (*Philomachus pugnax*, Swedish *brushane*), has been a powerful argument for those striving to protect Torsviken. According to the birdwatchers, at least 230 bird species have been observed in the bay (Thulin *et al.* 2001). In the regional "birdwatchers' league" that is registered on the Internet (www.kustobsar.se), we can learn that the leader of the local league, Magnus Unger, observed as many as 184 different species in Torsviken from November 1987 to April 2006. Among the 50 birdwatchers that are registered for observing the largest number of species in Torsviken up to April 2006, only three are women, which is completely in line with the overwhelming male dominance among species-hunting birdwatchers (Samuelsson 2006:33ff).

In contemporary ornithology the notion of "observed species" is a fundamental conception, and a powerful discursive practice. In accordance with the Linnaean tradition, the living world is understood as consisting of different species. Observations of a certain number of species, and/or of particularly rare species, can today be a crucial argument for "protection", and against "development". For nineteenth-century ornithologists the given way to gather bird species was to kill the birds and collect their bodies, feathers, eggs, etc. The transformation of ornithology from a practice of collecting to a practice of observing was at that time questioned by many (Barrow 1998). Today, obviously, the use of binoculars within ornithology is so taken for granted that it is easy to overlook the importance of this optic technology to the act and idea of birdwatching. Eyesight, however, is not the only sense of importance to identify and locate birds. In the practice of birdwatching observations are



Despite its location in-between the oil harbour, the former airport, large industries and waste deposits, Torsviken offers an environment that attracts many birds and birdwatchers. Photo: Katarina Saltzman.

often carried out through listening as well, and the identification of the characteristic sounds of different species is often an important key to new findings.

Yet birdwatchers are not the only ones that go looking for new species around Torsviken. Botanists too have found the Torsviken area interesting, not least the recent land fills that have been made in the area: "This was the most wonderful refuse dump I have ever found, and even though it was not yet eleven o'clock in the morning when I arrived, I stayed there, eagerly searching for even more species, until long after sunset", reports one of them (Ljungstrand 2001:49, my translation). In such a setting, a botanist can for a more or less limited time revel in a multitude of exotic species. The extensive landfill area that is planned to be used for the expansion of the golf course, located to the south-west of Torsviken, has for some years been a favourite site among botanists with an interest in "cultural leftovers". During yearly excursions organized by the Botanical Society in Gothenburg, species such as peach (*Prunis persica*), sugar-beet (*Beta vulgaris* var. *altissima*), lemon (*Citrus limon*), tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) and numerous flowers that are usually found in gardens have been located in this area (www.s-weeds.net).

Taking Measures for Preservation

Birdwatchers and others have realized that the radical transformation of Torsviken did not put an end to natural life in the area, and that there are also positive sides to the fact that the area is located on the fringe of an urban and industrial environment.

My personal relationship to the bay is strong. This is where I can combine my responsibilities as a father of small children with birdwatching. To see so many birds at an accessible site is not possible anywhere else in Gothenburg. Therefore, Torsviken is in my birdwatcher's heart. Even among oil pipelines and stone crushers one can get intense experiences of nature. To see hundreds of delightful swans slowly pass, like white ships, across the large basin of Tors-

viken is an affecting experience. And so is the sight of the outer basin filled with waders. ... A child's joy about seeing a grey heron fishing or the unmistakeable enthusiasm of a species hunter over a rarity – both experiences are fully possible at Torsviken (Thulin 2001:27 my translation).

During the 1990s, new and planned developments, wind power stations, refuse deposits and land fills in the area once again made birdwatchers worry about the future of the area. At this point "Torsvikens Nature Reserve", in cooperation with the local and national ornithological societies, proposed that Torsviken be protected in accordance with the EU directive on the conservation of wild birds. Such an official acknowledgement of the area as a valuable piece of nature would be a powerful argument when trying to stop further urban and industrial development.

In the year 2000, the nomination of the area was accepted, and Torsviken was designated as a "special protection area" within the EU network "Natura 2000". The purpose of this network is to ensure biodiversity by conserving certain natural habitats, flora and fauna, that the member states have agreed on as being of common interest. The whooper swan, the smew and the ruff were particularly important for the designation of Torsviken as a Natura 2000 site, as these are among the species that the member states have agreed to protect within the network. The member states are responsible that each appointed Natura 2000 site is adequately cared for. In Sweden all Natura 2000 areas are classified as "sites of national interest" (*riksintresseområden*). During the same year, Torsviken was also classified as an "important bird area" by the organization BirdLife International. According to the municipal planning authorities of Gothenburg, it is their intention is that the bay will in a near future also be classified as a nature reserve (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2005a).

Through these appointments Torsviken

Two of the enclosed basins in the former sea bay of Torsviken, and between them a road, built on landfills, to the Torshamnen oil harbour. The buildings on the left belong to the industrial area of Arendal. Photo: Katarina Saltzman.

has been officially redefined, from refuse dump and future industrial ground, to nature. This conversion has not been an easy one, as there are still many conflicting interests in the area. The boundaries of the Natura 2000 area have been one debated issue, and according to ornithologists, the demarcation of the protected area was based on insufficient knowledge about the ecology of the area and of the birds that were to be protected (Pehrsson 2003). The expansion of the harbour that did not take place in the 1970s is now discussed as a probable future scenario, and a new plan for these developments has been presented. Enlargements of the harbour are now planned to be located not in Torsviken itself, but to the south, close to the Torshamnen oil harbour. New road and railway connections to the harbour may be built next to or across the bay area (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2005b).

At the same time, large parts of the former Torslanda airport are now gradually being converted into new residential and recreational areas. The city district of Torslanda, situated 12 kilometres from the city centre, is one of the areas where Gothenburg is currently growing. Despite the heavy industries nearby, Torslanda has a reputation as being an attractive part of the city, with quite fashionable residential areas located close to the sea and the archipelago. The average level of income is higher and the proportion of immigrants is lower than in most other parts of the city. In recent years a number of new residential areas have been constructed and planned in Torslanda, not least on the grounds of the former airport.[4]

The parts of the airfield situated closest to the sea are being converted into a golf course. In the detailed development plan for the expanding golf course it is made clear that the aim is to create a sizeable area where golf and other recreational activities can be combined with nature conservation. The expansion of the golf course is going to take place in parts of the former airport that have been used as a deposit site for material such as earth, clay, gravel and stone. In the new golf course, the ponds are to be dug in accordance with the preferences of "frogs, salamanders, insects and a variety of shore- and water-plants that will give a richer bird life" and should also contribute to a natural cleaning of surplus water. According to the plan the putting greens should be constructed in such a way that nutrients do not leach out into Torsviken; herbicides and pesticides are not to be used, dead trees and branches should not be removed as they can be regarded as beneficial for other organisms, and it is suggested that nesting boxes for different kinds of birds should be put up in the trees of the golf course (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2005a:14f my translation).

Today, Torsviken is included in discussions about future recreational resources, as well as future nature values. A number of investigations have been carried out concerning possible restoration strategies (Pehrsson 2003) and ways to improve the water quality of the bay (Blomqvist 2005). Instead of being a sad remainder of the destruction of nature in modern society, Torsviken is now regarded as a rather dynamic place, illustrating that the outcome of interaction between humans and non-humans can be surprising and manifold. Birdwatchers have undoubtedly been influential in the process whereby Torsviken has been reinterpreted. The presence of a number of more or less rare bird species has proved to be a useful argument in order to define the area as a piece of valuable nature, and defining the area as nature has been an effective way to affect the future of the area.

Now, we might recall the words of Latour

and ask ourselves whether we should regard the birdwatchers' efforts to protect nature in Torsviken as part of an endeavour to designate a "second house of public life that they wish to paralyse" (2004:18). Even though this designation may not be intentional, their use of the notion of nature can certainly incorporate such effects. The birdwatchers have found the notion of nature to be a useful tool in order to redefine the area, and make new options possible for the future. In practice, however, when discussing topics such as changes in bird populations, ornithologists have little use for Nature as a general explanation. When trying to understand complex ecological questions they actually seem to be much more interested in networks that include actors and associations of many kinds, and in such analyses the division between the "natural" and the "cultural" sphere may be of limited importance.

Human and Non-Human Actors

Neither plant nor bird species are tokens of a valuable nature as long as they are not noticed by humans. One could perhaps say that humans attach value to the natural when appreciating certain species. Talking with Bruno Latour, however, such a statement would bear witness to the conventional modern thinking that he is trying to break away from. According to Latour, the separation of facts and values must be questioned in the same moment of rethinking that also includes the fundamental critique of the notion of a nature (2004:95ff).

In the case of Torsviken, it would hardly have attracted so much attention today if it had not been an important site for birdwatchers for decades. This site "has fostered many ornithologists and people interested in nature in the Gothenburg region, not least because of its accessibility by bicycle from the large residential areas" (Kinberg & Lindell 2001:6, my translation). Thus, the connections between human and non-human actors, including birds, bicycles and spatial plans for the city, have been important in the making of Torsviken as a valuable area for bird life. From a "Latourian" perspective, Torsviken would not be understood as a piece of objective nature with a certain intrinsic value, but rather as a network of actors and associations, constantly in the making. And once accepted as a site of value for bird life, Torsviken in itself can be an actor in other networks, for example, in connection with urban planning and the development of new residential and recreational areas.

Understood through actor-network-theory, Torsviken is constantly created through the unfolding of networks that include birds, humans and other kinds of organisms, technologies and organizations. The zoologist Olof Pehrsson has studied changes in the populations of ducks of the species goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*, Swedish *knipa*) along the Swedish west coast. He has shown that Torsviken in the 1980s became a new site for large numbers of goldeneyes to stay during their moulting period in July and August. Previously, in the 1960s, these and other diving ducks used to gather further north along the coast, close to the island of Orust, during this time of the year. The changes in the routines of these ducks during the 1970s seem to be related to the concurrent establishment of sewage-treatment plants in Swedish municipalities. In the 1960s, the goldeneye fed on eelgrass and other organisms that could benefit from the supply of organic material that reached the sea when sewage from water closets was let out directly into the sea. When purifying plants started to take care of this organic material, local problems with an oversupply of nutrients close

to the coast were replaced with an increase of the dissolved nutrient salts (nitrogen and phosphorus) that was the result of the purifying process. These, in their turn, promoted an increase of green algae further away from the coast, and the green algae seem to have suffocated the submarine meadows of eelgrass near Orust where the goldeneyes used to feed. In that situation, the ducks chose Torsviken as their new moulting site. In this enclosed and polluted sea bay they were apparently able to find what they wanted, perhaps partly because of the concurrent abundance of mute swans (*Cygnus olor*, Swedish *knölsvan*), as these swans feed on the green algae that develop in nutritive waters (Pehrsson 2001:35ff).

> Goldeneyes and other waterfowl have proved that they have an important function in their ability to counteract the excess nutrition of the sea caused by humans. They find the areas of our coast where the problem is most apparent, and there they lead our surplus of nutrient salts into valuable food chains (ibid.: 37, my translation).

From an ethnological point of view it is certainly quite unfamiliar to take algae and nutrient salts into account when trying to understand a cultural landscape. We are so used to thinking that such matters are none of our business, that they belong to the sphere of nature, and hence to the sphere of "hard" science. From an actor-network-theoretical point of view, as we have seen, these taken-for-granted divisions are highly problematical, and result in a strangely divided conception of the world:

> On the one hand, a world without value, since it corresponds to nothing experienced, but a world that alone is essential because it has to do with the real nature of phenomena; on the other hand, a world of values, but a world which is worthless because it has access to no durable reality, even though it is the only world we experience subjectively. The solution of mononaturalism stabilizes nature at the risk of emptying culture of all substance and reducing it to mere representations; the solution of multiculturalism stabilizes the notion of culture at the risk of endangering the universality of nature and reducing it to an illusion (Latour 2004:48).

If we want to understand Torsviken as part of a common world where humans, birds, bicycles, sewage-treatment plants and algae all interact, we can hardly leave some parts of the networks out of the ethnological analysis because of deep-rooted presumptions about the limitations of the "cultural aspects" that are supposedly our field of interest. If we agree with Latour's critique against the notion of nature we have to realize that this is simultaneously a sharp critique towards the notions of culture and society.[5] But even though bringing nutrient salts into ethnology might be important, the fundamental challenge of this act of rethinking is to bring the sciences into democracy.

The Impossible and Inevitable Politics of Nature

Despite its shortcomings, nature is definitely a concept that is still in use. The classification of Torsviken as a piece of valuable nature in accordance with the regulations of Natura 2000 is of considerable importance for all actors that have anything to do with the bay. Here, as in many other cases, nature works as an argument for preservation, or rather, in practice, as an argument for certain things to occur and for other possible developments not to take place. For the birdwatchers and associates of "Torsviken Nature Reserve" as well as the ornithological societies, the redefinition of the area as "nature" was a means to achieve their goals. At the same time it became clear that a demarcation of a protected area did not necessarily in itself provide a long-term solution for the complex ecological interrelations

involved in this landscape where the cultural impact cannot be denied.

In contemporary Western society, nature is often associated with origin (Svensson 1997) and perceived as primeval, in line with the idealization of wilderness that has, among other things, influenced the environmental movement. According to this perspective, a man-made and recently created piece of nature could be regarded as less natural, and supposedly as such less valuable. However, one might ask whether the cultural construction of a piece of nature actually makes it less natural. Being aware of the non-virgin nature of a landscape does not necessarily mean that we perceive it as fake or valueless,[6] and one could still interpret the setting and many of its constituent actors as "nature". Cultural constructions of "valuable nature" have been observed, for example, in the creation of Swedish national parks (Mels 1999), in the formation of pastoral landscapes (Saltzman 2001) and gardens (Pollan 1991), and in the establishment of green landscapes in the deserts of the United Arab Emirates (Ouis 2002). Bruno Latour, however, can only dismiss the idea of a cultural or social construction of nature as being part of a reinforcing of the separation of a nature of facts and a culture of values: "The more the social construction of nature is calmly asserted, the more what is really happening in nature – the nature that is being abandoned to Science and scientists – is left aside" (2004:33).

Instead, associations of humans and non-humans must be made the focus of attention, if the goal is to try to achieve a good common world. These questions have certainly been put on the agenda through the environmental crisis, a crisis that is often, according to Latour, mistaken as being a question of nature. In his view, the positive effect of the political interest in questions concerning ecological issues has nothing to do with the generation of a new focus on nature, but rather with the possible insights about "the impossibility of continuing to imagine politics on the one side and, on the other, a nature that would serve politics simultaneously as a standard, a foil, a reserve, a resource, and a public dumping ground" (ibid.: 58).

In this situation, Latour finds that political ecology has an important potential when it comes to bringing the collective together. However, it is not by its attempts to introduce nature into politics that political ecology reaches this potential, but rather by dissolving the contours of nature.

> Political ecology has never claimed to serve nature for nature's own good, for it is absolutely incapable of defining a common good of a dehumanized nature. It does much better than defend nature (either for its own sake or for the good of future humans). It *suspends* our certainties concerning the good of humans and things, ends and means (ibid.: 21).

This in-built critique of the role of the notion of nature, according to Latour, has not hitherto been understood by political ecology itself. Because of its ambition to speak for a universal Nature, a hierarchical Totality, a world without humans, political ecology has remained marginalized (ibid.: 22), and its potential has not yet been discovered:

> Political ecology proposes to do for nature what feminism undertook to do and is still undertaking to do for man: wipe out the ancient self-evidence with which it was taken a bit too hastily as if it were all there is (ibid.: 49).

At the moment when this paper is being completed, the most burning issue in the debate about Torsviken concerns the plans to build seven new, large wind power stations near the enclosed bay. There are already twelve wind

turbines on the landfill areas between the large basin and the oil harbour, but the new ones are planned to be twice as large, up to 140 metres high. The wind power establishment is presented as part of the ambition to achieve environmentally friendly supplies of energy for the nearby Volvo car factory. From this point of view it might seem suitable to locate the wind power stations in an area defined as nature. But from the point of view of ornithologists, the establishment of such high windmills presents a new threat to birdlife in the Torsviken (Lindell *et al.* 2006).

In a complex landscape such as Torsviken it is obvious that the notions of nature and culture are not sufficient to explain the many associations and processes that constitute this environment. Torsviken is interesting as an example of a situation that can be described in terms of ecological crisis, and also, at the same time, in terms of valuable nature. The notion of nature might be useful as an argument for preservation, but it cannot be said to be an adequate term to describe the situation in Torsviken in general, and nor is it a very helpful concept in the search for a good common world for humans and non-humans.

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Notes

1 The project consists of two equal parts: one carried out by Dr Mattias Qviström at the Department of Landscape Planning at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) in Alnarp, and the other one completed by a group of researchers at the Department of Ethnology, Göteborg University.

2 The project is financed by Formas 2004–2008 and includes case studies in the Swedish cities of Malmö and Gothenburg. The project is carried out in cooperation with the Department of Landscape Planning at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp.

3 Skeppstadholmen is the empirical focus of another study within this project, conducted by Lennart Zintchenko at the Department of Ethnology in Gothenburg.

4 In another paper (Saltzman 2006), these ongoing transformations of the former airport are discussed as an example of the "composting" of landscapes.

5 Latour's critique of the notion of nature in *Politics of Nature* (2004) was complemented in his next book, *Reassembling the Social* (2005) with a critical examination of the notion of "the social".

6 For a critical discussion of projects aiming at restoration of nature, see Elliot 1997.

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Rural Landscapes in the Post-War Parliamentary Debate

By Iréne A. Flygare

Introduction

In early 2004, the Swedish government presented its proposal for future agricultural policies within the framework of the European Union's common agricultural policy, CAP (Ds 2004:09). Following an agreement with the Green Party, the proposal was brought before the parliament. In a passage entitled "Agriculture's public goods", the government document describes how agriculture, apart from food, also produced positive external effects in the form of *open landscapes* and *biodiversity*. However, the government maintained, the production of these positive effects ran a risk of being too limited, and thus the need for state intervention arose. It was also pointed out that biodiversity, heritage objects and abundant cultivated landscapes coincided with the national environmental targets, *and* that the desired production was primarily taking place on pastures. The government therefore suggested that agricultural grants be drawn up in a way that guaranteed the continuing use of traditional natural pastures. Therefore, area aid for pastures should be on par with the lowest available support for cultivated land.[1]

Landscape as Agricultural Policy

How did the rural landscape, defined as biodiversity, pastures, various and rich cultural heritage objects, evolve into such an important issue of agricultural policy? (See also Myrdal 2001; Hasund 1991). This article attempts to depict how the rural landscape was established as a topic of political debate in the Swedish parliament from 1944 to 1995.[2] At first glance the debate on agricultural policy in the post-war era mainly seems to have dealt with issues of food production and rationalization. However talks and writings by Swedish MPs commenting on price control, tariff protection and grants show many assumptions and statements about what farmers and farming were, or should be. How these statements were formulated and what importance these notions have been attributed through the decades is a central theme in my research. The aim of the study makes politicians' usage of words, notions and concepts an important part of the examination. By tracing the introduction, definition, change of direction and alteration of certain terms it is possible to distinguish the emergence of new political orders.[3]

In this article I aim to show how one of these concepts, the Landscape, was introduced, established and provided with political striking power when parliament debated agricultural policy.[4] The parliament created vast amounts of text and statements concerning Swedish agriculture. In the early part of the studied period the Landscape was rarely mentioned; in the later part it was mentioned more frequently. Close reading of the material reveals that the term landscape has varying connotations, and that these connotations increase in numbers as time passes.

The formation of concepts is central to both science and politics. Within the social sciences there is also a close connection between the scientific and political development of concepts. The history philosopher Reinhard Koselleck argues that the political significance transforms words into concepts and that concepts differ from words by being ambiguous. Therefore ambiguous concepts have multiple definitions (Koselleck 2004). Koselleck's example, the revolution concept, which he calls a general concept, is similar to the landscape concept. Although it is generally understood, its precise meaning varies depending on the political agenda. Furthermore, it appears to have an ever-widening definition. Through constant shifts of meaning, the concept alters

the situation itself. New avenues of experience are opened (Koselleck 2004; Fleck 1997). The linguist George Lakoff argues that by analyses of concepts and metaphors used in public and political discourse, different and often unconscious worldviews could be shown essential to the constitution of political ideologies as well as everyday realities (Lakoff 2002; see also Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Stråth 1989, 1993; Boréus 1994; Hedrén 1994; Pappas 2003)

The sources for this examination consist of documents of the parliamentary process, mainly in the form of government bills, motions, interpellations, questions, answers and protocols throughout the studied period. Relevant parts of the parliamentary debates consist of ca 10,000 pages. From these a database has been made up of quotations and statements. According to the frequent use of special words, identified as keywords, the database has finally been divided into central themes. Thorough reading of proposals, bills and resolutions has been conducted in order to capture the way in which statements about farmers and farming were constructed. This showed some important motifs or genres built on notions and metaphors such as rationality, harmony, folk, family, environment, landscape and diversity.

Every political wording refers to statements made in other circumstances. Whoever wishes to follow an issue or a notion runs the risk of being led in ever-widening circles in a vain hunt for the sources of various thoughts and ideas. For this reason I have chosen to disregard statements from the implementing institutions, as well as media, interest groups and other opinion makers. Naturally, both bureaucrats and members of interest groups have contributed a number of texts and opinions that have influenced policy on various levels (see Anshelm 2004; Friman 2001; Holmberg 1988).

Representations

The landscape as a certain term was not represented in parliament in the 1940s and 1950s. To understand how it was raised, one has to be aware of some different ways that modernization of agriculture was interpreted during the decades just before and during the Second World War. At that time Swedish farming was going through a rationalization process in accordance with the 1947 decision on agricultural policy. One of the aims of this policy was to facilitate the transference of the workforce from the agricultural to the industrial sector, from country to town. There were, however, different opinions about the pace of rationalization and restructuring (see Levin 1967; Thullberg 1980; Swedborg 1988; Rothstein 1992; Andersson 1987. Eriksson 2004; Flygare & Isacson 2003; Larsson 1994). Prominent in debates at this time were efforts to re-categorize and re-entitle the political object. To understand how the landscape issue got into the field of debate, we need to make a short detour through these groups and categories.

The most radical attempt was proposed by the parliamentary commission which investigated agricultural policies during the 1940s. One frequent and important word in the detailed proposal was *rationalization*. In order to release the actual production and organization from its historical context, the committee systematically introduced a new terminology, with more scientific and socially neutral connotations. For example the committee divided the farming units, the farms, and also the farmers into seven categories, named in line with the new terminology. Most important and proposed to be the main political target was the *basjordbruk* (basic unit farm).

One other road to modernity was offered

by an earlier committee and politicians by introducing the new concept of *family farms*. Although farming to a large extent was already organized and performed by families, modernization needed to re-establish the family on farmland, e.g. one farm – one family. Landowning ought to be reformed over a long time in pace with family formation.[5] The concept of family farm challenged the existing gender system and evoked a great deal of criticism. The traditional organization of male farm-work, with long periods of forest enterprise, was questioned. In future the male farmer was to concentrate his labour on cropping and animal husbandry. He should also be located within the boundaries of his farmstead. There was a desire to convey the vision of a future modern, professionally trained agricultural entrepreneur.[6]

However, family farm was a concept that also referred to what was often represented as traditional rural virtues connected to rural culture and peasant society, to culture and class. In Swedish a family farmer also could be interpreted as *bonde* (the farmer peasant) with its deep understanding of the Swedish nation and self representations of freedom, democracy and nationalism. Modernization was thus suggested by the parliamentary Land Acquisition Committee to strengthen farmer peasants as landowners by excluding capitalist entrepreneurs.

The fourth way of representing farming was emphasizing the *folk* society. Rurality was interpreted as one aspect of agriculture. In parliamentary debate the country folk were a cultural and societal heritage that were fragile and, on the one hand, should be handled with care during the new alterations, and on the other hand, were already lost because of the greed and avidity of modern society. Modernization was an experiment with society that perhaps not would have a happy ending. In landowning terms the existing distribution was to be very slowly altered or mainly preserved.

In the resolution of 1947, consensus was reached by the efforts to define the future farmer both as the rationalistic *basjordbrukaren*, the *family farmer*, and as the *bonde*-farmer. The Minister of Agriculture underlined that these concepts all meant the same thing. He also declared that the political aims were to integrate rural people in modern society, not to leave them as country folk in a pre-modern countryside.

When confronted with the question whether farming was a profession that anyone could be taught, or whether recruitment was based on class and culture, the relative consensus of the 1940s and 1950s was threatened. The underlying ideological conflicts, between the agrarians and the industrialists, as to who should be allowed to acquire a farm, gradually grew because of the political claims about the need to ease landowning restrictions. The existing land laws discriminated against industrial companies that longed to compete in both food and forest production (see Ivarsson 1977).

This led to the formulation of the question for the 1960s. Did modern policy threaten the small-scale and family farmers as a social group, or did it liberate the agricultural industry from old class politics? Should agricultural policy have a social goal or maintain a neutral stance in regard to the methods utilized by farming? These questions were important for the way the landscape was introduced into the debate, as well as for the consequent discussions about who would be entrusted with the care of the landscape.

On the Altar of Welfare

In 1960, an official inquiry on agricultural policy was set up. Its work spanned over six years. During this time a number of decisions were made concerning, for instance, legislation on land acquisition and rationalization of management. This led to a heated debate in the media as well as in the political arena. Debates in both chambers of parliament were sometimes harsh and malicious, with opponents accusing each other of backwardness and arrogance.

The Social Democratic government's view was that agriculture was under enormous pressure for rationalization and the Social Democrats welcomed any form of organization or business, as long as it furthered *specialization* and *large-scale* management of farms.[7] Family farming and farmers' landowning, they argued, was not organized in an industrial way. Family farms were not companies and farmers were not entrepreneurs.

The non-socialist parties declared that the proposed policy was about to sacrifice both a valuable way of life and the rural community itself, as they put it, on "the altar of welfare".

The Family Lifestyle

The attack on family farmers along with the smallholders proposal led to such intense debate that the outlines of the landscape issue began to take shape. Family farming was described as a way of life, *livsform*, developed very close to the *biological* aspects of farming. Important to these aspects was animal breeding with women's traditional care of calves and milk production. One consequence of that family farming, biologically orientated lifestyle was the rural landscape. The landscape was now described as *open, smiling, harmonious*, created by Man for his delight, to learn from, to respect, to enjoy. Rationalization threatened the family farmer and smallholders, which maintained the open landscape with their livestock. In this sense, they were both creators of and wardens of what was termed as *the nurturing landscape.*

From Folk to Landscape

In discussions of the new agricultural policy a line of argumentation was formulated based on biology, health and culture as opposed to what was seen as a policy of discontinuation, large-scale operation and regarding agriculture as industry. These aspects of agriculture demanded a different rhetoric with different terms, such as lifestyle, environment and landscape. The defenders of this new rhetoric argued that these words, rarely or never used in agricultural policy up until this point, should now be linked with rationality.

Family, part-time, and small-scale farming were represented in a new way and were endowed with crucial arguments for future policies – agriculture as part of a biological system and an open landscape. By depicting some of the proposers as technocrats and centralist bureaucrats it was made clear that these proposers did not understand how biological factors played a part in agriculture. The nature-bound systems of agriculture interacted with the family system. This was something industry could never do with its organization and regulated working hours. The family submitted itself to photosynthesis and other biological demands, and interacted with everything that grew. In these statements, family farming was not portrayed as outmoded, but rather thought of as timeless. Fields and meadows, although products of culture, were also part of nature. Production methods, as well as the property conditions of family, small-scale, and part-time farmers, were used as arguments

for the nurtured nature, protected culture and the open landscape. When the modernizers described agriculture as merely a producer of raw material in the chain of food production, they threatened a collective resource of an ecological way of life.

By connecting descriptions of the landscape and the biological values to the notion of a rural, traditional way of life, the continued existence of this way of life had consequences outside the farming communities.

The landscape as a concept, as well as the way of life, transformed a well-established discourse on agriculture's old traditional cultural values. The motifs expressed in the 1940s discussion on the folk were thus adapted to a new discourse on the landscape.

The concept of the way of life bridged the gap between the material and the moral – what Man could and should do with his material resources. This was also suggested by the twofold aspect of nature and culture within the concept of agriculture. Even though, in discussion, these were mainly seen as opposing categories, they were slowly merging through a dominant category, which was the environment.

Nature Reserves

Since landscape issues, thanks to the efforts of the non-socialist parties, had come to be intimately associated with family farms and smallholdings and a particular way of life, a great deal of effort went into arguing against anything that could be seen to preserve this state of affairs. In this view the landscape could just as well be managed acceptably outside the boundaries of agriculture.

The advocates of the proposed policies, spearheaded by the Minister of Agriculture, avoided the landscape issue as far as possible. When pressed on the subject they forcefully maintained that landscape issues had nothing to do with agricultural policy, but must be resolved within the sphere of environmental protection. There had to be clear boundaries of responsibility. Landscape questions were the domain of the newly created Environmental Protection Agency. The landscape could be divided into reserves, where public authorities administrated the maintenance of those landscape values identified by the experts. To argue for biology, way of life and landscape was to involve romantic sentiment in a policy aimed at rationality and efficiency.

The official inquiry on agriculture presented its findings in 1966 but, unlike the 1942 commission, its members were not in agreement. The Social Democratic endeavour to confine the landscape to the realm of environmental protection was not completely successful. On the contrary, the landscape was becoming an issue of agricultural policy.

The non-socialist parties continued, during the 1970s, to argue that landscape issues, as well as other environmental issues of agriculture, must be co-ordinated by agricultural policy. The Right (now renamed The Moderate Party), put forward a motion that these issues were to be seen as components of the same policy. The Chairman described the agricultural landscape as a priceless asset, in terms of natural as well as cultural history. In his view, agricultural policy served the interests of environmental protection policy. You could go as far as to say that the preservation of the landscape must be acknowledged as part of agriculture's service to society.

Cultural Landscapes

With the non-socialist take-over of government in 1976 the landscape was expressly made a part of agricultural policy. When the inquiry report was presented in 1977 it addressed the

need for landscape protection as a result of the vast decrease of tilled land that had taken place in the 1950s and 1960s. According to the report, this necessitated a greater degree of agriculture than was warranted by economic or national security needs. The government suggested that, within reason, the *varied* landscape that agriculture had provided for so long should be preserved. Their view was that landscape protection measures would be most cost-effective if implemented within the boundaries of agriculture and family farming and therefore be eligible for grants.

However, when the landscape had been established as a political issue as well as a concept, there was an increasing need to define what aspect of the landscape should be highlighted. Idioms such as the open landscape, landscape environment, and the harmonious landscape did not give enough guidance for political actions. To complement these terms, in the early 1980s the landscape began to be defined as a cultural landscape comprised of individual elements – heritage objects.

The landscape, in the form of *hillocks*, *enclosures*, *stone-fences* and other *obstacles* to *cultivation*, was thus transformed into a cultural heritage made up of solid, material objects. These could be protected by special rule of consideration, state statutes and the landscape became a concern for cultural heritage agencies on both a national and regional level. But to preserve the managed landscape, described as open landscape or valuable landscape, continuous land use within the framework of traditional family farming was a prerequisite.

Pastures and Meadows

During the 1980s several different landscape idioms appeared in documents on agricultural policy. These included open landscape, landscape images, cultivated landscape and cultural landscape. In the course of this decade, however, the landscape underwent yet another transition. When the Green Party came into prominence at the end of the decade, its attitude towards the cultural landscape was less than enthusiastic. It was believed that this created a museum landscape rather than a living landscape.

During this decade the Social Democratic environmental policy was criticized internally, not least by *Broderskapsrörelsen*, an organization of Christian Social Democrats. They used ecosophical and Christian arguments to criticize the effects modern agriculture had on the landscape (see Anshelm 1995). The landscape of hoof and muzzle, the natural pastures, was eventually brought into the debate on agricultural policy. The meadow and the concept of the open landscape were described as deeply rooted in the Swedish national consciousness (*folksjälen*). This definition of the landscape was more or less benignly accepted by all parties. It appeared to have more life than the cultural landscape, and the concept of the meadow was only a short step away from the species living in it.

Landscape and Biodiversity

The methods of traditional agriculture had inadvertently created a number of valuable species that had adapted to grazing animals, scythes and sickles over the course of millennia. Fungi, lichen, beetles, flowers and birds created a vast gene pool in the meadows, a rich biodiversity. Threatened by extinction or red-listed, they crawled, climbed and grew on heritage objects, cairns, fences and solitary trees.

In the words of the Social Democratic government, agriculture "as far as possible should strive to preserve the *genetic varia-*

tion and the valuable *flora* and *fauna* of the cultivated landscape. Maintained object like ditches, verges, hillocks and dams were important not only as landscape elements, but as environments for *plant-* and *animal-life*. It was thought by many that conventional agriculture disrupted the ecological systems through the use of biocides and the removal of obstacles to cultivation. The historical landscape elements were considered worth preserving, not primarily on account of their age, but chiefly for their function in the ecological system. The identified heritage objects were transformed into small-scale habitats, containing the physical production of genetic capital and valuable biomass.

Biodiversity and *heritage values* were chiefly linked to animal husbandry. All valuable meadows and pastures should therefore be preserved. The *natural* pastures contained a vast *wealth of species* and great biological and cultural values, all of which were under threat. Both landscape preservation and organic cultivation needed to be supported. A plan was also suggested for the preservation of local varieties of cereal and native livestock. Organized preservation of genetic resources was seen as vital for future breeding. According to some, biodiversity also had intrinsic values.

Biodiversity became a winning concept. The number of documents that equated the landscape with biodiversity increased rapidly and displayed a remarkable consensus. The landscape of the 1990s was defined as varied, rich and open as well as a place for biodiversity and a resource for the public good. The organic and biological qualities, the diversity and the genetic resources plainly served as metaphors, bringing together parties and opening up new productive sectors in which the landscape flourished. The landscape was further incorporated with nature, and the biological values were emphasized over the cultural values. Even though the idiom cultural landscape was still used, it was described more in terms of biological values. I view this as a significant change of discourse. In this way, landscape issues could truly be connected to the larger environmental discourse.

Parliament's Five Landscapes – A Summary

Parliament's landscape is naturally a linguistic construction, and therefore on one level an abstraction. However, the politicians have described and clarified the landscape in terms of culture, open, varied, rich, genetic and biological. This use of language has given us varied, but very concrete visions of the same landscape. Five major diverging ways of talking about the landscape can be discerned.

1 The *open landscape* first began to appear in parliamentary debate in the 1960s and was portrayed in an organic way, created by a certain way of folk- and family-life. The landscape was not preserved through regulation, but rather through guaranteeing the continued existence of family farming. The concept of the landscape grew from an underlying idea of reality as organic.
2 *The nature reserve* was the opposite way to define landscape in the 1960s. Landscape could be extracted from the landscape as a whole and contained valuable elements, determined by experts. The landscape was maintained, not by the social aspects of agriculture, but by bureaucracy, through laws and regulations. The concept of the landscape grew from an underlying idea of reality as mechanical.
3 *The cultural landscape* was construed in

the 1970s and 1980s when the landscape was seen more as an object of cultural heritage. However, the heritage was preserved by the agricultural social process. The concept of the landscape consisted of both organic and mechanic notions.

4 The *pasture* was used in the 1980s and 1990s when the values of the landscape were described as a union of Man and Nature. The landscape constituted an entirety and an organic unity.

5 The landscape of the 1990s was presented as the organic landscape of *biodiversity* and ecology. Preserving the organic ecosystem preserved the landscape.

Landscape Ontology – Organism versus Mechanism

A fundamental part of all exercise of power is the privilege to classify an issue, to determine in which context it belongs, when it is suitable to discuss, and when it is to be ignored. The landscape issue was introduced into agriculture policy making, during a period when the non-socialist parties and agriculture representatives perceived the new agricultural policies as an assault on both the social category and the way of life that agriculture represented. The first landscape, the open landscape, was highlighted in order to reinforce its value. In the same way as the contemporary issue of chemical farming, the introduction of the landscape was a challenge to the whole idea of agricultural modernization. For the non-socialist, in particular the Right, the landscape was described as an entity created by a socio-cultural and biological process. Thus far the landscape was considered as an integral part of human social activity, and only in this way could its survival be guaranteed.

The Social Democrats at this time strove against making the landscape an integral part of agricultural policy, The idea of the landscape as strongly linked to a certain social formation was hardly appealing to the Social Democrats and other advocates of rationalization. If instead the landscape was regarded as a part of nature it could be assumed to be built up of elements in the form of landscape types, plants or animals, it would also be possible to divide it into different parts which would be subject to preservation policies. The care of these objects could be limited to selected areas (the second landscape listed above) that were manageable from an administrative point of view.

How should the controversy over the proper management of landscape be understood? Why was it so important in the 1960s to classify the landscape as either an issue of agricultural policy or one of environmental protection policy?

My suggestion is that the two conflicting views went back to differences in ontology, manifested in the different ways in which the landscape was discussed.

Descriptions of the landscape emphasized unity and connections of an organic nature, while the vocabulary used when talking about the landscape as a nature reserve was of a more mechanical character. Simply put, one might say that the former view was the result of a more conservative perception of reality as organically constituted, where no part could be removed without a loss of unity. The latter belonged to a rationalistic tradition, where society was seen as a machine or mechanism where parts could be removed and repaired. The landscape issue was first raised by the conservatives and the organic descriptions they used challenged the Social Democrats' rationalistically flavoured agricultural proposition.

The civilization critique and environmental

debate of the 1970s established the landscape as an accepted part of agricultural policy. The road to common ground in the discourse on the landscape was facilitated when the indistinct term open landscape was redefined as cultural landscape. This (third) landscape contained objects of cultural heritage, which could be inventoried and preserved through rules of consideration. However, this preservation took place within the framework of the social entity of agriculture, the family farm. Thus, cultural landscape became a reconciliatory and integrating concept, capable of bridging the gap between the organic and the mechanical viewpoints.

The fourth landscape, with muzzle and hoof, meadow and natural pasture, enhanced the organic descriptions. With the fifth view, the landscape as biodiversity, the systemic and organic thinking intensified and the discourse on the landscape grew more hegemonic in character. This came to pass through a combination of biological and economic arguments, where ecosystem and growth system were interspersed in holistically flavoured statements regarding the blessings of biodiversity.

With the introduction of biological assets, however, talk of cultural heritage decreased. It is possible that it was more difficult to describe how the landscape of monuments could contribute to growth and expanding diversity. The social dimensions were also put aside. The landscape with its biodiversity tended to be described as organically unified, but this organic unity was a product of nature, not culture. But Nature had to be assisted so that maintained and increased biodiversity could be accomplished. Man's obligation was the genetic capital, and the meadow did not maintain itself. This required a certain managerial knowledge, for instance which species of butterflies, birds and flowers were endangered, and how management of nature could increase their numbers.

Folk – Landscape – Nature

The landscape issue must be understood in its political context. It was initiated as an argument against a widespread discontinuation of farms, but was also an extension of an older agricultural policy argumentation where the countryside and the rural environment constituted ideological and moral intrinsic values. In defence of these values, and in opposition to what was regarded as a vicious modernization process, the image of the threatened folk was brought forward in discussions on agricultural policy in the 1940s. Two decades later, it was probably not possible to talk of the country-folk in cultural terms. Instead, the landscape took the place of the folk in statements. It was now the landscape that was jeopardized. Landscape values were described in roughly the same terminology as the values of folk-life had once been. The 1960s debate reinforced arguments by linking way of life, biology and landscape. However, when incorporated into agricultural policy, the landscape concept started to evolve and the social and cultural landscape was superseded by Nature. The biological values were now brought to the fore and deemed threatened. Biodiversity, with its reference to the depths of national psyche, became another concept of hegemonic character. A reason for this might be that this concept of landscape combined the idea of an organic nature with that of Man as the steward of creation.

Mental and Environmental Landscape

In conclusion, I want to address another aspect of the parliamentary review of the open landscape, namely how remarkably timeless the desired landscape appears in the discourse.

Despite many heritage-related approaches, the landscape was never linked to any particular era. The landscape emerges as a timeless entity, a sentiment I believe attributable to the fact that politicians were keen to link the landscape to both moral and ideal values. In contrast to all the other rather dry comments on agricultural policy, sometimes saturated with statistics, the language used when describing the landscape was more florid. Across party lines, the landscape was credited with the capacity to inspire peace of mind, happiness and veneration for creation. The politicians made pastures the abode of biological diversity. In the landscape of muzzle and hoof, man and nature entered into an almost religiously charged symbiosis. I see a connection here to the way in which talk of pastures, from the very outset, conquered and retained such a central position in landscape debate.

Depictions of the heritage of the pastures display many similarities with pastoral descriptions. The vision of the ideal pastoral life, a timeless existence with shepherds and grazing herds, is a productive ancient Oriental abstraction or motif. Originating in the Middle East it has come play an important role in Western philosophy, in arts and paintings and in Christianity in particular. As a beloved environmental motif it has managed, at the end of the period described in this article, to bridge the ideological differences of the parties.

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The issue of the rural landscape was raised at a time when society was entering into a post-industrial era. A reorientation of agricultural policy to integrate other values than the purely productionistic and social-political meant that the landscape was transformed into a metaphor for this transition from the modern to the post-modern. In the Swedish parliament this reorientation, or discursive modification, took decades, but it was largely made possible by reconstructing and reinventing old thoughts on creation and Man's responsibility for its harmony.

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Notes

1 In an editorial in *Land Lantbruk*, the magazine of the Federation of Swedish Farmers, the government proposal was described as "the rain of gold on the pastures". The editorial showed how farmers, maximizing grants, could receive compensation for natural pastures in excess of SEK 4,000 per hectare. Somewhat resigned, the editorial also remarked that Swedish agricultural policy had failed to come up with a production goal for agriculture. Instead, future farming would be governed mainly by environmental goals. *Land Lantbruk* 11 2004.

2 This article is an edited part of a forthcoming book, based on a study of representations and conceptualizations of farming in post-war agricultural policy. See Flygare 2005, 2004.

3 References to the empirical material can be found in Flygare 2005.

4 The translation of the Swedish word *landskap* into English offers some difficulties. *Landskap* in Swedish can be understood both as a territorial, legal administrative unit, and as a social and cultural relation between man and land. *Landskap* as a concept has also been influenced by the younger English word *landscape*, which to a greater degree emphasizes sceneries and visual features. *SAOB* L 229. See also Olwig 1993. Most landscape studies are interdisciplinary studies. See for example Ingold 2000; Thomas 1983; Worster 1994; Merchant 1990; Massey 1994. See also some Swedish studies: Saltzman & Svensson 1997; Saltzman 2001; Stenseke 1997; Flygare 1999.

5 De Haan shows, from several studies of agricultural modernization in the Netherlands, that the

contradictions in commercial family farming that emerged in the 1950s were reflected in political discourse and scientific publications (De Haan 1993; Goverde *et al.* 2004).

6 The farming family was represented by the new concept of family farm as a nuclear family, with no other members, relatives or obligations.

7 Already by the early 1960s, the Minister of Agriculture, Eric Holmqvist, pointed out the unsatisfactory result that, despite all the rationalization measures undertaken, sixty per cent of all farms were still units of between two and ten hectares. In his opinion, there was no longer a need for any social approach.

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Between Management and Conservation

Nature's Challenges to Modern Agriculture

By Kristine Holm-Jensen

"There is room for both agriculture and nature in Denmark!" This declaration came from the Danish minister of the environment, Connie Hedegaard, at a discussion meeting in January 2006.[1] The statement implicitly suggests that there is an opposition between agriculture and nature in Denmark. It indicates that there is something controversial about claiming that agriculture and nature can exist together.

This may seem somewhat paradoxical if we bear in mind that agricultural production is heavily dependent on nature, being to such a large extent tied to the soil. The ability of crops to flourish partly depends on the way the farmer tills his land, but ultimately it is all about nature's whims. Sun, rain, and wind play a crucial part. This seemingly paradoxical situation, that agriculture is heavily dependent on nature yet is viewed as being in opposition to nature, is what the following article seeks to illuminate.

Agriculture and Nature

Since the end of the 1960s the discussion of nature and pollution has been on the political agenda in Denmark and much of the Western world. At first it was chiefly a grass-roots discussion, but it gradually developed to embrace the official political level, both nationally and internationally. An expression of this is, for example, the Brundtland Commission set up by the United Nations in the mid-1980s, which later published the Brundtland Report. In Denmark there were political moves as early as the 1970s, for instance in the form of the Ministry for Pollution Control, later the Ministry of the Environment.

Despite this prolific activity, it was not until the second half of 1980s that the discussion of pollution problems also began to include agriculture to any great extent. This happened despite the fact that, in much of the Western world, there were obvious problems with the relation of agriculture to nature – especially when it came to the use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. The discussions in Denmark culminated around 1986–87, when the debate was heated and at times rancorous. Since then the debates about the relationship of agriculture to nature have ebbed and flowed (Bager 1995).

In the process there have been changes in the ways of regarding the relationship, but when the Danish minister of the environment spoke as she did in 2006, it should be viewed in the light of this discussion and the special understanding it has helped to create in the debate about agriculture and nature. The aim of this article is to get back to the context in which this discussion was shaped.

To do this the article focuses on one of the central events in Denmark that has been instrumental in establishing the paradoxical situation of agriculture. I do so by looking closely at what happened in connection with a case of oxygen depletion in the Danish waters of Kattegat in October 1986 and analyse extracts from the discussions that took place afterwards. This event helps to reveal how agriculture, so to speak, stands with one foot in each camp, since farmers, in their own self-understanding, base their practice on working with the land but are understood by other people as a major enemy of nature.

To be able to analyse the relationship of agriculture to nature it is essential to consider how the concept of the environment was established and transformed in the time from the 1960s to the 1980s, since the concept is crucial for understanding the discussions about this relationship. At the same time, this concept of the environment led to a number of ambiguities between nature and environment which, as we shall see below, make it trickier to discuss the relationship of agriculture to nature.

"Is agriculture part of nature?" According to this illustration from the debate book *Kampen om det åbne land* ("The Struggle for Open Land") published in 1986, agriculture is obviously not a part of nature (Bennedsen *et al.* 1986:7).

The article therefore deals with the question whether the situation in which agriculture in Denmark regards itself as dependent on nature but is simultaneously criticized for the way it treats nature, can be connected to the ambiguity between the concept of nature and the concepts of the environment that exist. The primary point of the article is that this ambiguity is perhaps ultimately as much about culture and about the negotiations we engage in when defining concepts such as environment and nature. It is at least as much a question of defining which consequences of human actions in nature we can accept and which are unacceptable.

Culture-Nature

From the point of view of culture studies, dealing with nature always involves a number of reservations. A widespread way of understanding nature is to view it as the opposite of culture. In this understanding, nature is what is "out there". It consists of a series of independent processes without any cultural interference. From this point of departure, the role of the cultural analyst tends to be to investigate the relationship of humans to nature.

This is seen, for example, in tendencies in ecological anthropology, which flourished in the wake of the discussions of nature and environment in the 1980s (e.g. Ingold 2000; Milton 2002). For this research it is to a great extent a matter of describing the relations that are forged between people and nature. In the book *Loving Nature: Towards an Ecology of Emotions* (2002) Kay Milton examines people's relations to nature. She does so from an anthropological angle, especially analysing the thoughts, emotions, and actions whereby the individual identifies with nature. The author stresses that there are different ways of relating to nature. The anthropological contribution can thus expose the cultural diversity in the field. As the following quotation shows, however, the book's understanding of cultural diversity lacks nuance: "Different ways of relating to nature – protective and hostile, careless and caring – are found in the cultures of western liberal democracies" (Milton 2002:147). Of these two main ways of relating to nature, the book primarily focuses on people who work to protect and preserve nature.

For the problem considered by this article,

this aspect entails a weakness since it makes it difficult to examine the way in which agriculture relates to nature. Agriculture enters into a production relationship with nature. This position is tricky to maintain if the analysis is done using Milton's lenses. This article tries to bring both sides – both agriculture and nature protection – into one and the same analysis. In addition, the analysis starts with the assumption that people's relations to nature have consequences for nature and for people. It is thus not just a matter of reducing the analysis to a mainly protective relationship to nature.

In this article it is a matter of thinking the human actor into the view of nature. This more nuanced outlook on the relationship between nature and culture can be found in Katarina Saltzman's dissertation *Inget landskap är en ö: Dialektik och praktik i öländska landskap* (2001). The object of study here is more specific landscapes, but when I nevertheless cite it in this article, it is because of the book's view of the relationship between nature and culture:

> No landscape is an island located either *in nature or in culture*: The landscape knows no boundaries between nature and culture. The landscape is shaped in a constant dialogue in which culture affects nature and nature affects culture (ibid.: 246).

This dialectical understanding of the relationship between nature and culture also serves as a background to this article. When considered in this way, the outlook on nature is not just a matter of nature. It concerns culture and cultural history at least as much, since the view of nature arises, and is maintained and transformed in a cultural and historical context. In this sense it says as much about culture as about nature.

When the Danish environment minister declared in 2006 that agriculture and nature can perfectly well exist together, she was applying a cultural-historical understanding of agriculture and nature and the relationship between them. The Danish oxygen depletion event in October 1986 is part of the establishment of the way of understanding the relationship between agriculture and nature that the environment minister expressed.

Gilleleje Harbour, October 1986

On Monday 5 October 1986, fishermen from the harbour in Gilleleje alerted the Danish Fishermen's Association and the Environmental Protection Agency.[2] Catches had been unusually good in the previous weeks, but suddenly their luck had changed. The fish had moved away, and the lobsters that the fishermen caught were discoloured and black. Some were even rotten. It was a clear sign of oxygen depletion, said the Environmental Protection Agency, which immediately sent the environmental ship *Gunnar Thorson* out into the Kattegat to assess the extent of the oxygen depletion.

The fishermen looked on anxiously from the land. Their livelihood was threatened if the sea could no longer provide the fish they lived by catching. The only thing that could save the situation right now would be a proper hurricane that would churn up the sea so that oxygen reached the sea bed. The fishermen on the pier were in agreement that the excess nitrogen from overuse of agricultural fertilizer leaches into the sea and creates a shortage of oxygen.

After a short time the population of Denmark were drawn into the events. Like the fishermen, they followed the oxygen depletion situation through newspapers, radio, and television. Day after day the *Gunnar Thorson* was seen on their screens, sending

home the latest reports. The journalists sought an explanation but could not get the Danish government to make a statement. The government was reluctant to say anything before the Environmental Protection Agency issued its report. The Danish Society for Nature Conservation, however, demanded immediate action. The director of the Society, David Rehling, was interviewed on Thursday 16 October by DR, at that time the only nationwide television channel. "It is a cry for help from Denmark's nature," Rehling said, explaining that the problem was due to industry, agriculture, and municipal sewage.

On 19 October DR had a longer feature on the oxygen depletion. In the studio David Rehling and the Danish fisheries minister discussed the topic. Rehling put forward the Society's *Six-point Action Plan: Save the Seas around Denmark – Now.* As Rehling had said three days before, the plan pointed out agriculture, industry, and municipal sewage discharge pipes as the culprits. The minister of fisheries said that the government was prepared to follow the Danish Society for Nature Conservation quite a long way, but only after seeing the results of the latest investigations. For, as he said: "We have to know in concrete terms what helps."

Save the Seas around Denmark – Now had provoked a storm. The minister of the environment was barraged with questions. In the newspapers the main interest was focused on sewage discharge pipes. Not so much was heard about or from industry. The same applied to agriculture – at least to begin with.

Agriculture first appeared on the scene on 28 October. The Danish Farmers' Union and the Danish Family Farmers' Association published their *Suggestions for a Plan of Action to Reduce Pollution in the Seas around Denmark*. The president of the Danish Agricultural Council, the umbrella organization for the agricultural sector in Denmark, had a meeting with the environment minister. After this meeting the president declared that farmers were perfectly aware of the problems but that the sector had already been encumbered with large environmental investments. On behalf of agriculture he asked for the necessary peace to work, so that the sector could reduce emissions of nitrogen by itself.

But there was no peace to work in the time that followed. The discussion of the relationship between agriculture and oxygen depletion gradually developed into a question of the relationship between agriculture and nature as such.

Events

My basing the analysis on a single event like the oxygen depletion in October 1986 is a Foucault-inspired genealogical approach, in which concrete events are considered as part of the creation and transformation of reality. The aim of a genealogical analysis is to shed light on what seems self-evident. This can be done through an analysis of events in the past, because it is concrete historical events that create the concepts with which we understand the world (Foucault 2001:62).

What is meant by event is made explicit in the interview "Questions of Method", where Foucault introduces *eventalization* (Foucault 2002a). With *eventalization* the aim is, firstly, to make the event visible as something other than an expression of an underlying historical constant. It is the concrete event that is crucial for how history is shaped. Secondly, it is an attempt at a multiplication or pluralization of causes (ibid.: 226). An event should thus be analysed in relation to the multiplicity of processes involved in it. It cannot be reduced to a single cause. The article thus puts the

emphasis on analysing the event in October 1986 on the basis of the concrete happenings of which it was part and the way in which it helps to shape the understanding of the relationship of agriculture to nature that prevails in our time.

October 1986 has not been chosen because it is the only event that created the paradoxical situation for agriculture. It is one among many. In 1985 the EC Commission issued a strategy plan for the common agricultural policy, pointing especially at the need for measures to improve the environment. On 1 January 1986 the NPO Action Plan came into force in Denmark, with the aim of reducing emissions of nutrients by Danish agriculture. Danish agricultural legislation was also changed in spring 1986 to give it the additional goal of protecting the environment. In October 1986 the Land Commission published its Report 1078 on agriculture and the environment. In April 1987 the Water Environment Plan I was adopted, requiring Danish agriculture to make large investments in measures to improve the environment.

This unusually large number of actions to describe or regulate agricultural practice in relation to nature came from political and administrative quarters and thus cannot be taken as expressions of the broader public discussions. The discussions about the above events were also primarily held within relatively closed circles of professionals, especially the Environmental Protection Agency and the Danish Farmers' Union. What my study has shown, however, is that the oxygen depletion in October 1986 was one of the first major discussions in which large sections of the population of Denmark, both laymen and experts, were heard in public media discussing the relationship between agriculture and nature. It does not mean that it was this event alone that made the impact, but it was one of the crucial ones.

To get closer to an understanding of the relationship between agriculture and environment we must look at the discussions about nature as they were in the time up to October 1986. Many of the discussions that were to dominate in October 1986 were shaped in the events that preceded this.

Nature and Pollution

A rising number of pollution problems, along with inspiration from abroad, were among the phenomena that helped to trigger the discussions about nature and pollution. The explosive development of industrial production in the post-war era transformed production conditions. This led to a radical increase in pollution in the form of waste water (Engberg 1999:327). In addition there was extensive sewer construction up until the middle of the century, when more or less the whole of Denmark was furnished with sewers. Another factor contributing to pollution was agricultural production, which increased explosively especially from the 1950s, resulting in increasing levels of nitrogen and other harmful substances (ibid.: 259).

Up to the end of the 1960s, the outlook on pollution was anything but holistic. Pollution was envisaged as a number of isolated and local problems, not as a general problematic. This is evident, for example, in the view of nature. The prevailing perception was that nature was a resource to be enjoyed in special areas and an instrument for the population's recreational purposes. With the Nature Conservation Act of 1917 it became possible to protect special areas. The aim of the protection was to preserve particularly sensitive areas and to secure recreational areas. The administration of the act was the duty of the Ministry of Culture (ibid.: 356).

Pollution in places outside these protected areas was for a long time considered acceptable. For farmers the rule was that their right of ownership was regarded as inviolable. It was nobody else's business how they grew their crops and handled their waste, for example, in the form of animal manure (ibid.: 273).

Pollution problems in watercourses, bays, and the sea were particularly a concern for the fisheries and the ability of fishermen to earn a living (ibid.: 259). In administrative terms, however, pollution problems in the marine environment were divided between the Ministry of Fisheries, which took care of bays and the sea, and the Ministry of Agriculture, which was responsible for rivers and lakes (ibid.: 406).

Other measures against pollution were intended to protect people's health and their immediate surroundings against harmful physical and chemical effects. This is seen in the discussions about the establishment of the Copenhagen sewer system at the end of the nineteenth century. Here one of the most important arguments was concern about the health of the population. This proceeded from the idea that one way to avoid threats to public health was to lead sewage away from the city streets and into the sea (Lindegaard 2001:125–152). The practice of discharging untreated sewage into the sea was not considered a serious problem, and this should be seen in the light of the view of nature described above. The sea was imagined to be self-cleaning, an idea based on the logic that ocean currents and salt water would get rid of harmful bacteria (ibid.: 203–212).

A Biological Environment

Towards the end of the 1960s the discussions of a large number of pollution problems were gradually brought together and considered as a common problematic and an environmental issue. A crucial factor which allowed the *environment* to put a name on the problems of pollution, however, was the change in the meaning of that concept that took place during the 1970s.

The environment was transformed from the end of the 1960s; from having concerned the relationship between people and their immediate surroundings it was transferred to larger biological systems. Rather than connecting pollution problems to the fear of decreasing income from fishing or concern about people's health, it was increasingly understood and problematized from a biological viewpoint as a question of taking nature into consideration for its own sake. It is this link with biology that was crucial for the transformation of the concept of environment.

The strengthened relationship between biology and environment is evident, for instance, in the way in which the Danish word for "environment" changed in meaning in the 1960s–70s. This is indicated by the following entry in the dictionary, *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* (ODS) from 1933:

> especially about the social, cultural circumstances in which a person lives (ODS, Vol. 14, 1933, s.v. *millieu*).

Or the following from another dictionary, *Gyldendals store Opslagsbog*:

> the surrounding world, with reference to people especially the entirety of influences from the social surroundings, family, occupational groups and population strata (*Gyldendals store Opslagsbog*, Vol. 4, 1968, s.v. *miljø*).

The earlier definition of the Danish word includes the totality of social and cultural circumstances that affect people's lives. Biology, on the other hand, is not a part of the definition of the term.

From the end of the 1960s up to the present day, the concept of environment has been increasingly defined biologically. We see this if we look it up in the Danish national encyclopaedia from 1999:

> The external conditions that affect humans and other organisms. [...] The word is now often used in a very broad sense, comprising, besides the quality of water, air, and other physical surroundings, e.g. a beautiful forest environment, also social, cultural, political, and economic conditions, e.g. the kitchen environment and the mental work environment (*Den Store Danske Encyklopædi*, Vol. 13, 1999, s.v. *miljø*).

In this definition humans no longer have a dominant position, since the environment covers other organisms as well. The transformation of the environment is therefore largely due to the relationship between environment and biology having become so strong that no one is now in any doubt that the environment is also about biological processes. With this inscription of biology into the concept of environment, it becomes possible to view pollution problems through a common biological lens.

This transformation of the concept is not just a Danish phenomenon. The inspiration came particularly from the rest of Scandinavia and from the USA. In 1962 the American scientist Rachel Carson published the book *Silent Spring*, which was about pollution problems as a consequence of the use of pesticides to kill weeds and insects. The book caused a sensation in the USA and the rest of the Western world, appearing in Danish in 1973 under the title *Det Tavse Forår*.

At Copenhagen University a group of science students read *Silent Spring* and similar literature from the USA and Sweden about excess consumption, misuse of resources, and the spread of toxic substances. From 1968 onwards they held *Scientific Wednesday Evenings*, and in 1969 they issued the journal *NOAH* for the first time. The aim was to disseminate a critique of industrial pollution (Brandt 2004:239–240).

The group called itself NOAH. At the start of the 1970s the environment was not solidly established as a scientific discipline with institutes for education and research. The NOAH activists therefore acted almost like experts, because NOAH was the actor that at that time had accumulated the most knowledge about the environment and pollution (Ejlertsen 2001:37–48).

Gradually, however, the environmental field was institutionalized and education was established (Lindegaard 2001:213–214). A Ministry for the Prevention of Pollution was set up in 1971. This is regarded by many as a predecessor of the Ministry of the Environment that was created in 1973. The Ministry of the Environment took over the responsibilities of the Ministry for the Prevention of Pollution and was also given responsibility for many more spheres related to environmental matters (Engberg 1999:399).

From Visible to Invisible Pollution

The transformation of the concept of the environment is evident, for example, from the way the discussions in the 1970s changed focus. From having dealt with directly visible pollution and its short-term consequences, the gaze was directed towards more long-term and less visible effects of pollution. This implies a changed idea of how the problems should be solved (Engberg 1999:320–321).

If we look once again at sewage, we see that the problems were formerly considered chiefly from the point of view of hygiene and health. The solution to problems with brown spots in the sea or foul-smelling beaches was to make the sewer pipes longer or to make the

filters on the sewer outlets more fine-meshed, to avoid having hazardous bacteria along beaches (Lindegaard 2001:117).

When biology acquired the prominent role in the discussions of pollution, the focus was shifted to cyclicity. Biology deals to some extent with the study of organisms as functional wholes. A number of processes take place in the organism, which are mutually connected in a balance that maintains the metabolism and the entire organism. If the balance is seriously upset, the organism can die (*Den Store Danske Encyklopædi*, Vol. 3, 1995, s.v. *biologi*).

The transformed concept of the environment meant that the critical gaze was directed towards the content of organic matter in sewage rather than the bacterial content. Before the rise of the biological concept of environment, organic matter was not regarded as a major problem. This is connected to the view of the sea, which was considered to be actively assisting with its powerful currents and natural force to convert the organic matter by itself. There was thus a widespread assumption that the organic matter was merely a part of the food that animals fed on and could even help to maintain the food chain in the sea (Lindegaard 2001:208).

In the encounter with the biologically defined environment, the sea was transformed into a totality or a cycle that should ideally reproduce itself. From having been an active fellow player, the sea became a recipient, and hence a passive victim of human pollution. From this point of view, it is not the bacteria that are the great problem but the organic substances that threaten to destroy the balance and self-maintenance of the marine environment (ibid.: 212). This change in the view of the sea was what was needed for the issue of oxygen depletion and the marine environment to be portrayed in the way we see when the oxygen depletion scare came in the Kattegat in October 1986.

Back to October 1986

Let us return to the event in autumn 1986. As described above, the discussions after the fishermen in Gilleleje had sounded the alarm were primarily about finding out who was to blame for the oxygen depletion. At first the finger was pointed at industry, agriculture, and municipal sewage. Then came an elimination race. The discussions shied away from industry, which must be considered in the light of the fact that industry had been the subject of environmental discussion all through the 1970s and was therefore already linked to pollution problems (Kampmann 1996:16). After a short time the local authorities admitted that there were problems with sewage, and that they were ready to do something about the problems.

Agriculture, unlike industry, had escaped blame in the discussions of pollution and the environment in the 1970s, despite the fact that the use of nutrients in farming, such as animal manure and artificial fertilizer, had been rather permissive, so that a great deal of the nutrients ended up in rivers, bays, and the sea (Bager 1995). In October 1986 an increasing number of people were singling out agriculture as a pollution problem. In this discussion it became obvious that the newly established biological concept of the environment had come into play and would be part of the struggle to define the relationship between agriculture and oxygen depletion. We shall now look at this.

Agriculture – An Environmental Issue

The first statement by the agricultural sector about its role in oxygen depletion and pollution did not come until near the end of October

1986. When it did come, the spokesman was the president of the umbrella organization of the farmer's unions, the Danish Agricultural Council. The problem was not treated as a question about nature, but mostly as an environmental issue. If the relationship to nature was mentioned directly, it was referred to as "the land":

> The question of the environment also concerns us in agriculture. We feel a great responsibility because we manage the land (Landbruget: Vi er ofre for ophidset miljø-hetz, *Jyllands-Posten* 28.10.1986).

Agriculture describes its relationship to the land as a question of responsible management. By choosing the manager and the land as ways to describe the relationship of agriculture to nature, the latter is viewed as something that cannot govern itself optimally. The land needs a manager with special knowledge of the soil that gives him the ability to look after it in the best possible way.

The kind of management in question here is evident from the debate book *Kampen om det åbne land* ("The Struggle for Open Land"), published in 1986 (Bennedsen *et al.* 1986). Here the president of the Danish Agricultural Council declares:

> Most farmers are aware of their responsibility for looking after the environment – their own land will suffer if they do not. And farmers do not use any more fertilizer than it pays to use, that is, as much as the plants can make use of (Bennedsen *et al.* 1986:111).

The management of the land is done with regard to productivity, since it is a matter of utilizing the farmer's own soil. It must be able to pay in relation to the costs for the use of fertilizer. In this way the relationship of agriculture to nature is turned into a rationale of economic productivity.

In connection with the oxygen depletion in October 1986, then, agriculture did not give a direct definition of nature. It is tricky to say how agriculture defined nature. I therefore cite an amendment to the Danish Nature Conservation Act which was passed in 1983. A glimpse of how this amendment was perceived by agriculture can be obtained by looking at the description of it in the annual report of the Farmers' Union for 1982–83.

The principle of the amendment is that permission has to be sought before a farmer can begin, for example, reclaiming, draining, cultivating, and planting his land. Farmers were firmly opposed to having to apply for permits before starting such measures. Instead they preferred what they called "proper conservation":

> The Nature Conservation Act already contains a means to secure areas that are worth preserving, namely, proper conservation of the areas concerned. Concrete conservation is preferable here to general regulations. The main rule must be that farmers are allowed to decide over their own property, unless this is explicitly prohibited through conservation (*De Danske Landboforeninger, Årsberetning* 1982–83:128).

There is a great deal to suggest that nature is viewed here as something that can be demarcated in special areas, whereas what takes place in the farmer's fields is a totally different matter, that cannot be expressed as an issue concerning nature.

From this we can try to establish a concerted picture of how agriculture understands its relationship to nature. First and foremost, agriculture avoids using the term "nature" about its own relationship to nature. What is called nature is restricted to areas that are specially designated as nature. These areas have nothing to do with the practice of agriculture. On the other hand, agriculture accepts the biological concept of environment in the

sense that the sector does not regard itself as master of the land but as manager of the cycles of the land. Inherent in the emphasis on the manager, however, is the view that agriculture is entitled to intervene in the processes, which to a certain extent conflicts with the principle of self-sustaining biological wholes that is also part of the biological concept of environment. Agriculture thus accepts parts of the biological concept of environment.

A Cry for Help from Denmark's Nature

One of the bodies that made itself heard most in the discussions in October 1986 was the Danish Society for Nature Conservation. Whereas agriculture represents a production-related view of the relationship of the industry to the oxygen depletion, in the same situation the Society for Nature Conservation stands for a view of nature as something for recreation and something that must be protected and conserved. In the following we shall focus on the way in which the Society speaks about the relationship between agriculture and nature.

Whereas agriculture tried to manoeuvre the discussion away from the issue of nature, the Society for Nature Conservation took the opposite course by making oxygen depletion into an explicit nature issue. This was seen already in the DR feature on Thursday 16 October, when the director of the Society described the situation as "a cry for help from Denmark's nature" (*TV-avisen*, 16 October 1986).

We gain a better understanding of this linkage of the problem of oxygen depletion and nature in the Danish Society for Nature Conservation's article, "The environment on collision course?", which was published in several newspapers in the period 27 to 30 October.[3] The article makes no sharp distinction between nature and environment. The discussions about nature are first linked to democracy and to the possibility of converting into action the anger and powerlessness in the face of problems in world, which include nature and the environment:

> The same applies to our attitude to the destruction of nature and the environment of which modern society is guilty. It has already gone a long way. It is difficult to see any real bright spots, signs that development is turning to the benefit of living life, animal and plant life in all its diversity (*Miljøet på kollisionskurs?*).

The quotation gives us insight into the Society's view of the relationship between culture and nature. The threat to nature is understood to be modern society. By setting up modern society as the threat to nature, an opposition is created between nature and culture. In this understanding culture easily becomes a foreign body, which can be difficult to envisage together with nature. This is underlined by the way in which nature is defined as: "living life, animal and plant life in all its diversity". This definition does not leave much room for cultural influence.

From this perspective nature is thus "out there", a place far away from modern society. The consequence of this view is that nature and culture can be regarded as being independent of each other. The perception of nature that is expressed in the article, as in the way agriculture perceived nature in connection with conservation, is that it is something that can be demarcated and found in special areas. This is made clear in the following quotation:

> Together with the other Danish organizations for the preservation of nature, the Danish Society for Nature Conservation has sent a number of suggestions to parliament as to how what was once good nature and was transformed into bad agricultural land can now be made into good nature again (*Miljøet på kollisionskurs?*).

According to this quotation, good nature can only exist where agricultural production is kept out. Nature must be allowed to look after itself in closed areas, without interference from agriculture or other influences. The biological concept of environment is also evident from the quotation, as nature must be protected for its own sake and out of consideration for recreational or similar purposes. Nature should preferably be allowed to look after itself for its own sake.

Management or Encroachment

Both agriculture and the Danish Society for Nature Conservation took their point of departure in the same perception of nature. The problem arises, however, when the Danish Society for Nature Conservation also lets this perception of nature apply to land used for agricultural production. By doing this it becomes difficult to imagine human intervention as being a part of nature.

By extending the viewpoint of nature conservation to include agricultural land, nature was linked to the environment, making it tricky to draw a dividing line between the two concepts. However, since the concept of the environment, dealt with large cyclic systems, such as the sea, this undifferentiated use of environment and nature entails a risk of freezing the concept of environment. This happens if the principle that nature should preferably be allowed to look after itself is extended to all the spheres connected with environmental problems. Most environmental problems include pollution problems. They are in large measure connected with the relationship of culture to nature. When nature and environment are coupled, culture is then excluded from the concept of environment. This is what we see happening in the discussion of the relationship of agriculture to the oxygen depletion in October 1986. Whereas agriculture tried to distinguish the two positions, the Danish Society for Nature Conservation let them blend together.

The problem is that agriculture, in so far as it accepts the linkage of the biological concept of environment and nature, can have problems in legitimating its own role as manager. One possibility is to exclude nature from the discussions, as agriculture does, and primarily describe it as a question of environment and land. This means, however, that agriculture completely fails to relate to nature as anything other than demarcated areas. Another possibility, such as the one represented by the Danish Society for Nature Conservation, is to make everything a nature issue. In the following we shall see whether this either-or question is the only way to consider the problem.

Structure or Function

In the article "Nature as Process or Function" (Vejre 2004) the agronomist Henrik Vejre describes the post-war debate on nature and environmental policy. He is fundamentally in agreement that this debate can be understood within the framework of a scientific, predominantly biological perspective. In this context the "ecosystem", according to him, has become the major concept through which nature has been understood (ibid.: 60). In the approach to ecosystems one can speak of a structural and a functional view of nature.

In the structural perspective the focus is on the constituents of ecosystems. Ecosystems are thus described in a structural analysis as a static picture of the individual measurable components, for example, plant and animal species. The quality of an ecosystem is consequently assessed on the basis of the presence or absence of plant and animal species. The threat to the structural constituents of ecosystems

usually comes from human activity. Since few ecosystems are unaffected by humans, however, the consequence of this view is that it is difficult to find ecosystems that are in a completely natural state. A structural analysis will thus often end up as a question of nature or not-nature (ibid.: 61–62).

As an alternative to this, the article introduces the functional view of nature. This does not consider the constituents of an ecosystem, but focuses instead on the processes in a given ecosystem. Rather than being about the number and diversity of the constituents, it becomes a question of the exchange of matter, energy, and genetic information. The issue of the quality of an ecosystem is thereby transformed into a question of the degree of naturalness of the processes happening in the system. The consequence of this outlook is that a functional analysis can work with both culturally conditioned and naturally conditioned processes, without the presence of human-influenced processes being synonymous with the absence of nature (ibid.: 62–63).

Structure – Function – Agriculture

If we transfer this distinction between the structural and the processual view of nature to the question of the relationship of agriculture to nature, it becomes possible to adopt a different perspective on the relationship of agriculture to nature than the one resulting from a strictly biological concept of environment. The advantage of doing this is that it gives the possibility of including agriculture in the concept of nature.

The view of nature advocated by the Danish Society for Nature Conservation shows some features of the structural outlook. When the Society talks above about turning bad agricultural land into good nature, this understanding contains an assumption that it is possible to return a given area to a kind of natural state. In addition, as we have seen, nature is made into a question of "animal and plant life in all its diversity". The focus is thus on the individual components of the ecosystem.

The problematic thing, however, is that a consequence of this view of nature can be that it is regarded as static units, and it can be difficult to imagine the intervention of agriculture in natural processes as part of nature. From this approach, agricultural practice can end up being defined as non-nature. We thus lose the potential to discuss the way in which agriculture acts in relation to nature.

Agriculture's view of nature lies closer to a functional one. The role of manager leads to a recognition that agriculture is dependent on nature's processes, which can only be managed but not totally controlled by people. From this point of departure it is thus possible to discuss to what extent agricultural practice intervenes in processes in nature

The structural concept of nature has for a long time prevailed in debates about environment and nature. As a result, it has been hard to carry on a constructive discussion of agricultural practice, because it ends up in a fuzzy relationship between nature and environment. But discussion about the relationship of agriculture to nature was necessary. As the situation was in the mid-1980s, agriculture had a significant excess use of nutrients.[4]

In October 1986, there were thus serious problems in the relationship of agriculture to nature. It can be tricky to discuss them, however, as long as the environmental issue is primarily discussed in terms of a structural concept of nature. This has only been reinforced by the fact that the biological concept of environment, by focusing on closed cycles, has strengthened the tendency to view nature as closed, self-governing units and

has thus encouraged a discussion that avoids the relationship of agricultural production to nature. In a broader perspective, it has closed the door to a constructive discussion of the relationship between culture and nature. Our modern way of life has a heavy impact on nature, but it is tricky to discuss this aspect if the concepts of environment and nature are constantly merged.

Nature-Environment/Environment-Nature

With the adoption of the Danish Nature Conservation Act in 1917 the possibility was opened for establishing special zones where nature could be protected. Nature was to be found in designated frameworks. During the 1960s–80s a biological concept of environment was developed to describe and tackle pollution problems inside and outside the nature that had formerly been demarcated with the aid of the legislation on nature conservation. In this process all cycles became interesting, regardless of whether they were inside or outside these delimited zones of nature.

The problem arises when the perspective of nature conservation is expanded to concern production conditions as well, such as agricultural practices. This does not matter very much as long as one adopts a functional view of processes in the soil, which can thereby be assessed in terms of how close to natural processes the agricultural practice is.

The combination of the biological concept of environment and the perspective of nature conservation, however, has entailed the problem that nature has been naturalized, which has given it a politically neutral colour. This could happen because nature was transformed into a biologically self-sustaining entity which was ideally to be kept free of human interference.

This has made it difficult to have an open debate, since it has become an either-or question about nature. Either you are for nature and want to leave it in peace, or else you intervene, as farmers do, in nature's processes and are thus against nature. In this account it is difficult to talk about degrees of intervention.

This always opaque relationship means that there is constant uncertainty about whether it is environment or nature that is being discussed. The relationship of agriculture to nature is consequently also difficult to describe, since environment and nature are used without distinction. It is here we can find a great deal of the explanation for the paradoxical relationship of agriculture to nature. As long as there is no certainty about this, it will always be necessary to declare, as the Danish environment minister did, that there is room for both nature and agriculture, despite the fact that farming and its interference with nature has been going on for several thousand years.

The transformation of the concept of environment was thus a gift to nature in the sense that it has opened up the possibility of purposeful action against a number of the pollution problems that are a consequence of the way our culture relates to nature. At the same time, the environment, with its flirt with nature, has created a constant danger of plunging into an abyss. It is an abyss in which nature and environment make up a dangerous blend that is far from beneficial to the constructive dialogue about the relationship between our modern way of life and the nature on which we are dependent, but which is also dependent on us.

The question for future discussions of agriculture, environment, and nature is thus whether a distinction is made between environment and nature, so that there might be room for both management by agriculture and the conservation of nature.

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Notes

1 "Landbruget har stadig en fremtid." *Jydske Vestkysten*, 17 January 2006.

2 The aim of this section is to introduce the reader to the event. For the sake of reader-friendliness I therefore do not give references in the text, which combines material from several different sources. The most important are *TV-avisen*, 9, 16, and 19 October 1986 and the daily papers *Aktuelt*, *BT*, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, *Jyllands-Posten*, and *Politiken* 8–30 October 1986.

3 The article was written by David Rehling. It was published in *Fyens Stiftstidende*, 27 October 1986 and in *Aalborg Stiftstidende*, 30 October 1986. The original title was "The environment on collision course?" but it was published under different titles in different newspapers (Appendix to the report on the meeting of the Executive Committee, Danish Society for Nature Conservation, 29.10.1986). In *Fyens Stiftstidende* the title was "Environment and democracy on collision course?" and in *Aalborg Stiftstidende* "Environment on collision course".

4 Studies by the National Environmental Research Institute and by the farmers' own organizations show that emissions of nitrogen from agriculture have been halved since the 1980s. For the report from the National Environmental Research Institute (DMU), see e.g. http://www2.dmu.dk/1_Viden/2_Miljoe-tilstand/3_water/4_loop/kvaelstofforbrug.asp and from the Farmers' Union: http://www.landbo.dk/get/19986.html.

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Rurbanität in den Stockholmer Schären

Die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Landschaft und kultureller Identität

Beate Feldmann

Die Stockholmer Schären sind von Touristen und Freizeitgästen wohlbesucht, vorwiegend im Sommer und Frühling, aber zunehmend auch im Herbst und Winter. Die Schärenlandschaft verzaubert viele Menschen, die hier ihre Zuflucht zu Ruhe und Erholung von dem gestreßten und gehetzten Großstadtleben finden. Seit den 1930er Jahren ist der Begriff „*Sommerstockholm*"[1] gebräuchlich, wenn man über die Stockholmer Schären spricht.

Denn der Skärgården, so heißt es, gehört zu Stockholm wie der Duft der Maiglöckchen und der Geruch von Bootsfirnis zum schwedischen heiligen kurzen Sommer. „Die Sommerfrische ist eine Lebensform, sie ist die wahre Heimat der Stadtkinder", sagt es treffend wie kein anderer der Schriftsteller Per Wästberg. Die Schären – das ist mehr als eine Kulturlandschaft, die unter anderem zahlreiche schwedische Künstler wie den alten August Strindberg zu Romanen wie „Hemsöborna" (Die Leute auf Hemsö) inspiriert hat (Dudde 2004).

Daß aber in dieser Landschaft, auf einem prozentual kleinen Anteil von den 24.000 Inseln und Schären, fast 14.000 Menschen auch ganzjährig wohnen und wirken, wird in der Werbung und Touristeninformation nicht oft fokusiert. Die Erfahrungen von den verschiedenen Nutzern der Schären konstruieren eine Menge von Interpretationen und Erlebnissen von der Schärenlandschaft, abhängig nicht nur vom privaten Hintergrund, sondern auch von Jahreszeiten. Die Hauptstadt Stockholm und ihre Schären gehören in mehreren Hinsichten zusammen und so ist es schon lange gewesen.

Dieser ethnologische Artikel untersucht und fokussiert die Dialektik zwischen Stadt und Land und zwischen Platz, Geschlecht und Geschichte in den Stockholmer Schären. Diese Begriffe sind in einem historischen und kulturellen Kontext zu verstehen, d.h. kulturelle Identität und soziale Relationen finden statt und werden in zeitliche und räumliche Prozeße (um)geformt. In dem Text verwende ich u.a. Material, das ich für meine Magisterarbeit in Ethnologie eingesammelt habe (Feldmann 2004a). Hauptsächlich besteht dieses Material aus Interviews mit Einwohnerinnen der Schäreninsel Svartsö in Värmdö, Stockholm.

Das Verhältnis von Stadt und Land

Stadt und Land stehen in einer gegenseitigen Beziehung und auch im Wandel zu einander. Land wird in den Stadtraum eingetragen und das Städtische umgekehrt in den ländlichen Raum (z.B. Hanssen 1952, vgl. Feldmann & Svensson 2006 b). Der städtische und ländliche Bereich ist in einer komplexen Gesellschaft in sozialkultureller, politischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht eng miteinander verknüpft, daher ist eine genaue Trennlinie zwischen Stadt und Land nicht zu markieren (Bommer 1991:20). Urbanität und Ruralität sind nicht notwendig an den physischen Platz gebunden, im Gegenteil beides sind sozial und kulturell veränderliche Konstrukte, die verschiedene Werte und Ideale in Zeit und Raum (re)produzieren. Eher als konstante geographische Plätze sind Stadt und Land Räume, die in verschiedenem Umfang rurale und urbane Eigenschaften tragen. Damit sind die Begriffe Urbanität und Ruralität, Stadt und Land nicht nur gegenseitig relationell, sondern auch relativ (vgl. z.B Anglert 2006:169f.).

Der Begriff „urbanisierte Provinz" wird sowohl in Schweden als auch in Europa verwendet[2] und bezieht sich auf die provinzielle Umgebung, die im Einfluss einer Großstadt liegt und unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten mit dieser interagiert. Die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Stadt und Land wird sichtbar in ihren unterschiedlichen Rollen, bei denen die Stadt u.a. als Arbeitsmarkt- und Servicezentrum und die Provinz u.a. als Rekrea-

tionsgebiet für die Stadtbevölkerung dient. Etwa die Hälfte der Gemeinden der Region Stockholm besitzen eine relativ umfassende Provinz, die in unterschiedlicher Weise einen integrierten Teil der Großstadtregion darstellt. Es geht sowohl um Großstadtbewohner, die die Provinz nutzen, als auch um Provinzbewohner, die von der Stadt profitieren.[3] Für die Stockholmer Schären kann man hier von urbanisierten Schären reden, welche zirka 50 Inseln umfasst, deren Entwicklung zum großen Teil von der Tatsache beeinflußt wurde, daß sie in der Nähe der Hauptstadt liegen. Diese Nähe wirkt auf Faktoren und Bedingungen wie Bevölkerungszuwachs und -zusammensetzung, Versorgung und Dienstleistungen ein.

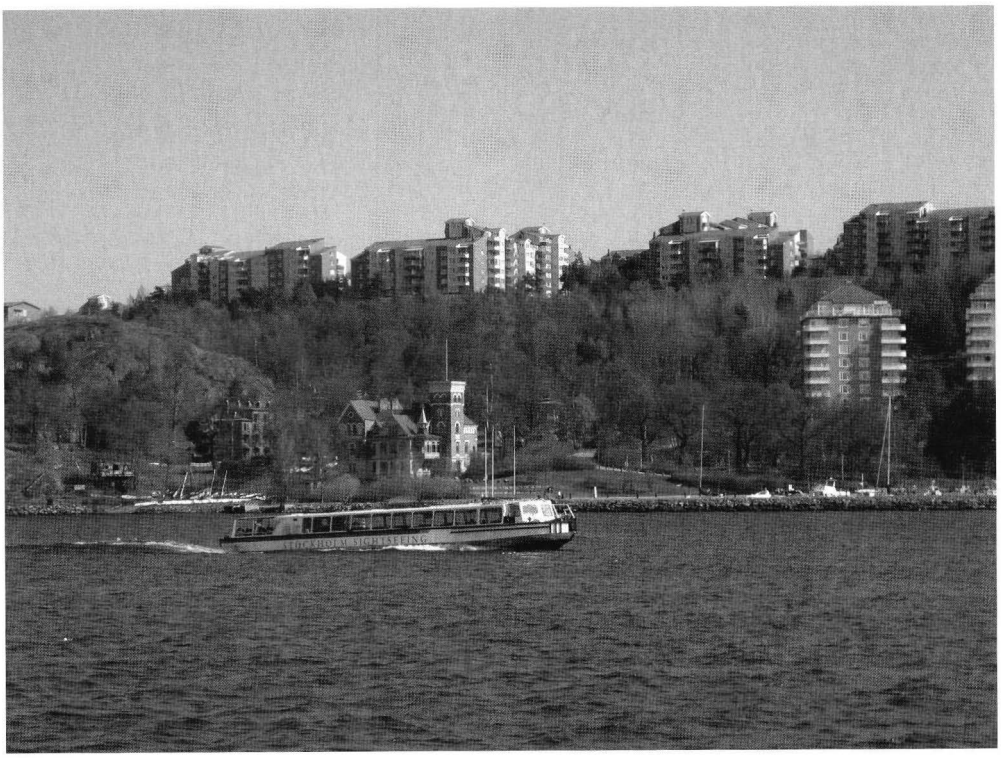
Die Bewegungen der Menschen zwischen Stadt und Land, zwischen Inseln und Festland, sind nicht nur physisch geographisch und körperlich biologisch. Die Beweglichkeit hat im hohen Grad auch soziale und kulturelle, sowie ökonomische und politische Dimensionen. Die urbanen Lebensstile gehören mit ihrer Vielschichtigkeit, Komplexität und Dynamik mehr oder weniger zu allen Orten und zu allen Menschen in die globalen und lokalen Räume des 21. Jahrhunderts (Krasberg & Schmidt 2001:7f, vgl. Larsson 2006:52). Technik und Kommunikation beeinflussen uns in verschiedenen Graden, die Abgrenzung zwischen Urbanität und Ruralität wird immer mehr diffus und schwerer zu erkennen und das Grenzland dazwischen ist damit groß und dynamisch.

Der Begriff „rurban" des französischen Soziologen Henri Lefebvre ([1968] 1982) impliziert die gegenseitige Wechselwirkung zwischen städtischen und ländlichen Lebensweisen und Idealen. Er betont damit kritische Bedingungen zu der Voraussetzung, daß die Gegensätze zwischen Stadt und Land zuletzt ganz überschritten werden will. Es wäre nicht annehmbar, daß die fortläufige Expansion der Stadt und der Urbanisierung auf das Urbane Schluß machen sollte und damit in einer gegenseitigen Neutralisierung resultieren würde. Dafür stellt sich Lefebvre betreffend die industrierte Länder der Welt „polyzentrische" Städte wie differenzierte und erneuerte Zentralitäten in Bewegung vor (Lefebvre [1968]1982:95). Interessant ist nach Lefebvre, die kritischen Punkte zu lokalisieren, d.h. die Brüche und die Diskontinuitäten, wo kulturelle Identitäten und neue Lebensformen geformt werden, zu untersuchen.

Landschaft und Geschlecht

Landschaft als Begriff ist benutzbar um das dynamische Grenzland zwischen Stadt und Land zu untersuchen. Interessant ist auch das Studium von kulturellen Identitäten, Geschlecht und Klasse in Beziehung zu Interpretationen von Raum und Platz. Die Stockholmer Schären sind als Grenzlandschaft eine Arena, in der Dialektik zwischen urbaner und ruraler Lebensform stattfindet, und in der soziale, kulturelle und ökonomische Konsequenzen der gegenseitigen Relation zwischen Stadt und Land beobachtbar sind. Dieser Prozeß findet nicht immer in Konsens und selbstverständlich statt, sondern auch in Ambivalenz und Verhandlungen zwischen verschiedenen zeitlichen und räumlichen Werten und Idealen, in dem „genderisierte"[4] Rurbanitäten (um)geformt werden.

Für Ethnologen ist es eine Selbstverständlichkeit, daß es nicht *ein* räumlich abgegrenzter Landschaftsabschnitt mit *einem* Wert gibt. Die Landschaft existiert bei dem Betrachter und jeder hat seine eigene Interpretation der Landschaft. Eine Landschaft erhält ihre Bedeutung davon, welche kulturelle Kompetenz man als Betrachter mitbringt und welche



Ein Stadtleben auf dem Lande? Stockholm 2006. Foto: Beate Feldmann.

kulturelle Form man an die Landschaft legt. Der Mensch lebt in der Landschaft und die Landschaft im Menschen. Damit muß die Landschaft als ein kultureller Prozeß betrachtet werden in dem jede soziale, politische und kulturelle Organisation der Gesellschaft seine Entsprechung in dem Raum hat. Der Begriff Landschaft wirkt damit als eine Überbrückung für die Grenzen zwischen Stadt und Land (Svensson 2005b:195f).

Die britische Professorin für Geographie, Doreen Massey (1994) zeigt uns, daß die Identitäten der Plätze umstritten, dynamisch und vielfältig sind. Die Besonderheit eines Platzes wird nach ihrer Meinung nicht nur durch Abgrenzungen gegenüber anderen Plätzen konstruiert, sondern gerade durch die spezielle Mischung, die durch die gegenseitigen Verbindungen mit anderen Plätzen außerhalb der eigenen Grenzen entsteht. Plätze werden damit als offene und veränderliche Netzwerke von sozialen Relationen betrachtet, „it is people, not places themselves, which are reactionary or progressive" (Massey, 1994:141). Auch der amerikanische Geographieprofessor David Harvey (1996) betrachtet Plätze als soziale und kulturelle Konstruktionen. Landschaften werden sowohl als materielle Artefakte, wie als Netzwerke von sozialen Prozessen erfahren und geformt. Die Geographie der Plätze ist damit in eine komplexe Interaktion mit z.B. Geschlecht, Klasse und Ethnizität verbunden. Da das Zusammenspiel zwischen Mensch und Natur eine ständige Veränderung ist, kann die Landschaft sich nie genau gleichen (Saltzman & Svensson 1997:9f). Indem man

die ständigen kulturellen Umdeutungen der Landschaft für verschiedene Gruppen studiert, wird es möglich, sowohl Veränderungen in kulturellen Konstruktionen (z.B. von Geschlecht), als auch Konsequenzen dieser Vorgänge auf persönlichem, politischem und ökonomischem Niveau zu untersuchen (Löfgren 1981:259).

Geschlecht wird hier als eine soziale und kulturelle Konstruktion rund um den biologischen Körper verstanden, d.h. die meisten Menschen werden zwar entweder als Frau oder Mann geboren, aber sie erleben ihr Geschlecht unterschiedlich, und erwerben durch Zeit und Raum verschiedene Geschlechteridentitäten (Connell 2002). Sowohl Platz wie Geschichte spielt also eine große Rolle für die Identifikation der Menschen, wie sie handeln und wie ihr Handlungsraum beeinflußt wird. Innerhalb von verschiedenen akademischen Fächern, besonders KulturGeographie, finden wichtige Diskussionen über die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Platz und Geschlecht statt. Raum und Platz wird hier sowohl als Anleger bzw. Ausleger der Geschlechterrelationen verstanden (vgl. z.B. Duncan 1996, Forsberg 2003, McDowell 1999, Rose 1997). Geographische Unterschiede scheinen als besondere Interpretation von Raum und Platz mit Konstruktionen von Geschlechteridentitäten zusammenzuhängen.

Sowohl Geschlechter- als auch Platzidentitäten sind dynamisch und vielfältig, es gibt damit nicht nur *eine* Femininität (Weiblichkeit) oder *eine* Maskulinität (Männlichkeit)[5], d.h. eine Weise sich als Frau oder Mann zu identifizieren. Im Gegenteil werden viele verschiedene Femininitäten und Maskulinitäten durch die Unterschiedlichkeiten der Plätze, in verschiedenen Lebensräumen des Alltags und in dem gendererisierten Verständnis dieser Räume (um)geformt. Diese Konstitution ist ein andauernder Prozeß, bei dem soziale, kulturelle, politische, historische und geographische Kräfte wesentlich sind. Sowohl Geschlechter- als auch Platzidentitäten haben viele Bestandteile, wie Klasse, Ethnizität, Religion und Sexualität, welche sich nicht immer in Konsens vereinen lassen sondern im Gegenteil oft auf verschiedene Weise kombiniert und verhandelt werden müssen (Laurie *et al.* 1999:4f).

Die Schären als eine historische Arena

Die historische Schärenlandschaft ist in der Literatur oft als Ausgangspunkt gebraucht und beschrieben worden, während die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Stadt und Schären und die sozialen, kulturellen, ökonomischen und politischen Konsequenzen bisher nicht viel untersucht und analysiert geworden sind.[6]

Die Stadt wurde auf dem Innersten von den Inseln vor mehr als 700 Jahren gegründet, Inseln die heute Stadsholmen und Helgeandsholmen genannt werden. Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert war Stockholm der Hauptort der Schärenlandschaft, zu dem die Einwohner mit Waren wie Fisch, Butter, Holz und Stroh gerudert und gesegelt sind. Ein Vergleich mit der regulären Seefahrt von späteren Zeiten erweist sich nicht als allzu fern, obwohl die alte wie selbstverständlich genommene Wahrheit „Wasser trennt nicht, es vereint" mit dem Autofahren verschwunden ist (Festin 1990:94, vgl. Anglert 2006:175). Die Schären waren auch ein Gebiet, in dem Handelsschiffe sich durch die Fahrrinnen der Einmündung von Stockholm ihren Weg suchten. Diese Transporte ermöglichten einen für die Stadt ökonomisch lebenswichtigen Warenaustausch mit nahen und fernen Orten (Hedenstierna 1990:81).

So hat sich das Verhältnis zwischen Stockholm und den Schären durch viele

Jahrhunderte gestaltet und obwohl wir im 21. Jahrhundert die Schären überwiegend als Sommeraufenthalt der Stockholmer betrachten, dauerte es doch lange, bis die Schärenlandschaft gerade diese soziale, kulturelle und ökonomische Funktion erhielt. Es kam allerdings vor, daß sich einzelne Aristokraten in den 17. und 18. Jahrhunderten Eigentum entlang der Küste beschafften. Das zeigt, daß der Lebensstil mit Zweitwohnsitz, den wir heutzutage als modern definieren, damals große Bedeutung für die hochbürgerlichen Gruppen in Stockholm hatte (vgl. Anglert 2006:174). Die Ausnutzung der Schären als Sommersiedlung ist in einigen Meinungen damit keine Neuheit. Man wollte der Schwüle und dem Gestank der Großstadt entfliehen und der Zugang zu naheliegenden Herrenhäusern und Eigentümern, z.B. auf Djurgården oder Lidingö, war ein hohes Statussymbol. Die damaligen Verkehrsmittel bestanden aus den „Roddarmadamer“[7], die mit Ruderbooten den Familienvater von seiner Arbeit in der Stadt zu der Familie auf der Sommerresidenz transportierten (Pihl Atmer 1987:23).

Während des ganzen 19. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts war es üblich, daß reiche Bürger sich weiter in den Innenschären so genannte „Großhändlervillen“[8] bauen ließen, wo sie für die Sommerzeit mit ihren Familien hinzogen. In der Volkheimsperiode, zirka 1930–1970, als der Wohlfahrtsstaat Schweden aufgebaut wurde, veränderte sich durch geregelte Arbeitszeiten und Feriengesetze die kulturelle, soziale und ökonomische Situation der Schärenlandschaft noch einmal. Sie war jetzt nicht mehr so exklusiv wie früher, da Campingplätze, Feriendörfer und Motorboote schneller und einfacher Zugang zu der Landschaft gaben, auch für Menschen von einer anderen Gesellschaftsschicht als früher (Hermanns 1980:19). Die Periode zwischen den 1950er und 60er Jahren war für die Stockholmer Schären eine wichtige Übergangszeit, in der die Wahl zwischen einen reinen Sommerland oder einer Heimat für Menschen, die hier ganzjährig wohnen und arbeiten konnten, aktuell wurde. Diese Fragen bekamen jetzt eine politische Dimension und auch die ökologischen Perspektiven der Stockholmer Schären wurden in den 1970er und 80er Jahren ein wichtiger Schwerpunkt in der Diskussion über „lebendige Schären“ mit Touristen, Freizeit- und Ganzjahresbewohner, die immer noch hochaktuell sind (z.B. Nordin 2005:433f).

Die ersten Sommergäste

Die Stockholmer Schären waren bis etwa 1850 im allgemeinen ein unbekannter Begriff für die Hauptstadteinwohner. Mit der zunehmenden Bebauung von Großhändlervillen und mit den neuen Dampfschiffen, die die Innenschären jetzt befuhren, bekamen die Stockholmer Schären eine Attraktionskraft für eine große soziale Gruppe mit ganz anderem Lebensstil als die bisherigen Schärenbewohner. Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer beschreibt in ihrer Dissertation *Sommarnöjet i skärgården* (1987) diesen neuen Bebauungs- und Lebensstil in den Stockholmer Schären 1860–1915, wo die bürgerlichen Sommergäste nicht nur ihre Möbel und ihren ganzen Hausrat von der Stadt zu ihrem Sommeraufenthalt in den Schären mitbrachten, sondern im hohen Grad auch ihr kulturelles Stadtleben mit urbanen Werten und Idealen. Dieser Lebensstil der Sommervergnügung kann mit Strindbergs Worten als „ein Stadtleben auf dem Lande“ (Pihl Atmer 1987:246) beschrieben werden.

Wahrscheinlich kamen keine größere Veränderungen im Alltag der Stockholmer Familien vor, wenn sie zu den Inseln im Sommer herauszogen. Die Organisation des

Lebens in den Schären stellte doch andere Anforderungen an die Frau im Haushalt als an den Mann, der oft nur am Wochenende mit dem Dampfschiff zur Insel herauskam. Die Hausherrin hatte allerdings oft eine Köchin und eine oder mehrere Mägde zur Hilfe. Aber die geographischen Umstände auf einer Insel bedeuteten, daß die Beschaffung von z.B. Lebensmitteln komplizierter war als in der Stadt (Pihl Atmer 1987:240f). Im Leben draußen, außerhalb der Wände der Villen, gab es bessere Möglichkeiten die Natur zu genießen als in der Stadt, obwohl diese Benutzung für die Sommergäste anders war als für die Schärenbewohner. Die Sommergäste erlebten damalige urbane Normen von Hygiene, frischer Luft und betriebenen Gärten in dem Lebensstil der Sommerfrische. Agnes Westerberg erzählt in *Arholma. Skärgårdskultur i förvandling* (Eldvik 1992) von ihrem Alltagsleben auf einer Insel in dem nördlichen Teil von den Stockholmer Schären 1888–1959. Sie beschreibt, wie die Stockholmer andere Gewohnheiten, Möbel und Kleidungen in die Schären mitbrachten als sie gewohnt war:

> Wenn die neue Zeit kam – hierher kam sie mit den Sommergästen um die Jahrhundertwende – wurde das Alte, das Hunderte von Jahren Bestand hatte, so einfach und rückständig. Neidisch und mit offenen Augen wurde nach neuen Impulsen und neuen Sitten gespäht. Und wohl haben sie sich gezeigt. Jetzt war es was ganz anderes. Warum sollte man in aller Frühe zum Fischfang und zur Heuernte und zum Melken aufstehen, die Sommergäste lagen doch bis zum Vormittag im Bett und warum sollte man auf dem Acker und der Wiese und dem Feld in Sonne und Wärme arbeiten, wenn Fremde den Weg entlang spazieren gingen? (Eldvik 1992:13).

Die neuen Dampfschiffe bedeuteten eine soziale Revolution für Stockholm und seine Schären, nicht nur in der Hinsicht, daß die Bürger ihr Stadtleben zu den Inseln mitnahmen, sondern auch für das Leben der Schärenbewohner. Viele der jungen Schärenmädchen, die bei den Stockholmer Familien im Sommer angestellt waren, zogen z.B. im Herbst mit in die Stadt zurück, um im Haushalt als Kindermädchen oder Magd zu arbeiten. Die Funktion der Sommergäste als Arbeitsvermittlung war bedeutend, da sie ihrer Schärenbekanntschaft Arbeit in der Stadt beschafften. Stockholm mit seinem Großstadtleben war im 19. Jahrhundert für viele Schärenbewohner fast so verlockend wie Amerika für die Stockholmer war (Hermanns 1980:18) und der Reiz der Stadt steigerte sich bis in die 1960er immer mehr.

Die früheren Probleme mit langsamen und schweren Transporten von Waren nahmen mit der Dampfschiffepoche ab und der Naturalienhandel wurde durch den Geldhandel ersetzt. Die zunehmende Attraktionskraft für die Stockholmer, ihre Sommerferien in den Schären zu verbringen, gab den Einwohnern neue Möglichkeiten, Einkommen zu erzielen, indem sie ihre Häuser vermieteten und selbst in Schuppen und kleinen Hütten wohnten. Die Beziehung zwischen Einwohnern und Sommergästen war jedoch nicht immer positiv, obwohl die meisten Beschreibungen der Stockholmer Schären ein harmonisches Bild von „einem klassenlosen Wohlstandsparadies" (Dudde 2004) vermitteln. Anders erscheint Annas Erzählung von einer ungleichen Beziehung zu den Sommergästen, die sich durch die Jahre zwar veränderte, aber trotzdem immer noch Differenzen zeigte. Anna ist auf der Insel Svartsö 1926 geboren. Sie und ihr Mann vermieteten in den 1950er eine der Etagen ihres Hauses an eine Stockholmer Familie. Dies wurde aber viel zu eng und kompliziert, denn die Stadtfamilie hatte einen ganz anderen Tagesrhythmus als die Schärenfamilie. Eine bessere Lösung war das ganze Haus zu vermieten, dann funk-

tionierte der Umgang mit den Stockholmern besser, sagte Anna. Sie war der Auffassung, daß ihre Großeltern sich damals ganz anders zu den Sommergästen verhielten, daß die Stockholmer vornehmer waren und daß eine Veränderung in den Beziehungen zwischen Mieter und Vermieter geschehen war.

> Vor langer Zeit erinnere ich mich, damals war es irgendwie merkwürdig, mit den Leuten die hier heraus kamen und es sollte hin und her herumscharwenzeln. Ich denke manchmal daran, wie meine Großmutter vor den Sommergästen geknickst hat. Und es war Frau hin und her, das hat sich später geändert.

Dieselben sozialen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Konflikte zwischen materiellen und menschlichen Werten, die z.B im Roman *Die Leute auf Hemsö* (Strindberg [1887] 1984) geschildert werden, geben heute noch, mehr als hundert Jahre später, eine idyllische Vorstellung von dieser Zeit (Wijkander 2005:178). Aber mit der Urbanisierung und der Industrialisierung der Provinz- und der Schärenlandschaft folgte nicht nur ein verbessertes Transport- und Verbindungssystem, sondern auch soziale Klassenunterschiede in den Schären, und eine ökonomische Abhängigkeit von der Stadt, die wir auch heutzutage in der Landschaft noch beobachten können. Das wachsende Interesse für die Stockholmer Schären führte in vieler Hinsicht damals zu einem Umgestaltungsprozeß des ruralen Lebensstils mit urbanen Werten und Gesellschaftsstrukturen, der immer noch gültig ist.

Der Mythos in der Landschaft

Zwischen dem Stadtleben und dem Provinzleben existiert eine gegenseitige Relation und der urbane Lebensstil ist weit vor den Grenzen der Stadt verbreitet. Es gibt aber auch viele Unterschiede, nicht nur zwischen den allgemeinen und den individuellen Werten, mit denen Stadt und Land gewertet werden. Eine häufige Auffassung der Stadt ist ihre Repräsentativität als ein Konzentrat von Menschen und Aktivitäten, ein positiver Platz der Modernität mit einem großen Austausch von Waren und Dienstleistungen. Dieses Bild der Stadt als spannend, variationsreich und grenzenlos wird oft als Gegenpol der traditionellen, begrenzten, einförmigen und stark sozial kontrolliertern Provinz dargestellt. Auf der anderen Seite gibt es jedoch auch weit ausgebreitete Vorstellungen von der Stadt als gefährlich und ungesund, während die Provinz Sicherheit, soziale Fürsorge, Gesundheit und Harmonie bieten kann. Das provinzielle Idyll wird gegen die Fürchterlichkeit der Stadt gestellt. Aber die Distinktion der beiden Begriffe liegt eher beim Betrachter und wenn auch wir in der Landschaft physische Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land beobachten können, sind die Bedeutungen dieser materiellen Tatsachen subjektiv und individuell (Svensson 2005b:194).

Der Kulturgeograph Dieter K. Müller stellt in seiner Dissertation *German Second Home Owners in the Swedish Countryside* (1999) fest, daß deutsche Touristen und Sommerhausbesitzer eine rurale Idylle mit Elchen, Abgeschiedenheit, Natur, Hütten und natürlich Astrid Lindgren-Umgebungen in der schwedischen Provinzlandschaft erwarten. Die allgemeine Auffassung über den Dualismus zwischen Stadt und Land ist in hohem Grad von Mythen über die schwedische Provinz geprägt, z.B durch die Märchen von Astrid Lindgren. Diese und andere Darstellungen geben Eindruck von „ewigen" Werten der harmonischen Beziehung zwischen Menschen, Tieren und Natur. Oft werden wir verlockt und verleitet, die Provinzlandschaft und deren Lebensformen als unser verlorenes Paradies im Kontrast zur Stadtlandschaft zu idealisieren

und Stadt und Land als zu einander deutlich abgegrenzte Gegensätze darzustellen. Diese Vorstellung ist doch, wie oben schon genannt, viel geringer als was durch den Dualismus erscheint, den wir für selbstverständlich halten. Im Gegenteil sind Stadt und Land, sowie Urbanität und Ruralität, keine Antithese, sondern zeigen verschiedene Seiten von derselben Entwicklung (Reiter 2004:56).

Menschen leben heutzutage in dem Spannungsfeld zwischen einer Reihe von verschiedenen kulturellen Traditionen. Es ist daher eine größere kulturelle Kompetenz als früher nötig, um sich erfolgreich zwischen verschiedenen Identitäten zu bewegen, was Flexibilität und Beweglichkeit voraussetzt. Gleichzeitig suchen Menschen vermehrt ihre Wurzeln in der Sehnsucht nach Zugehörigkeit und beständigen Werten (Svensson 2000:37f). Die Kulturlandschaft hat die Fähigkeit Zeit und Raum, Geschichte und Platz miteinander zu verschmelzen, in einer Weise, die sie nicht nur zu einer Strandwiese oder Laubwald verwandeln kann, sondern zu einer Zeitmaschine, ein magisches Territorium der Tagträume (Löfgren 1997:4). Es sind Umgebungen mit hellen und guten, aber nur selten mit dunklen und schrecklichen Wertungen, die in dem Marketing von schwedischen Sehenswürdigkeiten attraktiv werden. Dies fordert Überlegungen und Reflektionen welche Umgebungen und Landschaften spezielle Erlebnisqualitäten zugeteilt werden – von wem und für wen? Kulturerbe beinhaltet, ob gut oder schlecht, immer eine emotionelle Ladung und in der Darstellung des Kulturerbes finden wir eine starke Betonung von „uns" und „unserem" wieder. Selten gibt es in dieser Präsentation Platz für Überlegungen über das zentrale Prinzip des Kulturerbes: die Ablehnung und das Wegsortieren, die auch so wichtig für die Identifikation der Menschen sind (Löfgren 1997:10).

Der eigenartige Schärenbewohner – ein Mann?

Welches Geschlecht hat die Schärenlandschaft und wie werden rurbane Geschlechteridentitäten geformt? In Konstruktionen von Stadt und Land sind Interpretationen von der rurbanen Natur als weiblich und die urbane Kultur als männlich gewöhnliche Unterscheidungen (z.B. Domosh & Seager 2001:69f). Der nördliche Raum war in der vorigen Jahrhundertwende mit einer bürgerlichen Männlichkeit verbunden und der Wissenschaftler wurde ein Idealbild der damaligen Bestrebungen der Männer die weibliche Natur zu überwinden und auszunützen (Eskilsson 1996:4).

In historischen Schilderungen der Schären wird die Landschaft oft als ein weibliches Wesen beschrieben, gleichzeitig wird der Schärenbewohner als Mann definiert; der „Skärkarlen" (vgl. Nordin 2005:219, Heldt Cassel 2003:127). Es ist die starke Verbindung zwischen dem eigenartigen Schärenbewohner und der einzigartigen Natur, in der Menschen gelebt und sich versorgt haben, was in Schilderungen der Schären auffallend ist.[9]

In der Geschichte der Schären, sowie in der allgemeinen Geschichte, sind Beschreibungen des Alltags der Frauen wenig und dürftig (vgl. Nordin 2005:224). Die Forschung war früher in hohem Grade „einäugig" in dem Sinn, daß das Leben der Männer normgebend war, und daß die Lebensumstände der Frauen damit nur selten sichtbar gemacht wurden. In der Stadt, wie auch in der Schärenlandschaft, beeinflussen diese Umstände Frauen immer noch. Mit ihren Erlebnissen vom Schärenalltag verhalten sie sich auch zu der Geschichte und der Alltag in welchen Frauen früher in den Schären gelebt haben. Sie formen dabei ihre Identitäten u.a. mit dieser Geschichte als Hintergrund. Lisa, eine von den Frauen auf Svartsö, erzählte:

Hier hat man über all diese Männer gehört, aber ich habe mich nie gefragt, wie ihre Frauen hießen. Und das ist ja Unsinn. Wenn man zu hören bekam, was sie alles geschafft haben, es waren ja sehr starke Frauen und sie hatten ja eine große Bedeutung. Genau das war für mich schlimm, daß ich nicht einmal darüber nachgedacht hatte, wie sie hießen, nicht an sie denke, wenn über diese Männer immer wieder gesprochen wird, da man sie nie getroffen hatte, ja sie sind ja schon vor langer Zeit gestorben.

Deutliche Normen und Ideale was eine „echte" Schärenfrau ist und welche Eigenschaften dies bedingt, kamen in den Interviews zum Vorschein. Obwohl die historischen Schilderungen über das Leben der Frauen in den Stockholmer Schären nicht viel Platz in der Literatur bekommen haben, geben die Informanten Bilder von einer starken, selbständigen Frau, die früher in den Schären gelebt hat, aber die man heute nur selten begegnet. Die Frauen erzählten von einem Leben, das früher andere Eigenschaften und Fertigkeiten forderte und daß die Normen für die traditionellen Schärenfrauen damals anders aussahen als für Frauen in der Stadt. Veränderte Lebensverhältnisse, mit ausgebauter Technik und verbesserter Kommunikation machen den Alltag heute bequemer und erhöhen den Lebensstandard. Die „echte" Schärenfrau gehört in den Erzählungen „meiner" Informanten der Vergangenheit zu und die damalige Grenzen zwischen ruralen Schärenfrauen und urbanen Stadtfrauen sind in ihrem Alltag mehr oder weniger ausgelöscht.

Rurbane Geschlechteridentitäten

Die Schärengesellschaft repräsentiert eine große Vielfalt, jede einzelne Insel mit der ansässigen Bevölkerung hat spezifische geographische und kulturelle Umstände und Hintergründe. Der Alltag auf einer Insel mit festen Landverbindungen kann sich markant, sowohl materiell wie psychisch von dem Leben auf einer Insel unterscheiden, auf der man von Booten abhängig ist, um sich hin und zurück zur Heiminsel zu bewegen. Auch die Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Inseln beeinflusst die lokalen Schärennormen der Männer und Frauen verschieden. Im Schärenalltag des 21. Jahrhundert kombinieren Frauen und Männer traditionelle und moderne Werte mit ruralen und urbanen Lebensstilen. Diese Einstellungen sehen und prägen sich verschieden aus, abhängig von z.B. Geschlecht, Platz, Ethnizität oder Klasse. Frauen in den Stockholmer Schären haben manchmal andere Erfahrungen von dem Schärenalltag als Männer und sie (re)produzieren dabei andere Rurbanitäten.

In fast allen Gesellschaften besteht eine Heteronormativität in der Bedeutung, daß heterosexuelle Relationen zwischen Mann und Frau als selbstverständlich und unproblematisch gesehen werden (z.B. Kulick 2005). Diese Selbstverständlichkeit gilt auch in den Stockholmer Schären, was aber nicht unbedingt zur Folge hat, daß die Familien auf Svartsö sich rund um die bürgerliche, heterosexuelle Norm organisieren, bei der die Frau als Hausfrau und der Mann als Familienversorger definiert wird. Eher ist es das skandinavische, städtische Gleichberechtigungsideal zwischen Mann und Frau, daß für das Leben der Informanten bezeichnend ist (vgl. Berg 2002), obwohl es eine große Vielfalt in der Gestaltung der Beziehungen gab. Die Gleichberechtigung auf der Insel hat in den letzten Jahren zugenommen und die geteilte Verantwortung gilt nun nicht nur für die Versorgung, sondern auch für Kinderpflege und Hausarbeit. Diese Verteilung wurde durch die Tatsache hergeleitet, daß viele von den neuzugezogenen Einwohnern von Stockholm auf Svartsö gekommen sind. Eine Meinung der Informanten war, daß die Grenzen zwischen „männlich" und „weiblich" nicht so deutlich

auf der Insel sind wie in der Stadt und daß das urbane Gleichberechtigungsideal damit schwieriger in der Stadt zu erfüllen ist als in den Schären. Die Aufteilung zwischen Arbeit und Freizeit im Alltag war hier nicht so scharf wie in der Stadt, obwohl sie dennoch vorkam, was jedoch andere Bedingungen für das rurbane Schärenleben hatte.

Männer und Frauen auf Svartsö lebten in so genannten „radikaltraditionellen" (Feldmann 2004b:215) Beziehungen, wo das Kernfamilienideal sich verschieden ausdrückte. Ein „kulturelles Doppelsehen" (Hannerz 1992), bei dem sich die Schärenfrauen in meinem Material zwischen urbanen und ruralen, traditionellen und modernen Idealen bewegten, beinhaltet auch eine Form von radikalem Traditionalismus, in dem Verhandlungen und Konflikte zwischen urbanen und ruralen Geschlechteridealen entstehen können. Karin wohnte mit ihrer Familie ganzjährig auf der Insel, obwohl ihr Mann unter der Woche in der Stadt arbeitete. Ihr Beruf als Choreographin gab ihr in den Schären kaum Möglichkeiten sich nur von ihrem eigenen Einkommen zu versorgen und sie ergänzte daher ihren Beruf mit z.B. Schafspflege. In den Augen ihrer Umgebung wurde ihr Beruf aber nicht als Beschäftigung geschätzt und sie hatte sich zu Fragen verhalten müssen, wie sie sich fühlte eine „Luxusehefrau" zu sein.

> Und dann wird man... , ja, so fühle ich mich wirklich nicht... am wenigsten fühle ich mich wie eine Luxusehefrau. Ich bin ja so viel alleine in dem Haus und mit den Kindern, wenn mein Mann so viel in der Stadt arbeitet. Ich fühle mich gar nicht im Luxus, obwohl ich mein Lebensform selbst gewählt habe.

Das Durchschnitteinkommen der Schärenbewohner in Värmdö ist für die Männer zirka 196.000 schwedische Kronen und für die Frauen fast 157.000. Über 50 % der Arbeitsgelegenheiten sind im Servicesektor mit „persönlichen und kulturellen Diensten" sowie „Handel und Kommunikation"[10] wo überwiegend Frauen arbeiten. Daß es für Frauen in der Provinz schwieriger ist, sich selbständig zu versorgen, und daß damit verschiedene Lebensstile für Männer und Frauen in den Stockholmer Schären geformt werden, zeigt nicht nur das Resultat meiner Untersuchung, sondern auch allgemeine Provinzforschungen (z.B. Little 1997; 2002, Berg 2002 & Stenbacka 2001). Obwohl es eine deutliche Aufteilung zwischen „männlichen" und „weiblichen" Arbeitsplätzen in der Schärenlandschaft gibt, findet keine der Frauen, mit denen ich gesprochen habe, Überschreitungen der Geschlechtergrenzen für negativ, obwohl dies auch heute ungewöhnlich ist. Durch verschiedene Gesellschaftsveränderungen, wie z.B. die Industrialisierung, besteht die Arbeitsaufgabe des Schärenbewohners heute nicht in der Selbstversorgung, sondern richtet sich vorwiegend auf Service- und Touristenbetriebe. Für die Frauen auf Svartsö bedeutet dies, daß sie nicht selbstverständlich die gleichen Möglichkeiten wie die Männer haben, Arbeitsgelegenheiten auf der Insel zu finden. Während die meisten Männer sich als Tischler ernährten, war es für viele der Frauen notwendig, sich eigene Arbeitsplätze zu beschaffen und zu kombinieren. Meistens handelte es sich um Arbeitsplätze in der Schule oder im Touristenservice.

Das ganzjährige Leben auf den Schäreninseln ist von Touristen und Feriengästen abhängig und die Einwohner verhalten sich den Erwartungen an die Schärenlandschaft entsprechend mit traditionellen, ruralen und nostalgischen Werten, aber mit modernem, urbanem Standard und Service. Gleichzeitig wollte man die Attraktionskraft der Schären als ursprünglich und harmonisch aufrechterhalten, die Frauen auf der Insel hatten aber

auch andere Wünsche nach mehr modernen und individuellen Beschäftigungen und Versorgungen. Lotta, die auf Svartsö in den 70er Jahren geboren ist, erzählt:

> Es ist wohl so, die Schären beschäftigen sich mit einer Entwicklung, um anders zu werden. Aber gleichzeitig ist es ja so, daß wir hier draußen durch Sommergäste und Touristen Geld verdienen. Und sie wollen ja dieses Alte, das Ursprüngliche haben, was es jedoch heute so nicht mehr gibt, und die Einheimischen kämpfen sozusagen auch dagegen. Es ist ja so, niemand will mehr als Fischer und Landwirte arbeiten, man will auch andere Berufe hier draußen haben. Daher ist es ja ein wenig zwiespältig dies mit dem Tourismus, man will ja, daß es ihn gibt, aber gleichzeitig...

Die Ansprüche an den modernen Schärenalltag mit einer sozialen Infrastruktur aus Schulen, Alterspflege und Kindergärten ist nicht immer unproblematisch mit dem traditionellen Bild der Schärenlandschaft zu vereinigen. Möchte man den schwedischen, urbanen Lebensstil mit Arbeitszeiten zwischen 8 und 17 Uhr und den Kindern den ganzen Tag im Kindergarten entfliehen, kann die Erwartung der Umgebung, daß man seine Kinder in den Kindergarten der Insel abgibt, eine große Enttäuschung sein. So erzählt Karin, deren Familie einen rurbanen Alltag auf der Insel organisierte, in dem die Kinder nur sporadisch und zum Vergnügen im Kindergarten aufgehoben waren, während Karin von zu Hause aus ihre Arbeit ausführte und ihr Mann von Montag bis Freitag in der Stadt arbeitete.

Rurbane Segregationsprozeße in den Schären

Aus einem analytischen Blickwinkel machen Provinz und Großstadt sich als eine analytische Synthese aus. Sie sind Teile der gleichen Landschaftsgesamtheit (Svensson 2006:2) und sollten zusammen als soziales Aktivitätenfeld verstanden werden (vgl. Hanssen 1952). Umgestaltungen der Landschaft sind, wie oben genannt, nicht nur geographisch und physisch, sondern auch kulturell, sozial und ökonomisch. Die Besucher der Provinz suchen hier nicht nur das ländliche Idyll mit Natur und Ruhe, sondern oft auch eine urbane Sozialität mit stadtmäßigem Verhalten, zu welchem sich auch die Schärenbewohner verhalten müssen (vgl. Foghagen & Johansson 2004). Die Möglichkeiten in den Schären ganzjährig zu leben und sich zu versorgen ist mit Service für den Touristen und Freizeitbewohner eng verbunden.

Das Gleichnis von den Schären als Vorort[11] zeigt uns, daß die Dialektik zwischen Stadt und Land auch in anderen Landschaften zu beobachten ist. In den „Millionprogrammsiedlungen", die in den 1960er und 70er Jahren außerhalb der Großstädte wie Stockholm gebaut wurden, z.B. Tensta, wurde eine stadtmäßige Bebauung in der damaligen Provinz aufgeführt. Die historische rurale Landschaft wurde durch Architektur und Stadtplanung zu einem urbanen Platz umgeformt (vgl. Feldmann & Svensson 2006a). Der dichtbesiedelte urbane Ort trägt damit auch rurale Werte und die Menschen, die hier wohnen produzieren eigene Formen von urbaner Identität. Daß viele der Einwohner dieser Vorstadtlandschaften aus anderen Ländern zugezogen sind und andere ethnische Herkünfte haben, zeigen interessante Verbindungen zwischen lokalen und globalen, urbanen und ruralen Identifikationen. Obwohl die Schärenlandschaft heute überwiegend als lokal definiert wird, ist die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Landschaft und kultureller Identität einen stetiger Prozeß, indem soziale Kategorien auch in der Zukunft in Kontinuität und Veränderung (re)produziert werden wird.

Die amerikanische Urbansoziologin Saskia Sassen hat gezeigt, wie Stockholm mit seinem

Umland einen strategischen Platz im globalen Netzwerk einnimmt (Sassen 2002:6ff). Die Organisation dieses ökonomischen Raumes stellt neue und wichtige Fragen über Zentralität und Macht (Sassen 1996:197, Zukin 1992:224). Mit der Position im Umland von Stockholm und in der gegenseitigen sozialen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Relation mit der Stadtlandschaft, sind diese Fragen auch für die Stockholmer Schären relevant und interessant. Die ersten Sommergäste führten nicht nur neue Gewohnheiten und Lebensstile ein, es wurde auch eine Schärengesellschaft ausgeformt, die auch heute noch auf dem urbanen System mit Servicediensten für den Hochlohnempfänger aufgebaut ist.

Ohne ein hohes Einkommen ist es für z.B. junge Menschen oder Einwanderer und -innen sehr schwierig feste Wohnsitze in den Schären zu finden. Die Besitzsteuer und die Preise der Grundstücke werden immer wieder erhöht, indem die Nachfrage von meeresnahen Eigentümern von einem wohlhabenden Kundenkreis, die Häuser als Freizeithäuser benutzen wollen, gestiegen ist.[12] Eine Gentrifikation, der urbane Segregationsprozeß, in dem alte Wohngebiete sich klassenmäßig verändern, scheint damit auch für die Stockholmer Schären gültig zu sein (Zukin 1995; Orrskog 2005:36). Diese Erscheinung ist damit nicht zu der Stadt abgegrenzt, sondern auch ein rurbaner Prozeß, der sowohl global wie lokal entsteht und durch politische und ökonomische Strukturen die Menschen im Alltag beeinflußt.

Die demokratischen Voraussetzungen der kulturellen Identität

Was wird geschehen, wenn man an die Schilderungen von den Stockholmer Schären auch Fragen über Demokratie, Identifikation und Politik stellt? Wenn nicht nur nostalgische Bilder von einer idyllischen Schärenlandschaft in Harmonie kommuniziert werden und wenn man die gegenseitige Relation zwischen Geschlecht und Platz und zwischen Ökonomie und Kultur beachtet? Weder Kultur noch Landschaft brauchen als etwas abgeschlossenes oder fest abgegrenztes angesehen werden. Sie werden von den sozialen Netzwerken und von den Begegnungen, die hier stattfinden, geformt und räumen Fragen über Teilnahme und Ausgrenzung ein. Die Vergangenheit ist immer ein Teil der Gegenwart und in erster Linie geht es darum, wie wir Erbe und Traditionen handhaben wollen, wenn wir historische Kontinuität und haltbare Identitäten erschaffen (Svensson 2005a:165). Rurbane Lebensstile sind nicht in einer spezifischen Zeit oder von einem spezifischen Platz abhängig und abgegrenzt, sie sind Rechte und Pflichten, die im Konflikt und im Konsens die menschlichen Beziehungen in Kontinuität und in Veränderung zugrunde legen. In dem Spannungsfeld zwischen Stadt- und Schärenlandschaft werden nicht nur bewußte Ideale über Bewahrungswerte des materiellen Kulturerbes reproduziert. Hier entstehen auch die Voraussetzungen für jeden, sich seine eigene kulturelle Identität in einem lokalen und globalen Zusammenhang (um)zuformen.

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Anmerkungen

1 Dieser Begriff beabsichtigt die Bebauungsverbreitung den Stockholmer, die im Sommer umziehen, verursachen (Pihl Atmer 1987:16).

2 EU-Projekte wie „Being Neighbour to a Large Urban Area" und ESPON untersuchen rural-urbane Relationen und ihre ökonomischen,

sozialen und ökologischen Konsequenzen in Europa (*Regionplane- och trafikkontoret, RTK, PM 11:2004).*

3 *Regionplane- och trafikkontoret, RTK, PM 11:2004:13.*

4 Der Begriff *genderisiert* ist eine Verdeutschung aus dem Englischen *gendered.*

5 Diese Begriffe sind Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen *femininity* und *masculinity.*

6 Pihl Atmer (1987) schlägt z.B. vor, daß eine Untersuchung der gegenseitigen Beziehung zwischen Sommergästen und Schärenbewohner, und welche Folgen das für die beiden Gruppen hat, wichtig wäre, u.a. als Ergänzung zu der Analyse des Ethnologen Anders Gustavsson über Konflikte zwischen den beiden Gruppen auf den Schären der schwedischen Westküste, angeführt hat (Gustavsson 1992).

7 Dieser Frauenberuf war nur einer von vielen Berufen dessen Bedeutung für die ökonomischen und kulturellen Veränderungen in Stockholm erst in jüngeren Jahren erforscht wurde.

8 So werden die reich verzierten Häuser genannt, die mit dazugehörende Punchverandas und Badehäusern gebaut wurden.

9 Z.B. August Strindberg, der in *Die Leute auf Hemsö* [1887] (1984) von den Menschen und der Natur auf Kymmendö in den Stockholmer Schären erzählt.

10 *Program för kustplan 2005. Fördjupning av översiktsplanen för kusten och skärgården i Värmdö kommun.*

11 *Skärgård i förändring. Skärgårdspolitiken och skärgårdens utveckling.* Regionplane- och trafikkontoret Stockholms läns landsting. Nr 8:2004.

12 *Program för kustplan 2005. Fördjupning av översiktsplanen för kusten och skärgården i Värmdö kommun.* Värmdö kommun.

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Does Environment Make a Difference?

Female Entrepreneurs on Farms in Southwest Finland

By Katariina Heikkilä

Introduction

Concepts of environment, place and landscape are all under vivid discussion among researchers, as well in human geography and cultural history as in ethnology (e.g. Saltzman & Svensson 1997; Feldmann 2004; Laitinen 2004; Kymäläinen 2005). Environment, place and landscape change over the years physically but also mentally because interpretations and meanings that people give to them change. Changes in the social structure or, for example, in gender roles also influence the perceptions of environment (Feldmann 2004). As Svensson and Saltzman put it, when the individual lives in a landscape the landscape lives in the mind of the individual (Saltzman and Svensson 1997:9), so they affect each other mutually. The work that the individual does in a certain environment belongs to this 'round game' of constant interaction and change. In this article I will concentrate on four rural female entrepreneurs and their relation to environment. I show how environment can create business, how the roots in local environment affect the entrepreneurship and how the different rhythms of life can be connected with environment and entrepreneurship.[1]

In this article I use the concepts of environment and landscape as follows: environment is the surroundings the farmwomen live in. Nature is part of the surroundings as well as for example the farm buildings, which are done by human hand. To the environment I even incorporate social dimension with which I mean the family and the neighbourhood of the women. Landscape in its turn is a visual perception. It is understood as something we look at and it can also be a target of consumption or utilized in business activity.

The article is based on my ongoing doctoral research. Women who start a business of their own on the farm or are in charge of some subsidiary industry on the farm are the target group of my research. About 6% of farmwomen in Southwest Finland consider themselves as entrepreneurs (Karppinen 2005). I have three main questions: why do these women start a business of their own instead of getting an off-farm job, how do they recognize and interpret possible business resources and what does self employment mean to them? The primary research material consists of theme interviews of 18 women in Southwest Finland.[2] The women are of different ages and they represent various business ideas. Women's relationship to their environment is the core question of this article, while in my doctoral research it is one aspect that is handled.

Agriculture and rural areas have encountered considerable structural change in recent years in Finland and the process is still ongoing. The number of Finnish farms has fallen by 26% since the EU membership (1995–2004) and there are about 71,000 farms today. About 32% of all farms are so called diversified farms which mean that there are other businesses besides agriculture on the farm (Niemi and Ahlstedt 2005: 16, 20-21). The most common sector of business is machine contracting, other sectors are, for example, tourism, services and wood and food processing (Rantamäki-Lahtinen 2002). My doctoral research aims to view diversifying strategies from an ethnological point of view and give voice to farmwomen's own choices. New livelihoods and entrepreneurship can be interpreted in many ways, as well as an adaptation strategy as a way to seek a good life and self-expression (e.g. Melberg 2003).

Fredrik Barth studied entrepreneurship in 1960s. He considered entrepreneurship as an aspect of a role. Entrepreneur's social surroundings may encourage or inhibit his entrepreneurial behavior; therefore it is im-

portant to study the interaction between the entrepreneur and his or her social environment (Barth 1963: 6). Women-owned enterprises are in Finland often small by size as about 64% of them employ only the owner (Naisyrittäjyyden edistämistyöryhmä 2005: 15). Historian Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen has examined female entrepreneurs in the Finnish town of Turku from the 18th century to the 1990s. Based on an extensive statistics material the research reveals that women's business ideas have not changed over the centuries but they can be classified into three categories: food, handicrafts and nurture/services (Vainio-Korhonen 2002). The phenomenon is one expression of gender segregation that is part of work life even today in Nordic countries (e.g. Holmquist & Sundin 2002). Also the business ideas of female entrepreneurs on farms fit into this categorization.

Environment Makes the Business

I will first take a closer look at the farm tourism business and focus on Anja's business. Anja and her husband, Kalle were born in the 1940s. They have two adult sons with wives with one child each at the time of the interview. The farm has a long history for it has been in the possession of Kalle's family for over 300 years and Kalle and Anja is the tenth farm owning generation. There are about 74 hectares of arable land, of which 27 hectares is leased land, and also 47 hectares of forest area on the farm. The main cultivation products are barley and wheat.

The idea of other industries beside agriculture gradually evolved. There have been summer visitors since the 1920s on the farm so the tourism is not a new thing in the history of the farm. The summer visitor tradition ceased during the wartime. The farm again welcomed visitors in the 1980s when Anja and Kalle had an area under berry cultivation. The visitors came to see their berry cultivation and different berry strains and they were offered coffee as well as the demonstration. Anja and Kalle thought about farm wine production of these berries and took part in courses but soon gave up this plan.

Anja's husband's parents lived with the family in the main building. New possibilities for entrepreneurial activities arose with the change of the generation on the farm and the death of the grandparents in the latter half of 1980s. Anja and Kalle decided to renovate the main building and start to use it for catering services. The idea was to make use of Anja's skills and knowledge of cookery and household management. During the 1990s and in the 2000s, the size of the catering services business grew constantly and developed new offshoots. At the beginning of 2000s, the business gave work to four full time employees plus trainees. Besides the main building, they modified the old barn for festive purposes and there is room for over 250 visitors on the farm. In one year about 14,000 people visit the farm. All kinds of festivals from weddings to Christmas parties are included in the repertoire of Anja and her staff.

Environment as a Source of Inspiration

At the beginning the business focused on festivities and catering services. Over time they adopted new ideas. The environment around them seemed to be a real source of inspiration. The geographical conditions and the location of the farm buildings revealed to be very suitable for different kinds of tourist activities. In the interview, Anja emphasized the scenery of the farm to be the strength of the business. The farm estate is one homogenous area that is surrounded by fields, in the middle of which there are the woods. In the woods

there are two ponds that originally where made for watering purposes when strawberries and raspberries were cultivated on the farm. The woods are up on the hill and the landscape varies according to altitude. In addition to the ponds, there is seashore near the farm.

How does Anja know that this scenery is attractive and suitable for tourism purposes? In landscape research, scenery and landscape have in recent years been perceived as a way to see and structure cultural environments. Landscape is always someone's scenery. It has its makers and seers that both produce and recreate meanings and discourses related to the landscape (Raivo 1997, see also Saltzman and Svensson 1997). Tuovinen has distinguished criteria for analysing the landscape image and his criteria for positive image include the following: distinctiveness, historical continuity, diversity, meanings of identity and the integrity of the landscape space and clarity of its demarcation (Tuovinen 1988). Anja's and Kalle's farm place fulfils these requirements excellently: varying altitude of the scenery, woods and water available in short distances and the environment full of historical continuity. For the attraction of the tourist's gaze (e.g. Urry 2002), the most important criterion may be the integrity of the landscape space of the farm estate because of the favourable morphologic location of the buildings, woods and fields.

When the catering service proved economically profitable, even more personal experiences of the environment gave root to new business ideas. Kalle enjoys rambling in the woods and he had been dreaming of making a smoke sauna in the woods. The dreams were gradually realized. There had already been a sleeping shelter (Finnish: *laavu*) near the ponds in the woods for almost 20 years. It had been built for recreation for the local village residents. But a couple of years ago, Kalle and Anja built a smoke sauna. Visitors go to the sauna and then swim in the ponds and then they can have something to eat in a shelter and have a good time together. In the woods surrounding the farm there is a nature trail that was planned by one trainee. These new activities widened the circle of customers that visit the farm. For example, the staff of different companies can first have a meeting and then continue with a recreation programme in the countryside. People have been satisfied with the programme and some of them have told Anja that they have a feeling of being in Lapland even though they are spending an afternoon near their home region. This is a vivid example of how landscape is not just the physical environment but it is connected with the mental images we receive through our experiences and through different media (cf. mindscape in Löfgren 1989). The one and same environment can be interpreted and gain meanings in several different ways.

Environment as Both Intimate and Self-evident

Nature and environment is an essential part of Anja's life and she lives side by side with it. This relationship with nature is very comprehensive and it becomes visible in her everyday behaviour. For example, when Anja is in contact with her clients, nature can be brought along to ordinary business conversation as next quotation shows:

> One day when I was talking to one client on the phone I had to say to him that I almost could not talk to him and that was because there were two hundred northern bullfinches in front of my eyes and at least half of them were cocks...I must say that my mouth was closed by what my eyes were looking at through the window. I must tell you what I am watching here while on the phone.

As summer is a high season with all kinds of

festivities, Anja has found that the environment around her also offers her possibilities for recreation and rest. When the visitors have left the sauna building Anja goes there with her dog, enjoys a swim and stays the night in the tranquillity of the woods.

Little by little I have been forced to admit that I don't need sleep, but the body needs rest. Last summer, I went off with the dog so that, there was a made up bed in the sauna building. I decided to stay there the night, as there wasn't much urgent waiting the next day. I think we stayed over night four or five weeks in the sauna building. We went there in the evening to swim and stayed there the night.

Anja enjoys when she sees visitors enjoying the countryside. Sauna and swimming especially seem to be entertainments that attract both Finnish clients and foreign visitors. It has been a little surprise to Anja to find how eagerly foreign visitors go for winter swimming.

People go winter swimming every time and the frost has been hard, it has been quite stunning to watch when they first go into the hole in the ice and then they go to roll in the snow and it is minus 27 degrees...They almost swim more than in summertime, you know. The water is so cold in summer (laughs).

The visitors' relationship to the environment also troubles Anja sometimes. According to her, some visitors do not understand how to dress correctly when they do a nature trail on the farm. Anja's business is not an entertainment tourist business and therefore she would not like to buy, for example, caps or boots for several dozens visitors. Visitors who come inappropriately dressed for nature trails make Anja frustrated. This frustration is felt as far as Finnish visitors are concerned because Anja thinks that they should know how to behave in the countryside. According to Anja Finnish people should still share the same knowledge of nature and she wonders if the visitors are only lazy and do not care to think how to dress for a nature walk (cf. Scandinavians' special relationship with nature in Gullestad 1989).

Even though it has been agreed that they have outdoor recreation, they don't have the clothes. If you go to Lapland you will have the right clothes, but when they come here in outdoor Southwest Finland, they don't. They have high heels and mini-skirts or...

I wouldn't like to go with that sort of thing, to buy the clothes for everyone because I think that people do have the clothes at home. But, for example, the group I had last Friday. There were 30 persons and it was minus 28 degrees outside and only one had a hat. They knew that they would walk in the woods to the smoke sauna and come back...then I felt that I should have had 30 stocking caps.

We give different meanings to places depending whether we are participants or bystanders in our relation to that environment (Soini 2005). Therefore, there can be contradictory values related to a certain place among people who visit it. For Anja, the surrounding nature is both an essential part of her entrepreneurship and the source of recreation. Anja is the active participant and the knowledge of nature structures her actions whether she is working or having leisure time. Not all visitors share with her the same attitude. They can be bystanders to whom a nature trail in the woods is just an experience among others or a curiosity that does not touch their everyday life.

Feeling the Place, Sensing the Landscape

It has been emphasized in ethnological landscape research that landscape is something both in the mind of the individual and in physical reality. Therefore the task of the research is to study relations between physical and mental landscapes (e.g. Löfgren 1989; Saltzman & Svensson 1997; Ruotsala 2002; Saltzman 2001). In Anja's case, her relation to the physi-

cal landscape has been shaped throughout the years. As a young daughter-in-law, Anja was enthusiastic to do field work side by side with her husband and she did not care about the neighbourhood's old farm owners sometimes wondering about the activities of the female farmer. She experienced the landscape and environment where she lived by doing things there. During her busy years with children and parents-in-law, Anja longed for more mental space for herself and sought it by participating in local politics and association activities. Her relation to the environment was practical and full of every day duties. Anja's relation to the farm landscape got a new dimension when her children grew up and the new tourism business was started. Now she and her husband advisedly looked for ways to make use of the landscape and create experiences for other people there. They seek to look at the landscape of their farmyard through the lenses of both the residents and the visitors.

Yi-Fu Tuan writes about the feel of a place as follows:

> [t]he 'feel' of a place takes longer to acquire. It is made up of experiences, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years. It is a unique blend of sights, sounds, and smells, a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms such as times of sunrise and sunset, of work and play (Tuan 1997: 184).

Anja's emotional ties to the farm and its environment have evolved over decades of farm work. For example, Anja has ploughed all the fields for over 20 years and during the long hours of ploughing Anja has had time to observe the countryside around her. This possibility of living in an intimate interaction with one's environment is so self-evident to Anja that moving to a block of flats would be a kind of enslavement for her.

> It would be a tremendous change and quite an enslavement if one had to live in a block of flats. Now you can just pop off and leave the doors open and go to the woods and come back...as we talked about ploughing, it was so lovely to see the change of nature during autumn and the birds and everything, and also in spring, when you saw ruffs and hares dancing, I have seen seven hares dancing in a circle their nibs towards the sky in spring.

Anja's feeling of belonging to the place has matured gradually and made the continuity of the farm important to her. It gives her motivation for the entrepreneurship and long hours in tourism business. Continuity of the family farm is still a value that influences the choices of farmers (e.g. Silvasti 2001; Hangasmaa 2003). Among my informants, this value could be seen in the manner in which some women explained their entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship was seen as one strategy to keep the farm in good condition in case some of the children wanted to continue farming later (cf. Melberg 2003).

Roots in the Rural Environment

Committed to the Local Environment and Entrepreneurship

I will next analyse two informants who are living on their childhood farms. In Finland it is more common that the woman moves to the man's farm than vice versa. Only 30 % of farmwomen live on the farm that is derived from the woman's family (Sireni 2002). Five of my informants are living on the farm that had former belonged to their family line. The sixth informant, Leila, is a young woman, who at the time of the interview was 25 years old. She was engaged but lived with her parents and youngest brother on the farm while her fiancé was studying in town. There are 44 hectares of arable land and some 30 hectares of forest area on the farm and beside cultivation there is a piggery for 100 pigs. Leila's parents were,

in 1980s, active in seeking for new sources of income and took part in different courses. After some experiments in other fields, they started to grow oyster mushrooms in 1989 when Leila was 14 years old. Since then, the family has grown mushrooms in addition to traditional farming. In 1992, a new building was built for the business and oyster mushroom cultivation was changed to brown common mushroom cultivation. In 1997, an even bigger mushroom hatchery was built with the latest high technology equipment for mushroom cultivation. At that time, Leila took an active role in the mushroom business and she became the leader of the enterprise. The enterprise employed ten local women at the time of the interview.

Anja's relation to the environment had been developed through decades on the farm where she had come as a young wife. In Leila's case, the environment is Leila's childhood landscape. The subjective knowledge of environment, which we have got in our lives through enculturation and personal experiences, affects how we utilize our environment. By growing up in a certain environment we receive as an inheritance the knowledge how to make use of the resources of that environment. Likewise we learn the cultural pattern: how to sense, respect and interpret our own living environment (Ruotsala 2002: 326). Her entire life Leila has followed how her parents have developed the farm and sought new sources of income. It is not an exaggeration to say that she has grown into entrepreneurship. As she has seen how her parents are ready to do things differently than before she has learned that the rural environment is not an obstacle for entrepreneurship but a possibility. The cultural pattern that Leila's parents have given their children is that the respect of home districts does not have to mean unchangeability. Today Leila's family's farm shows how one farm can include several different operational environments.

Leila studied for a Bachelor degree in Business Administration while working in the mushroom business. It would have been possible for her to start a business of her own somewhere else but Leila has wanted to stay on the farm and the childhood environment. However, it is not just that she enjoys the environment but other people, the neighbours, are used to see Leila as part of the environment and local life. Leila belongs to the local village committee and its board. One of the central tasks of the village committee is to promote the recreational values of the local nature area and the village committee has participated in EU-funded projects. Leila is used to filling in all kinds of official papers because of her education and work as an entrepreneur and that skill makes her very desired in local associations. It has been easy for Leila to find her own place in the local community during her spare time. The work as a leader in the mushroom hatchery has been more challenging for both Leila and her subordinates. It took time for the middle-aged local women to accept a young local woman as their leader.

Leila and her mother, Lea, have not satisfied themselves with the challenges of mushroom business but they have developed farm tourism activities on the farm as well. Inspired by the local rural development project leader they have renovated their old barn and established a little bistro there which is open on request. Leila states that the tourism business is not economically profitable but it is a hobby. However, every family member contributes some how to the tourism business when a tourist bus full of pensioners comes for a visit. Tourists get a guided tour of the mushroom production hall, they can buy mushroom products or candles

that Leila's mother also makes and they are offered coffee in the café. Leila laughs that one watches one's own environment with new eyes when one has to be sure that there are enough toilets for such a big group and take care that no one gets separated from the group during the tour of the farm yard.

The engagement to one's living environment is a phenomenon that is known both in rural and urban areas. The problems related to this engagement are, however, slightly different in rural and urban areas. For example, in the Finnish capital Helsinki, people would like to move to a bigger apartment in that quarter in which they are already living. The problem is that there are few apartments available and people live in small flats and wait a long time to get a larger apartment because they do not want to change district (*Helsingin Sanomat* 29.12.2005). In rural areas, the problem is not so much the apartment, but the job. It is not easy to get a job in rural areas and therefore in official discourses, like political rhetoric, willingness and ability to start one's own business is seen as an important strategy to employ oneself. As a young and active person, Leila has not been afraid to take on challenges that enable her to stay in her home district even as an adult. She has had her childhood family's support and the success is a result of intensive cooperation. It is, however, to be noted that Leila is not a typical rural female entrepreneur as she is a young woman with several employees.

Coming Back to One's Childhood Farm

Katja is an unmarried woman who lives on her childhood farm. She was born in the 1950s and she trained in economics. Katja worked several years in a bank in the town. Gradually, she began to long for a change in her life. At the same time, her parents started to think about retiring and Katja's brother did not want to buy the farm. Katja acquired training in agriculture and bought the farm in 1987. At the time of the interview she had run the farm 15 years already. There are about 38 hectares of arable land and 20 hectares of forestland on the farm and the main crops are sugar beet and cereals. In Katja's case the meaning of other businesses for the entity of the farm economy is of special interest as Katja is alone responsible for the farm.

At the beginning, there were two principles according to which Katja planned her other business activities. First, the aim was to find something to do in winter when there was not so much to do on the farm. Katja did not want to get an off-farm job. The other condition was to try to make use of resources already available on the farm and to avoid large economic investments. As a resource Katja has a lot of space, as there is a big main building where she lives with her cat and all the outbuildings. Katja started to grow all kinds of flowers and to make bouquets of them. In the old barn she grows Christmas flowers. The barn is very suitable for that purpose. The flower bulbs come in September and it is quite easy to get a right temperature for them in the barn. At the beginning of December, the temperature is changed to warm and the lights are put on. As the flowers get ready in a couple of weeks, Katja sells them to customers straight from the barn. According to Katja, direct sale of Christmas flowers is a short and busy season for her but it has found its place among customers.

Over the years, Katja has sold other things as well. She has, for example, ground her own corn and sold it and she has had honeybees and sold the honey. With her male cousins she has a little old sawmill and they saw timber and sell it. Katja's father and his brother, who are

both over 70 years old, mainly do the work. In Katja's case, all the business activities have a clear connection to farm and its environment, which is not the case with all interviewed women. May be one reason is that Katja enjoys working on the farm on her own and she has not wanted to make use of her former education and work experience in the bank world, for example, by doing consulting. Katja is very realistic about her business activities. She says that the location of the farm is too remote and that the direct sell would not function at other times than Christmas. The environment creates possibilities but it can also be an obstacle which has to be taken into consideration in business plans (cf. Ruotsala 2002).

Katja is, like Leila, very committed to her living environment. That has led her to work actively for the rehabilitation of a local lake in an EU-funded project. The condition of the lake touched Katja personally because her parents have a summer cottage by the lake and Katja had just been thinking that she could visit the cottage more often when the commune research revealed how bad the condition of the lake was.

> I had just been thinking that now I am getting more spare time and I can go to the cottage, normally it was good if you could visit there five times a summer. I thought it would be nice to be there more and then it happened that they said that the whole lake is almost dying...then I thought that I had to go along when there was an information meeting.

People's way of interpreting their environment is in a continuous process of change because, for example, the content of work, home and social networks also changes (Feldmann 2004: 215). The relation to the environment is deeply rooted in the everyday life of individuals and the possibilities of individuals are in turn shaped by the structures of the society and its changes. Katja represents in the contemporary Finnish countryside still an uncommon inhabitant: she is a single woman who is highly educated, has a career history in town and who now works as a farmer on her childhood farm. Her relation to the environment reveals that the sense of place is both physical and mental by nature. Katja has not longed after years in town but she enjoys the freedom she has when living on her farm and being her own boss. She expresses the feeling of freedom very physically:

> Quite quickly I began to like the thought that I did not have to go out here. I prefer employing myself here than go off-farm job every morning. Then you should have to consider what kinds of clothes you wear and what you look like. Here you don't need anything but just to go out. You may be just as you want.

Katja's experience is that the farm environment means freedom from conventional female clothing codes that exist in the urban office environment. Even though Katja seems to enjoy conducting the farm alone she also enjoys the social networks she has developed over years related to subsidiary industries on the farm. As a matter of fact, Katja suggests that entrepreneurship can mean for a woman more than just economic profit: it is also social activity.

> It is originality in female entrepreneurship that it has quite a great social significance for women as well, that I have not noticed that men would have, and also supporting one another. The network that I have is very important for me personally. They are also my friends, and if it is so that in my work here on the farm the work and domestic work are mixed so it is the same with the entrepreneurship network. Work and leisure get mixed.

Katja's work and entrepreneurship is physically anchored to the farm and the prerequisites that the farm surroundings provide. At the same time, mentally her living world extends much further. During busy times, she keeps

in contact with her network by e-mails and mobile phone text messages. Now and then network members go together to market products at trade fairs. Katja states during the interview that these kinds of networks that extend beyond the local district can also function as a strategy to maintain a positive atmosphere in the local rural area. Katja's example shows that while behaving multilocationally, one can be very rooted to one's own living environment (about multilocationality see e.g. Blehr 2000, Högbacka 2003).

Handicrafts and the Harmony of the Environs

For Yi-Fu Tuan time, space and place are all connected together in subtle ways. Routines and different rhythms of life give meaning for place and vice versa (Tuan 1997: 182). When you have your enterprise on the farm, the same place gets several meanings to you. To illustrate this I will finally have a look on one artisan on the farm.

Sinikka was born in the 1940s and she is an artisan and farmer by profession. When she and her husband, Timo got married over 30 years ago they bought a farm near Timo's parents' place and they have been farmers ever since. The size of the farm is about 60 hectares of arable land, of which 20 hectares is leased land, and the main crops are sugar beet and cereals. Sinikka and Timo have two adult sons. At the time of the interview, the family of one of the sons was awaiting their third child and the grandchildren came often up in the course of the interview.

Sinikka started the handicraft business of her own when her boys got older and left home to study. It is typical for women to take the family situation into consideration when thinking about entrepreneurship (Kivimäki 1996; Holmquist & Sundin 2002). Laughingly Sinikka told about the start of the business: "It is a real old joke, you know, when it happens that the hobby becomes a job, it happened quite so".

Her enterprise has functioned over eight years and Sinikka is satisfied with it. She makes different kinds of textiles by knitting and weaving and other handicrafts from raw materials that she finds from the surrounding nature. The enterprise is physically situated in the main building. This is quite typical as far as small women-owned handicraft enterprises are concerned. There is plenty of space for Sinikka's entrepreneurship in the house because her own children have grown up and left home. Enterprise at home creates different spaces in one building. As one enters Sinikka's and Timo's cosy farmhouse, straight left from the hall is one chamber that is furnished to function all year round as a little handicraft shop. If one continues from the hall forward one will find one's way to a room where Sinikka's equipment is situated. There are several looms and knitting machines and different raw materials.

During the day, Sinikka moves in her surroundings between work and home – using the hallway as a space of transition (cf. Tuan 1997) from domestic work to the world of entrepreneurship. Sinikka's way to practise her business activities in the private sphere of the house suits her husband too, who in his turn does all kinds of wood work during quieter times in agriculture. His working place is situated in outdoor buildings. One can note that Sinikka's and Timo's use of space in the farm environment is traditional and gendered by character but, through her marketing and selling, Sinikka continuously extends her sphere outside the farm.

Sinikka's products are popular and she is able to sell everything she produces. As a mat-

ter of fact there would be even more demand for her products but Sinikka is not willing to increase her production. Why not? As a little surprise the most significant reason is the grandchildren. They are very important to Sinikka and she wants to organize her time schedule so that she has time to nurture them quite often. Children are the ones who time after time tempt Sinikka from the space of the entrepreneurship to the domestic sphere of her house. It is only a short walk from the grandchildren's home to Sinikka's house and they see one another almost daily. So far, Sinikka has valued this short distance between these two worlds as more important than to invest more in her own business. She wants to carry out her entrepreneurship in harmony with her social and emotional environment. The family's significant role in female entrepreneur's life has in research been mentioned as an obstacle to the economic progress of women-owned enterprises (e.g. Kovalainen 1993). On the other hand, social relations can also operate as a resource and it could be argued that entrepreneurship can also be one strategy to carry out what one considers as a good life.

The rhythms of life, in the form of different generations are pulsing in Sinikka's home environment and affect her entrepreneurship. There is even another rhythm that organizes Sinikka's work, namely the annual rhythm. With summer come several hundreds summer residents to their local district. That means high season for Sinikka's enterprise. Sinikka has established a little shop in an old outbuilding on the seashore and she keeps it open during summer time. The shop is situated a couple of kilometres from the farm and it is easy for summer residents to pop into that shop. Sinikka employs one girl to work as a shop assistant during the summer. Quite often, however, the local summer residents want to talk with Sinikka personally and make orders for special interior textiles. The shop is not only a place for buying and selling but also a place for interaction between rural and urban worlds.

The surrounding environment is an unquestionable prerequisite for Sinikka's creativity. She gets her best ideas for the textiles and other handicrafts when she spends her time in nature.

> It is an absolute prerequisite to my work. Corn is growing and maybe especially when the corn is ripe and before it is harvested, that is a special time. I can sit for hours there beside the fields and just think about things and I make wheat bouquets, oat bouquets and everything and I gather strength somehow. And it is the same with woods; I do not have to go far into the woods. There is a little marsh there nearby and I sit beside it... and also the seashore is a place where I go... as a matter of fact this environment is compulsory. I wouldn't invent anything if I just sat inside.

Some customers are so fond of Sinikka's products that they may order all their soft furnishings from her. In that case Sinikka's way to express her feelings about the nature in the colours and style of her products coincides with the customer's taste and the products may act like a link between the urban dweller and the rural environment.

Conclusions

The introduced four women offer a glimpse into the variety of entrepreneurial activities on farms. Does environment make a difference to their entrepreneurship? Yes, it does in different ways. The four women's relationships to the farmland have developed uniquely. Anja has come to her husband's farm as a young wife, Sinikka and her husband bought a new farm when they got married. Leila has not left her childhood farm yet and she may stay there in

the future as well. Katja has come back to cultivate her childhood farm after years in town. The ownership of land property plays a role as far as the entrepreneurship of these women is concerned. For Anja it gives a possibility to use the environment of the farmyard for business purposes in a new way. Sinikka's enterprise is not dependent on the land and she could run her business in some other place as well. However, the importance of the local environment as a source of her creativity makes her emotional ties to the farmland strong. Katja's whole entrepreneurship is based on the fact that she enjoys living on her childhood farm and wants to make use of the resources ready available on the farm, like flowers, timber and honey. The mushroom hatchery forms the operational environment of Leila's entrepreneurship. Her parent's enthusiasm to develop the family farm has offered Leila possibility and resources to anchor her entrepreneurship in the rural environment.

Rural environment is getting new meanings in present day Europe. Rural spaces are no longer understood merely as places for agriculture. Different kinds of recreational values are gaining more and more attention. The phenomenon is called 'consumption of rural space' and it has led to a new economic use of the environment, culture and heritage (e.g. Salomonsson 1999; Marsden 2003). The introduced women's relationship to their living environment shows that the place matters. The meaning of the place stems from the long physical connection with it. Though the women interpret their environment in new ways in order to be able to earn one's living, they look at the landscape primarily with the eyes of a farmer and a resident.

For Sinikka the own enterprise has often meant a hiding place from the anxieties that the uncertainty of the family farming's future awakens. Interaction with summer residents and customers in the summer shop is a sign of continuity for her in the situation where constant structural changes threaten the feeling of continuity. The mushroom hatchery is an example how new operational environments can be created in a rural environment. It has not meant stable life for Leila and her parents but they have been forced to encounter the prejudices of their neighbourhood at the beginning of the business. The examples illustrate that an entrepreneur is not a 'lonely rider' but in order to succeed she or he has to be in many ways related to other people (about relational perspective to entrepreneurship see Vesala 1996; Ljunggren 2002). As women in this article show, female entrepreneurs are not living and working in isolation. The social environment can expand from one's doorstep a lot further through visitors, business colleagues and marketing. Sustainable life in a rural village can as a matter of fact include worldwide marketing networks and life that can be called 'multilocational' (e.g. Blehr 2000; Högbacka 2003). The eagerness to live on one's own farm in a rural environment is one of the keys to the future. The research material shows how the environment at the same time can give both an intimate relationship with nature and a practical way to earn one's living. One could argue that environment in itself and as interpreted in new ways is among the core reasons why the rural areas can survive despite of the structural changes in agriculture.

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Notes

1 I want to thank professor Anna-Maria Åström and docent Helena Ruotsala for their comments on an earlier draft of this article. The article is written in the project 'Gendered Rural Spaces' led by docent Ruotsala and funded by Finnish Cultural Foundation.

2 Transcribed interviews are in the possession of the writer.

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Young Fashion and Adult Style

How Teenage Girls and Grown Women Account for the Impact of Style and Fashion on Their Personal Clothing Practices

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Young people's consumption, and in particular that of young girls, is frequently used to exemplify the negative consequences of consumer society. Public debates in Norway have, for example, depicted young girls who crave brandy or fashionable clothing as victims of buying pressure or as obsessive shopaholics, while portraying grown women who buy expensive clothing as showing their good taste and style (Brusdal 2005). But are there empirically tenable arguments to support the idea that young girls are more dictated by fashion than others? Most studies on the subject have drawn on discursive data comparing the answers of young girls to those of other groups, often across gender. Several studies from Norway, for example, have identified a pattern where young girls say they are more interested in fashion, shopping, clothing etc. and that they spend more money on clothing and looks than boys, whereas boys claim to spend much more on most other areas of consumption. (Brusdal 1995, 2001; Storm-Mathisen 2003b). Likewise, this positioned interest and consumption declines after secondary school towards young adulthood for both genders (Brusdal 2002). If we interpret such discursive data as reflections of the "actual" influence of fashion, conclusions such as that young girls are more influenced by fashion than other groups seem natural. A rather striking hierarchy of moral concern is however often at play in discussions of consumption: consumption of clothing ranks lower than most other items of consumption, female consumption ranks lower than male consumption and the consumption of younger people ranks lower than that of older people (Døving 2006; Storm-Mathisen 2003a). There is in particular a long tradition in which consumption, and even more the interest in clothing and decoration, has been naturalized as part of female nature and weakness (De Grazia & Furlough 2005; Slater 1997). The gender-specific differences in answers about consumption and the moral hierarchy in debates on consumption triggered our curiosity. How do they influence conceptions and interpretations of clothing consumption?

As a first approach to an investigation of this subject we decided to perform a same-gender different-age comparison of accounting practices for clothing consumption. Recent empirical studies suggested anxiety about violating clothing norms as a factor determining what women actually wore (Clarke & Miller 2002). It thus seemed reasonable to focus the investigation on norms of clothing formulated by various groups. As public debate in Norway has been particularly concerned with the consumption of young teenage girls, and these stand out in relation to consumption of clothing, we found this age group particularly interesting to investigate. Females in the middle of life, no longer young nor old, but with responsibilities for children, appeared to be an appropriate group for comparison. These women could be approximately of the same age as mothers of teenage girls, and would have experienced the making of priorities between themselves and other members of the family in relation to financial resources (Corrigan 1989).

In an earlier article, we described and discussed how young teenage girls and women around forty argued about the relationship between age and conventions of female clothing and how they presented almost identical series of conceptions about what was appropriate attire for the different stages (Klepp & Storm-Mathisen 2005). The clothes should start with an innocent, asexual, childlike appearance, move towards more daring contemporary expressions before toning down to less trendy,

more demure adult attire. Yet the two age groups had somewhat different descriptions concerning when one was old enough for or too old to fit into an age-defined norm of clothing. Mothers expressed a wish for their child to maintain a childlike asexual appearance as long as possible, while teenagers articulated both desire and reluctance to move away from childish clothing. Young people expressed a dislike for mothers who failed to understand that eroticized attire should be a thing of the past for them. Grown women declared both a want and a hesitation to put away their daring outfits. Clearly, the girls and the women had no desire to meet in the same sexual arena. Yet it seemed easier for members of both groups to place others than to find their own place. Neither of the age groups wanted to expand on prevailing norms of clothing but could express doubt as to which norms applied to themselves at any given time.

In the present article, proceeding from the same data, we seek to investigate two other norms of clothing, namely those that call for a personal style and the use of fashionable clothing. Are there differences in how two age groups of the same gender describe these norms and how they influence their clothing practices? How different age groups of the same sex discursively relate to fashion and style and how they construct each other in relation to these phenomena will enhance insight into the use of various constructions of fashion and style as well as the functions of these uses. It will also enable us to discuss the more general question concerning prevalent constructions of young consumers as manipulated victims of fashion and market forces and adult consumers as sensible, mature individuals who exercise free choice.

Data and Analytical Approach

The following discussion is based on interviews with eighteen young teenage girls approximately thirteen years old[1] and twenty-four women between the ages of 34 and 46.[2] All interviewees were ethnic Norwegian and were interviewed in the period from 1997–2000 on the topic of clothing practices.

To enhance a wide variety of possible positions in relation to clothing, both sets of interviewees were recruited with respect to their different socio-economic backgrounds and interest in clothing. Differences between informants within each group allowed for varied representations of possible ways grown women and fresh teenage girls could live and represent their lives. In comparison, the two groups are nevertheless distinct with internal similarities and external differences in terms of stage of life and the opportunities and the challenges their bodies and social roles represent.

The young teenage girls share similarities in that they all have bodies undergoing growth. They were all in their first year as teens and in their first year at lower secondary school when they were interviewed. As such they are placed in a role as "fresh" teenagers and face new demands in terms of age-role expectations.[3] Although the young teenage girls differed in respect of socio-economic background, interest, independence and acquisition of clothes as well as in body shape and size, they were all financially dependent on their parents. Their clothing purchases and daily ways of dressing are partly an effect of processes of negotiation and cooperation with parents.[4]

The grown women had all experienced twenty to thirty more years of being female than the young girls in the study. Although they too represent a diverse sample in respect of income level, place of residence, interest in

clothes and the types of clothing required in their jobs, they share common characteristics as a group. They all have children, families, jobs, houses and cars and are well established as caregivers and income earners.

The intra-group similarities and the inter-group differences between the two female groups allow for an interesting comparison of accounts. Concerns of methodological difference cannot account for the main analytical findings. The two groups represent different generations (young vs. middle-aged), different female roles (mother vs. daughter) and different social positions (employee vs. pupil). Compared to teenagers, the grown women operate in a greater number of positions and social contexts. As an effect of different life-stage experiences and available positions, one would expect the accounts of such two age groups to differ.

Conceptualizations of fashion and style by female informants are central to the discussion we present. Their use of these concepts and the meanings they apply to them appear both ambiguous and inconsistent. The concepts are sometimes used nearly synonymously, other times as each other's contrast and sometimes assigned different statuses. The different statuses of fashion and style are much discussed in theoretical literature on fashion and consumption. We therefore start by delineating some aspects of these theoretical discussions relevant to the topic we want to discuss here. Discussions are based on those segments of the interview transcripts in which the females verbally expressed themselves on issues relating to fashion and style. A description of contents in these accounts is organized according to two themes around which the relationship between fashion and style is made relevant: dressing according to personal taste and dressing according to the times. The following analysis will centre on some prevalent articulations and the possible functions they may serve to the girls and women (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Particular attention is directed to how the construction of "style as maturity" (and independence) and "fashion as youth" (and in time) is both directed at inferences connected to the issues of talk and at the different positions with which grown women and girls are associated in discourses of clothing practices (Widdicombe 1998).

Theoretical Constructions of Fashion and Style

The intensification of fashion is said to be the most typical feature of a consumer society (Gronow 1997). Fashion is characterized by an orientation towards the present, the future and the changeable, in contrast to orientations toward tradition and the past (Tarde 1903). While tradition situates the individual according to inherited dividing lines, fashion situates the individual in time. Although fashion applies to many areas, it is perhaps most commonly attributed to clothing and appearances (Blumer 1969).

In studies of contemporary clothing, fashion is often defined as the abstract system outside the reach of most people's control being dictated in large international streams with different participants influencing which clothes are produced and made available on the market at any given time (Entwistle 2000). Sociological, economic and anthropological literature has explained fashion changes as a product of status, power and class struggles (Veblen 1899; Bourdieu 1986; Hebdige 1979), gender divisions (Veblen 1899; Simmel 1971; Entwistle 2000) and eroticism (Steele 1985). In present-day life, leisure activities – characterized by age-graded clothing – is argued to have become increasingly important to fashion

innovators. This has led some to the conclusion that contemporary fashion is more influenced by age-graded or generational clothing than by class-coded clothing conventions (Corrigan 1989; Crane 2000). Although there are diverging opinions as to whether age really has replaced more traditional hierarchies based on cultural and economic capital, youth and youthfulness no doubt has high status in the world of fashion.

Style, on the other hand, is defined as the socially embedded practices of individuality – the individual, group-wise or class-adjusted clothing expression. Fashion is expressed, diffused and reconstructed through style, as the result of an infinite number of small decisions in which individual consumers adapt to, buy and use fashion ideas and products (Entwistle 2000).

Simmel (1971) explained fashion as driven by the duality between an imitation of social patterns that provides social support and the redemption of individual differentiation and social delimitation. Hebdiges (1979) reads sub cultural style as a system of meaning that opposes the systems of meaning represented by fashion. In theories of modernity, the dual relationship between style and fashion is understood in the light of the concept of the free modern individual. The increasing importance of consumption, style and fashion is often regarded as symptomatic of a loss of depth (Miller 1994). In such a perspective fashion is regarded as more "artificial" than style. Fashion is "artificial" in the sense that the continuous transformation of how clothes look is seen as a result of collective pressure from the outside. Since style not only is constructed more concretely as that which fashion changes but also is linked to the individual it is often understood as closer to the "real" human being and given higher prestige. This understanding can be questioned. Bourdieu illustrated how style or taste also is socially given and subject to the logic of capital and culture (Bourdieu 1986). The cosmetic paradox discussed by Greer (1970), Strathern (1979) and Klepp (2004) points out the contradiction that use of make-up and clothing in accordance with general aesthetic conventions draws attention away from individuality and objectifies persons. Miller argues for his part that differences in culture are constructed through modes of consumption and that consequences of fashion and style arise out of the articulations between modernity and the desire to objectify a sense of voluntaristic freedom (Miller 1994:93).

Dressing According to Personal Taste

Both grown women and young girls in the present study emphasize that finding a personal style is important. Yet there are some between-group differences in how this is articulated.

"I am definitely more concerned about style than fashion"

A striking similarity within the group of grown women is that they claim to be more concerned about personal style than fashion. "When you reach a certain age, you are much more concerned about finding your own style," one says.

Many women speak of finding "your own style" as equivalent to finding clothes that are becoming. Knowledge of what is becoming is construed as something that grows with age and experience and in a certain contrast to what is fashionable (Klepp 2001; Klepp & Storm-Mathisen 2005). "I am quite concerned that [what I wear] should be becoming to me, not necessarily that it be in fashion." When the women talk about what is becoming they often

exemplify with colours, cut or shape. Almost all of them define quite explicitly which are the "right" colours, cuts or shapes for them, and what they "can" and "cannot" wear (Klepp 2004). According to the women, clothes should show their bodies to be as youthful and thin as possible. Clothes described as becoming are characterized by their ability to hide the bodily parts the women are least pleased with and to emphasize those they think are their best assets.

The term "classic" is also recurrent in the women's descriptions of their own style of dress, although most of the women interviewed accentuated that their style was not exclusively classic but tended "towards the classic and somewhat simple ... but not too elegant"; they like "rather creative clothing" or clothes that are "classic but not too classic". What is classic is in turn described in terms like "timeless", and is construed as that which is not the prevailing trend for "half a year and then suddenly no longer in fashion". The women thus equate classic clothes with the timeless in contrast to the modern or fashionable. They also contrast the classic style to what is very "dolled up" or very ladylike: "rather simple and classic – not so very dressed up." The classic style is presented as something rather austere that perhaps should or at least could be modified with rough, suggestive or creative clothing or with a sporty touch. While the "very dressed up" is spoken of in negative terms, competing styles such as the more sporty, suggestive or rough are described in more positive terms – at least when they are mentioned in terms of what blends in with a classic style.

Some women express difficulty in labelling their clothing style: "[there is] something about them [particular items of clothing] that I like but I don't know what it is". Others argue that style and taste are of no concern to them, for they wear what is "safe". What is "safe" is that which makes you not "stand out too much". In this case clothing is presented as something chosen out of collective or social considerations, rather than as an expression of "yourself" as an individual who has found her "own style".[5]

Even though the women express a preference for styles that are simple, classic and somewhat "timeless", these articulated clothing practices do not violate the fashion system. It was, for example, precisely the simple and classic style that dominated Norwegian fashion in the late 1990s. "What you think is timeless, is perhaps not so timeless when a few years have passed after all". Although some women talk about their own style as an alternative to fashion, they state that fashion can make it difficult to find "what is most becoming on you": "Inevitably some of your clothing choices will be influenced by what is happening around you, not to mention what you can find in the stores." They also construe it as difficult to buy anything other than the latest fashion if you want to buy something quickly and inexpensively without much effort. In this sense of personal style, fashion is construed as an obstacle.

"You like try to have your own style"

That style is something you should have – or try to find if you don't – is a widespread representation in the accounts of the teenage girls: "You must have your own style in a way. At least partly." The teenage girls talk about style as personal variations within the framework of acceptable styles of dress according to the local fashion. "What really decides fashion is what others are wearing. But you try not to copy others either, you like try to have your own style but in a way be similar to all the others. It's like a combination." The word

"like" could here suggest distance as well as closeness.[6] It constructs having your own style as something to be desired and ambivalence concerning whether this is something achieved or achievable. Such ambivalence is underlined in many accounts of the risky project involved in being too different. "Nobody much feels like wearing freaky clothing and having a completely different style." To have your own style without standing out too much from how most people are dressed is in this sense articulated as a central clothing norm.

When exemplifying their style, most teenage girls said they used the same items of clothing as others but that they varied the colours or created personal combinations of old and new items. Several speak of combining modern and classic clothes much in line with how the grown women speak of combining classic and rough or sporty clothing. "If there is someone that really likes classic things and everybody in her class wears cool things then she can like go and find a classic jacket or something and wear it with modern trousers." Other girls described style more explicitly as something that helps them stand out more from the group: "I would like to be considered crazy [...] those hairy clothes, that's what I like. And completely pure style, I like." Many teenage girls speak of clothing brands as their way of expressing individuality within their group: "I am a little more brand-conscious in my clothing style" but "I also have clothes that are ordinary." The concept "preppy" (*soss*), which is often used in descriptions of brand-oriented styles, suggests that this style is dominated by brands that are expensive.[7] Other girls draw upon a discourse of style as maturity and describe shirts with collars and jeans that are tight fitting in the legs and wider at the foot as more feminine and adult than the ordinary androgynous style of their peers. Some of the young girls speak of style as equivalent to modern and mature attitudes or conduct.

Dressing in Accordance with the Times

Both age groups also claimed that dress should signal some degree of contemporariness. However, they construe the scope of what is considered "contemporary" much more broadly for grown women than for young girls.

"You do want to belong to the present"

When grown women state their reasons for not wanting to dress completely out of step with fashion, they make use of expressions that refer to time. Their argument is that they do not disregard fashion entirely because they want to "show that you keep up, that you are not old-fashioned in any way". Some use the expression "a fossil" about a person whose clothes are totally out of fashion. A stronger statement of something that is lagging far behind seems hard to find.

The women mention jobs, but also family, friends, neighbours, schools, organizations, city life and the like as arenas with influence on their clothing choices. "You do want to have clothes that belong to the present, and not something that you feel is completely hopeless," one woman explains. Placing yourself outside of that which belongs to the present is constructed as a direct violation of norms. A person who is not capable of or willing to follow norms in one area is spoken of as unreliable – as someone that you may expect anything from.

If fashion is understood as indicative of the present, the question arises of how long the tolerable time lapse is for each individual. None of the twenty-four women states that she is not influenced by fashion, but they all

claim to follow the slow changes of fashion. The differences in the women's sensitivity to fashion changes can vary from those who say they lag thirty years behind to those who claim trying to be in the forefront. Clothes that these women discarded because they were out of fashion were on average eight years old, and at the time of disposal they had already been stuck away unused for a couple of years (Klepp 2001:165). Thus it may be suggested that the grown women's defined "contemporariness" is somewhere within such an eight-year interval. This is validated by the verbal expressions the women used to describe clothing items that were fashion-wise outdated: "typical 1980s". However, there are substantial variations in the women's definitions of what is fashion-wise outdated on the individual level. One woman says, "most of what I wear is outmoded". She argues that she actively seeks to avoid being influenced and tries to the utmost to prevent purchases of fashionable clothing. Arguing faithfulness to the anti-fashion ideals of her youth, she places herself in a fashion picture belonging to the 1970s. Another woman who wore freak style clothes in her youth says that she joined the transition from the narrow armholes of the 1970s to the wide ones of the 1980s. "I am presently in the 80s I guess, but now sweaters that are snug under the arm have become fashionable again. But I have not kept up with that more recent turn of fashion." This woman situates herself in the present as lagging approximately ten years behind the mainstreams of contemporary fashion trends. She has not started to like all "the sad colours" that dominated in the 1990s and explains this by arguing that she has "ceased to keep up". She says that fashion influenced her more when she was young and that she now imitates fashion at a slower pace than before. Women who claim they wore brand-name clothing and the white polos associated with a more preppy and expensive clothing style when they were young claim to stick to these preferences still: "I am not one of those innovators. I have always liked the more conservative variant best anyway." It is often argued that the upper classes reject or oppose change (Simmel 1971). They are not called conservatives without reason. But even though the way clothes look may remain relatively stable, small details tend to change.

Some of the women state that they like to keep up with changing trends and to buy the most recent fashions available. "I have understood from one medium or another that something is going to come into fashion. And in a way I feel like having it a little while before it arrives on the scene". This woman says she often buys new items abroad or before the start of the season.

Whether or not unfashionable clothing is constructed as unacceptable depends on the place for their use. "It does not matter to me (at home) or when I am at the store or something ...", but you "feel uncomfortable when you go to a meeting or a social event". Although some of the women, in reference to their own youth, spoke of a need to explicitly express their individuality through style, their argument for the present is that style of clothing should not obstruct interaction and that the social roles such as being a professional, a mother, a neighbour etc., are significant. Work in particular is construed as an arena where clothing is important. All women express a wish to follow the norms of clothing there, whether the norms are "not to dress as though you care how you look" or to be "proper", formal, conservative or fashionable. The process of adjusting to new dress codes at work is spoken of as not very problematic.

The grown women have closets full of

clothing items that stem from more or less successful purchases over the last decades. They have to decide what they can still use and what not to use. They claim it is possible to like unfashionable clothing but to dislike using it in particular social circumstances. Where you are and what you do is decisive for arguments concerning whether wearing unfashionable clothing feels comfortable or not.

"I can't wear that anymore because it's out of fashion"

For the young teenage girls most clothes in their closet are new – and as such rather modern. All have grown out of their childhood clothing both size-wise and mentally. Since their bodies have been in constant change they are accustomed to relating to clothing as something that frequently must be replaced. Yet they point out that it varies to what extent they themselves and their peers are concerned about fashion. Some claim that they do not have clothes that are "decent fashion", others that they are "fashionable enough". They all refer to particular peers that are "hooked on" or "pros" of fashion and people that are "totally unaware of fashion".

Most say they want fashionable clothing in the sense of having temporary clothes: "It is obviously what matters at the moment." Some construct new items of clothing as fashionable per se. "You can very well go and buy what is in the stores. You know that's what's in fashion." Some girls note that certain stores stock more fashionable clothes than others and that certain brands are more in fashion than others. A clothing brand or perhaps even more so a store that promotes the same look or style year after year can be assigned low value: "Ragazz! They have bad taste. Suddenly you see the year's fashion and in all the other stores it's the same look. Then you see Ragazz and you get completely shocked. They have no fashion year after year. They only have the same disgusting things."

The fashionable is generally construed as what is new and different, and old clothes are assigned low value: "I can't have that anymore because it's out of fashion". To the teenage girls "old clothes" are not old compared with the age of clothes the women speak of as old, but they are perceived as becoming unfashionable and in need of replacement rather quickly.

The range of what is acceptable is still constructed by many as rather great, giving each individual room to pick and combine elements of her own liking as long as she also makes use of a few of the commonly defined symbols of up-to-dateness and status.

Young teenage girls speak of places where they meet with their peers as the most important clothing arenas, e.g. at school or during their organized or unorganized leisure time. In these contexts they argue it central to show that "you care about how you look". A safe way to achieve this is said to dress fairly similar to your peers. "I want to look as good as possible. Wear clothes that you feel are good, that you know people think are nice in a way." "It's not me" to dress in sweatpants when with peers, says one girl, because no girl with status does that. At home, on the other hand, sweatpants are her preferred garment. The driving force in the local norm of fashion is particularly linked to peers with high popularity. A dominant discourse centres on the construction that those who do not follow fashion are less accepted and achieve lower positions in the hierarchy of peers than those who do. "If the girls who are most popular at school dress in a particular type of clothes, then the [less popular girls] will also try those … and copy them." Even though it is important for teenage girls to dress like their peers, it

is also articulated as vital not to become too similar to others. "It's okay to have the same clothes, but there must be a slight difference." Dressing exactly like the others is presented as childish and immature.

Everyday Constructions of Fashion and Style

There are thus both similarities and variations in how young teenage girls and grown women speak of fashion and style. Both draw upon arenas "backstage" as examples of situations in which the demands of being fashionable and up-to-date do not apply (Goffman 1959). Grown women stress more the importance of personal style, whereas young girls accentuate the importance of following fashion through the acquisition of new clothes similar to those of others. In the women's descriptions, style is depicted much as an alternative, and sometimes as a challenging relation, to fashion. They equate style and being able to dress in what is becoming to individuality, presenting it as a result of the self-confidence and competence that comes with maturity. The young teenage girls for their part describe style as a desirable personal or group-wise variation of present fashion. They situate style more explicitly within the framework of fashion than do the women. Yet when looking more closely at how the grown women exemplify their clothing style, it becomes evident that these match the general trends of contemporary fashion.

By investigating somewhat further the patterns of how fashion is equated to youth while style is equated to maturity, as well as the function fashion is assigned in changes of taste, a better understanding of the functions of the different arguments of these two age groups is sought.

Style is Mature

Both grown women and young girls talk about style as wearing clothes in accordance with a personal taste or individuality. Still, what they like is not described as totally independent of fashion. Both groups present personal style as more or less influenced by changes in fashion and how the people around them dress.

The grown women describe style as something they have achieved through experience. By making use of concepts such as "classic" and "timeless" they present style as a more stable phenomenon than fashion. The young teenage girls also construct style and its personal expression as a measure of maturity – as something they "try to find" and develop. But in contrast to the grown women, they describe style as an individual or group-wise expression of aspects of the fashion picture at any given time rather than as something different from fashion. Having a personal style is considered good, whereas a style that looks very different from that of other people is spoken of as "undesirable".

Girls define the same items of clothing as different enough if they vary in small nuances such as shape, colour or brand. Women, on the other hand, speak of a greater degree of personal differentiation and personal style with reference to colours, cut and details that can draw attention to bodily features considered to be most in line with current ideals of beauty. In line with the aesthetic paradox, style may be conceived of as something that might disguise as much as it emphasizes. Becoming clothing is not only a question of adjusting the choice of clothing but also adjusting the appearance of the body to prevailing body ideals.

The fresh teenage girls speak of style as something they are about to or want to develop. This argument may be understood as attention to the problem of balancing the inferences

that could be made from their accounts of the importance of following fashion. By claiming that finding a style is a desired but lengthy project they manage to describe themselves as more than manipulated victims. They are "aware and on the way" to adjusting their clothing to the body they are about to have and on a search to find their place in an adult world where conventions tied to clothing (e.g. when it comes to social status, occupation, position etc.) are more differentiated than conventions in a school class.

Women construct their personal clothing choices around concepts of personal style, what is becoming to them and the ideal of timelessness, whereas the young girls point to the importance of collective fashion and particular brands.[8] Yet their arguments appear rather similar in function. The personal clothing practices of both groups are constructed as driven by the anxiety of social embarrassment and concerns for the age- and time-specific clothing norms (Clarke & Miller 2002). Girls and women both construct the required degree of individuality in clothing to increase with age: children should be practically dressed and may even be similarly dressed, teenage clothing should subordinate individuality to group fashion, whereas individuality should rank above group fashion for grown women. Young girls and grown women do however both claim to avoid overly individualized clothing. A common explanation given is that this carries with it a risk of social sanctioning and exclusion. The young teenagers say they respond to this risk by reading individuality or personal style into distinctions in small details within the prevailing clothing conventions of their peers and relying a lot on simple codes such as fashionable colours or brands.

Fashion is Young

Grown women talk of fashion as being equivalent to youth fashion. They state that fashion is designed for and aimed at the young: it is "tailored to those who are somewhat younger". It is "on the young girls ... it is nice". Fashion is described as something made for the young and fitting young people the best. Their experiences with fashion in youth vary from "it was kind of those teenage years that were the worst", to "when we were young it was the opposite, right... Then ... in the environment where I belonged ... we were supposed to object, to protest", or "I come from a small village, and there they were not so [fashion-conscious] ... we didn't have a clothing store, and ... we bought mostly by mail order maybe." On the personal level, factors such as geographical location, financial means, political attitudes and availability are drawn upon to explain divergence from the general idea that fashion and youth go together. On the whole, the women present the relationship between fashion and youth as something that applies more to other people than to their own personal experiences.

The idea that fashion signals youth is also present when the teenage girls speak of what generally applies to others in their age group. The fashion that matters most is that which applies in their local peer community of teenagers, at their school or in their class. "If you wear clothing different from what ordinary young people usually do you aren't well accepted. Like if you wear leggings and it's very fashionable to wear jeans ... then you think aha. But for adults it doesn't matter." The teenage girls argue that following fashion has an important social significance in the teenage group but of little importance to grown-ups. Fashion is thus construed as a significant sign of youth.

Fashionable clothing is described as the usual, what all (young people) use although fashion is depicted as something that may vary between social groupings within their own peer context and in different communities or geographical locations. Wearing unfashionable clothing is often talked about as indicating failure or neglect in relation to the development of an age-appropriate social role (Klepp & Storm-Mathisen 2005).

Both age groups construct fashion as an important signal of contemporariness and presence: that they "dress in accordance with the times". They follow fashion in order "to show that [they] keep up". But the teenage girls express less latitude for individual choice than do the grown women. What is spoken of as accepted, and the consequences of challenging the boundaries of contemporary fashion, is also construed as less open in the world of young girls than in the world of grown women. Contemporary body ideals and norms of what is sexually acceptable are more important than fashion in defining age-appropriate dress for females (Klepp & Storm-Mathisen 2005). The contemporary body ideal is young, and fashion is promoted on young bodies. This discourse could influence both age groups to link fashion more to young age, youthful bodies and youth culture than to adult life. The different accounts by the two age groups may suggest that this discourse introduces different problems to the members of the two age groups in accounting for personal clothing practices. Grown women must not present themselves as too much in fashion whereas young girls may not present themselves as too out of fashion.

Fashion and Changes of Taste

The informants speak of dressing "in accordance with personal taste" as wearing clothes they like. What they like changes with time and the contexts they are a part of.

The women's argument is that they do not follow fashion just for the sake of fashion. They attribute changes in their personal dress to changes in personal taste (in line with fashion) over time. One key argument is that fashion causes changes in personal taste: when everyone else around them starts to dress in a particular way they become accustomed to how clothes should look and their taste adapts to this. They avoid wearing unfashionable clothing, not because the items are unfashionable, but because "the fashion picture has influenced me so much that [the old clothes] start to look outdated to me. Because it does, right. It happens." According to this woman it is exactly this that is the effect of "this fashion thing". Clothes that are taken out again after a long period of time in the closet are described as being "not like I remembered them" anymore. "Some things you may find very ugly when they first arrive, but then you get used to them in a way. [And when you see] others wearing them then you think maybe they weren't so bad after all."

The way fashion sneaks into personal taste and changes it through habit is also a major theme in the teenage girls' accounts: "I didn't think pirate pants were so nice, but then they suddenly came into fashion, and then I thought: they really are pretty nice. Like, you get very influenced." On the other hand they also describe change in their favourite colours and kinds of jeans as a continual process of adaptation not only due to habituation but as something they are actively and consciously engaged in: "If it says in the newspapers or all over ... yes, brown and purple, those are this year's colours in fashion, then you go consciously looking for those things. At least I do ... so all at once I think those colours

become much nicer."

Although some women present changes in taste as a central, inevitable and unproblematic aspect of how fashion works while others articulate this more as an unpleasant fact, the teenage girls state more clearly how fashion changes their taste in clothing.

The differences in teenage and adult articulations of fashion may be related to Tarde's (1903) conception of fashion as something that situates the individual in the present time with a direction towards the future, and with Benjamin's (1991) notion of fashion as a form of art performed by people who wish to see and be seen. Youth is of high value in contemporary society and – according to some observers – has replaced "social status as the variable that conveys prestige to the fashion innovator" (Crane 2000:14). In cultures in which fashion is influential, the moment and frequent aesthetic changes hold sway (Meyer 2001). Young people have fewer positions of status to relate to in public life, but they can be seen through their position in the present (Simmel 1971). Moreover, time has a different significance for the very young than for people who have already led a long life. One year, or eight for that matter, is a proportionately longer period in the life of a thirteen-year-old than in the life of a forty-year-old. The meaning attached to "the age of clothes" may change more dramatically for a thirteen-year old than for a forty-year-old. Three-year old clothes may be considered "older" for a thirteen-year old than for the grown women. Clothes purchased at the age of ten may not fit the thirteen-year-old's body or identity. They could belong to a childlike appearance that girls seek to leave behind. Three years in a grown women's life may not carry such changes in body or in identification. Young girls' and grown women's arguments about "outdated" clothes are in this respect quite differently situated in contextual realities and attend to different problems.

Positions of Teenagers and Grown Women in Discourses of Clothing

It has been illustrated how teenage girls assign power and hierarchy a more important role as driving forces of fashion than do the grown women. As a result, they present themselves as less autonomous individuals than do the grown women. The young girls' construction of a character such as the "wannabe" suggests that extensive use of brand names and fashion clothing is associated with a dependent, fickle individual that is easily swayed. "Wannabe is just the same as saying they want to be. And there are very many who want to be [...] babes, right. And then they are called wannabe-babes." The "wannabe" is a label associated with someone who is presenting themselves with aspirations of being something they have not yet become in view of common cultural expectations of age, status and sexual experience. Presenting oneself as a person of correct age is a clear indicator of age group identity (Heggli 2002:150). Due to expectations connected to youth not yet being fully themselves, individualization may not be the same imposing project for youth as for adults. That young people are expected to be less autonomous can make it more acceptable for them than for adults to be explicit about the influence of others on their personal consumption.

The young girls' explicit articulations of fashion influences may also serve as a legitimizing and veiling factor in their efforts to motivate parents to buy them new clothes. The grown women's inclination to present themselves as little influenced by fashion and as unconcerned with brand names indicates

that visual means of power and status are less legitimate elements in grown females' clothing discourse. Yet in relation to the job arena, arguments concerning power and status seem more legitimate. Women accentuate strongly the importance of clothing in their jobs and in particular in situations where they wish to be respected (meetings, in court etc.). Many state that they would adjust their style according to job expectations if necessary. In this respect women present power and status as more important than personal style. One could perhaps expect that personal style was more important in private spheres, where collective norms are less important. That the grown women speak little of the private arena at home or "backstage" but much more of social arenas at work etc. indicates that they, much like teenage girls, assign importance to clothing in the positioning of oneself in the "front stage" of social arenas.

The adult women talk at length about personal themes such as hygiene, taste, and interpersonal relations, while they are less talkative about income – in particular if it may be expected to be above the average. Norwegian society is often characterized as a society in which the ideal of equality is valued and the willingness to articulate differences is low (Gullestad 1997).[9] From this perspective, the differences in articulations about the importance of status could be due to cultural norms in manners of talking about this theme rather than differences that reflect "realities". The fact that power is communicated more explicitly in interviews with young girls could be an effect of the grown women responding more actively to norms of equality than the less experienced girls in a younger generation. "Adults do not speak candidly about each other," says one of the girls. But it could also be an effect of girls and grown women being differently positioned in the discourse of power. What is legitimate for a girl to express may have more problematic inferences where it expressed by a woman. Time-adjusted peer fashion conformity epitomizes the young teenager whereas time-adjusted personal style appropriate for her career, body, position and age expresses the mature woman.

Presenting Conformity as Individuality

There are clear differences in how wide the latitude of conformity is constructed to be in the two worlds and in the ways that fashion is articulated to dictate the norms. The argument presented underlines that apparent articulated difference between the young girls and the grown women may be explained by how the two groups attend to different challenges with respect to how they are situated and structured by age, roles and contexts. While the grown women articulate fashion as a less essential part of the clothing norms in their environment, the teenage girls maintain that a break with current fashion easily qualifies exclusion from the peer group. This could be an effect of the groups of others being more differentiated in the social worlds of adults and more restricted to the group of peers among youths. Girls operate within fewer contexts than do grown women. To the teenage girls "the others" are represented by a more homogeneous group of same-age peers compared to the more diverse group of career and life-long relation "others" of grown women. The young girls have less differentiated roles than the grown women. They live their lives in families that govern their clothing purchases and in the homogeneous peer context of schools where identity is read through conduct and appearance. The women's roles as professionals, wage earners, mothers, wives, friends etc. are not only more differentiated but also

have the character of being more achieved than ascribed. Moreover, the teenage girls have less experience with clothing and are newcomers in a life phase associated with more instability in terms of role and identity changes. With the different positions of girls and women comes a difference in their cultural competence of presenting clothing choices as reasonable and individualized. The grown women are more skilled at representing the norm-structured and hierarchical aspects of clothing as taste and style. They have also had time to acquire more competence in finding clothes that present their bodies as much as possible in accordance with beauty ideals and clothing norms. As they no longer need status brands to ensure that their clothes are socially accepted, they can appear more independent and sensible.

The powerful position and influence of fashion is however present in both groups' accounts. Fashion is drawn upon as a directive to change individual taste in clothing and to legitimize this change. A distinct personal style is often read as independence, but according to the presented argument it can just as well be read as a fulfilment of the socialization to female clothing norms. Because conceptions of style not only modulate choice of clothing according to conventions but also affect appearance, it might be that conceptions of style as much as those of fashion contribute to the production of conformity.

Although we have identified variations in the accounts of girls and women, we had expected greater distinctions. Female clothing norms are complex and to some extent ambiguous and vary according to the body and looks of the wearer. Finding appropriate clothing that fulfils norms of clothing and legitimizing choices is not a simple task, particularly not when the norms and the body are in transition and the practical consumption of clothing is a priority for the household and a symbol of loyalty to it. These challenges are in sense shared by both grown women and young girls and their accounts are constructed to attend to them. Females argue that they relate to the problem through knowledge of what fits them, through having found a personal style and building up a wardrobe according to this through the years. Young girls say they relate to the problem by dressing relatively similar to their peers and by using brands that gave some security. In confrontation with such statements it is tempting to conclude that young girls are victims of fashion and the buying pressure of modernity, whereas grown women have managed to cope with these challenges. Such a conclusion could be a continuation of a strong and long tradition in which female consumption has been criticized, or it could be connected to the age-related problem concerning the immorality of spending money one has not earned oneself. The interpretation we have presented suggests that the statements are designed to meet various discursive concerns and challenges that females of different ages are faced with in different positions and contexts. Both groups' accounts of their own consumption of clothing, the following of fashion and development of a personal style, can, much in line with Miller's argument (1994), be understood as elements in their endeavour to organize, find and fill a space in society.

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Notes

1 The girls were recruited from four socio-economically diverse schools in Oslo. With two exceptions, all the young teenage girls were interviewed with a girl friend. This was done to elicit "social" accounts of clothes in the peer group and to tone down the power relation between the adult interviewer and the teenager. The conversational interviews were produced for a project on clothing and purchasing pressure (Storm-Mathisen 1998) and a doctoral study of clothing and young teenager's identity construction (Storm-Mathisen 2001). The project also included data other than that cited in this article: interviews with boys in the same age group, interviews with parents of 13-year-olds living in the city of Oslo and from a rural area of southern Norway, and a survey of 816 13-year-olds from urban Oslo and rural schools in the southern part of Norway.

2 The women who were recruited from various regions in Norway were interviewed individually. The interviews were conducted as part of an environmental project about discarding clothes (Klepp 2001, 2002). The project also included follow-up interviews about the clothes the women had stopped wearing, as well as the collection and registration of their discarded clothes (329 garments).

3 This is underlined by the fact that the Norwegian term for elementary school is Children's School (*barneskole*) whereas the Norwegian term for lower secondary school is Youth School (*ungdomsskole*).

4 Norwegian pupils do not wear uniforms at school.

5 Space does not allow for a wider discussion of these constructions of "safe clothes" here but a discussion related to this topic may be found in Klepp (2005) and in Clarke and Miller (2002).

6 *Liksom* may relate to English terms such as "kind of", "sort of", "as if" or "like". We have chosen the latter. A cross-linguistic investigation of the English term *like*" and the Norwegian term *liksom* describe them as discourse markers with a "pointing" function that in some contexts be used as "hedges marking speaker distance, in other contexts however they are rather used as "closeness" markers to enhance expressivity and increase the intensity of the narrative situation". http://home.hia.no/kristinh/doktoravhandling.html.

7 The descriptions of what is preppy vary somewhat between girls in different socio-economic contexts. One aspect of this is that the category (*soss*) partly is construed as having more expensive clothing than others in the context (Storm-Mathisen 1998).

8 The grown women ascribe the importance of brand-name clothing to the young. They deny that they are concerned about brands themselves, but acknowledge that their taste changes with fashion. The young girls on the other hand see brand-name clothing as a useful tool in their efforts to obtain knowledge of what is accepted as fashionable in their peer environment. By purchasing clothes in particular stores or clothes of particular brands they can avoid buying something that is "completely wrong".

9 A Norwegian study has shown that people with high incomes are more inclined to underreport their income than people with average incomes (Espeland & Kirkeberg 2002).

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The Disappearance and Return of History in Modern Sweden

By Brendan Sweeney

While visiting Stockholm during the early 1980s, the German writer and critic, Hans Magnus Enzensberger remarked that of the 49 museums and institutions he counted in the Stockholm region – exhibiting everything from Nordic ethnographic and cultural artefacts to tobacco industry products and the workings of old breweries – he could discover not a single one dedicated to the period of Sweden's era of military dominance during the 17th and 18th centuries. Even the collections in the historical museum in Narvavägen, which he described as more ethnographic than cultural or historical, focused exclusively on the period up to the start of the Vasa era in the early 16th century. "After that," he comments acidly, "a vacuum opens up about which no one appears to be interested" (Enzensberger 1988: 38).

This vacuum was not confined to the museum system. In Swedish schools the number of hours dedicated to history has been constantly whittled down during the last five decades and since it is not part of the core curriculum, students can graduate without ever having taken a class in the subject. Moreover, this demotion of the past largely took place without public debate. As historian, Stefan Nordqvist, explains: "The fact that the subject of history has received, by international standards, an exceptionally obscure role in Swedish schools has not been seriously opposed in any way. In this respect, Swedish historical culture (in any case its political and cognitive spheres) is characterized by a pronounced and consciously sought absence of history" (Nordqvist 2000: 137).

There seems to be general agreement that what took the place of history in national consciousness was the project of social modernization. As the historian Alf W. Johansson put it: "Swedish national identity has been linked to our modernity. It has been connected with the present, with a sense of belonging to the avant-garde, the most modern" (Johansson 2001: 8). Unlike the national identities of other European countries, which are usually rooted in specific ethno-historical narratives – what Anthony D. Smith calls 'myths of origins and descent' – Swedishness is regarded as inextricably linked to concepts such as rationalism and progress.

And this belief has its own history: one could even say that this attitude predates the project of modernity itself. As far back as 1838, for instance, the Swedish writer, C. J. L. Almqvist, described a form of Swedish nationalism that was neither historical nor traditional, as in other European countries, but modern (Isaksson 1989: 95). More remarkably, this was at a time when Sweden was still a nation of impoverished peasants largely untouched by the industrial revolution then gathering pace in much of central and western Europe. By the 1940s, the idea that Swedish identity was uniquely wedded to functionalism and modernity was well established both in Sweden and abroad, and moreover, Swedish rationalism was also seen as an important factor defining the *folkhem* or welfare state that the Social Democratic government was constructing (cf. Beckman 1946: 130 ff.).

However, as if to spell out the fact that no identity can be rooted in something as illusive as modernity, history appears to be making a comeback in Sweden. Unlike the official denigration of the subject in the post-war years, this apparent 'return of history' has been fuelled by a growing popular interest in the subject coinciding with the crisis in the welfare state during the early 1990s. Sales of historical textbooks have been booming and Swedish television has produced a constant

stream of historical documentaries during the last decade.

There does seem to be something uniquely Swedish about this attitude towards the historical past[1]: it certainly cannot be put down to general trends in Scandinavia. A few kilometres across the Øresund in Denmark, there is no indication of a similar tendency despite the many cultural, political and historical similarities between the two countries. In my own small-scale comparative study of Swedish and Danish secondary school textbooks from the 1970s, I discovered that the Danish history books were considerably more detailed, often offering three-times more text on the same subject, than their Swedish equivalents (Sweeney 2005: 242 ff.). Sociological data do not explain the phenomenon either, as Danes and Swedes score similarly in comparative mass studies of values and attitudes. In a 2004 sociological work on Danish identity, for instance, Swedes and Danes resembled each other more than they did other Europeans (cf. Gundelach et al. 2004).

Unlike Swedish national identity, Danishness is expressly defined in terms of the country's past. On the evidence of the most comprehensive study to date, national identity in Denmark was, between the 18th and 20th centuries, constantly shaped and reshaped by a series of confrontations with the German states – culminating in the Nazi occupation of 1940–45 – rather than a sense of being in the vanguard of modernism (cf. Feldbæk et al. 1991/1992). This emphasis on fencing off national culture vis-à-vis a threatening Other also fits in well with Fredrik Barth's theory emphasising the importance of boundaries for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity (cf. Barth 1970: 15 ff.) and it applied as much to ethnological research as to historical narratives. For much of the 19th and 20th century, the Danish border with Germany was an "ethnological frontier" with every nuance in building form and local custom used to prove that either the Germans or the Danes were the true original population on this or that piece of land (Stoklund 1999: 60 ff.).

Without irony, Danishness has been described as a tribal identity by both foreigners and Danes[2]. Modernity and progress are not cast aside – and indeed it is unlikely that anyone would argue that Denmark is less modern than Sweden – but they are not central concepts within national identity as they are across the Sound. Instead, Danish identity appears to fit into the same category as that of most other European countries: the special circumstances of Danish history, the long struggle against first Sweden and later the German states, provide a central narrative for the expression of the nation's individuality. In this respect, Denmark provides a useful benchmark to chart the changes that took place in Sweden. Before I begin to analyse the role of history in Swedish national identity I would like to define the terminology I intend using.

History and Myth

So far, this article has mentioned national history in the context of museum collections, school curricula and popular literature, but clearly not all forms of cultural transmission are commensurate. However, one method of disseminating historical information tends to stand out. If one consults the various theories of nationalism that have been developed since the early 1980s, there is general agreement that state educational systems and the national history narratives they engender play a crucial role in the construction of a sense of national consciousness. This viewpoint applies equally to a modernist theorist such as Erik Hobsbawm (1990: 91, 92) as to ethno-symbolists such as

Anthony Smith (1999: 166). However, apart from underscoring the significance of mass schooling, national curricula and efforts to commemorate the past, most theoreticians of nationalism do not specify how national histories differ from other forms of narrative discourse.

The chief advocate of what has been termed the ethno-symbolist school, Anthony Smith, does however conflate historical narratives with mythmaking when stating the importance of ethnic myths of origins and descent to the creation of modern nationalism (Smith 1999: 60). And Smith also gives us an idea about what sort of narratives create a sense of national identity, i.e. foundation myths and narratives that enhance a people's sense of chosenness (ibid.).

Unfortunately, Smith never states exactly what the connection is between foundation myths or myths of ethnic selection, and history. To separate the terms from each other it is necessary to go further afield. Bruce Lincoln, a specialist in early European and Middle Eastern societies, has developed a theory which evaluates both myth and history as narrative forms and his work harmonises well with the writings of earlier theorists such as Ernst Cassirer and Roland Barthes (cf. Baeten 1996) who also took an interest in the political use and misuse of myth and national identity.

Like the ethno-symbolists, Lincoln regards myths as powerful narratives, which consolidate and maintain ethnic and national identity, but he also categorises them along with other forms of narrative according to the credibility, truth-claims and the authority invoked by their authors. Rather than defining myths as either false stories or narratives that members of one group regards as true, Lincoln, classifies myth as that small category of narratives that can be defined as both credible and authoritative, while making powerful claims on being true (Lincoln 1989: 24).

Under this system of classification, myth can be directly compared with history, legend and fable as a narrative form. In pre-literate societies, for instance, myths may be powerful oral narratives which define the collective vis-à-vis other tribal groups while in Western societies myths will often be based on historically attested narratives that support and maintain national identity; often with another nation as the threatening Other as in the case of Denmark. In terms of this theory, myth may be regarded as a more powerful narrative than history since it is backed up by the authority of the state. Lincoln even employs a Swedish example of such a myth, i.e. the Stockholm Bloodbath of 1520, carried out on the orders of the Danish king, Christian II. This mass execution of Swedish nobles and churchmen led to the successful uprising of Gustav Vasa, who founded the modern, centralized Swedish state and broke the link with Denmark and the Roman Church.

But even potent foundation myths are reinterpreted over time; Lincoln does not regard myths as immutable narratives which are imagined in exactly the same way from generation to generation. It is also possible to manipulate them. Subaltern groups agitating for socio-political change commonly make use of the following three strategies when dealing with myths, i.e.: 1) they can contest the authority or credibility of a given myth by reducing it to the status of history or legend and thereby deprive it of the capacity to continually reconstruct accustomed social forms 2) they can turn a history, legend or even a fable into a myth by investing it with authority and credibility or 3) they can advance novel lines of interpretation for an established myth or

modify details in its narration (ibid.: 25).

From the point of view of this study, the first strategy offers a way of explaining what happened during the process of welfare construction and modernization in Sweden: history did not of course ever disappear, it was simply deprived of the authority to define identity. Before I take a closer look at the fate of school history in Sweden, I will examine the sort of national myths which were promulgated in Sweden prior to the Second World War.

The Rise and Fall of National Historical Myths in Sweden

During the first half of the 19th century, countries all over Europe began to invest in national primary school systems and suitably patriotic history texts were printed to promote a sense of national identity in the young. In Sweden, the *Uppfostringskommittén* or Great Educational Committee of 1825, which consisted of prominent intellectuals such as Erik Gustav Geijer and Esaias Tegnér, were responsible for designing the curriculum for the new national school system. In keeping with the new spirit of patriotism spreading through Sweden, the new curriculum shifted the focus from Europe and the Mediterranean to the story of the nation, and was specifically aimed at character building and fostering a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the crown (Gaunt 1984:112).

However, 19th century Swedish history texts were not much more objective than their predecessors. Instead of factual information about the past, children were treated to moralistic sagas of good and evil, with heroic Swedish kings invariably on the side of the angels. Those who opposed their God-given rights had to face the consequences. The rebel leader Niels Dacke, for instance, was depicted in a school textbook from 1839 fleeing in terror from an ignoble death at the hands of Gustav Vasa's troops, an arrow lodged in his back (Gaunt 1984: 113). Heavily influenced by the early Geijer's conservative and moralistic attitude towards identity and authority, history was taught within the context of a Lutheran *Weltanschauung* which considered the subject to be subordinate to religious teaching. Within this framework, Gustav Eriksson, was regarded as the indisputable 'father of the nation'. In an early poem, Geijer describes the first Vasa king as a kind of Swedish Jehovah, with the Swedish people as his obedient children:

When I think of you, father,
A holy reverence fills my breast,
I will journey to you
And everlasting love and faith declare to you;
For it is to you I belong.
(first verse of *Gustaf Eriksson*, Geijer 1926: 24)

A hundred years later, Gustav Vasa's career was summed up in no less enthusiastic terms in C. T. Odhner's History of the Fatherland for grammar schools: "Never has Sweden had a king who did more for the country than King Gustav. We have just read about his three great achievements: how he *liberated* the country from Kristian's repression, how he aided the victory of the *Reformation's* new teachings despite the opposition from powerful Catholic bishops, and how he implemented *hereditary succession* so that monarchs after him would not need to beg their crowns from the great lords" (Odhner 1916: 99, italics in original).

In terms of Lincoln's theory, the type of history teaching disseminated during the 19th century promulgated a myth of Swedishness that was strictly Lutheran and royalist, a national narrative which carried a high degree of credibility and authority, but which also – because of its insistence on obedience to the church and monarchy – created a stumbling

block for democratization and modernization at the start of the 20th century. The efforts of the Social Democrats to reinterpret the conservative historical tradition is well attested in Åsa Linderborg's recent study *The Social Democrats Write History* – and this process of accommodation fits in well with Lincoln's description of the strategies employed by subaltern groups to alter myths. Historical and semi-historical characters such as Torgny Lagman, Engelbrekt and even Gustav Vasa were recruited by the Social Democrats to argue the case for increased democracy and workers' rights during the first decades of the 20th century (see Linderborg 2001), but nonetheless schoolbooks remained infused with royalist and conservative values long after the Social Democrats came to power.

Herbert Tingsten, who analysed Swedish school textbooks from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century concluded that: "Despite everything [i.e. the changes] it seems to me that the period between 1850 to 1940-1950 can be treated as a single unit. Far into the 20th century so much of the atmosphere, opinions and values from the turn of the century remained, that it seems to me to be justified to attempt to create a holistic picture of these 100 years" (Tingsten 1969: 278). The changes that occurred in school textbooks after 1950, however, he describes as "immense".

This "immense" change was reflected even earlier in the publishing industry, which was not constrained by the same conservative rules as the school textbook market. The historian, Carl Grimberg, who like Odhner was also a writer of school texts, published a popular Swedish history book entitled *Destinies* (Ödena) which sold close to two million copies between 1913 and 1924, making it one of the greatest Swedish best sellers of all time. Grimberg wrote from a nationalist/royalist point of view, with heroic kings such as Karl XII on centre stage, a tradition attributed to the influence of Geijer (Aronsson 2000: 107). By the 1930s, however, the style and contents of his work had apparently become obsolete: "Despite the fact that Grimberg tried to follow the new trends and align his conservatism with the ideas of the *folkhem*, his new book *World History* (Världshistoria) did not catch on in the same way [as its predecessors]." (ibid.: 108). Instead of 2 million sales, Grimberg's new book sold a mere 25,000 copies.

The 1930s marked the birth of a peculiarly Swedish form of modernity, and a new way of imagining being Swedish. While it is difficult to disentangle its economic, political and cultural roots, it is clear that at both the national and international level, Sweden stood for a thoroughly modern and democratic society while almost everywhere else in Europe democracy seemed to be in crisis. This sense of following a different path to the rest of the Continent was heightened by Sweden's neutrality and isolation during the Second World War, when Sweden's Nordic neighbours were either occupied by Germany or – in the case of Finland – at war. And the effect was magnified further during the Cold War when the collaboration between Swedish industry and the social democratic welfare project appeared to provide irrefutable evidence that socialism and capitalism could function successfully together.

From the mid-fifties onwards, the amount of time spent on history was constantly cut back in the primary school system. A similar development took place in higher secondary schools from a later starting point and culminated in the 1990s (Zander 2001: 329). At the same time, the educational system became thoroughly nationalized at all levels, so much

so that critics during the 1980s attacked it for being the most nationalized system outside the Communist Bloc (Rydenfeldt 1983: 43).

In other ways too, the old patriotic royalist view of the past was indirectly undermined by modern approaches to historical research. The tombs of both Gustav Vasa and his son Erik XIV were opened in the 1940s and 1950s in order to establish the cause of death of the latter and the appearance of the former. Thousands of curious visitors filed past the remains of these kings. The scientific results – which included the use of state-of-the-art x-ray, bacteriological and radiometric techniques – were meagre. After detailed inspection it was discovered, for instance, that the first Vasa king was shorter than expected and that he suffered from inflammation of the joints and bad teeth (Zander 2001: 343 ff.). One can imagine that this sort of official 'desecration' of the royal tomb must have influenced contemporary attitudes towards the founder of the state, proving that he was a mere man and not the superhuman entity described in the history books.

One cannot, of course, describe Sweden as a country which collectively lost all interest in history during this period; but there was a rupture with the past that was now seen as *qualitatively* different from the present. Instead of history, the modernistic *folkhem* project became an essential part of Swedish identity (cf. Ruth (1984) 1995, Ohlsson 1993), and this sense of belonging to an avant-garde nation offered Swedes a secure sense of their own superiority since their country, both from a social and economic viewpoint, was doing so much better than other Western European countries. In the post-war period, Sweden seemed to resemble more closely progressive new nations such as the USA, Australia or Canada than the old Continental states, and the cultural and economic influence of Europe was replaced by a domesticated form of the American doctrine of modernity (cf. Ek-Nilsson 1999; Löfgren 2000).

But even if the patriotic historical basis of identity had been repressed, this did not mean it had disappeared altogether: as a myth of greatness, Sweden's new significance as a beacon of modernity and advanced social services must have confirmed the belief that the country had a special role to play on the world stage. The enormous growth rates of the 1950s and 1960s, in particular, seems to have convinced many Swedes that they were entering a new Great Power Period, with their country standing for an enlightened 'Middle Way' between Communism and Capitalism, rather than the Protestantism and royalism which had informed the previous myth. If we relate this development to Smith's thesis propounding the importance of foundation myths and a sense of chosenness, one can surmise that modernity has simply replaced the role of Lutheranism and royalism in national identity: the sense of belonging to a chosen people was now based on the country's pact with modernity rather than the strictures and dogmas of the Lutheran faith.

The Return of History?

If one accepts that the historical underpinnings of Swedish identity were weakened by the Swedish project of modernity, which gathered pace during the post-war period, then one can date its official return to prominence to 1993. That was the year when national history was celebrated by a nationwide spate of exhibitions about the Swedish past. All of these initiatives were timed to start on 21 March with the launch of a year-long exhibition called *The Swedish Story* (Den Svenska Historien) organized jointly by the National

Historical Museum and the Nordic Museum. In the foreword of the guidebook specially written for the occasion, the main objective of this initiative was explicitly formulated by Sten Rentzhog the director of the project: "The goal is for us to rediscover our history so that history will once again come alive in our society and in our hearts" (Rentzhog 1993: 4). And this message was reiterated to the whole nation at the televised inauguration ceremony in Stockholm, when Rentzhog asked viewers to celebrate 'the return of history' (cf. Linde-Laursen 1995: 192).

However, it would not be fair to describe the Stockholm exhibition and the accompanying textual material as a return to the old royalist *patriotic* view of Swedish history. The brutality of Gustav Vasa's reign was described, and – in contrast to the old Lutheran view of the past promoted in schoolbooks – the economic and political reasons for the success of the Reformation in Sweden were given priority over theological arguments and divine destiny. This new approach also applied to Sweden's period as a Great Power during the 17th and 18th centuries. The only exception to this revisionist view of history concerns Karl XII, whose career was not even subjected to mild criticism. His invasion of Russia was described as a "daring exploit" to save the Swedish empire, and after his defeat we are reminded that the thousands of Swedish captured by the Russians "maintained during their entire captivity their nationality, religion and language" (Lindqvist 1993: 53).

Just as the decline of history coincided with a great increase in national wealth and the rise of the welfare state, this new emphasis on the past appears to be connected to a sense of growing disillusionment about the country's future. By 1993, Sweden had just weathered its worst economic crisis since the 1930s and Swedes began to adjust themselves to the idea that in terms of its wealth and modernity their country was no longer top of the league table (see Linde-Laursen 1995: 192). There was no corresponding trend in Denmark where the economy remained robust and where modernity had never seriously disrupted the ethno-historical myth of identity.

It was during this period too that Swedes hotly debated whether to join the European Union, and the fear of contagion with Continental neighbours was palpable in many of the arguments put forward by nay-sayers. The Swedish-American historian, Lars Trägårdh, discovered that Europe was regarded by many on the left as a direct threat to Sweden's democratic and modern institutions as well as the welfare state itself: the continent's traditional Catholicism was contrasted negatively with Swedish Lutheranism and rationalism, and even historical figures such as Engelbrekt and Gustav Vasa were recruited to illustrate the iniquity of submitting to European institutions (cf. Trägårdh 2002: 94 ff.).

Paradoxically, the person most associated with the trend to reawaken interest in the historical tradition, i.e. Herman Lindqvist, strongly advocated Swedish membership of the EU (see Lindqvist 1991). Apart from being responsible for writing the 1993 exhibition guide for *The Swedish Story,* he took advantage of the new interest in the past by authoring a monumental nine-part history of Sweden. According to a spokeswoman from his publisher, Nordstedt, Lindqvist has sold between close to three million copies since the first book in the series came out in 1992 and "there is no sign of sales dropping off". During the same period, between 1992 and 2000, Lindqvist wrote and presented thirty separate historical documentaries for Swedish television, most of these closely connected to

topics in the book series. It is hard to imagine that anyone in Sweden during the 1990s could have escaped Lindqvist's musings on the country's past.

Lindqvist's success cannot be put down to his innovative methods or new historical narratives since his work closely follows the storyline laid down by classical early 20th century Swedish historians such as C. T. Odhner and Carl Grimberg. In his programmes and books, history gradually unfolds as we move from the reign of one king to another. Like a spinal chord, the chain of royal personages stretches back to Gustav Vasa and beyond, linking up the present to the past in a natural progression that allows Lindqvist to reflect and comment on the events and characteristics of each reign. Norwegian cultural anthropologist, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, regards Lindqvist's work as reflecting a mythical view of history. He refers to the Swedish historian's frequent use of the word 'we' to indicate the reader's bond with a historical nation and its continuity with modern Sweden (Hylland Eriksen 1996: 62, 63). This too is a trait common to the previous generation of textbooks from the pre-war period before modernity took hold. In Odhner's work particularly, one quickly loses count of the number of times the author mentions 'our forefathers' or 'our people' (cf Odhner 1916).

In terms of his selection of events too, Lindqvist's take on the Swedish past represents a return to a more patriotic style. The fact that Iceland has to be 'discovered' three times in order to allow a Swede to be the first person to spot the island – and not "some or other Irish monks" reveals this naïve chauvinism (cf. Lindqvist 1992: 141ff.). However, when dealing with more recent events, his love of country sometimes leads to serious embarrassment. In the final volume of the series, Lindqvist relates the cost in human lives and materiel of the German invasion of Norway and Denmark in 1940. He specifies the numbers of Danish, Norwegian and German dead and then states that while the cost of the invasion, in terms of casualties, was relatively light, the German navy experienced such a heavy loss of ships and u-boats that it curtailed their plans to invade 'England'. One is given the distinct impression that the Norwegians in particular put up such a ferocious resistance that they altered the course of the war. However, what Lindqvist fails to mention is that the Germans lost most of their troops in Northern Norway fighting against an Anglo-French force at Narvik, and that with the exception of one cruiser, all the German navy losses were caused by the British fleet (passim Linder 1998). A total of 36,500 Allied troops fought in Norway and the British alone lost about 4,000 men (Keegan 1989: 49 ff.).

Lindqvist's version of Swedish history has been heavily criticised by some academic historians – most notably by Maria-Pia Boëthius, who called him among other things 'a stand-up historian' (Boëthius 2001: 76) – while other historians have highlighted his debt to the old tradition of patriotic historical narratives (Berggren & Greiff 2000: 8). However, if we compare his work to that of the old school of Swedish historiography it becomes obvious that Lindqvist lacks the credibility and authority of the former generation who wrote school texts. He is a not a university-trained historian, his books are not taught in schools and he does not enjoy the status of his academic fellows. So if Lindqvist is only supplying a mild updated substitute for national myth, where should we look for those powerful narratives making absolute claims about the past? The answer, I believe, can be found in the medium, which Lindqvist exploited only at a superficial level, television.

Revisualizing the Past

The American historian, Robert Rosenstone has described the visual media as probably the most important bearers of historical messages in our culture, while Simon Schama, the historian who presented the mammoth 26 hour-long BBC series *A History of Britain* has said: "The great story-telling medium of our age is television: perfectly equipped to marry argument with drama" (Bremner 2001: 63).

The Swedish public broadcasting channels were not slow to exploit the new enthusiasm for history that emerged during the 1990s. Unfortunately, lack of space does not allow me to discuss more than a fraction of these productions – Troja Television alone produced nearly 150 separate documentaries on Swedish historical themes between 1998 and 2005 – so I have decided to concentrate on major series defining the origins of the nation, i.e. the sort of programmes that promoted what Anthony Smith calls a sense of chosenness and national destiny.

As already mentioned, Lindqvist's series provided a lightweight 'feel-good' approach to this national past; but other programmes had a more serious intent. This was especially obvious in the three-part series *The Thousand-Year Journey (Tusenårsresan I-III)* about the origins of the Swedish state, which was written and produced by the award-winning historian, Maja Hagerman and photographer, Claes Gabrielsson. From the amount of publicity attached to them when they were first screened in 1999, and the frequency with which they were repeated, one can assume that these programmes were considered to be serious, high-status productions by the national broadcasting company, *Sveriges Television*. It is also worth noting that, in terms of Bruce Lincoln's theory of myth, Hagerman's programmes ought to function as 'powerful narratives' as they were commissioned and funded by the national media, and based on research by professional archaeologists and historians, thus granting them a higher claim on truth and credibility than programmes produced independently of the public service broadcasting channels, e.g. Herman Lindqvist's series.

However, although the intentions of the filmmakers were no doubt to offer a new vision of the Swedish past, *The Thousand-Year Journey* suffered from a fatal lack of plotting; and any sense of narrative momentum was constantly hampered by the near-total absence of source material from the pre-medieval period. In the first programme particularly, which deals with Sweden c. 700 AD, viewers were told about the many burial mounds which dot the countryside and the nameless chieftains laid to rest within them, but even Hagerman's impressive narrative skills had difficulty making a text, which was so devoid of details, come to life. For example, the voiceover which accompanied images of some wild flowers and a few standing stones in the first programme is extraordinarily banal: "The graves are traces of human beings who mused about and reckoned the passing of the years and told stories to each other in order to try to understand." The following two programmes are also very short on narrative drive; there is little about the importance of sea routes or trade, Danish hegemony during the Middle Ages (cf. Sawyer 1991), or the Baltic crusades which the early Swedish state engaged in. Hagerman makes it quite clear, for instance, in the material available on the SVT website that she is chiefly interested in the history of ideas and mentality. Instead of narrative – or the stuff of history – the programmes focus on social activities and conditions on churchbuilding, coinmaking and the day-to-

day lifestyle of pre-modern Swedish society. In short, Hagerman's view of the origins of the Swedish state does not make use of the strategies – as defined by Lincoln – to create a powerful and credible narrative that might counter or modify previous myths of origins. None of the programmes contradict anything in the old schoolbooks from the pre-war period.

In a later two-part series, broadcast in 2002, on the roots of the Germanic (*Germaner*/The Germanic Peoples) and Celtic peoples (*Den keltiska gåtan*/The Celtic Riddle), Hagerman took up the subject of race and ethnic origins as well as their connection to national and European identity. Both programmes were beautifully edited and visually exciting, with footage from much of Europe; but one got the distinct impression that too much interest in Germanic identity and early Swedish pre-history, i.e. the ethnic origins of the nation, led inevitably to the excesses of Nazism or at best the petty xenophobia of the Danish People's Party. The Celts on the other hand were promoted as a sort of catch-all *Urvolk* for all of Europe, largely untainted by racist ideology, and according to the experts interviewed in the programme, lacking any specific connection to a single ethnic identity. In the programme *The Celtic Riddle*, Hagerman seemed to be telling Swedish viewers that they should put aside their belief in a Germanic myth of origins and embrace a New Age Celtic past which would link them to the rest of the Continent.

In this series, there is evidence of Lincoln's second and third strategies. Hagerman appears to contest the importance of the Germanic past to Swedish identity by emphasising how much of it was invented by nationalists and racists, and she also highlights the Celtic heritage as an alternative 'myth'. On the other hand, neither strategy is given much credibility or authority. That ancient Swedish craftsfolk produced works similar to that of Continental Celts, or the fact that the Germanic heritage was misused by extremists, does not alter the powerful narrative that the Swedes are a Germanic people. The continuity announcer who introduced *Germaner* made this clear when she introduced the programme: "Maja Hagerman has been investigating the old Scandinavian myths and tells us about how this image of our ancestors, the Germans, came about."

A different approach – and one that reflects Lincoln's theory about how myths can be altered – is discernible in a much more provocative series screened on Swedish television during 2004. *Arn's Kingdom* (Arns Rike), which was produced by Troja Television, a company specializing in historical documentaries, traced the origins of the Swedish state to the Middle Ages. The presenter was the best-selling author, Jan Guillou, who has written a series of novels set in the medieval period, and in the five programmes he wrote and hosted, the viewer is confronted with his unequivocal desire to overturn previous conceptions about the birth of the nation.

Unlike Hagerman, who avoids controversy, Guillou attacks Geijer's national-romantic historiography head on by dubbing it literature and not history. He has little time either for the illiterate chieftains of the Viking period and he contrasts what he calls the 'enlightened' Middle Ages with the 'dark' 1600s, reversing previous notions about the past. Most significantly of all he replaces Gustav Vasa with Birger Jarl – who became Swedish regent in 1248 and died in 1266 – as 'father of the nation' countering the narrative that underpinned traditional school histories. According to Guillou, Birger Jarl, who came from a minor aristocratic family and climbed

upwards to become the de facto monarch of Sweden, was the first of a new breed of Swedish leaders. Thanks to his mother's influence, Birger Jarl learnt Latin as a child, studied civil law and was able to understand and negotiate with the clergy. When he became regent he introduced Roman law, and turned the mafia-like anarchy of a country run by petty clans into a centralized state that was formally recognized by the Pope. This is a narrative which closely resembles that of the first Vasa king, with one notable exception: Birger Jarl drew Sweden into West European culture and religion rather than breaking links with it as Gustav Vasa did in the 16th century.

As he sauntered through a pedestrian street in the middle of Stockholm in the final scene of the fifth programme, Guillou concluded: "Birger Jarl rightfully appears as the founder of the Swedish kingdom. It is his creation, and one can say that he is the father of our nation. But what would he have been without Ingrid Ylva, his mother? Perhaps she can be regarded just as much as the mother of our nation?"

Can Guillou's take on the origins of the Swedish state be described as an attempt to produce a new myth of identity? By attacking Geijer's historiography, and later manifestations of it, he is utilizing the first strategy Lincoln mentions, i.e. contesting 'the authority and credibility of a given myth'. Guillou also makes use of the second strategy, i.e. by enhancing the role and importance of Birger Jarl, he is turning 'history into myth' by investing it with authority and credibility. However, because of his background in journalism and fiction, Guillou's credibility is limited, which probably explains why he employs leading historians such as Professor Birgit Sawyer – an expert on early Christian Sweden – and Professor Dick Harrison – who has written a biography of Birger Jarl – to back up his arguments, thus adding both authority and credibility.

Ultimately, Guillou's message seems to be that Sweden's history is intimately connected to the rest of Europe, and that instead of the Viking period or the Reformation instigated by Gustav Vasa, Swedes should search for the roots of their society in the Middle Ages. This is a vision which allows Swedes to re-imagine themselves as an integral part of European culture rather than as a peripheral nation that has somehow stepped outside European history and embraced modernity. It is a myth that better suits a form of Swedish identity linked to a future in the EU than the old myth based on Gustav Vasa and Lutheranism.

While Swedish television has been re-visualizing the nation's origins, the Danish media have been engaging with a much more traumatic historical heritage. Unlike Sweden, the project of modernity does not offer a safe alternative to the past since the country was forcefully exposed to its dark side, i.e.: occupation by the technologically advanced Nazi state in 1940, and the institutional racism and violence that followed. The powerful narrative about Denmark's survival under German aggression is still a part of living memory, still a burning topic that can create front-page headlines.

As I finish this article in May 2005, the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War is being commemorated across Europe, and in Denmark the German occupation has been a constant source of debate and analysis in the media. At a ceremony to mark the end of the war, the Danish prime minister made the front pages of the newspapers when he apologized on behalf of the state for sending Jewish refugees back to Nazi Germany in the 1930s. On Danish public service television a series of sixteen documentaries and films

– including four Danish-made productions – have been screened during the last two weeks under the title *With German Eyes*. This interest in the recent past is shared by a wide section of the public: the German feature film *Der Untergang* (Downfall) has been seen by a larger percentage of the Danish population than in any other European country and even children's programmes have taken up the theme. *On Snurre Snup's Sunday Club*, broadcast 8 May 2005, TV2, the presenter interviewed a nine-year old boy who described the progress of Hitler's war in flawless detail while later in the programme a survivor from the Danish resistance movement recounted his memories of the occupation and imprisonment by the Germans.

One can sense the way a defining moment in Danish history, the German occupation, is being replayed and reinterpreted for a new generation of Danes. In contrast, across the Sound in Sweden, the media barely registered the end of the conflict. There was little about it in national newspapers, and I counted only one Swedish documentary related to the Second World War, a 2001 programme about the ongoing search for the remains of Russian soldiers killed in the far north of Finland and Murmansk. If Hans Magnus Enzensberger had returned to Stockholm in 2005, he would no doubt have mentioned *this* historical vacuum rather than the absence of museums celebrating Sweden's period as a Great Power.

Perhaps the apparent disappearance and return of Swedish history is itself an illusion. The subject was only considered important at the beginning of the 19th century when patriotism infused the new school curriculum; and it gradually ebbed away rather than disappeared during the 20th century when modernity offered a more powerful narrative to define collective identity. The sheer stability of the Swedish state during the last century made the past seem largely irrelevant to most people, and this attitude was especially marked while the welfare state was being constructed. With the economic crisis of the early 1990s, history made a comeback, but it is difficult to see how popularizers such as Herman Lindqvist, Maja Hagerman or even Jan Guillou can turn it into a central plank in national identity. Instead, it appears to be functioning at a peripheral level as a narrative that can re-emphasise the country's ties to Europe, allowing Swedes to imagine their new-found European identity as both natural and congruent with their own national identity.

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Notes

* All translations are the work of the author.

1 The Swedish commitment to multiculturalism, unique in Europe, is part of the explanation. A government proposition that was ratified several years ago argued that because "a large group of people originate from other countries, the Swedish population now lacks a shared history" (in Friedman 2001: 263, *F's translation*). Instead of a shared past, this government paper proposed that a sense of collective identity should be based on the Swedish language and values such as mutual respect, tolerance and a commitment to equality between the sexes (*Regeringens Proposition* 1997/8: 16: 24).

2 The former British ambassador to Denmark, Sir James Mellon, wrote a popular book – translated into Danish – which began with the sentence, "The Danes are not a nation...they are a tribe" (Mellon 1992: 7). Bertel Haarder, the former integration minister and member of the Liberal Party (Venstre), referred to the Danes as a tribe (en stamme) on a number of occasions in the press and on television. In an interview in *Politiken*, he said, "We are a tribal society" and added that for this reason neither racism nor Nazism had a

chance in Denmark in contrast to neighbouring countries (Rikke Egelund, *Politiken*, 22 Jan. 2002: *Bertel Haarder og den danske stamme*). Haarder was never criticised for his stance and was consistently surveyed as the most popular minister in the coalition government (Morten Henriksen, *Søndagsavisen*, 3 Oct. 2004: *Bertel mere populær end Fogh)*.

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Biographical Note

Laura Stark, Professor at Jyväskylä

Laura Stark, Ph.D., received her basic academic education in linguistics and anthropology at the University of California. The subjects that she specialized in were: folkloristics; the relation between oral and written forms of culture; and the Finno-Ugric language area. She gained her doctoral degree at the University of Helsinki in 1998 with the dissertation *Magic, Body and Social Order: The Construction of Gender Through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland* (Finnish Literature Society). This highly acclaimed study actually introduced all those elements which she has explored and developed in her later work. In her own words, her scientific interest and expertise focus on "Finnish oral tradition, magic and the early modern world-view; on a change in people's mentality as a result of modernization, and on Christian folk belief and gender theory."

Laura Stark's publications include two books and one monograph in print, and 29 other entries (21 scientific articles and 8 articles in print or forthcoming). In addition to her doctoral thesis, Stark has published the study *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises: Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion* (Finnish Literature Society, 2002, 229 pp.). Her third extensive study, *The Magical Self: Body and Person in Early Modern Rural Finland* will soon be published. All her books include theoretical discussions firmly based on empirical material, mainly from collections in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. For example, the material she uses in her forthcoming study comprises about 1,400 entries (narratives, descriptions) in the fields of folk medicine and folk beliefs, and 500 cantos in the Kalevala metre. Applying the theory of the narrative structuring of identity to this material, Stark interprets the cultural and social significances of a folk traditional world-view.

Laura Stark's numerous scientific articles partly deal with the same themes that she explores in her books, but they also include interesting explorations into the problems of fieldwork and the changing meanings of communality, as well as the dynamics of oral and written culture. She has advanced research where, using theories and methods of narrativity, the empirical elements of oral culture are problematised into analyses of both identities and folk mentality. All her work is informed by current gender theories and, pertaining to the ethnology sciences, the women's perspective applied by Stark is innovative and it also integrates approaches from various disciplines in a fruitful way.

In 2000–2004, Laura Stark was head of the interdisciplinary project *Modernization and Popular Experience in Finland 1860–1960*, funded by the Academy of Finland and including five other researchers. Stark's own interest has focused on how rural Finns started to perceive themselves as "socially mobile and autonomous citizens and consumers in modern society". This process has been widely investigated and described particularly within the field of ethnology.

Even if the production and contexts of her work have quite a strong Anglo-Saxon emphasis, she herself also wants to stress her activities in other parts of the world, and the fact that an international orientation refers to a comparative study of cultures, which she regards as one of her strengths. Stark is Docent of Folklore Studies and Gender Studies at the University of Helsinki, and she worked as researcher at the University's Collegium for Advanced Studies from August 2003 to the end of July 2005.

In May 2005, Laura Stark was appointed Professor of Ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä, specializing in oral tradition, narrativity and mentalities, and she took up her post on 1 August the same year.

Seppo Knuuttila, Joensuu

New Dissertations

Identities in a Multiethnic Context

Åsa Andersson, Inte samma lika. Identifikationer hos tonårsflickor i en multietnisk stadsdel. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2003. 284 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7139-632-2.

■ This book, which is Åsa Andersson's doctoral dissertation, is based on 24 teenage girls' narratives about place, gender, and ethnicity. The girls live in a suburb of Göteborg which Andersson calls Näsby. It is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Sweden, with a relatively young population, the majority of whom have a foreign background. The girls are of Bosnian, Syrian, Polish, Somalian, and other origin, and a few are Swedish. Through analyses of the girls' narratives and through systematic use of other research, Andersson brings out the girls' different, contextually conditioned identifications with and strategies for acting as teenage girls – with and without an immigrant background – in a Swedish neighbourhood with a high density of immigrants. The primarily constructivist perspective of the book illuminates how place, gender, and ethnicity are not fixed categories in the girls' narratives, but categories to which situational and contextual meanings are ascribed. The constructions of place and gender are the focus of the first two parts of the book and are brought together in the third part for a discussion of the relationship between ethnicity, racism, and the multicultural society.

In the introduction Andersson presents the theme of the book, the aim, analytical devices, and method. The analysis of the girls' narratives is partly inspired by Avtar Brah's four ways of looking at differences: differences as experience, social relations, subjectivity, and identity. The emphasis here is on social relations and identity. Judith Butler's view of words as not just utterances but something that *does* something, constitutes the foundation for a methodological discussion. A theoretical distinction between speech and action is problematized, together with a critique of the classical ethnological distinction between interview and observation methods (e.g. Arnstberg). It is against this background that Andersson argues for the use of interviews as her primary method. It is also against this somewhat broader background that the constructivist and feminist view of the book is established and deepened all the way through the book.

The material consists of interviews with the 24 teenage girls. Some of the interviews were individual while others were held in groups, and some of the girls were interviewed twice with a year's interval. At the first interview the girls were all attending a local school, which had also arranged the contacts between Andersson and the girls. Andersson reflects on the problems in this recruitment method and on the advantages and disadvantages of using individual and group interviews. Further, she discusses, in relation to the concept of intercontextuality, the significance of her own role, as a woman older than the girls, for the girls' narratives about themselves and the things brought up during the conversations. The introduction, like the book as a whole, cites a great deal of other scholarly literature, showing that Andersson is well oriented.

The first part of the dissertation is entitled "Place Assignments" and is divided into the chapters "A Neighbourhood with Few Swedes" and "Classed Places". Here we are introduced to a number of the concepts and analytical perspectives that guide the subsequent analyses. The focus is on the identification processes that concern place, gender, and ethnicity, as they emerge from the girls' narratives about their relations to friends, family, neighbourhood, being young in the city, and so on. Andersson shows how the interviewed girls describe Näsby as much more than just a physical space. In their narratives about this part of Göteborg the girls stress the differences between Näsby and other parts of the city by referring to differences between schools as regards, for example, their educational level, the number of foreigners, dress styles and ways of moving. Andersson thus shows that the girls establish differences between neighbourhoods that extend far beyond the physical space and into a social space and simultaneously dictate the conditions for how the girls themselves can act in these spaces.

In the second and largest part of the dissertation, "Gender Actions", the focus is on different constructions of gender, especially female gender. This part is divided into three chapters. "In Private and Pubic Spaces" looks at the constructions of gender that are marked in these two spaces. A central source of inspiration for the analysis of this comes from Judith Butler's critique of gender as something that *is* and in Butler's simultaneous adoption of a constructivist position from which gender is regarded as something that is *done*. Gender is done in two ways: through the

acts that make girls into girls and through the acts by which they do gender. But gender is not done unconditionally. It is done within discursive practices that shape special gender orders. In the chapter Andersson exemplifies and discusses some of the different positions and co- and counter-actors who are together pointed out as constituting the gender order that Andersson reads from the girls' narratives. Right from the start, the analysis removes the foundation for a clear distinction between public and private space and thus shows how, for example, "the father" or "the brother", who are often assigned to the private sphere, are also a part of actions occurring at places in the city and thus in what is often regarded as public space. The analysis of the girls' narratives shows where and how one can move in city places, revealing that they are not just geographical locations in the city but simultaneously places charged with gendered and ethnic meanings. "It is not just certain places that can lose their value and become cheap; the girls who spend time there also risk losing their value and being perceived as cheap" (p. 99). The analysis points out the traditional patriarchy and modern individualism as two conditions that, in fundamentally different ways, determine the construction of gender and the girls' actions. At the same time this is an example which, as I shall return to, marks a breach in the constructivist tradition that otherwise structures the book. At the end of the chapter Andersson discusses this gender order from a feminist perspective.

"The Virginity Theme and the Economy of Sexuality" is the title of the second chapter in the part about gender actions. A gender-differentiated economy of sexuality is highlighted as a central field in which gender is done and gender orders operate. Through her analysis of the girls' narratives about virginity – understood as no sex before marriage – and their handling and marking of virginity, Andersson shows how the demand for virginity on the one hand is tied specifically to girls whereas boys can, and perhaps even must, have had sex before marriage, and on the other hand, how this difference establishes a power relationship between girls and boys, in that the virginity requirement not only affects the girls' actions in making them refrain from sex before marriage but also sets boundaries for other aspects of their behaviour. Talking with a lot of different boys in a café, or sitting with girls who are regarded as "whores", is enough for a girl to be placed in the category of "non-virgin". At the same time, the girls are also regarded as active players in the economy of sexuality in that they take part in the construction of other girls as "whores" and in that they actively object to being inscribed in this category themselves. Finally, Andersson shows how sexual behaviour is linked to the neighbourhood (girls in Näsby are more often virgins than Swedish girls outside Näsby), so that Näsby is labelled as the virgin part of the city in contrast to other areas. This alleviates some of the relatively negative stamp on Näsby that was seen in the first part of the book, and a masculine label on the neighbourhood is supplemented with a feminine label.

The last chapter in part two, "Gender as Narrative Action", examines how the girls act in a gender order characterized by girlishness versus boyishness. The analyses show that the girls display girlishness but also that among themselves the girls mark different kinds of girlishness and even display boyishness. The girls both confirm and destabilize the prevailing categories of girlishness and boyishness. Part two ends with a reflection on the relevance of the Butler-inspired post-structuralist perspective to the ethnology that explores society as a well-ordered system (Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren). The aim in using Butler's feminist perspective, from Andersson's point of view, is precisely to destabilize the order by demonstrating random, changeable, and conflicting aspects.

In the third part, "In a Multicultural Society", the author brings together her findings from the first parts and puts them in perspective, along with new analyses of the concepts of racism and the multicultural society as, respectively, essentialist and constructivist concepts. The constructivist perspective gives room for understanding phenomena, not as fixed essences but as unstable, contradictory, and continuous processes that say something about both the girls and the society in which they live. In the light of this Andersson concludes that the ambivalence and the inconsistent reasoning which she has registered in the girls' narratives about places, gender, and ethnicity, should not be read as expressions of their being caught between two cultures; on the contrary, they master the art of living in surroundings that are full of contradictions.

Two trails are interwoven through the book. One is an analytical trail, examining the girls' narratives, and the other is a research trail, which brings in other research to give the findings greater depth or broader perspective. This link means that the research project and its analyses are placed in a wider research content

and thus reinforces the legitimation of the analyses and discussions established along the way. This is a form that Andersson easily masters and consistently develops all through the dissertation. On another level, however, it is a link that makes it tricky to follow her analyses of the girls' narratives systematically. The reader loses track of which knowledge is based on the analyses of the narratives and which is based on the analyses of other researchers. As a reader I would have liked to see a critical discussion of this.

With her analytical perspective on place, gender, and ethnicity, Andersson inscribes herself in an emerging constructivist and feminist research tradition, where the focus is shifted away from *is* towards *does*. Place, gender, and ethnicity are not studied as something that exists but as something that takes shape through the way in which it is done; through words and actions. Categories such as gender, ethnicity, class, Muslim etc. are thereby defined through analyses of the other categories that are linked to the particular category through speech and action. Revealing power relations is of central interest in this perspective. In Sweden, e.g., the sociologist Mehrdad Darvispour's analyses of families and divorces among immigrants, and the Islamologist Jonas Otterbeck's analyses of young adult Muslims' use of Islam are coloured by this constructivist perspective. In Denmark the social psychologist Dorte Marie Søndergaard is a prominent figure, and in migration studies the psychologist Dorthe Staunæs's works are an inspiration. The latter, unlike Andersson, consistently stresses the *do*-angle and thus refrains from the concessions to the *is*-angle that Andersson makes. This is a problem that Andersson herself considers in part two, where she writes: "but to break up or destabilize a system, it must first be identified in some measure as a system, and here I think that a modification of the elucidatory approach of cultural analysis can still have certain purposes to fulfil" (p. 179). Andersson handles the problem by drawing on knowledge produced by other research. It would have been relevant to discuss what this approach means for a constructivist perspective – and whether the problem could have been solved within a constructivist tradition.

All in all, Åsa Andersson's dissertation is inspiring reading because, by using a relatively new research perspective in a relatively well-known research field, she establishes a space that allows possibilities to see this field in new ways.

Tina Kallehave, Copenhagen

Mayday

Christer Eldh, Den riskfyllda gemenskapen. Att hantera säkerhet på ett passagerarfartyg. Arkiv förlag, Lund 2004. 293 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 91-7924-174-3.

■ *Scandinavian Star. Estonia.* Oh yea! Ships might be dangerous and risk handling is a difficult task. Especially on passenger ships. The crew follow their daily work routines. But, at the same time, they work in an environment of risk where they must ensure the safety of the ship, the passengers and themselves. Complex systems have been established for risk handling and maintaining safety at sea. Of course. We do live in a modern, western society. But at the same time, we are individuals, and do not *function* like technical instruments, manuals or rules.

Christer Eldh describes the problem of safety as an issue of individual practices and cooperation in this book, the title of which means "The Risk-filled community: Handling Safety on a Passenger Ship"). Safety on board depends on how the crew act and react in different circumstances. This might be described as the local culture of safety on board. Eldh's purpose was to find out how "cultural processes and organizational circumstances" influence *safety management.* The study of *risk* is turned into a description of the *perceived risk* as the crewmembers see it from their own positions.

Christer Eldh did one year of fieldwork on a passenger ship in the Baltic Sea as a part of his Ph.D. work. He has conducted interviews with many crewmembers. But he also participated in the actual work, by entering the same positions that they possessed. By working as a trainee, he investigated how the crew acted within the material structures of the ship. The result is an ethnographic case study, with the specific purpose of understanding risk handling. The problem-oriented fieldwork makes this study something different from most other ethnographies.

As a sailor and a risk-handling person, I find the text talks to me. I have been through many of the operations described and know how important it is to feel safe and skilled to perform in the right manner during crisis. As an ethnologist, I find this mixture of a clear mission (i.e. analysing risk-handling) and an ethnographic method very interesting.

The description is classic in the way the reader is taken along to the ship as a place; a place filled with different meanings for different individuals on board.

Eldh shows us how the passengers, the fieldworker and the different categories of the crew go through the same processes of becoming experienced, for instance, everyone sometime gets lost on board, something that must not happen in an emergency situation.

Eldh identifies an opposition between the two categories of the sailing crew or the operational section on one hand and the crew running the "floating hotel" on the other. The study of risk looks at the normal activities within different workgroups to identify the normal cultural practices on board. The handling of a crisis situation is understood to reflect how the crewmembers interpret each other's roles within the structure.

Eldh describes the one ship as being two different worlds. The *sailing crew* is given the right to define how safety on board is to be handled or interpreted. In their ideal world, they would rather be sailing the seven seas on a "happy ship" where everyone knew and did their own job, not interfering with each other. In their concept of a happy ship, there is neither room for the voluminous *hotel crew*, the female purser department, nor women as a whole. Eldh shows how this group is excluded from managing safety on board.

The two groups have different reasons for working on a passenger ferry and different perspectives on their life on board. The purser department is seen as "a problem rather than an asset for risk and safety management". Cooperation between different sections is identified as a particular problem because each section has it owns boundaries and is ranked hierarchically. The communities of practice thereby create insecurity at the same time as they create safety, because some crewmembers are regarded as non-participants and do not receive crucial information. Steps have been taken to make better the understanding between the sections, but such meetings only reinforced earlier conceptions.

Eldh defines the problem as being at a cultural and organizational level. The two worlds of the sailing crew and the hotel crew are inhabited by male and female members respectively. Eldh, however, is rather consistent in identifying different roles and positions rather than identifying the problem of safety as an issue of gender.

A safety culture cannot be implanted directly in the organization, but must be an integral part of the ongoing life of the ship, Eldh concludes. It is difficult to make people cooperate during crisis if they do not interact during their normal workdays. I do not have a problem understanding his position of recognizing risk as socially and culturally constructed on board. I also find it reasonable to accept the way he describes the risks the crew identify and prioritize as important regarding safety on board.

The descriptions are smooth and flow well, maybe too well. Few efforts are made to connect between empirical and theoretical topics. Finally, I would like to see a deeper discussion of risk and safety on a conceptual level. Without this, the Eldh's ethnography of risk handling lacks some of the theoretical implications it could have had. On the other hand, I find it interesting to see an empirical study of culture with such clear relevance undertaken within a hierarchal and structured field of practice normally inhabited by sailors, bureaucrats and technicians.

Terje Planke, Oslo

The Viking Age as a Nineteenth-century Construction

Jørgen Haavardsholm, Vikingtiden som 1800-tallskonstruksjon. Unipub AS, Oslo 2005. 242 pp. Diss. ISBN 82-7477-211-3.

■ It seems as if a new wave of interest in the Viking Age can be traced both among the general public and among Scandinavian academics in the humanities. In line with the postmodern trend, the academic inquiries of this new wave are not so much about constructing the past as about analysing how the past is made in the present. Jørgen Haavardsholm's dissertation *Vikingtiden som 1800-tallskonstruksjon* ("The Viking Age as a Nineteenth-century Construction") falls into this pattern, though not very postmodern in other respects. His work was printed in the Acta Humaniora series of the Faculty of Arts in Oslo. Neither the text itself nor the cover tells what subject it is a dissertation in. Judging by the subject and the approach of the author, it is most likely history.

The author sets out to explore and describe how Norwegian academics helped to make new images of the Viking and of the Viking Age at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. His idea is that these new images meant an important change compared to before and that they have been most significant ever since. The investigation centres on detailed accounts of what a few men who were of crucial importance to this process wrote and did. The

dissertation is of a descriptive character, consisting of eleven chapters and a bibliography. It is not illustrated and unfortunately it lacks an English summary.

To me it was of great personal interest to read Haavardsholm since the ideas that the Viking Age in essential respects was made in the late nineteenth century and that it has not changed much since then was also a central point of my own dissertation in archaeology (*Decolonizing the Viking Age* 1–2, 2003). Haavardsholm's text confirms what I also said, namely that the crucial formative period was the 1870s. His account of this is of course much more detailed than mine.

That the academic concept of a Viking Age was made about 130 years ago and that a previously fuzzy golden age was then clearly defined in a much more specific way is the starting point of the dissertation, as laid out in the first chapter "The Viking Age as a Nineteenth-century Construction". Haavardsholm's main aim is to describe *how* this happened. The chosen method for doing this is to trace and describe the actions of a selection of the most important academics involved. The author has chosen the archaeologists Oluf Rygh, Nicolay Nicolaysen and Gabriel Gustafsson, and the historians Gustaf Storm and Alexander Bugge. The materials used are texts by and about these persons and their time. The first chapter presents them and some important points on how to understand their texts and nineteenth-century history making in general. Haavardsholm also briefly sketches earlier research in the field. I find this part a bit too sketchy. That the author did not know my work, or the dissertation of Anna Wallette, discussing similar topics (*Sagans svenskar*, 2004), may perhaps be excused since they are so new. But he has also missed the publications of the Swedish *Vägar till Midgård* project, and, more important, a work like for example Terje Østigård's *Norge uten nordmenn: En antinasjonalistisk arkeologi* (2001). Since nationalism, and the history making of nationalism, are crucial to the subject of the dissertation, the latter work could well have been mentioned and analysed.

The second chapter, "The Viking Today and Yesterday", is a sort of brief catalogue of some background aspects of the Vikings and the making of the Viking Age. Its monuments are described, the term "Viking" thoroughly discussed and the early nineteenth-century pioneering attempts of Scandinavian academics to get a grip on the late Iron Age using the tools of the new historical and archaeological disciplines related.

After these introductory chapters follows a block of texts centred around the relation of the Viking Age to the creation and early history of the main museum of early cultural history of Norway, *Universitetets Oldsaksamling* in Oslo. The three archaeologists Rygh, Gustafsson and Nicolaysen figure importantly here. This block of texts covers seventy pages and includes the three chapters "The Viking Age in the History of Oldsaksamlingen", "The Viking Ship as a Symbol of the Viking and the Viking Age" and "The Exhibitions of Oldsaksamlingen". The Viking Age in general, and the important discoveries and excavations of the "Viking ships" of Tune, Gokstad and Oseberg in particular, were essential to the establishment and character of the central archaeological museum of Norway. The museum provided a scene for the archaeologists and a frame for their projects and publications. Rygh and Gustafsson were leading personalities of the museum around 1900. Haavardsholm goes into great detail about the debates preceding the making of new exhibitions and the construction of the special "Vikingskibshuset", housing the refitted three burial vessels and other grave goods of their mounds. It is interesting reading and reveals many visions and plans that were *not* realized. What happened was that two different museum buildings were eventually made, Vikingskibshuset and another building housing the rest of the Viking material (a division remaining to the present). This was not the vision of the archaeologists, who would clearly have preferred a single exhibition complex.

The archaeological discoveries of the Viking ships were of course crucial to all visions of a Viking Age. The author goes into detail here as well, which is fully warranted. Especially the excavations of the well-preserved Gokstad (1880) and Oseberg (1904) ships had an immense impact on the general public as well as on the archaeologists. It feels strange to read Haavardsholm's conclusions about the publications of the archaeologists, however, where he states that they show few traces of the late nineteenth-century worship of the Vikings. Having read the main Norwegian prehistoric synthesis of the early twentieth century, Gustafsson's *Norges oldtid: Mindesmærker og oldsager* of 1906, I find it hard to agree. Though Gustafsson's work was very descriptive and not so explicitly nationalistic, it is clear that his prehistory served to build up the glory of the Norwegian people, and he most certainly focused the Vikings and their ships at the expense of other parts of prehistory.

Then follow three chapters of altogether about 50 pages on the Viking Age of Gustav Storm, making him the most thoroughly explored writer of the dissertation. One of Storm's major works was a book of 1873 about the relation between the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson and the historical Viking Age. In Storm's view, Snorri was to be seen as a reliable historian. Storm was engaged in a grand new and widely circulated publication of Snorri in 1899–1900, in which Snorri was celebrated. The result was that Snorri and his view of the Viking Age became a lot more relevant to the twentieth-century public. The famous illustrations of this edition of Snorri were produced under the supervision of archaeologists and historians, making them, and consequently the sagas themselves, much more realistic. Storm fought fascinating academic battles with the famous Danish historian Johannes Steenstrup, not least about whether "the Viking Age" was to be called that or, as preferred by Steenstrup, "Normannertid". Storm was also engaged in the debate about whether the Vikings had really discovered America. The new ship finds of the time suddenly made the narratives of the Vinland journeys of the sagas seem more plausible. Storm was engaged in a project which built a replica of the Gokstad ship and sailed it to the world exhibition in Chicago in 1893.

There is no doubt that Storm played an important part in the construction of a Scandinavian Viking Age – a more important part, I now realize, than I had previously understood. Haavardsholm offers what seems to me a relevant and well-researched account of the works of Storm, their importance and their consequences.

After the chapters about Storm follows a similarly detailed, though not as long, account of the Viking Age of Alexander Bugge, who was the first Norwegian historian to offer a detailed relation of the cultural history of the Viking Age. His main works were published in 1905–1910 and were as influential as they were widely spread. Haavardsholm uses 14 pages just to explore Bugge's basic views of history and the scholars who influenced him. Bugge's work seems to have synthesized and consolidated much of the construction work of his predecessors in the making of a Norwegian Viking Age. Following his account of Bugge, Haavardsholm presents his final chapter, a "Conclusion" of 16 pages. It briefly discusses and sums up the main results of the earlier chapters and does not offer so much further analysis.

Haavardsholm's dissertation is well written and well structured. Its aim is to explore in detail how the Viking Age (in Norway) was made and in my opinion it does this rather well. The book gives detail to a process that has not been seen in this way for so long and that has previously been related only in outline. According to the author himself, for example, Storm and Bugge have not previously even been seen as very important to the making of a Viking Age. For a contemporary academic work in the humanities the book is rather descriptive and oddly lacking in theoretical discussion. Putting his own text in a research context or analysing its theoretical stance are not Haavardsholm's strong points. How should his own historical perspective be described? What sort of history does he himself write? Why is it important to make a detailed description of how the Viking Age was made and why should it be done the way he does it? What consequences did it have that the Viking Age was made in that specific way? Though it could have been developed further in some respects, though it could have had an English summary and though I do miss illustrations (in particular pictures of the main characters), I find Haavardsholm's work interesting and recommended reading for anyone interested in the Viking Age.

Fredrik Svanberg, Stockholm

Writing Acts of Young Girls

Gry Heggli, Skoledagboken. En folkloristisk studie av unge jenters skrivehandlinger. Unipub forlag, Oslo 2002. 265 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-7477-083-8.

■ In Norway it is popular among pupils in the upper level of compulsory school, especially girls, to keep a school diary. This is a combination of a personal diary, an organizer, and a homework book. It is open rather than private and is filled with greetings, verses, and jokes written by the owner's classmates and friends. The texts comment on school and the teachers, and boys and girls stick in pictures and draw their own.

The Norwegian folklorist Gry Heggli has studied how girls use school diaries in this dissertation about writing as a part of social interaction among children and adolescents. She chiefly studies who writes, when they write, and how they write in these school diaries.

The empirical material consists of interviews with girls about their school diaries and how they use them,

these informants' own school diaries, and questionnaire responses from a number of upper-level schools. The questionnaire responses have mostly been used to find out how common school diaries are, while the interviews and above all the school diaries themselves are the main foundation for the study.

The school diary is a form of childlore that is virtually unknown to adults. Unlike, for example, poetry albums, where both adults and children write, school diaries are totally reserved for coeval friends. Heggli reflects on how an outside reader reacts to the vacuity, nonsense, and triviality of the texts, since we expect texts to have an intention, a message. The texts in school diaries follow other rules than those to which we are accustomed.

Heggli's method involves a close-up reading of the texts, showing the limits that exist for what is written, and how they are observed or transgressed. This helps us to understand the content of the material.

Heggli proceeds from research on literacy and the ethnography of writing, but she notes that the school diary lies somewhere between writing and speech. It is in many cases a kind of written conversations that are carried on. Often the writers are assembled in the same place and take it in turns to write in each other's books. They comment on what is written and also on what is happening around them. Typical writing situations are during classes in school, when spending the night at a friend's house, staying with friends in the summer cottage, and when meeting during school holidays.

The texts in the school diaries can be described as unofficial, informal communication. The texts have an immediacy that is in contrast to the rational, goal-directed function of the written word in school.

During the period when girls have school diaries, the requirements of written production are increased. The texts written in the school diaries relate to dominant text conventions and ideas about writing. The girls deliberately go against the textual conventions imposed on them in school and by the adult world. There is an interesting tension between competent text production and the act of writing itself. By shedding light on the establishment of new ways of writing, Heggli shows what the dominant standard looks like.

A common element is meta-communication of different kinds. Texts about writing, how to write, and how one should or should not write. The girls comment on their own and other people's writing in their texts.

In the school diaries it is above all one text format that predominates, namely, the friendship greeting. It is in this genre the writers write to each other, and it is here the school diary becomes a collective writing arena. The main theme of the greeting is friendship and youth. There is a recurrent idea about the high status of friendship. It is important to have friends and be a friend.

Heggli shows in her detailed analysis of the greetings that, despite the first impression of simplicity and triviality, they follow a certain form. The introduction and conclusion are rather strictly formulated, while between these two there is room for great flexibility.

The texts in the school diaries are both a medium for friendship and an expression of friendship in practice. The girls maintain their friendship with greetings, reflecting both close friendship and larger networks of classmates and acquaintances.

Heggli has also found an interesting use of irony and self-irony to problematize the ideal of friendship. There is a reflexivity in certain writers when it comes to the relationship between the school diary's rhetoric of friendship and the female gender as maintainer of this friendship. By being ironic about this one-dimensional relationship, they show how problematic it is to equate femininity with positive expressions of emotion, such as friendship.

Heggli elucidates how the actors' mutual relations and intellectual strategies play a part in relation to the genre of friendly greetings. The writers position themselves in relation to gender, youthfulness, and friendship.

Heggli also shows how the school diary is significant for the young girls' work to establish a group identity as adolescents. The school diary, the writing, and the texts become tools in this identity creation. In the books they shape and formulate their youthful attitudes to life. This creates a "we", in this case in the form of "we – the young and cool".

The school diary is above all a phenomenon between girls. The boys who write choose either to assert gender differences and their identity as boys, or they stress the friendship and thus give a central place to gender similarity.

Heggli holds up childhood and adolescence as cultural and social constructions, and the importance of understanding children as active constructors of their own lives. In the texts we see the liminality of adolescence; young people are constantly balancing

on the boundary between childhood and adulthood. Questions to which the material provides answers are what is considered childish, adolescent, and adult, and thus how the young shape their view of themselves as young people.

Although it may seem trivial and nonsensical to an outsider, Gry Heggli shows that a body of material like this is interesting because so many questions can be asked about it. The tension that exists between the unique and the predictable, the creative and the conventional, the innovative and the traditional, can be viewed as a characteristic of cultural processes, and in the collision between the extremes one can see more clearly the norms that exist.

The dissertation is well written and it is easy to follow the ideas presented by the author. After each chapter there is a summary, although it sometimes tends to be more than just a summary when new references are introduced. The many examples from the school diaries are illustrative; an interesting feature is the presentation of parallel texts to show similarities in structure and content. It would have been nice to see even more illustrated examples, but I realize that this is a question of cost. Some colour pictures and slightly more in black and white nevertheless give us a better understanding of what the material can look like.

Gry Heggli has achieved a very interesting book and an important folkloristic contribution to research, showing how essential it is to examine even "trivial" things. People's cultural expressions contain a large amount of knowledge about ourselves and others; this applies to the occasional prose of young people in the form of school diary texts.

Blanka Henriksson, Åbo

Chapters in the History of Single Life

Tone Hellesund, Kapitler fra singellivets historie. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 2003. 267 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-15-00328-1.

■ Do Bridget Jones (the main character of *Bridget Jones's Diary* by Helen Fielding) and Aunt Pose (one of the characters in a novel by Gabriel Scott) have anything in common? Yes, they have lived "the single life" as spinsters, although in different times and cultural contexts. The Norwegian ethnologist Tone Hellesund discusses the phenomenon of single women, that is, women with no male partner or children, in her book *Kapitler fra singellivets historie.* The book is based on her thesis, which was defended at the University of Bergen in 2002.

The author analyses the position occupied by single middle-class women between 1870 and 1940, also with some comparisons from the 1950s and today. She unmasks the cultural attitudes towards these women, but she also applies an emic perspective by studying diaries, letters and that type of sources. One aim is to problematize not only the attitudes to single women in bygone times, but also our own attitudes today. As the focus of the book is on the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, I find the title and the cover of the book slightly misleading, because they make us (at least me) associate with single women in the 1920s (the cover) and the 1990s (the title).

Hellesund is inspired by the cultural analyses of Swedish ethnology, poststructuralist feminist theory, queer theory and discussions on modernity. Accordingly she rejects essentialist interpretations and "grand narratives". She wants to present one possible interpretation, not the one and only. The source materials are varied, including diaries, letters, press material, autobiographies, fiction and photographs.

In the first chapter Hellesund introduces today's single woman, who is compared with the *peppermø* (literally "pepper maid", the Norwegian word for "old maid") around 1900. The next chapter presents how single people in the '50s as well as in pre-industrial peasant society were treated and regarded. Then the author paints the picture of a society that culturally, economically and ideologically constituted the soil of the "old-maid culture" during the period 1870–1914. The decades around 1900 were dynamic in terms of politics and ideas, and very interesting to study from a gender perspective. In the fourth chapter the ideology of the "old-maid society" is discussed. Single middle-class women at the turn of the century finally had the opportunity to pursue an education and a career, and to organize in associations. In this cultural context a specific ideology was moulded that emphasized femininity as something positive and masculinity as something negative and problematic. In this context intimate friendships were also forged.

The old-maid society gave birth to stereotypes and negative attitudes to spinsters. One of them focused on the discussion of femininity and the "lack" of femininity that the single women were accused of. This kind of "*peppermø* folklore" is analysed in

chapter five. In chapter six the transformation and decline of the old-maid culture after the First World War is discussed. There spinster stereotypes were changed and the old-maid society was shaken to its foundations. Little by little the single middle-class women lost her legitimacy and established position in society. This backlash was partly the result of a change in the women's movement, with new questions in focus, partly a result of the triumph of the psychoanalysis and the liberal sexual movement. Being "pure" and asexual was no longer an ideal for women. According to Doctor Freud, such a lifestyle could cause serious problems, and new terms such as "frigidity", "compensation" and "sublimation" made it difficult for single women to defend their way of life.

In the last chapter the author tries to avoid the view of old spinsters as living in misery, and makes an attempt to interpret their single lifestyle not only in terms of deviation but as a non-straight position and sometimes as a gender-bending activity. In that perspective the spinsters turn queer, which is, of course, a slightly anachronistic interpretation. But still I think that Hellesund is right in assuming that the single position of middle-class women a hundred years ago could be an alternative way of living.

Many spinsters probably longed for a traditional family life, many did not. Some of them wanted to do something other than being captured in the arms of a family and a dominating husband, running the risk of dying in childbirth. Some of them preferred to have "a room of one's own", an education of one's own and a job of one's own. Some of them were lesbians; many of them were probably not. But the question of homosexuality was not, according to Hellesund, a central issue in the old-maid society. The crucial point was to be an independent person. Not all single women could realize that ideal, but quite a few of them did.

Compared to today's single women, Hellesund assumes that the spinsters had an ideological programme for their civil status that the former lack. Today's single women seem still to be waiting for Mr Right. But, Hellesund adds, perhaps there is a subversive potential of the modern single life that she is not able to see because of home-blindness.

Finally, I would say that *Kapitler fra singellivets historie* is a very interesting study and Tone Hellesund writes well. She has succeeded in combining an emic and an etic perspective in a way that exposes the ethnological hallmark. The theoretical inspirations and tools can of course be discussed, as was the case when Hellesund defended her thesis. She has, however, heeded some of the critical points that were discussed and the result is convincing.

Hellesund is obviously very fond of her spinsters, sometimes perhaps too fond of them. Perhaps this is an ethnological rescue action in the era of late modernity, the rescue of the Norwegian *peppermøer*. And I am glad that they now are safe.

Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

The Role of Fences in Swedish Farming

Örjan Kardell, Hägnadernas roll för jordbruket och byalaget 1640–1900. Kungl. Skogs- och lantbruksakademien. Skogs- och lantbrukshistoriska meddelanden nr 31. Uppsala 2004. 277 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISBN 91-89379-68-3.

■ The dissertation is about a type of fencing that is very common in Sweden. It is also found elsewhere in Europe, such as Norway, Finland, and northern Russia. In Sweden it is called *gärdesgård* and is made of wood. It consists of posts set in pairs in the ground. Between these, thin, generally split, logs are placed diagonally on top of each other. The uprights and the fillers are tied in two different ways: either with *vidja* (lashing with tough withies) or *hank* (twigs woven in a ring). This design allows room for minor differences as regards technical solutions, and it varies according to local ecological conditions and functional requirements. This type of fence has set its stamp on the Swedish cultural landscape in the period covered by the dissertation, from the seventeenth century until around 1900. In Europe the transition between cultivated land and more extensively used agricultural land is rather fluid, while in Sweden it is clearly marked with fences. Here the main function of the fence is to separate the different types of land on a farm.

A type of fence as the subject of a doctoral dissertation might at first seem like a pure element analysis with no room for theoretical discussions and conclusions. The dissertation has been supervised by Janken Myrdal, Section for Agrarian History, Department of Economics, at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Ultuna. The orientation here is interdisciplinary, with distinct elements of theory and methodology from traditional ethnology

and history. Dissertations from this department are therefore of interest to several disciplines.

The overall approach in Kardell's dissertation is to think in terms of systems, with a set of more or less mutually dependent variables making up a production system. The result of production depends, among other things, on the amount of labour and time needed, on the availability of resources, and on the societal framework. With this holistic functional perspective, the study of a specific type of fence acquires an indicatory value; it indicates the kind of consequences and effects a particular element can have for an entire production system. From this point of view, a single element can represent a key system for understanding the whole, especially if through its effect it represents a critical and limited stage in production. It is on the basis of this theoretical position that we must assess the main hypothesis of the dissertation. The aim is to investigate whether the use of fences extended over time in pace with population growth and the division of land, so that this gradually required such a large amount of labour that it became a factor inhibiting further development. This hypothesis also implies consequences of a technical, operational, and economic nature, namely, that the common maintenance of fences in "the villages" was one of the most important reasons why the "village community" (*byalaget*) persisted as a fixed institution from the Middle Ages until the enclosure reforms (*lagaskifte*).

To be able to achieve the aim of the study it has been necessary to use many different types of sources and to use both qualitative and quantitative methods. The fundamental unit of analysis is "the village".

The qualitative analysis is based on traditional ethnological source material such as questionnaire responses, records of traditions, and the author's own field observations. On this basis he undertakes a typological analysis of forms, in which normative goals are an important factor alongside material, design and binding, construction and maintenance. The quantitative analysis is a methodical innovation, intended to give measurable expressions for the extent of fencing and the labour required. The assessment of the length of fencing within a "village" is based on large-scale maps and archival material. With the aid of measurements it has been possible to obtain relatively reliable information about fencing in specific places. The analysis is performed in three selected areas representing different geographical locations and different cultivation systems. In these selected areas the author follows development over time.

The quantitative analysis allows opportunities to answer questions about whether fencing increased over time. The studies confirm the assumption that this was the case. Based on this trend, the author asks whether this became such a large burden on the farm that it forced people to find other solutions for keeping grazing animals out of tilled land. The idea could be described as dialectic. This problem is discussed on a broad basis in the last chapters of the book. The author asserts that forest stands or lack of fencing material nearby seems to have had little influence on the choice of fence type. To explain why fencing and the organization of grazing changed greatly in the second half of the nineteenth century, the author emphasizes factors such as the *lagaskifte* enclosures in 1827 and an ordinance on fencing from 1857.

The dissertation is valuable in several ways for research. The empirical topic has not been considered much in literature on agrarian history in Norway or Sweden. The systems approach gives the dissertation a broad cultural cross-section and an interdisciplinary orientation. There is a detailed presentation of the source material and the critical problems it raises. The same is the case with the methodology and the analytical technique. Although questions can sometimes be asked, the presentation and argumentation are convincing. The arrangement and the presentation follow the form of a classical academic dissertation. One problem, however, is that important observations and conclusions are easily missed, since they are often packed in dense and complex text, and are not wholly clarified in the summing-up chapters. By tackling a neglected topic in agrarian history, Kardell has given us a deeper understanding of an important operational factor in pre-industrial farming systems. It is also valuable that the dissertation helps to continue and refresh research on agrarian history within the disciplines concerned with cultural history, a theme that does not occupy many scholars nowadays.

The dissertation has instructive drawings and photographs which give a good idea of the fence type and the work processes connected with it. The maps also make it easier to understand the presentation.

Ragnar Pedersen, Hamar

Social Drinking

Ingegerd Sigfridsson, Självklara drycker? Kaffe och alkohol i social samvaro. Bokförlaget Arkipelag, Göteborg 2005. 286 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-68-3.

■ In her doctoral dissertation in ethnology, Ingegerd Sigfridsson has studied modern drinking habits in a social context. The selected drinks are coffee on the one hand and alcoholic drinks on the other. No comparison is made between coffee and tea or between alcoholic drinks and alcohol-free alternatives, such as low-alcohol beer, and alcohol-free wine, soft drinks, or mineral water. Comparisons like these could actually have been discussed in view of the fact that the study concerns the present day, when such alternatives are increasingly available. The author's interest is in normal use of alcohol, not its abuse by alcoholics. Alcohol and coffee are studied as separate drinks, but not as a combined drink. Mixing aquavit and coffee in the same cup was a common custom in the old days (under the names *kaffehalv*, *kaffegök*), and has no doubt survived into modern times. The author has ignored that question.

The problem chosen for study is "the role of the drinks in social interaction; people's attitudes to the drinks and their role in different situations of community" (p. 10). The two empirical chapters in the book deal with learning situations in early years and with events and attitudes in adult life and changes occurring then. Questions about collective norms and deviations among individuals are important in the analytical chapters, as are perspectives of class and gender.

The material chiefly consists of interviews with 37 informants and observations performed by the author during fieldwork between 1992 and 1997 in and around Gothenburg. A large number of photographs have also been collected, although they could have been used to greater effect in analyses and given better captions. Apart from the field material the author has used responses to questionnaires collected by the folklife archives in Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala (but not from the archive in Gothenburg) from the mid-twentieth century to the 1990s. The questionnaire material, which comes from other parts of Sweden than Gothenburg, is used to supplement the field material and to provide a historical background to the 1990s. The informants in the study were born between 1899 and 1977, with a certain over-representation of women (22 of 37 informants). The working class, the middle class especially, and the upper middle class are represented. The dividing lines in the dissertation are diffuse, and the classification is not discussed.

On the formal level it may be said that the presentation is at times rather too circumstantial, with some unnecessary repetitions. The proofreading could also have been better.

The author worked in Uppsala in the early 1990s as part of a Nordic research network studying alcohol and temperance in historical perspective. Sigfridsson's work on her dissertation in Gothenburg had to rest for a few years and was then completed in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Ten years have therefore passed between the collection of the material and the analysis in written form. The rapid development in the last few years, with new coffee habits and alcohol habits, has thus not been considered. It is a pity that this was not possible, as the author also deplores in an epilogue at the end of the book. One need only think of the way continental drinking habits have become increasingly popular in Sweden in the last ten years. As regards coffee we now have a lot of people drinking cappuccino, café au lait, caffe latte, and espresso. There is also a much wider range of beer and wine, and alcohol consumption is higher than it was before Sweden joined the EU in 1995.

The informants' narratives show that people learn drinking habits informally. It is easier for them to remember when they started drinking coffee than alcohol. In the latter case I wonder if there might not have been some self-censorship of information during the interviews. This question ought to have been discussed and analysed in greater detail in the dissertation. It is mentioned only briefly and in a note (p. 145). As regards alcohol debut, there seems to be a gender difference in that the men were introduced to alcohol by friends, which meant that group pressure was active in many cases. Otherwise they risked being regarded as boring and different. If this happened they fell outside the collective. For the women the first alcohol was tasted along with the family, and then it was wine as opposed to the men's beer and spirits. Learning how to drink coffee, on the other hand, shows no gender differences. The inspiration comes from friends at school or in working life. Starting to drink both coffee and alcohol served as a marker of adulthood for the young.

If learning took place during adolescence, changes

in attitudes to alcohol and coffee can occur in adult life. For men the need to drink to get drunk wears off and the amount of alcohol consumed falls significantly. It is important to be regarded as an adult, and then the emphasis is on the social side of drinking. Quality in the form of taste becomes more important than quantity. Starting a family is a crucial factor, as domestic life becomes more important than going out. Leaving behind a working-class background and becoming part of the middle class in adulthood, according to the interviews, means switching from beer and spirits to wine. In a new social environment, even former teetotallers can start drinking alcohol. The author herself experienced this when she left the rural home of her childhood and moved to the student milieu in the university city of Uppsala. The significance of the author's own attitude to alcohol in connection with her encounter with the informants could have been problematized more.

In one of the analytical chapters Sigfridsson discusses the meaning of community and togetherness for drinking habits. This becomes particularly clear in festive contexts when drinks, primarily alcohol, help to enhance the sense of community. This applies especially to men, and it leads to social pressure: everyone is expected to take part in the drinking, otherwise they are regarded as abnormal; they have to explain to the others why they will not drink, and they can be subjected to persuasion. In this case one has to think of strategies to neutralize the significance of the abnormality. One can hold a glass containing something other than alcohol, or simply not drink what has been poured into it.

Coffee can strengthen a sense of community in more everyday contexts, whether at work or in the family. People who do not drink coffee are not so easily regarded as abnormal. There is greater tolerance about coffee.

A long chapter analyses the gender problem in connection with alcoholic drinks, which is scarcely relevant when it comes to coffee. The male drinking norm has a high impact. In older times it was accepted that women in the bourgeoisie drank alcohol in moderate quantities, while the ideal for working-class women was temperance. This can help to explain why working-class women are more taciturn than bourgeois women in their narratives about alcohol consumption. Certain drinks are still regarded as more masculine and others as more feminine. Masculine drinks, which have the highest status, are the strong ones, while feminine drinks are weak. Based on the taste, drinks are categorized as male/bitter and female/sweet. This, however, is true more on the level of ideas than in reality, if one listens to the personal narratives in the interviews. For women it is easier than for men to cross the stereotyped gender barrier, which can boost their prestige. In contrast, when women are intoxicated they lose in status. There is a norm here that is directed against women more than men.

Yet another chapter analyses the social dividing lines concerning alcoholic drinks, an issue that is not relevant for coffee. Beer and spirits tend to be regarded as working-class drinks while wine, brandy, and whisky are associated with the middle class. As with the gender problem, however, here too there is a certain discrepancy between norm and reality. Wine consumption has gradually gained ground in the working class. Practice changes faster over time than the norm.

The concluding chapter in the book examines the individual in relation to the collective and the norms. In this respect one can drink in accordance with the norm or deviate more or less from it. We see here a clear difference between alcohol and coffee. The choice of whether or not to drink coffee is not so strictly tied to a norm as the choices concerning alcohol. The attitude to coffee is considered to be more on the personal than the collective level.

As a general reflection I wonder whether the comparison between alcohol and coffee is particularly fruitful in the dissertation. Aspects such as class and gender can scarcely be applied to coffee drinking, whereas they are highly relevant to alcohol. This creates an imbalance. Coffee is a drink, while alcohol has many more facets. The dissertation would have gained analytically by concentrating solely on the use of alcohol. This could have given greater historical depth, with the possibility to examine categories such as high, moderate, and low consumers, as well as total abstainers. The author has studied teetotallers in earlier works in the 1990s, but there is little mention of them in the dissertation. What drinks do these people choose in social situations, and how do they manage their social life at all when they abstain from alcohol?

As regards coffee, I see it as an important task for future research to study the introduction of all the new variants that have appeared in the last decade. Just think of all the new coffee machines that have

appeared at workplaces, in kiosks, and so on. What meanings have these new drinks acquired in different social contexts? For alcohol an important dividing line came when Sweden joined the EU in 1995. How has this affected the role of alcohol as a factor in social community? There is plenty to do here in a follow-up study.

As an overall verdict I would stress that the merits of the dissertation lie particularly in the analyses of attitudes to alcohol and the social significance of alcohol, although the author could have gone deeper with further perspectives.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Book Reviews

Cultural Heritage in South Jutland

Sønderjysk kulturarv. Sønderjyske Museer 2003–2004. Inge Adriansen & Peter Dragsbo (eds.). Museumsrådet for Sønderjyllands Amt, Sønderborg 2005. 156 pp. Ill. Deutsche Zusammenfassung – German summary. ISBN 87-990771-0-8.

■ Rich cultural traditions and a political heritage developed mainly from Danish and German national historical identities characterize the Sønderjylland (South Jutland) region. As other regions in the vicinity also have influenced cultural traditions, the heritage from Schleswig-Holstein, Friesland and Prussia, are especially interesting. The anthology *Sønderjysk kulturarv* ("South Jutland Cultural Heritage") discusses several different aspects of the national-political culture in the area, and also broader concepts of the regional cultural heritage. These concepts of culture are discussed and linked to different problems such as: What does it mean, for example, to have a national, regional or local cultural heritage? Whose cultural heritage are we talking about? Did conflicting cultural and political traditions exist? Questions and problems like this are explored from a variety of aspects in the anthology. The time perspective is far-reaching as it ranges from prehistoric times up to modern times, and focuses mainly on the history of the twentieth century.

The regional cultural history, with its many aspects, such as settlements and building traditions, agriculture and dairy production, language and culture in a broad sense, forms one part of the anthology, while another main part of the volume deals with political and national issues. A focal point is the conflicting cultural traditions in the celebration of Danish nationalism, and its relationships to Schleswig-Holstein and Germany during the period of Nazi occupation.

Starting in prehistory with the archaeological contribution we gain insight into the pattern of continuity in the area. Through presentation of archaeological remains such as burial mounds, settlements, farmsteads and hamlets, it is obvious that this region has a long human cultural history. This is also very well documented in different Danish registers of ancient remains and settlements, which are presented in lucid maps and figures in the anthology. From these maps

it can be noticed that even the marsh and tidelands, the Frisian parts of Sønderjylland, seem to be very interesting to study further. *Hans Chr. H. Andersen*, author of the article "Kulturarvsarealer fra oldtid og middelalder i Sønderjylland", also mentions that both nature and culture in these fenlands are exciting and have a long continuity and history. They may deserve to be on the United Nations' World Heritage List of unique sites of great value which need to be preserved for the future.

The more or less perfect understanding between landscape and culture is the theme of *Inger Lauridsen's* article, "Skønt er landet; ingen hindring standser øjet..." Samspillet mellem landskab og kultur i Vestslesvig". In this contribution the focus is on the building tradition of the western parts of Schleswig. The localization of the farmsteads on higher places in the landscape is one important aspect, and the building technique is another. The impressive farmstead buildings were well adapted to weather and climate conditions. Especially the humid climate and the persistent westerly winds have formed the local architectural concepts. One important detail that Lauridsen notices as typical in this local area is the smart construction of roofs. As the roofs were covered with straw they were very resistant to storms in a flexible way, as the wind could "wander through the roof". That is surely something hurricane-struck regions today could learn from.

Nature and the open landscape, the light in the marshes, have also inspired many artists. One of the most famous painters was Emil Nolde who was born in the small village of Nolde, close to Tønder. In the Nolde Museum his life is documented and his forbidden paintings produced under the Nazi regime are exposed. Lauridsen also mentions the artists Hans Peter Feddersen (1848–1894), Momme Nissen (1870–1943), Carl Tønder (1884–1953), Peter Nicolaisen (1894–1989) and Dan Thuesen (born 1945), as more or less influenced by the western Schleswig surroundings, the landscape and light. She also notes, as a predominantly unique cultural pattern, that several of the artisan's crafts and skills were practised and developed by the weather-beaten and self-reliant population in western parts of Schleswig. She hesitates to discuss this creativity in terms of a general powerful mentality, but instead to a certain extent considers it as mentalities tied to cultural heritage and traditions specific for west Schleswig.

Non-material cultural expression, e.g. oral tradition, language, theatre, ballet, dance and festivals, are discussed by *Elsemarie Dam Jensen* in her essay "'Hatten af for Kongeaaen' Den immaterielle kulturarv i Sønderjylland". She notices that this region is characterized by the rich *interregional influences* over time. Obviously, there has been and still is a lively intercultural exchange in the region. The knowledge of non-material cultural expressions and their media in terms of theatre, song tradition, festival tradition etc. should be important and valuable even for the coming generations to cultivate. The non-material culture should also be noticed in discussions of what is worth protecting and keeping for the future, and one step in that direction could be to be acknowledged, e.g. by the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The problems of language, the Danish dialects in this case the so-called *sønderjysk* and the Danish national language, are dealt with by *Karen Margrethe Pedersen*, in the article "Folkedansk og rigsdansk i Sønderjylland". She notices that the influences of the German language were essential in the *sønderjysk* dialect, and therefore it could function as a nationally neutral dialect usable by the German minority living north of the Danish border in Sønderjylland. With the question of language and dialects we are touching a very tense and delicate topic, as people's social and cultural identity becomes exposed. In the modern twentieth-century history of Sønderjylland, language as well as political national identity for the Danish and German minorities in the border regions have been and still are burning questions.

Sønderjylland as a political border region also bears the historical memories of the Prussian–Danish national wars of the nineteenth century (1848–1850, 1864–1866), and also the reminiscences of the years of Nazi occupation during the years 1940–1945. *Henrik Skov Kristensen*, in his contribution "Frøslevlejr og Fårhuslejr – samme sted, forskellig betydning", discusses how to deal with the problematic historical memory and meaning this place carries, both for the German and Danish populations in the border region. The Frøslev detention centre, (Polizeigefangenenlager Frøslev), stands for Danish resistance to the Nazi occupation. The same place, Fårhus detention centre, after 1945 inhabited by detained Germans, stands for the German population as a symbol of unjust trials after the war. Kristensen's standpoint on how the Fårhus detention centre should be presented today is clearly formulated. Fårhus cannot be paralleled with

the Frøslev Museum's historical memories, but should be seen as a consequence of the "Nazification" of the majority of the German population in Sønderjylland during the Nazi era. The historical memories of both the detention centres should be presented as soberly and objectively as possible. The moral position *vis-à-vis* the Nazi ideology and its horrific consequences and deeds must be totally clear.

The different contributions on the region's local identity versus the questions of national identity discuss a very complex regional and local reality. This is explored and interpreted in several articles in the anthology (e.g. "Local history" by Kim Furdal; "Retten til vor historie – Dybbøl set i lyset af vidensamfundet og det regionale perspektiv" by Thue Damgaard Kjærhus; "Det tyske mindretals kulturarv i Nordslesvig" by Frank Lubowitz; "Når kulturgods bliver til kulturarv – om dansk-tyske udvekslinge af kulturgods" by Inge Adriansen; "Forsømt kulturarv i Sønderjylland" by Peter Dragsbo). Relevant comparisons with other border regions are made, e.g. Alsace-Lorraine, East Prussia (Kaliningrad region), the Polish border region with Germany, Wales, and even with Skåne (formerly belonging to Denmark, and since 1658 a part of Sweden).

When discussing nationalism in a longer temporal perspective and historical context it is clear that nationalism goes together with the industrial development, capitalism, and the centralistic state building, which were characteristic of nineteenth- and twentieth-century development in many European societies. In the twentieth-first century as the European Union has matured as a political project, the historical and cultural identities of both regions and local communities have become revitalized and more important, whereas the history of the nation state seems to be in a kind of backwater. Let me suggest that we don't know yet how state-region matters will develop, and nationalism, which expresses itself in a variety of ways, is certainly not dead yet, even though we live in a "post-industrial-nation-state" era.

The anthology *Sønderjysk kulturarv: Sønderjyske Museer 2003–2004,* is a vital, informative and explorative volume of intellectual work concerning all of these complicated questions, at the same time emphasizing the relevance and legitimacy of regional and local history. The right and duty to take care of the specific cultural heritage and traditions seems to be a goal of this publication. It is also a valuable contribution to the understanding of the modern history of Sønderjylland, which I recommend both to academic professionals and to anyone who is deeply interested in the region's culture and history. It has been stimulating to read this serious work.

Kerstin Sundberg, Lund

Modern and Tradition

Pertti J. Anttonen, Tradition through Modernity. Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 15. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2005. 215 pp. ISBN 951-746-665-X.

■ We are used to thinking about 'tradition' as associated with fixed formations derived from the past (or projected into it) that hold back or corrupt progress. It is invoked by 'yesterday's men' to stall innovation and change. If necessary or simply opportune, tradition may even be invented, especially in contexts where anything with an air of antiquity is regarded as venerable by definition. Societies where such mechanisms are strong tend to be referred to as 'traditional' or 'pre-modern'. In this worldview, a 'modern' society becomes 'non-traditional' by default. This, then, is the paradigmatic way of looking at tradition and development.

Pertti Anttonen's book blows the cobwebs off that worldview and shows eloquently where it went wrong. Moreover, it develops a view of 'tradition' that is more than a little iconoclastic. The study is presented in two parts that may be read each on its own. In the first part, Anttonen discusses 'modern' and 'traditional' as thoroughly modern concepts, and locates folklore in relation to these. This part draws extensively on Anttonen's PhD thesis, written in the 1990s. The second part, which examines tradition, modernity and the nation-state with special reference to Finland, draws on a series of research projects and networks spread over more than ten years. With the exception of chapters 2-4, all chapters are versions of earlier publications revised for the present volume. Despite this, the author succeeds in creating an entity that coheres both within each of its two parts and as a whole.

Part 1 discusses 'the modernness of the non-modern' – which echoes the 'invention of tradition' debate without falling into the trap of a total de(con)struction of 'tradition'. On the contrary, in a well-sourced and convincingly presented argument the author dissects

the relationship between modernity and tradition from almost every possible angle. Chapter 1 offers an overview of postmodernism and some of its associated buzz- and not-quite-so-buzz words. In chapter 2, the mutual dependence of tradition and modernity as concepts is amply demonstrated. The longest in Part 1, chapter 3 then considers the various roles and permutations of folklore in modernism, before chapter 4 takes the reader from promodern to antimodern and back to show what the author calls 'postmodernisation in the making'.

Part 2 comprises five chapters. In chapter 5, the historical function of folklore in the 'nationalising' of antiquities is examined. Chapter 6 takes this discussion beyond the level of the nation-state to the European plane and looks at the role of ethnologists and folklorists in this context. Stepping up another level, chapter 7 briefly considers the significance of globalisation. Having established the geopolitical context at three levels, Anttonen zooms in on his case study of Finland, which is presented in chapters 8 and 9. Here interesting parallels with other countries and regions shine up that are worth investigating further. To name but one of these: His discussion in chapter 8 of 'Karelians as both Finns and Non-Finns' signals to this reviewer a strong resemblance between Karelia and Ulster – from a 'nationalist' perspective, both are 'ethnic heartlands', yet the actual ethnicity of their inhabitants is far from unambiguous. Chapter 9 evaluates the role of folklore in the process of creating a Finland that is 'modern by having history', as the author puts it. An excellent, extensive bibliography and a useful index, separated into subjects and names, round off the book.

This is a lucid and – how often can that be said for an academic book? – entertaining treatise on a topic that has lost nothing of its relevance during the postmodernist assault on just about everything. It challenges received ideas about 'tradition' and suggests alternatives that can help European ethnologists to see much of not only their present day concerns, but also the history of their field in a new light. Even if one does not agree with every point made, or with every conclusion drawn, the author must be commended for his contribution. As European integration and globalisation continue to shape our everyday lives, European ethnology can offer interpretations of 'tradition' that are more differentiated and less static than those used by the nation-building folklorists. The Finnish case study illustrates this already. Perhaps one day, we will even have a concept of tradition as a force of progress? If that ever comes to pass, Pertti Anttonen must be credited with having set down an important milestone en route. If there were such a competition, this book would certainly be my nominee for "ethnological book of the year 2005".

Ullrich Kockel, Derry

Is Sweden Still a Society?

Karl-Olov Arnstberg, Typiskt svenskt. 8 essäer om det nutida Sverige. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2005. 349 pp. ISBN 91-7203-658-3.

■ It is no easy book that Professor Karl-Olov Arnstberg has put on the market. Admittedly, it is easy to read, totally free of fashionable jargon and clichés, and one can certainly get through it all in one go, as an extremely well-written contribution to the debate. Despite this, however, it is difficult to get to grips with.

One of the problems has to do with what is also one of the strengths of the book: that it flows and reads easily. For it can be tricky to distinguish the essential from the inessential. Arnstberg has not helped the reader very much by pointing out central themes and concepts. What we have instead is a sophisticated and learned – more than a straight academic – stream of consciousness. One word leads to another, one scenario follows another. Always wise and reflective, but without much structure.

Another difficulty has to do with the lack of focus: what is the problem he has set himself to tackle? We have here eight essays, but it can be difficult to see what the bearing principle in each of them is. There is a multitude of sensible ideas and perspicacious observations, testifying to the experience of a gifted person in a long political and academic life; but what is it all about?

A third problem is the title. It can scarcely be said that it covers the content of the book. "Typically Swedish" made me expect characteristic Swedish things like some of the popular television programmes (*Doobedoo* and *På spåret*), community singing at Skansen, Lena Philipsson, Leksand's permanent problem of keeping the team in the top ice hockey division, Göran Persson's powerful jaw as a response to the political weakness of the social democrats, the worship of consensus and the ability to avoid conflict, the dislike of excessively oppositional movements,

Wasa crispbread, "Kalles kaviar", cinnamon buns, and so on. And what about Söderhamn? To say nothing of the Gnosjö spirit? Things like this are mentioned only in passing. Instead we learn all the more about Stockholm and its suburbs. The book should really have been called "Contemporary Stockholm" or perhaps rather "Late Modernity outside the City Centre". This is where the book takes us, with Arnstberg as a highly knowledgeable – and non-dogmatic – guide. True, we also get to Göteborg, but only sporadically. And what about Hudiksvall and Vetlanda? Here too there is ethnicity, change, and attempts at new connections. It would have been good to hear more about this. Geographically the book is not very representative. The focus is on the 08s, as the people of Stockholm are known by their area code.

A fourth problem is the sociological representativeness. Arnstberg occasionally mentions that the Swedish provinces are so depopulated today that they can hardly expect any attention. But what kind of way is this to treat minorities? There are still families in Sweden who don't get broken up by divorce, who follow tradition rather than seek change, and who attach great importance to continuity. This theme is noticeably underplayed in the book.

And so over to the positive critique. Arnstberg is a brave man. He has a strong will to appear politically incorrect. This is wise of him. In fact, it might even be said that political incorrectness is the hallmark of good ethnological research: daring to challenge the collective mentality by questioning its basic values and by turning things upside down, altering the staging and lighting. These methods are exemplified frequently in the book. Arnstberg knows his ethnological craft to perfection. He – if anyone – is the man to look at things from unusual angles, as he has shown in his many published works. As a consequence one is enriched by reading this fresh book. But only in parts.

Another good point is that Arnstberg so clearly spots the great problem in the Nordic countries today: the lack of sociability. For him the villain in the society that he cannot really decide whether to call late-modern or post-modern is the absence of social cement. He ascribes the problem to the essence of modernity itself: the one half of modernity, namely, the demand for individual self-fulfilment. There is a lot to be said for this view. But why not take the problem to a head and say that it is the lack of harmony and coordination between freedom and equality that is essential. We constantly come close to this problem, but it is never conceptually specified. Here a historical survey would have worked wonders. Now instead we get a snapshot.

The book seems to be carried along by a powerful desire to provoke. I don't think the author has succeeded in this. True, he begins with the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party KFML, sometimes with the addition of (r) for "revolutionary", to mark his position as an outsider. Those of us who were around at that time and can remember that the Umeå branch of the five-letter party was excluded, which halved the party and led to a victory for Frank Baude in Göteborg and a defeat for the faction that had not got used to calling the party newspaper "The Proletarian", will nod in recognition. But why not start with John Lennon, the father of egocentrism: "I don't believe in anything. I only believe in Yoko and me." There we have the great role model both for the sentimental utopian dream and for the lack of collective spirit and the irresponsible individualism that Arnstberg excoriates with such gusto.

The greatest provocation probably comes in the brilliant chapter 6, about the politically correct Sweden. This is where Arnstberg is at his best. And this is where he is brave in earnest. It is wise, for example, when he calls the conflicts between and immigrant adolescents territorial disputes, thus pointing at the core of the matter: that both sides prefer to live in parallel communities.

It is likewise a pleasure to read chapter 4 about the nationalist Sweden, where the author confronts the well-meaning school people, cultural personalities, and radicals who with their exquisite stupidity create a seedbed for rabid chauvinism. Arnstberg ventilates instead the refreshing viewpoint that both nationalism and national identity – which are far from being the same thing, as he rightly points out – have come to stay, and that nationalism can be said to be a civilizing gift to humanity as a combination of society and identity. He calls this a solution to the problem of societal construction which cures individualism, tribalism, and disintegration. It could not be put better. This chapter is the most historical in character, summing up in the best way something typically Swedish. I wish there had been more of this.

As a whole, then, the book is interesting reading, and one can finish it quickly. There are brilliant passages with razor-sharp observations and formulations, but there are also many pages that would have

benefited from being made sharper. As the book is now, it is diffuse and unstructured. It works best as a topical contribution to the debate. Such books are also needed, and it is good that people from the academic world venture out into the public sphere as citizens.
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Life Should Be Lived

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Livet skal leves – forlæns, baglæns og sidelæns. Gyldendal fagbogsforlag, København 2005. 271 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-02-02593-0.

■ Anne Leonora Blaakilde introduces the subject of this book with a discussion of the life cycle and different phases of life. She emphasizes that the life cycle is often linked with an image of an itinerary. When we apprehend processes of life as established routes it has many consequences for us, for example stress and agony about age. This means that we must change our attitudes as we get older. We should be childish as children, youthful as teenagers and old-fashioned as pensioners. To be successful in the career of life we should reach certain goals in special phases of life, not sooner or later. If we go through life in this order we are culturally normal and receive positive feedback from different kinds of social networks in which we are involved. The author, who is a cultural researcher with an interest in gerontology, has interviewed twelve persons about their opinions of life cycle and their attitudes to experiences in different phases of life. The youngest was 17 and the oldest 92 years old. As a matter of fact the middle-aged and elderly informants have more personal experience to deal with, but the author has asked everyone about their view of their future. So the imagination of coming days was taken, in every case, as a reflection on past and present.

The readers of this book get no information as to why the author has chosen these informants or which interview method she has used. There are no comments about how the author got in touch with them, whether she had met some of them before or if they were total strangers to her. In any case, most of these persons are, as I understand it, well known to Danish readers. Some are politicians; others are actors, authors, musicians and presenters of programmes in the media. One has professional experience, as the first professor in Denmark in the field of geriatrics. In their creative working processes each one has paid some intellectual attention to manifestations of generation boundaries in different time contexts. With one exception, the informants told Anne Leonora Blaakilde about how their private experiences and family life as well as their professional experiences have influenced their views of age expectations.

The book has a structure whereby each chapter begins with a transcribed interview (a part of a longer dialogue, I suppose). The questions are printed in red and in bigger size than the answers, which I find amazing, though the answers are more interesting. The first person to be introduced is the youngest girl and the others follow in chronological order, with the oldest woman at the end of the book. To avoid the predictability of this structure, the author delivers comparisons between different informants as she analyses statements in the transcribed text, in the second section of each chapter. In that way the reader gets interesting hints about what older people will speak about further on in the book. In the interpretation parts of the chapters with middle-aged and older informants, remarks from the younger chapters are consequently taken into consideration.

In the second section the author introduces historical perspectives and discusses relevant conceptions connected to processes in life from cultural points of view. She emphasizes many thoughtful reflections about present and past with a good response to her informants. However, the author leaves me doubtful about which conclusions she has drawn by herself and which she has borrowed from other researchers. There is a short list of references in the book, but they are not used often. I would have preferred more references, also to the historical descriptions, which would have given better opportunities for researchers to make comparisons between Denmark and other countries in Scandinavia. This lack brings up the question of which groups this book is intended for. Is it popular scholarship formulated in a journalistic manner for groups outside the academic networks, or is it directed to diverse arenas? I am not sure of the author's intentions. It would have been easier if she had discussed the assumptions for her choices of these informants, five women and seven men. All of them are well situated in the middle class nowadays. One was born abroad and has a non-Danish background. The class perspective is not clear and it is impossible for the reader to figure out whether anyone else has pursued a class career. However, these individuals are very good at verbalizing and expressing their

feelings and reflections. Besides the contributions of the informants I would give the best praise for this book to the author for her mixing of informants' statements, historical perspectives, and discussion of conceptions of age.

The value of this book is not clear to the reader until the last pages have been read. In the conclusion the author includes this book for the first time in a wider sphere of modernism criticism. From different descriptions of experienced life phases and analyses of established itineraries this book reveals opportunities for transgressing generation boundaries and other age restrictions. The author, who was born in 1961, foresees on page 269 a revolution when many people born in 1940s get older, because they will give the conceptions of old-fashion and modern new meanings. It is obvious that the author would welcome a society where it is less difficult to establish arenas for transgressing generation boundaries in order to exchange experiences and ideas. The only requirement is an open mind, which several informants described as a starting point for everyone, whether old, middle-aged or young. Then it would also be easier to enjoy life in different ways. The itinerary would not be necessary. Life could be lived forwards, backwards and sideways as well.

Kerstin Gunnemark, Gothenburg

The Motley Enlightenment

Thomas Bredsdorff, Den brogede oplysning. Om følelsernes fornuft og fornuftens følelse i 1700-tallets nordiske litteratur. Gyldendals forlag, Copenhagen 2003. 398 pp. ISBN 87-02-02285-0.

■ *The Enlightenment,* as an intellectual movement, has mostly been defined according to the French philosophers who were active in the European political and cultural debate during the eighteenth century. The philosophers Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot are well-known representatives of the enlightened ideas, along with the German reflective thinker Immanuel Kant. In the classical definition of the Enlightenment the force of emancipation through rational thinking has a dominant position. It was Immanuel Kant who stipulated that enlightenment, by definition, was about using our own means of *rational thinking.* He also urged us to be responsible for our own emancipation and for liberation from false authorities, perhaps created by ourselves.

In the interesting study *Den brogede oplysning* ("The Motley Enlightenment") Thomas Bredsdorff expands the search for ideas of enlightenment, and turns from the traditional field of philosophy to the sphere of literature and religion. This is done by creative analysis of several Nordic authors of novels and poetry. Through this approach he also includes the sphere of emotion and human feelings in the discussion of the Enlightenment. Theology and religion represented by free dissenter religious movements such as the Pietists, the Herrnhutists and Freemasons are interesting to consider in the discussion of the nature of intellectual movements during the eighteenth century. This generous and broad definition of the Enlightenment enables Bredsdorff to reinterpret how the intellectual trends and discourses can be discovered in a Nordic context during the eighteenth century.

The Swedish intellectual historian Tore Frängsmyr has emphasized that there was no "French" Enlightenment in the Nordic countries, whereas Bredsdorff's study shows that a broader definition will be fruitful and shed light on the questions from new perspectives. His explicitly formulated thesis is that the enlightened ideas and influences existed during the eighteenth century in Scandinavia, although not in pure French philosophical form. Instead they were present during the eighteenth century in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, as rather complex intellectual movements. As the study deals with the artistic fields of literature and poetry, these manifold aspects have been detected.

The aim of the study is to analyse through this approach some of the great literary artists and their work; in focus are the authors Holberg and Wessel, Brorson and Ewald, Bellman and Thorild. The pietists, i.e. the ideas and accomplishments of Christian David and Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, are also examined. The experiences of religion, concepts of nature and human passions are woven into the image of a very complex impression of what the Enlightenment in a Nordic context could have been like. It turns out to be a rather original image, which appears step by step as the study is performed.

One of the famous Swedish poets, Carl Michael Bellman, is interpreted by Bredsdorff. Bellman's poems, especially *Fredmans epistlar,* belong to the "Swedish song treasury" as they have been in many troubadour's set lists for years, and they certainly will still be in the repertoire in the future. They are

commonly seen as humorous and tragic songs, created by a poet, a musician and a drinker, Bellman, who survived hard living conditions in Stockholm by entertaining the higher aristocracy. The research debate on Bellman, the association with the culture of orders such as the Masonic Order, is central for understanding how Carl Michael Bellman and his vision of a fictional *Bacchi Order* can be linked to the Enlightenment at all.

Bredsdorff notices in a polemic discussion that the historian Margaret Jacob has gone too far when she claims that the ideas of Enlightenment can be traced back to the Masonic Order. She argued that the members of these orders were equal, as e.g. the aristocrat and the carpenter were brothers in the same society. There are of course several problems with this claim of a close relationship between these kinds of orders and the Enlightenment. The relationship can be questioned since the orders were rather exclusive societies with special rituals and rules for admittance. Most of all, activities and procedures within the order were secret, which means that we actually don't know how this policy of equality was practised. It is also stressed by Bredsdorff that the ideas of equality were restricted to the order, and had no bearing on conditions beyond the secret meetings and activities. That is to say, we do not know what it actually meant in everyday life in society. Even an analysis of the external activities of the Masonic Order, those activities that we can study, does not seem possible to interpret as either radical or enlightened.

In the case of interpreting Bellman's lyrics and his *Bacchi Order*, it is not even a question of satire but of more or less harmless witty poems. In Bellman's lyrics we cannot find or detect any kind of *Bakhtinian* laugh, a laugh that refers to a medieval carnival-culture which has been seen as a satire and an upside-down caricature of the hierarchy that existed in society during the Middle Ages. But Bellman's *expression of feelings* is a track that brings us closer to enlightened ideas, as well as the ideas of the orders, e.g. the Masonic Order. The orders' challenge to the orthodox Lutheran religion could be another possible path to follow in the search for emancipation from false authorities. All in all, it seems a little far-fetched to connect Carl Michael Bellman's lyrics too closely with enlightened ideas, even with a very broad definition of the Enlightenment. We have to interpret his lyrics in the context of what we think about, the cultural influence of the new orders in society.

What about the Danish-Norwegian author Holberg? Can he be more directly and clearly associated with the Enlightenment and its ideas? Bredsdorff notices that Holberg had a sophisticated life philosophy and complex perception of mankind, as he combined both rationality and human feelings. Holberg also explicitly declared, from an empirical basis, that genius and talent etc. were distributed among men and women, on an equal footing. This even meant that the author, living in the eighteenth century, had advanced thoughts about the emancipation of women. Actually he wrote an essay entitled "*Forsvars Skrift for Qvinde-Kiønnet*", which can be translated in English to "Vindication of the Rights of Women" (the title of Mary Wollestonecraft's book written seventy years later). Holberg's perspective on gender issues is also reflected in his dramas. References to Jens Kruuse's study on "The Masks of Holberg", the influence of the Italian *Commedia dell'arte* tradition and the actress Marie Montaigu, performing at a theatre in Copenhagen, seem to be very interesting explorative biographical observations. The biographies of culturally active persons ought to be interpreted in greater depth. To understand the historic context, the author's biography and sensitivity to developing "modern" ideas in artistic work happens to be a challenge for the researcher trying to grasp the whole complexity of an authorship such as Holberg's.

Another complex personality thoroughly studied is the enlightened and romantic author Johannes Ewald. Bredsdorff urges that Ewald's texts, written during a rather short lifetime, should be seen as a whole, and not primarily chronological. Johannes Ewald returns, again and again, to the same type of problems, aiming to find *the ultimate possibilities of the situation*. Ewald also stresses experiences and empirical observations, and claims that we achieve knowledge, not primarily by rational thinking, but by observation and experience. Sudden inspirations and knowledge achieved from above authorities are also disqualified in Ewald's world of thought. These standpoints seem to be the essence of Ewald's theory of knowledge, and he can be described as an early pioneer of what we in modern times have named "new journalism", especially when he wrote about the Danish peasants' and rural people's living conditions. Bredsdorff also gives concrete examples of the meaning of grasping realities by referring to the agrarian reformers' activities, and the discussion of how their projects could be accomplished by farmers

and peasants at the time. The concrete observation of several different worldviews that existed among the peasant population, thoroughly studied by the Danish ethnologist Palle Ove Christiansen in his work on the Giesegaard estate, gives us concrete glimpses of the rural population. Understanding of their conditions and world-views provides us with a valuable relief to the different authors', poets' and philosophers' discourse during the epoch. At the same time it affords us a healthy "down to earth" perspective.

Another prolific author was the Swede Thomas Thorild, who was inspired by the Herrnhut dissenter movement. In accordance with the biography of Thorild's life, it is obvious that he formulated enlightened ideas, explicitly, and that he even became an atheist convert, and that his writing caused him many severe troubles with the Swedish state. Thorild was forced to leave Sweden to live in Greifswald in the Swedish province of Pomerania. Fortunately, he got employment as a university librarian, which allowed him to carry on with his writing. During those times the Swedish authorities were tolerant and took care of their underling, Thomas Thorild. With the life story of Thorild and other religious dissenters, the discussion of tolerance and Enlightenment is touched upon by Bredsdorff. Tolerance seems to be a distinguishing mark of truly enlightened beliefs and human feelings, and it becomes the "bottom line" of the Enlightenment in the study. The biographical methodology and its results underpin the complexity of the Nordic Enlightenment.

The roots of the Enlightenment are also discussed, in general according to Roy Porter's thorough and rich empirical historical studies of the Enlightenment. The development in industrial and modern England, (a century before the French Revolution happened), is stressed as especially meaningful and valuable. It was the English empirical tradition, emanating from e.g. Bacon and Locke, that was crucial for modern enlightened thinking. Societal development is important for understanding how enlightened ideas could evolve and mature in England, a century before the French Revolution. Tolerance of different beliefs and thoughts is also a characteristic feature of the English tradition. In the aftermath of what became a very intolerant French Revolution these differences in the political culture of these western European societies are obvious and should be noticed. It is particularly interesting for "problematizing" the general view of the connection between the American national liberation processes and the French Revolution.

What is the meaning of Enlightenment today? In the era of post-modernity, the West European Enlightenment and the concept of modernity has been critically examined and debated. The concept of Enlightenment is discussed as a more or less mythological ideology, legitimizing the Western world's cultural and colonial dominance in modern times. Particularly the Anglo-American influence in the global context of today is criticized according to post-colonial theories. Even the totalitarian ideologies in Europe, such as Nazism, have been interpreted as a result of rationalism and modernity, and modernity goes back to the Enlightenment as a rational project.

At present a profound discussion of enlightened ideas, Western European culture and especially the concepts of tolerance and ethics seems to be more urgent and relevant than ever. Bredsdorff's *Den brogede oplysning* is a valuable contribution to an ethical discussion of how emotions, feelings and tolerance should be emphasized and combined with rational empirical thinking. Irrespective of religious or profane beliefs, the slogan relevant even today ought to be: have courage to know, to act and to feel!

Kerstin Sundberg, Lund

Church Customs in Sweden

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Den kyrkliga seden. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2005. 277 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-715-6.

■ We all run into church customs now and then, no matter how secularized we are. Churches, bell-ringing, priests in cassocks, candles and flowers at weddings and funerals are among the things that virtually everyone must encounter some time during life.

In the study of religion there has been a heavy emphasis on the ritual aspect in recent years. Nils-Arvid Bringéus would not regard all church customs as rites, which is rather natural from the theological point of view. All religious practice presupposes a body, and some have therefore claimed that all religion sits in the body. This has been done in a deliberate endeavour to prevent the cognitive aspects of religion from dominating.

Things to do with the church have been shaped in customs ever since Christianity was introduced to the Scandinavian countries. First it was the Catholic

tradition from Central Europe and the Anglo-Saxon tradition that dominated. This took place in interaction with everything that had previously existed: various cultic habits, feast days, harvest festivals, and pictorial representations. In their medieval form the rites were lavish and colourful. There was a great deal to appeal to all the senses. Divine service became a large-scale ceremony which attracted medieval people, even if they could not understand everything intellectually. A mixture of the Norse heritage and Christianity came to prevail.

Then came the age of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. This meant a breach with many of the Catholic customs. The king and the secular authorities acquired considerable influence over the forms of worship and church customs as a whole. A great many laws and decrees were issued on matters such as bell-ringing, communion, prayers, feast days, and even private worship. Through time a large number of customs were modified, especially as a result of the Lutheran orthodoxy's persistent inculcation of the Bible and the catechism. The form of ecclesiastical customs depended in large measure on theological considerations as to what was "Lutheran", that is, reformed and thus correct. The contrast between a form of Catholic piety that was more popular in character, with initiations and blessings being common, and a more Protestant, perhaps more rational attitude, meant that for several centuries it was theologians and churchmen who determined what popular customs should be permitted. Despite sometimes strict rules for what was accepted, the people carried on with their habits, unconcerned about the proper theological meaning of it all.

It really was not until the revival movements of the eighteenth century and later that serious attempts were made to capture people's minds and transform piety from rites and customs to something internal, to the believer's personal observance of the traditions of piety. Only in modern times, partly as a consequence of the high-church revival in the twentieth century, have some liturgical customs been revived in the liturgy and in personal worship. There was a renaissance for diversity in clerical garb, for the decoration of churches, and much besides. It is interesting that, while the Nordic countries have undergone radical secularization, church customs have changed, taking on new forms and expressions. Ecclesiastical rites have thus not been impoverished; they have in fact been diversified, and traditions have even been introduced from outside the Lutheran tradition in our countries. This is the case with some Catholic customs and features from the Orthodox world, particularly the use of icons.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus's book on church customs, *Den kyrkliga seden*, is a real gold mine when it comes to finding out the background to various church rites and how they have changed over the centuries. Bringéus's long career in ethnology and also in theology allows him to present here a mass of information that would otherwise be difficult to get at. Naturally, he cannot discuss all kinds of church customs. Those which he concentrates on are the parish church, bell-ringing, priestly garb, the hymn book, candles, flowers, and offertory gifts. He says himself that, from a strict theological point of view, it might seem that the things he considers are "adiaphora", indifferent and unimportant. But anyone who moves in church contexts knows very well that such matters are significant enough. If you do not know about them you feel alien and lost. Learning the rites and what they express symbolically is the ABC of religious practice.

Bringéus does not deal with music as performed in churches. Other people have written about this, but it could very well have been considered here. Still, it is understandable that not all sides of church customs can be included in a book like this. It is extremely useful to be given informed views on the position of the parish church in worship through the centuries, on the organization and significance of bell-ringing, and on how much clerical garb has changed over the years. The coming of female priests also led to innovation on this point.

The hymn book in the hands of the people is a topic of real importance. Here the author describes the hymn book as a present and as a valuable object. It was one of the very first costly objects given to people at rites in the life cycle, such as marriage and confirmation. It was also frequently used for divinatory – magical – purposes, as was also later often done with the Bible.

It is very interesting to read about the use of candles. These were essential in the past for performing chores and rites in the dark months of the year. Candles were therefore precious gifts which were also donated to the church. On holidays like Christmas and Easter it was important to have many candles burning in the churches. Their almost magical significance in a time without electricity is difficult for us to conceive

today. Interestingly, candles enjoyed a renaissance as an atmospheric element at the same time that electricity was being introduced in the first half of the twentieth century. Candles thus acquired a symbolic significance which they scarcely had before the coming of electricity. Now there are lighted candles beside coffins, at christenings, at all feasts in the church. The incorporation of the Lucia tradition in the church has further enhanced the symbolism.

In the past it used to be common to decorate churches with straw on the floor. Candles burning at the pews were thus a serious fire hazard. The straw was not for decoration but also gave protection against the cold. But the clergy and the bishops tried to end this custom. We can hardly imagine today how cold it must have been to sit for hours in an unheated church. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that iron stoves were installed in churches to provide a little more warmth during service. Maintaining the same temperature in churches as in our living rooms at home is a rather recent practice.

It is also interesting to read about the discussions as to whether the churches should be open. Today we take it for granted that churches should be open for private worship and the like. But this has not always been the case. It was not until well into the twentieth century that the idea caught on that churches should be open for worshippers or tourists.

Flowers have played a major role in church contexts. Never before have cemeteries been so richly adorned with flowers as in modern times, and never before has it been possible to embellish every coffin with such a wealth of fresh flowers as today. Flowers have a decorative function but they are also symbols of elements in the sacred tradition. Today there are recommendations for the floral arrangements on different Sundays in the ecclesiastical year.

When it comes to offertory gifts – the collection – there has been a significant change over the years. At first everyone had to give the church one-tenth or tithe of the yield of the land. This was collected on special days during the year and was used to maintain the priest and partly the parish clerk. It was also common for people to bring small gifts which they handed to the priest in return for his services. This custom has almost totally vanished. Because of the church tax it is no longer necessary to make concrete gifts to the servants of the church. In the countryside, however, it can still happen in some places that the priests and perhaps the cantor receive gifts from parishioners after a special ceremony.

The material in Bringéus's book consists of historical sources from archives and libraries. In addition he has made much use of records and questionnaire responses in the Archive of Church History in Lund. The author's descriptions are based on a large body of material, often disparate and inaccessible. The presentation covers the whole of Sweden, with a bias towards the southern part of the country. From a Finnish point of view it is good to see that the author has noted some customs among the Swedes of Finland. On this point there are still many similarities and differences to illuminate. Because the survey is so general one is sometimes left wondering what things were like in the parishes of the archipelagos, in sparsely populated areas such as northern Sweden, and in big cities like Stockholm, as compared to an agricultural region like Skåne. However, it would be asking too much to have all this explained in a book like this. Individual particulars need to be explored at different places in the Nordic countries.

As I said before, religious rites have not disappeared in recent years despite increasing secularization. In crisis situations like the *Estonia* and the tsunami disasters we see with special clarity how religious responses occur regardless of the degree of people's religious beliefs or activity. On this point a great deal more could have been said from the point of view of psychology of religion. But perhaps this book is not the place for that.

The book would be excellent for study circles and as private reading for anyone who wants to have some historical light shed on church customs in the present day.

Nils G. Holm, Åbo

The Genealogy and Design of Food

Mat. Genealogi och gestaltning. Anna Burstedt, Cecilia Fredriksson & Håkan Jönsson (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2006. 225 pp. ISBN 91-44-04554-9.

■ The other Nordic countries must envy Sweden for the wealth of its research on food culture. Whereas the scholars working with this field in Denmark can be counted on the fingers of one hand, the situation in Sweden is completely different. Several of the social and human sciences have done research for years on food and food culture, and ethnology is the discipline that has delivered the most fascinating results.

This splendid book continues the tradition admirably. The book is written in easy, non-trendy Swedish, and it is a pleasure to make the acquaintance of a work that breaks new ground. Not all the articles are equally heavy, as almost always in a collection like this, but the different contributions show cohesion and follow a common theme, and it is all held together by an extremely competent and lucid introduction, which is one of the best pieces in the book. Here one can certainly see that new things are on the way. It is not a result of new methodological approaches or fancy new theories, but because food culture itself is radically changing at present. This is why we must be pleased that a number of younger scholars have set themselves the task of analysing the latest trends in food culture, understood as both new marketing and new needs. As usual in ethnology, this is done with a keen ability to combine the parts and the whole, concrete details and overall features.

Whereas people previously "just" bought food and made sure that what they ate and drank was healthy, tasty, and preferably ecological, this is far from being the case today. Now food has to be sold in a far more sophisticated way. Just as we do not "only" want to live in a house or a flat today, but to live in a place with history, we also want to eat and drink products with culture. We have moved away from the substantial relationship to food that characterized the part of history where production was the crucial thing; we have passed through the phase when the consumption of food was pivotal, and where food and drink primarily had to be convenient, easy to cook, and simple to consume in functional terms; and now we have reached the experience society, where food is associated with meaningful, emotional, and moving dimensions. Food is no longer merely supposed to satisfy a need or reflect a handy modern lifestyle, but should also provide an experience and offer some resistance. The quality of a wine is no longer, as in the age of consumption, that it is easy to drink. Now it has to be complex, with gustatory experiences that are difficult to describe; it also has to contain a distinctive and specific culture. The same applies to milk, sausages, cheese, salt, bread, beer, veal, etc. At a general level, this means two things:

First, food has become increasingly genealogical. As we read in the Introduction: there is a will to assess the biological original of individual foodstuffs and a desire to establish their cultural and geographical provenance. One consequence of this is the ethnification of food. There is a strong tendency to emphasize ethnic differences and ethnic affiliation, and it might be interesting to see whether all ethnic affiliations are equally good. Dictatorships like Belarus, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan probably find it difficult to market themselves as ethnic, whereas an ethnicity attached to a repressed people – preferably a minority – seems to be more viable.

It is interesting that this ethnicity also applies to Swedishness. In the field of food and drink there seem to be no limits to uncritically national marketing. Being produced on "Swedish farms" denotes a certain quality in food products, and the tenderloin is certainly none the worse for having once been belonged to a "Swedish pig". In Lena Hällström's brilliant article about "The Farmer's Own Market", for instance, it is perfectly clear that the rural values on which the marketing and advertising are based are Swedish rural values. One can see the same in Håkan Jönsson's fine article about "Swedish Milk", which is a concentrate of his successful doctoral dissertation.

These two articles also show the other side of the link between biology, history, and geography, namely, the relation to place. Food is not launched anonymously but genealogically, that is, attached to a place with a heritage, history, and tasks, and not just to an abstract space. Via the consumption of food and drink from specific places, whether it is cheese from Kvibille or Bollnäs, or lamb from a farm outside Örebro, the food has to have roots somewhere. By giving food a topography we give our own identity a topography, so that we eat and drink our way into a cultural heritage; a cultural heritage that we trust, because it is our own and yet not entirely: for it should always – besides instilling trust – also offer "that something extra", which consists of the regional or local touch. Food is thus linked to origin, history, region, community, kinship, and cultural heritage.

But food, region, and locality can also be turned around, so that the food does not reflect a region or a locality, but is what attracts us to a region. In the articles by both Johan Hultman and Helene Brembeck there are examples showing that food is the crowd puller when a region or a locality wants to sell itself. Food functions here as the incarnation of the place and helps to make it more than just a space. One of the best examples of this is in Susanna Heldt Cassel's article, which is also among the best in the book. She analyses the distinctive archipelago food culture, as presented in collaboration between the archipelagos

of Stockholm, Åland, and Åboland in Finland. The region's assembled culture and identity is streamlined and simplified – with the exclusive food in the archipelago cuisine as the fulcrum – in the construction of a uniform image. The archipelago is marketed as authentic, stable, and unspoiled – and simultaneously as a place for demanding tourists and bon-vivants who expect the best. Richard Tellström shows in his article, which is an outstanding example of ethnological craft based on field studies and interviews with four restaurateurs in different parts of Sweden (Tornedalen, Bergslagen, Öland, and Östergötland), how a dish can suddenly change the provenance it evokes, from "roast chicken" to "Öland herb chicken". Here we see, moreover, in the examples from Tornedalen, how ethnicity is used deliberately and purposefully. The Finnish-speaking people of Tornedalen seemingly do not fit into the right "authentic" image of the Tornedalen cuisine...

The other overall tendency is the growing attention paid to the design of food. This consists chiefly of an aestheticization mainly intended to appeal to the visual sense. Food is supposed to be eaten, of course, but before that it has to look good. Here too resistance is put up. For just as genealogy requires people who can judge and appreciate authenticity and narration, design also needs its connoisseurs who are familiar with aesthetic demands in the sense of good taste.

The article that best considers this tendency is by Karin Salomonsson, a hilarious look at the wedding reception as a central design element in the total staging of a wedding. Here expression and attitude are king, in that the aesthetic and expressive dimensions create meaning and communication. In a careful balance between personal and general culture, the food and drink have to offer "that something extra" without being so exotic as to frighten the participants. Who said *lagom*? The hosts at the establishment where the reception is held agree on this with the female half of the couple at the planning stage. This involves a combination of reflexivity and knowledge of the cultural norm prevailing at the time. The main thing is to avoid banality and "niceness".

The wedding reception is simultaneously an example showing that design and genealogy go very well together. A newly married bride says: "Dad picked a load of morels, my mother-in-law pickled lemon herring, and we had redcurrant jelly from Ångermanland that my mother had made." That wedding must have been a great success.

Anna Burstedt writes insightfully about how food is an important ingredient in our repertoire of memories. Food helps to consolidate our memory, giving it a body. Cecilia Fredriksson shows how cultural heritage and distinctive regional and local features interact with biology and genealogy in the marketing of something as problematic as genetically modified beer. Here, if anywhere, there is a need for solid attachment to a place. The brand of beer called Kenth is said to be "brewed by the Tomelilla brewers from Österlen, at the brewery in Ystad." So it can't go wrong. In the well-structured and crystal-clear argumentation of this article one notices the same sure hand as in the Introduction.

All in all, this is a well-written collection that breaks new ground. It will definitively inspire similar research elsewhere. With this book, research on Nordic food culture has taken a large step forward. The authors are to be congratulated on a job well done. Readers have something to look forward to, and this reviewer will now end the day with a good glass of beer: Havskum (Sea Foam) from Ceres in Aarhus, which is marketed in honour of Vitus Bering from Horsens, a famous explorer of Siberia in the eighteenth century. Nothing less will do.

Niels Kayser Nielsen. Aarhus

On the Roads to Danishness

Veje til danskheden. Bidrag til den moderne nationale selvforståelse. Palle Ove Christiansen (ed.). Dansk folkemindesamling and C.A. Reitzels Forlag, København 2005. 168 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7876-448-3.

■ National identity seams to be a delicate subject in the public debate in today's Denmark. So delicate that the editor Palle Ove Christiansen uses the postscript of *Veje til danskheden: Bidrag til den moderne nationale selvforståelse* to anticipate and refute the critique that he supposes that the book will give rise to. From an academic perspective, the book is hardly controversial. Focusing mostly on the nineteenth century, the authors describe how a Danish national consciousness developed in different parts of academia and to some extent also among the people. The book, which contains the contributions to the centenary of *Dansk folkmindesamling*, pictures the way to Danishness in the subjects of archaeology, language, history, visual arts, music and ethnology. The aim of the book is both to look critically at the authors' own disciplines and

to show that nationality does not come into existence automatically, neither in the life of the individual nor in the life of the people, but that it has to be learned and it changes over time. This collection is very readable and richly illustrated.

In the article on archaeology, "When Archaeology Became National", Jørgen Jensen gives a description of the development of the archaeology in relation to the political situation, especially in the nineteenth century. He begins with Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, who in 1819 gave rise to Denmark's first public museum. In a pedagogical manner, the museum presented Nordic prehistory that in fact was older than the "Creation" itself. The museum offered a possibility for the new bourgeois to meet in public and for people to watch "themselves" in prehistoric times and in contrast to other cultures of the world. With a new generation of academics in the 1840s the endeavour to define different people in relationship to each other, as well as their age and distinctive character arose. It was now that Denmark, according to Jensen, became Danish all the way back to early prehistoric times. The works of J. J. Asmussen Worsaae, with its ethnic understanding of prehistoric times, suited the national liberal present, and was used to legitimize Denmark's claim to Schleswig before and during the war in the 1860s. At the end of the nineteenth century, archaeology became a part of the racist paradigm, where races were understood as entities with different physiognomies and characters. After the Second World War and the Nazi occupation, archaeology endeavoured to be positivist and neutral until the 1960s.

In "History: On the Role of the Discipline between the Nation, the State, and Science from 1800 until Today" Hans Vammen takes us on a similar but even more critical excursion through the development of history as an academic discipline. Beginning with the romantic period, he describes how the bourgeois state was legitimized through the concept of the nation and the people, understood as a living organism. Although this state was a new phenomenon, it needed to be anchored in history. Vammen very clearly depicts the complex and often paradoxical efforts of the discipline to contribute to the conceptualization of the Danish modern state without losing its scientific legitimacy.

Jens Henrik Koudal's article "Music: On the Trail of 'Original National Tones" shows how music has been defined as Nordic or Danish through different criteria over time. He begins with the "Nordic Renaissance" in the 1760s that gave rise to a relative concept of culture, which challenged the absolute and normative French classicistic concept. In the nineteenth century Danish music was defined through the collection and publication of folk songs. The interest in the "disappearing" peasant music also influenced the contemporary composers, and community singing helped to spread the new understanding of the nation to the broad mass of the people.

Hans Dam Christensen takes the works of the nineteenth-century art historian N. L. Høyen as a starting point for his examination of how the visual arts were made Danish. In "Visual Art: On Art History, N. L. Høyen and the art of the people" Christensen shows that the Danish "Golden Age" that occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century actually was made Danish only in the second half of the century. In this process Danish artists were distinguished from non-Danish, and typical Danish motifs and landscapes as well as a Danish style were emphasized. Last but not least, the art was made public through museums, monuments, reproductions and associations. Christensen shows very convincingly how the popularization of the arts and the fact that people could recognize themselves in the arts helped not only the conceptualization of a national art, but also of the nation and its people as such.

Jørn Lund's article "Language: Mirror and Expression of Culture" has a less constructivist perspective, and is more of a brief depiction of how the Danish language has changed through the influence of other languages over the last thousand years. He describes how cultural changes have brought new words into the language from "outside", especially from German, but also from the Roman languages and in modern times from English. The reactions to these influences have varied from time to time, depending on the political situation. The eighteenth-century author Ludvig Holberg argued in a humorous way for the use of Danish words at the expense of loan words. In the second half of the nineteenth century and during Nazi era the debate was sharpened and the wars gave rise to a non-German, protectionist language movement.

In "Folk Culture: The new Meaning of the Common People as Danish and National" Palle Ove Christiansen discusses how the peasant popular culture came to be understood as authentically Danish in the nineteenth century. The interest in, and the col-

lection of what was defined as the remnants of rural oral culture were, due to Christiansen, important for the legitimation of the modern nation. But it was not until the end of the 19th century that concepts like "people", "nation" and "fatherland" were spread from the elite to the broad mass of people. Christiansen offers a circumstantial and convincing description of an important aspect in this process. He stresses that the nation and its people were made a concern to the entire population through the collection of "traditional" material culture and its exposure in modern museums and exhibitions. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, many museums reconstructed peasants' cottages with complete interiors. A common Danish rural culture with deep historical roots was thus made visible to the public at large. At the international exhibitions, folk culture was used as a national marker to distinguish one country and its industrial mass products from the other.

Altogether the articles offer a clear picture of the relationship between the development of the humanities and of the modern nation, with the emphasis on the nineteenth century. Because most of the authors focus on what they define as the most prominent men in this process, the depiction tends to be fairly homogeneous and sometimes repetitive. There is little space for the discussions that must have followed the rise of the modern state. Here and there, though, we get a glimpse of such negotiations. In my opinion, those are the most interesting parts of the book.
Sofi Gerber, Huddinge

Mentally Rural Swedes

Åke Daun, En stuga på sjätte våningen. Svensk mentalitet i en mångkulturell värld. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2005. 281 pp. ISBN 91-7139-702-7.

■ "Most Swedes in mature age, even those born and living in a city, carry a heritage of the peasant society inside themselves." The statement is by Emeritus Professor Åke Daun in his latest book dealing with Swedish mentality. He is continuing the discussion that he began more than two decades ago as newly appointed professor of ethnology at Stockholm University. In the course of the years Daun has written several articles on the theme, and in 1989 he published a book with that title (*Svensk mentalitet*, 3rd reprint 1998, English edition *Swedish Mentality* 1996). The theme is interesting even now, seventeen years later, when present-day young generations with an immigrant background in a multicultural Swedish society are challenging the meaning of the concept.

The book consists of eighteen chapters (three of them with co-writers), each of them published earlier in some form or given as lectures to various forums. Partly rewritten, they make up a chronology of twenty years ranging from 1983 to 2003, with a fairly even distribution over the years. The discussion and comments on some of the topics from the contemporary point of view give the reader a conception of change or the opposite, of stability. Many of the headings of the chapters are formulated as questions, which is an effective way of capturing the interest of the reader from the very beginning.

In a multicultural society it is difficult to talk about a typical Swede. That is why the study of Swedishness must be done at such a level of abstraction that the similarities come into view despite the differences, Daun points out. Yet the differences are interesting too, especially the variation in generations revealing the change of mentality. The young people are the most sensitive ones to new ideas and values in the society. The methodological question, whether it is possible at all to describe a national culture, is discussed later in the book. Regarding the effects of several factors on interpretations, Daun's answer is a conditional "yes". The uniqueness of every culture is the combination of different cultural traits and the form in which they are manifested. The results are, however, always dependent on the research instruments. In this case these are mostly statistical surveys, a method seldom used in ethnology because of their overgeneralizing character. A complement to survey methods in mentality research is offered by the national institutions. The author sees the exercise of authority as a national manifestation.

In this study the two important sources are formed by the Swedes' own statements and feelings about themselves and about foreigners (revealing their own values), as well as by the foreigners' pictures of Swedes and interpretations of their behaviour, even though these are mostly stereotypes. Many of the studies the author refers to were done 15–20 years ago. One cannot avoid the question of up-to-dateness: havn't our societies changed during these two decades? However, the author points out, these stereotypes can be seen as features of one main cultural stream

of Swedishness: social uncertainty. Accordingly, the main hypothesis is that the Swedes have problems associating with people not close to them.

The Swedes' tendency to formality, sticking to facts and avoiding conflicts, along with social isolation and lack of emotions, which is often how the immigrants view them, can all be seen as revealing their social uncertainty. One example of the social isolation is the fact that many immigrants wonder why they never have been invited into a Swedish home despite the good relations at work and their long stay in the country, in some cases over 30 years. This is experienced most strikingly in the cities. On the other hand, the cities offer the immigrants the freedom to live according to their own cultural parameters. In small communities the possibilities of keeping one's own traditions and protecting them from Swedishness are poorer. In both cases, however, feelings of outsideness can be experienced.

The Swedish authorities generally take a positive stance on immigration, emphasizing the humanist view and internationalism. However, the majority of Swedish people have disinterested or slightly negative attitudes towards immigrants. The keys are the Swedish mental processes of categorization: a homogeneity syndrome meaning that they prefer company that creates a sense of fellowship. They ascribe value to avoiding conflicts and to self-control. They also have a biased conception of immigrants due to the early labour immigration and their own charter trips to Southern Europe. Beyond all this, the author sees people's tendency to think of Sweden as one of the most developed countries in the world, an incarnation of progress. This means that other countries still have a long way to go before they reach the Swedish level.

When outlining Swedishness the author compares the Swedes to people in other countries, Finns and Japanese among others. Several shared traits are found in Swedish and Japanese cultures, e.g. the distinction between the private and the public, harmony, practical-mindedness and shyness. Daun suggests some explanations for the similarities: the geographic isolation on the periphery, the late urbanization process, and a homogeneous culture with a selective receptivity of foreign impulses in the countries. Compared to Finns, some differences are found: the Swedes have a greater need for performance and domination, they like more to be noticed in company, and to be taken care of. Both are independent, but in different ways. The Finns with their low self-respect are more aggressive and dependent on the opinions of others. On the other hand, the Finns feel more xenophobia for people of different race. The author sees the differences, often very slight, as mostly stemming from the different past of the countries and the stricter norms for life in Finland. The reader gets the idea that the Finnish and the Swedish mentality differ more from each other than does the Japanese from the Swedish. What might the results be if the Finns were compared to the Japanese? For the same explanatory factors exist concerning them! The articles are based on surveys from the 1970s and the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the results seems to be contemporary, which can hardly be justified.

How then can the Swedish mentality be characterized in the future? Rapid changes in contemporary society caused by globalization and internationalization processes mould the mentality of the younger generations. The consequences are visible in present-day Sweden: a multicultural and heterogeneous society of young people with more individualistic values. If they all are called Swedes, what is the difference between the ethnic Swedes and immigrants? Daun suggests as one solution to call the first ones *native* Swedes and the others *immigrant* Swedes. Another question then is what the immigrants want to be called. Perhaps they prefer to be treated as Swedes even if they do not feel like Swedes, he contemplates. In other words, there are many different kinds of Swedishness, especially in urban settings, and the number is increasing.

On the other hand, the internationalization process changes people in the same direction all over the world, so a need for national and regional anchorage may arise. The older generations will cling to the traditional picture of the more homogeneous society. In this regard there is a risk of a deep generation gap. Daun asks whether it is meaningful to talk about a kind of new class society, a new division of social classes into nationally and internationally oriented, *locals* and *cosmopolitans* (referring to concepts used by Ulf Hannerz). The young immigrant Swedes with their cultural skills and language knowledge could then be in the key position in increasing welfare in the country. However, the changed negative attitude to EU membership and the refusal of the common currency some years ago are not encouraging in this respect.

What then can be seen as significantly Swedish?

On an institutional level the significantly Swedish is what has been collectively concluded. On an individual level it is bound up in personal values such as equality and "imagined sameness" (a concept of Marianne Gullestad). It is manifested in actions, e.g. in the participation of Swedish men in housework or the practice of calling people by their first name. The set of values is partly inherited from previous generations, but they could never have survived without the contemporary society in some way keeping them alive, Daun argues. Thus, the past exists in the present as institutions as well as integrated standpoints and beliefs. Sweden was a rural society far into the nineteenth century, characterized by sameness in small communities. There was no need to compete for a chance to speak, a trait which now appears like silence and avoidance of others in contemporary society. Independence and the feeling of being one's own master in rural settings further explain why solitude (as time for relaxation and personal thoughts) is valued positively. That is why the mentally rural Swedish city dwellers still retire to their private "cottages", in many cases located on the sixth floor in the city!

When a book consists of different articles from a long period it is always problematic to bring them up to date. In some cases, I think, the author has not succeeded so well. Another problem is the concept of *mentality*. Confusingly, it is sometimes seen as "national culture", sometimes as "national character". Given that the book is not thematically structured, the index of persons and topics is helpful in seeking a specific reference or a thematic whole. The title of the book, meaning "A Cottage on the Sixth Floor", is peculiar and arouses the reader's curiosity: "What is it all about?" The appearance of the cover is not so inviting, rather a bit gloomy. Only by reading the book can one understand the meaning of the cover picture: the block of flats with the light shining in one window can be understood as the answer to how Daun sees the Swedish mentality today!

Anna-Liisa Kuczynski, Åbo

The Danish Manor House

Herregården. Menneske – samfund – landskap – bygninger. Bind 1. Gods og samfund. John Erichsen & Mikkel Venborg Pedersen (eds.). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen 2004. 301 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7602-018-5.

Herregården. Menneske – samfund – landskap – bygninger. Bind 2. Anlæg, interiør og have. John Erichsen & Mikkel Venborg Pedersen (eds.). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen 2005. 308 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7602-025-8.

■ The years 2004 and 2005 saw the publication of the first two volumes of a comprehensive and ambitious four-part series about the Danish manor house, published by the National Museum and edited by the buildings historian John Erichsen and the cultural historian Mikkel Venborg Pedersen. The overall title means "The Manor House: People – Society – Landscape – Buildings" and each volume has a separate title showing where the focus is. The first volume is about "Estate and Society", the second "Buildings, Interiors and Gardens". The remaining two volumes will concentrate on "Farming and Landscape" and "Modern Use and Conservation". The first three parts deal with the time from the sixteenth century to the First World War. Volume 4 will focus on the period since the First World War, with the emphasis on the present day. The work as a whole is oriented to the topic of manors and is thematically structured, thereby differing from previous manor surveys focusing on individual estates or families.

The aim is to capture in words and pictures the significance and role of the manor in the landscape, in history, and in the present day, in historic, aesthetic, social, and economic terms. Another aim is to survey and rescue the cultural traces of manors which are in danger of disappearing. This publication is a natural continuation of the work that the National Museum has been carrying on for years, with scientific investigation and documentation of manors in Denmark.

Volume 1 is introduced by the editors John Erichsen and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, who reflect on the existing research since the eighteenth century, surveying the copious literature on manors, considered from various angles, each typical of its time, and aimed at different target groups. A number of Danish standard series were published in the twentieth century and have been used to this day as reference works. The many authors (27 in all) in the four-volume *Herregården*

have an ambition to create a modern series based on current research, new knowledge, and the problems that interest contemporary scholars. The authors belong in different academic disciplines and in the museum world, which leads to exciting variations in the perspectives applied to manor life and the people, structures, and organization of the manor. Apart from the goal of demolishing tenacious myths and prejudices about the manor house, the authors point out new possibilities and uses which can keep manors from falling into decay. The editors do not hide the fact that the work is riding on a wave of renewed interest in history, biography, and cultural history.

Volume 1 establishes the framework for the entire work. In five large essays the reader is introduced to the immediate environment of the manor, its social and cultural organization. A physically palpable world is built up, a world of material and symbolic expressions of the nobility.

Steffen Heiberg begins with "Lordship through the Ages", where the focus is on the aristocratic self-understanding, analysed via the concepts of lordship, *familia*, and public display. Heiberg follows the long historical lines in the self-perception of the elite, and the political, social, and mental changes reflected in the norms for display. His main questions concern how they built, lived, and behaved in order to do everything right according to prevailing cultural patterns. Heiberg's essay is a detailed critique of the manor as "part of a culture of display which manifests the norms and self-understanding of the elite". The text is also a broad cultural-historical survey of the development and identity formation of the Danish nobility. We also follow how the dismantling of the traditional estate system gained new momentum in 1849 with the withdrawal of certain privileges and special inheritance rules. The big estates were no longer the economic backbone of the country. According to Heiberg, there was a radical change of system.

In the essay "From Big Farm to Manor" Nils Engberg and Vivian Etting go far back in history to describe the origin of a ruling class whose need for clear expressions of power and superiority was satisfied in buildings, large estates, castles, and towers, as detected by archaeological excavations. Engberg and Etting identify the early Middle Ages as the starting point for the origin of the nobility, their privileges, self-understanding, and ideals. They trace the development from castles with an obviously defensive function at the start of the period to magnificent residences for stately life from around 1500, when the word *herregård* was also established as the term for manor.

The article "Farm and Estate" by Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen points the searchlight at the economic foundation of the manor – the land and the way it was farmed. He starts with the sixteenth century, analysing the multiple tasks of the manor as an administrative institution, which lasted until well into the nineteenth century. The estate and its administrators were the framework for many people's lives at different levels in this hierarchic universe. Porskrog Rasmussen clarifies terms such as estate, manor, corvée, which show the political role of the manor in farming as the most important economic sector up to the 1950s. He also follows the gradual reduction in the significance of the manor during the nineteenth century, which foreshadows the situation of the estate owners in the twenty-first century. Porskrog Rasmussen dissects various technical terms for estates (*herregård*, *hovedgård*, *gods*, *fæstegård*, etc.), showing the historical development, changing meanings, and how they are related to each other as a large coherent system. The whole article develops these themes and examines the web of duties and rights that bind all the people in this system. The article deals with major problems (war, tax burdens, etc.) and successful or failed attempts to rationalize the composition of the big estates through changed layout, changed heredity laws, the coming of the profit mentality, and the search for new economic niches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The crises caused bankruptcies, and several large estates were sold to wealthy merchants and financiers, and even to top military men. The position of the old nobility was insecure as new groups took over power as landowners. This article is valuable for the analysis of all the categories of people living on the big estates, their conditions and tasks, expectations and demands. Porskrog Rasmussen explains how the majorat system arose and the consequences it had. The gradual dissolution of the old estate system had a bearing on the manor as an institution, the rotation system, corvée and leasehold, forms of landowning, and changes in the laws on ownership and inheritance. The reforms led to a growth in the number of freehold farmers in the nineteenth century. The break-up of the traditional estate system was more or less complete by 1890, when, according to the author, the estate owners' dominance over farming

land was ended. After the First World War radical rules were introduced to complete the transition to freehold tenure and the dissolution of entailed estates, which became the owner's free property, taxed and moreover compulsorily reduced by one third, which was parcelled off for new small farmers.

The dismantling of the Danish system is the main topic of Ditlev Tamm's article, which begins by showing the political and ideological tensions resulting from the actual estate structure and the capitalist upper-class culture. The darkest chapter in Danish manor history is what he calls the motives and methods used to implement the law passed in 1919, after several decades of discussion. The age of the big estates was over and all the old remaining privileges were abolished. Tamm starts with a detailed historical and judicial analysis of the terms for entailed estates (*len*, *stamhus*, *fideikommisgods*). He points out the unique and distinctive privileges and legal exceptions (e.g. succession rules) for a few individuals, which had enabled the large estate conglomerations to be kept together for centuries. Separate rules applied to the *stamhus* – a simpler construction for smaller estates – and the *fideikommisgods* (a more comprehensive term for estate subject to special rules for ownership and inheritance). A change in the constitution which was intended to remove all obstacles to the free turnover of free property was fully in line with the new liberal outlook on society. The dismantling of the old system was absolutely necessary and a natural consequence of the discussions from the nineteenth century until the end of the Second World War. Tamm emphasizes that the surprising thing was not the actual conversion of the entailed estates into fee simple, but the brutal way in which it was implemented when it finally came in 1919. His argument is that the actual abolition of the antiquated remains of unequal privileges for a small, favoured group was not a problem in a democratic age, but compared to the way this issue was resolved in other countries, where the constitution protected ownership, the Danish state wanted an unusually large share of the private fortunes that were liberated. The process began in 1849 with clear directives abolishing all preferential rights attached to nobility, title, and rank and declaring that no new entailed estates were to be established; existing properties were to be examined to see whether they could be converted, a promise of future legislation which did not come until 1919. The commission on entailed estates that was set up in 1909 had presented its report in 1913, and was assisted by being linked to the contemporary drive to acquire more land for rural people without property. Tamm highlights the dual message in the law and its application. On the one hand it asserted the principle of voluntariness, on the other hand owners who refrained from converting their entailed estates had to pay such large annual fees to the state that their operations became unprofitable. He shows clearly that the conversion model applied by the state was unconstitutional, showed no respect for private ownership and was politically indifferent to a social class which was identified with wealth and laziness, and thus an easy target when new forces came to power. A committee was set up to manage the practical implementation. Questions were raised about whether the conversion was compatible with the constitutional rules on the protection of ownership. Tamm maintains that the conversion "was a showdown with a piece of Danish cultural history".

The author then describes two major cases tried by the Supreme Court – important milestones in Danish legal history. The court did not dare to declare the new law unconstitutional, which was clear after judgements in cases concerning interventions which conflicted with the rule about the inviolability of property. Tamm underlines that it is perfectly clear that the conversion was implemented as an economic intervention without full compensation. All this caused great indignation among estate owners and heirs, and some wanted to have the case tried in court. The Chamberlain Christian Sehestedt Juul, owner of one of Denmark's largest estates, was one of those who wanted a clear picture of how much one could be expected to tolerate. He could not understand how the state, without offering anything in return, could claim a large share of the property that his forefathers had acquired, increased, and improved. The court had to settle the matter. It went all the way up to the Supreme Court in late 1920. In the record of how the individual judges voted we read words like confiscation and "state robbery". There was disagreement among the judges, which was not revealed in the final judgement, which found that the state's line was not unconstitutional.

Another important case was brought by the heir to the barony of Løvenborg, who appealed to the Minister of Justice that the conversion was unconstitutional since it ignored the rights of heirs. This judgement also found in favour of the state. All the owners of entailed estates applied for redemption. To be able to

pay the fees to the state, they sold works of art and land; in this way the state acquired cheap land for small farms. Numerous houses grew up on small holdings, and the old manor landscape was transformed. Danish manor culture was never the same again, as Tamm concludes in this tense, dramatic article.

Karen Hjort rounds off the first volume with an interesting guide to the sources, chiefly archival material. "How Do We Know?" is the title of her article, which highlights a number of public and private archives which have been used for the articles in this work. The manors can be observed, studied, and interpreted in palpable material terms, as buildings. Life on and around the manor is stored in the authentic source material in the archives. Written documentation is assembled about farming, people, economy, interaction with society, and so on. The large estate complexes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were like small states within the state; the owner was a local prince who had authority over the people on the estate. He was the head of his family. The history of the manors is constructed of material which the state has collected and of the manor's own archives. Hjort shows the wealth of the archives through selected examples, chiefly from Frederiksdal, a "maison de plaisance" belonging to Count Johan Sigismund Schulin. We see how much knowledge can be derived from the eighteenth-century household accounts. Frederiksdal belonged to the manor (a *stamhus*) of Krenkerup. Every document, every note, word, figure offers new and unexpected windows on history. By piecing together details from archival records, we obtain pictures of everyday life and special occasions, the interiors of salons and kitchens, masters and servants, gardens and farming at Frederiksdal, showing how manor history can be brought to life.

The oldest document in the archive at Krenkerup is 570 years old. Hjort illustrates how the entire history of the rise and fall of the estate system can be followed step by step in the archives. The biography of Krenkerup is a narrative of the heyday of the classical manor, its social responsibility and obligations, its management and economy. When the Second World War broke out, the estate was in tiptop condition, newly restored and modernized. At the end of the war it was in a wretched state. The Germans had confiscated it to house a total of 630 German refugees (sick and healthy), a number for which nothing was sufficiently dimensioned. The sewer system collapsed, water damaged the electrical system, the central heating stopped working. There was a constant fire hazard and the building was ice-cold. The refugees laid waste to the park to acquire firewood. The damage was extensive and very high compensation was demanded. Unfortunately, we are not told how the restoration of Krenkerup was financed or completed. Hjort also looks at collection of letters as a rich source of knowledge about manor life and culture, travels and studies. It is interesting to follow the vicissitudes of the private estate archives, especially after 1919. Important questions of principle were involved since it was not compulsory to deposit the archives in public archives. People were aware that the law from 1919, and subsequent sales and changes of ownership, were a threat to the existence of the estate archives. A learned society called Videnskabernes Selskab set up a commission to arrange and register the private estate archives. All archives to do with the owner's public office were handed over to the regional archives, and along with them quite a few private estate and family archives. Since then several regional archives have appealed directly to estate owners to hand over their archives. A convincing reason is that it is difficult in private premises to maintain the proper standard for preserving old parchment and paper. Accessibility to researchers is another argument for moving estate archives. The estate archives are thus professionally managed, preserved, catalogued, and registered according to the rules applying to public archives.

The first volume is enough to promise that *Herregården* as a whole will be a classic in the genre that may be called manor literature. The tone in all the articles is low-key, free of ingratiation and submissive reverence for the topic. The book maintains a high scientific standard and the language is austere, qualities which increase one's expectations of the forthcoming volumes. It is good that each article has a summary in English and the captions are in both Danish and English. The books are lavishly illustrated with well-chosen pictures, both old and splendid new photographs and fine archival material.

To put it simply, it could be said that the class perspective is more top-down in the second volume of the *Herregården* series, entitled "Buildings, Interiors and Gardens". The authors seek to capture the manor house as an upper-class dwelling at the centre of the estate, reflecting the aristocracy's demands, opportunities, dreams, and reality. Embedded in the four

articles are glimpses of how other people expected the nobles to arrange their houses and interiors, at least as the nobles interpreted the pressure of society on these matters. The texts comprise the time from the start of aristocratic government in 1536 to roughly 1914, a period when the owners were free to set their own elite stamp on their dwellings and parks. The aim of the authors is to understand the manor house as an expression of the aristocracy, both material and mental. The part of the estate that was subject to production (the precondition for the good life of the lords up in the manor house) is placed in the wings here, although as a reader I always have it at the back of my mind. The editors underline in their introduction that the manor house is a complete universe which cannot be envisaged without its lords or its common people, but this volume focuses on the lords. The manor is a house of power in the sense intended by Mark Girouard, a house for those who possess power or strive to achieve it.

The traditional art-historical and architectural aspects of the manor house are naturally included, nuanced with questions about how the buildings were used, the ideals they had to live up to when they were built, and how they were adapted to the ideals and lifestyles of new times. The houses were supposed to express the owner's rank and enhance the status that society ascribed to him. A count had to live like a count; if you did not live like a count you were not a count. Rich ceremonies developed around these ideals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The façade was the important instrument both outwards and inwards, also reflecting the functions of the rooms. The symbolic role of the manor house in the competition for status between families reveals the importance of the external form.

The internal life of the manor is another theme that highlights the main building as the centre of a home, for the private family life of the lords and the servants. The big house was built to contain many people. Several articles show how the layout, the different floors, the placing of the rooms, stairs, and corridors was calculated to mark the boundaries between upstairs and downstairs, allowing discreet and functional movement from to the other. Denmark's many manors still tell of a number of different ways to compromise between the material conditions of reality and the socially conditioned ideals. In the balance between closeness and distance on the manor, the lords deliberately included gardens and parks. Regardless of variations in the interior and surroundings of the buildings, there are some more prominent architectural styles reflected in the exterior which have strong associations with different periods of greatness in Denmark. The last great manor house presented in the book was built in the 1990s. All these themes are well examined in all the articles.

"Aristocratic Government and Renaissance" is the main theme of the introductory article by Birgitte Bøggild-Johannsen and Hugo Johannsen, who work at the National Museum. The authors show how the process of aristocratization started during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the new self-aware elite built splendid new residences. One can regard houses (and clothes) as incontrovertible declarations of status which required special reverence.

John Erichsen starts with the introduction of autocracy in 1660, when the old nobility lost their rights. The chapter is called "Autocracy and Baroque" and covers the time up to 1760, showing how the crass economic reality steered the Crown's sale of old noble estates to the growing prosperous bourgeoisie. The bourgeois wedge driven into the stratum of estate owners never became a threat to the nobility since the families were ennobled and incorporated in the new system of rank and quickly adopted the way of life and ethics of the upper class. They totally accepted the social and cultural demands of rank and status so that they could be counted among the elite, a healthy mixture of old nobility, new nobility, and upper bourgeoisie.

After 1760 the composite circle of estate owners was established and self-confident when they built new manor houses or rebuilt old ones. Ulla Kjær and Vibeke Andersson Møller shed light on this change in the article "New Ideals". They go up to the 1840s in their analysis of the development of manors from status residences to pleasant country homes for secluded private life and recreation. The authors show how events in the world affected manor life and ideals. Denmark's stance against England and the bombardment of Copenhagen during the Napoleonic Wars resulted in changed economic and political conditions, and the manor ideals of life and housing became more modest and low-key. The authors also find an explanation in the fact that the bourgeois estate owners increased greatly in number after 1800 and their influence was significant for manor life during the century.

Rikke Tønnes is the author of the last article in

the volume, a fine long study with the ominous title "Last Flowering". It deals with the time after the 1840s, when the old ruling class could no longer take it for granted that they were the leading stratum in society. Other groups achieved primacy and took the place of the former establishment. The old order was questioned and even dismissed. In the first volume in the series we learned a great deal about the new laws and ordinances that put an end to the system of entailed estates, and about the conversion of these estates into fee simple. The debate at times was bitter, with one extreme talking about confiscation, the other about social and economic justice. Many small properties arose when land was (forcibly) sold to freehold farmers at the expense of reduced estates and decreasing fortunes in the old landowning class. The author believes there were many positive consequences of the process whereby society was transformed. The Danish manor culture was favoured and renewed by both old and new owners, good times in farming, new ideals of style, and modern innovations. The latter half of the nineteenth century was the great period of new building and rebuilding. The serious economic crisis around 1930 affected all landowners equally, whether large or small. With insight and knowledge, the author has drawn a picture of manor life naively unaware of the impending changes. I would not agree about destruction or decay, however. There is still an upper class with a noble and high bourgeois character in Denmark, and manor life and ownership of a stately home are still bewitchingly attractive for certain groups. We eagerly await her continued analysis of what has happened since with ideals, conditions, and opportunities for the good life on the manor.

This volume likewise contains many beautiful illustrations. The dazzling new photographs give good examples of the different golden ages of the Danish manor. In particular, the pictures of the magnificent new or rebuilt status manifestations from the nineteenth century suggest an extremely self-confident class of owners. Fascinating old illustrations from archives and printed literature allow us to follow development from the sixteenth century into our own age. The pictures are a parallel narrative alongside the well-written and learned texts about the self-image of the Danish nobility, and they are iconographic interpretations of its own significance in life and death, ceremony and everyday life, as displayed to the people of the manor and to Our Lord.

Angela Rundquist, Djursholm

Hallo!

Jan Garnert, Hallå! Om telefonens första tid i Sverige. Historiska Media, Lund 2005. 221 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85057-67-3.

■ *Berliner Tageblatt* wrote in June 1898: "The sympathetic town of Stockholm was the Eldorado of the telephone system. As far as we know, there is no other town in the world in which there are so many telephones, and nowhere are they used as much as here." Three years before that an Englishman, A. R. Bennet, had written in his book *The Telephone Systems of the Continent of Europe*: "In today's Sweden you can get an idea of how the telephone in the future will reach everywhere." These quotations from Garnert's text convey the flavour of this Stockholm-oriented book. At the same time, however, they give us a hint that the author is interested not only in technical facts about the telephone, but also in relations, space and time compression, the possibilities and conditions connected with this.

Stockholm has also its own character and history to serve as a suitable example: the rapid industrialization, steamboat traffic in the 1920s and trains as early as the 1860s. Of course the telegraph gave its "tradition" as a foundation for the invention, and the press likewise created a positive image of this useful tool in modern city life. In 1880 the newspaper *Norden* wrote that the greatest economic benefit accrued to shopkeepers, factory owners and craftsmen, doctors, pharmacies, theatres, fire stations and so on. Four years later the engineer Hagalind from Stockholm came to my home town, Pori (Björneborg), and built a network for about thirty subscribers. Most of them were about the same kind of business people and institutions as in Stockholm. The telephone was clearly a tool for the differentiation of society, but the democratizing process was to be rapid.

Most of the pioneering work in Finland was done by Swedish experts or at least with Swedish knowledge. Ericsson was widely known for telephone sets, switchboards and other equipment. Many of the connections also had something to do with telegraph history, both personal and technical ties. Garnert does not confine himself to technical facts, names and years; he also presents the cultural history of the telephone and provides an ethnological interpretation, which is rare in the literature. *Hallå* is a complex and interesting package for me, not only as a description of the "fatherhood" of the Finnish phenomena, but also

as the discussion of the telephone call and especially the intentions in and around the call. This approach is evident from the main title of the book. Jan Garnert has also written books like *Anden i lampan* ("The Genie of the Lamp", 1993), and *Stockholmsnatt* ("The Stockholm Night", 1998), both of which can be seen in a similar context.

Part of the text concentrates on theoretical discussions of some central conceptions such as potentials, situation, Zeitgeist and culture, clearly separated from their predecessors. Garnert also leaves some room for discourse and modernity. To make for lighter reading he also lets the reader skip these pages. The ethnological way of writing differs from conventional history of technology. The writer finds important paths to city planning, landscape studies, literature, art history, theatre and so on. He creates dimensions where this technical innovation acquires a greater role as a social and cultural idea. The telephone gives new opportunities to discuss without physical closeness or contact. At the same time this space-time compression gives a new form for the idea of the message. The examples of faking also tell about new discourses.

One of the most important stories in the text is connected with August Strindberg, whose "telephone relation" is like a leading theme for the broader cultural analysis. His marriages, family life (Siri von Essen, Harriet Bosse) and abodes are like possibilities for opening the telephone as an idea or opening family life to the telephone. Especially *Röda rummet* ("The Red Room") acts like a link between modernity, everyday life and technological innovation. Of course the telephone itself appears to be an important physical element in some plays (cf. *Dödsdansen*, "The Dance of Death", 1901 and *Påsk*, "Easter", 1900). These are also combined, as in Victoria Benedictsson's *I telefon* ("On the Telephone", 1887), where a telephone plays the most important role. Theatre is only one example, because art is also visible in Garnert's interpretations of the "brokers", like mythological norns, which are presented in photographs and drawings.

There are also interesting details in the book about the struggles concerning the invention process and the patents on the telephone. In our cultural history Bell is "the name of the telephone and an inventor". Garnert points out that these first stages were more confused than we tend to think. Spying and stealing inventions without patents is an old game. In his interesting note Garnert mentions a decision of the US congress (2002) in which Antonio Meucci wins over A. G. Bell. Not surprisingly, the situation was the same in Sweden. Bell did not have patent on his own telephone, so Lars Magnus Ericsson and Henrik Thore Cedergren were able to create the competition, which served as a basis for later Swedish know-how in the telephone area. The situation in Germany was much the same with Siemens and Bell. Quite soon Ericsson was the main supplier in Finland too. At the same time, networks reached neighbouring towns and even countries. The idea of being close and local changed in meaning, and the telephone rapidly made the distinction between near and far more complicated. When formerly people wanted to meet friends or deliver a message, they could visit them or at least get somebody to deliver the message. Now it was possible to hear friends from miles away. Actually the very first name for the telephone in Finland describes this well, namely *pitkäkorva* ("long ear").

As mentioned, most of the subscribers in the early decades were different kinds of firms and institutions, mostly dominated by men. The same was the situation with the telephone workers themselves, the persons who were needed to maintain and build the network or to build and repair exchanges. For quite a long time, the private telephone subscribers were mainly men too. One important exception existed, namely the young women at the switchboards, who took care of the connecting work. The image of the telephone as an innovation was male-oriented, but everyday life in the telephone business also included female aspects. The gender balance changed, as did the role in the social hierarchy. It is also interesting that the telephone had a very powerful political role at the beginning. It was a new tool for domestic politics, but also for negotiations between neighbouring countries. The telephone and time worked together with new effects, as Garnert points out with an example from the First World War. Time is clearly one of the most powerful actors and conceptions in the text as a whole.

Garnert has a good touch with the changing cityscape. The telephone itself created a new kind of a cityscape for some decades. First connections were "long-ear" discussions through the wall from one room to another. Some houses were connected with each other, but very soon shiny wires covered the city. The number of subscribers (and telephone companies) caused the situation in which the sky was filled with a humming maze of wires. There

were no underground cables before the 1890s, and despite the multiple systems there was a real rush in the air. The exchanges in different parts of the town needed derricks on roofs, and there were also some special towers in Stockholm for the telephone wires. One of the most visible landmarks at the time was the iron telephone tower in Malmskillnadsgatan. *Aftonbladet* called this building "our Eiffel tower" in 1889 (one early Ericsson telephone was also called Eiffel). This tower dominated the silhouette of the city until 1952. It was the highest secular building in Stockholm and actually it was a real competitor to the churches on the horizon. The same discussion took place in my home town at the end of the 1800s, but the competition over the sky led to a compromise: all the wires were led over the river from the tower of the new church!

Competition between companies in Stockholm was hard, because it was free and permitted by Swedish law. Some companies were united or brought together, and at the same time they could drop some subscribers from the network. You could speak only with some friends from your own telephone.

Hallå offers a good look not only at the early Swedish telephone culture, but also at the culture in which the telephone starred. The text is interesting and comprehensible, and what is even better, all the pictures are fine. Drawings and photos stop a modern reader with their humour, like "Kärleks-telefonen" and "Telefon-Nisse". Written sources help us to find more information about the topic. Garnert writes briefly about mobiles. I suppose that in this future context we can see also more Finnish possibilities.

Timo J. Virtanen, Turku

A Gallery of Memories – Sharing Memories and Cultural Experiences across Generations

Kerstin Gunnemark, Minnenas Galleri – om minnesskåp och kulturarv. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2004. 116 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-588-9.

■ Kerstin Gunnemark has worked with generational memories in various projects resulting in books such as *Våra liv i Kortedala: Kvinnor i två generationer skriver och berättar* (Our lives in Kortedala: Women from two generations write and narrate) and her doctoral thesis *Hembygd i storstad: om vardagslivets praktik och den lokala identitetens premisser* (Home district in the city: The practice of everyday life and premises of local identity). In this book she presents an activity suitable for retirement homes, community centres and schools: discussing various cultural and generational experiences by using collections of memory-related objects. The activity centres around collecting personal experience stories on certain topics from different generations and then creating "memory cabinets", small cabinets with objects, pictures and texts relating to or reminiscent of a specific topic. These cabinets can then be used in discussions among elderly people in retirement homes, in activity groups at community centres or with children in schools. The memory cabinets can either be used in groups of contemporaries or in discussions across generations, where elderly persons and children can relate their own experiences of the topics. Memory cabinets described in the book concern birthdays, teenage memories, the 1950s, vacations and memories of places in Gothenburg. These cabinets and some situations where the cabinets are being used are illustrated in photographs. A major part of the book also centres around these topics, describing them with quotes from personal experience interviews and cultural history surrounding the recalled events. The memory cabinets are meant to stimulate reminiscence and relating personal and generational experiences across generations or within generations, broadening the participants' views on the topics. One of the book's major points is that elderly people are interested in hearing about children's and younger people's experiences, not just the other way around. Gunnemark also stresses that there can be misconceptions when it comes to elderly people's memories, they have more to tell us about than what their childhood was like! Another important point made is that the personal experience stories related in the discussions are meant to be subjective and should not be corrected or generalized. In the last chapter Gunnemark discusses late modern views on history and on the value of personal memories.

The book serves as inspiration and as a source book for interested personnel in the concerned sectors of social or educational work. Gunnemark describes the idea behind memory cabinets, how memory cabinets can be created and how they should be used, drawing on her experience as an ethnologist specialized in memories. Because the book is meant to be inspirational and useful in practice it is easy to read, verging on popular, but still holds a level of academic

precision with a bibliography of relevant ethnological literature. Consequently parts of the book could also serve as references on the mentioned themes in Swedish 20th century cultural history, as well as on the value and functions of personal memories. Most of all, however, Kerstin Gunnemark's book shows a good example of how ethnological knowledge both of cultural history and of the functions of memories can serve as a significant resource in society and in people's lives.

Katja Hellman, Turku

Culture Studies in Field Situations

Kulturvitenskap i felt. Metodiske og pedagogiske erfaringer. Anders Gustavsson (ed.). Høyskoleforlaget, Kristiansand 2005. 246 pp. ISBN 82-7634-658-8.

■ Aspects very often absent in studies of research methods are those of subjectivity and emotions. In recent years it has therefore become more and more interesting to have this explicit approach in different fields of study. The book reviewed here is written within the field of culture studies/anthropology/folklore. It is a collection of ten articles. Nine of the articles are in Norwegian and one in Swedish. There is an introduction written by the editor Anders Gustavsson. Finally there are tips for further reading, and the book also includes a short presentation of each author. Regrettably, there are no English abstracts.

The book is explicitly intended to be used as literature on a course about method in anthropological fieldwork, given at the Department of Culture Studies at the University of Oslo. The course contains methodological parts such as the role of the interview and participant observation in an anthropological research tradition.

The course has until now been mainly practically oriented and has not focused very much upon emotional aspects and individual experiences of fieldwork. That is what this book is supposed to remedy. From very different viewpoints the authors discuss personal experiences they have had in connection with their own fieldwork.

As an archaeologist I have a somewhat different experience of fieldwork, even if I have come close to an anthropological method in some of my own studies regarding interviews and participant observation in my study of the past and its expressions today.

The opening article by Berit Thorbjørnsrud concerns her own reflections about fieldwork. She sees it as a form of initiation rite. She notices that the general tendency is towards increasing self-reflection within the field of cultural studies. By using oneself as the most important research instrument in the process of fieldwork it is possible to get useful results. Her experiences come from a field trip to Egypt, where she performed an anthropological study of a group of Christian people in a Muslim society. She notices the possibility today of including feelings in research, something that was not previously allowed. She makes some very personal reflections on relations and emotions. In this respect, as a reviewer I notice the fact that of the authors of this book seven out of ten are women. Has this something to do with the chosen theme?

The second contribution is by Tilde Rosmer. Unfortunately, it does not contribute to my enlightenment, because the knowledge achieved is elementary. One example is the statement that it is important to know the academic and general historiographic background of the area under study, in Rosmer's case the nation of Israel. Another is the statement that you need to know the country you visit, so that you don't mistake it for your own home country, containing the same set of values. An interesting thing, though, is the mention of Norway being involved in the efforts for peace in the Middle East, which has contributed to a partly bad reputation for Norway and Norwegian people in Israel, a fact that becomes explicit when the fieldworker meets people in the country.

The third paper by Olav Christensen considers difficulties in relation to the study of snowboard subculture. The author is older than the general snowboarder and he does not know too much about snowboarding when he starts his fieldwork. He also talks, like Thorbjørnsrud, about himself as a measuring instrument in research (on p. 20 Thorbjørnsrud also describes herself as a "research instrument"). He notes the scepticism about himself being a man seeking to study something with younger men involved, and he notices the obvious risk of being understood as a person with other intentions than research. These are in a way unexpected complications, but still they must be considered when preparing fieldwork. Christensen also reflects that the informants more often seem to accept speaking with journalists since that promotes the activity, whereas they are generally more sceptical about researchers since the purpose is less obvious (p. 76). He discusses the two elements of

ethnographical studies, *taking part* and *observing*. In Christensen's case a way of doing both is to take part in the activity of snowboarding and then see some of the frequent films about it and hear other people involved talk about it.

The snowboard subculture is essentially male. A few women practise snowboard activities, but they are really exceptions. The article is methodologically interesting. It points out the fact that it has some relevance to the study whether you are male or female. It is probably easier to get access to this specific subculture as a male, but the story told would probably be different if it had been a woman doing the study (pp. 88f.).

In the fourth contribution Line Esborg discusses the meaning of talking and dialogue. Introducing a film about "kitchen research" where it is not permitted to speak with the informants, just observe, the whole fieldwork situation becomes absurd and finally the dialogue starts. Esborg lists different kinds of dialogue: (1) Field diary, dialogue with oneself; (2) Field talk – informal dialogue; (3) Subject talk – methodological discussion about culture studies; (4) Interview talk – with tape recorder on; (5) The official talk – public discussion. The author point outs the need to come close, not feel afraid of getting there. Even if it is not possible to come very close to the interviewed people, it must be the aim. When I read this I think of the distance of observation combined with the closeness of participation; it is a kind of paradox. If you get close to people there will still be some scepticism about your purpose, if you are a "spy" or if you simply do not share the opinion about or the commitment to things.

In the fifth article Erika Ravne Scott discusses the difficulties of interviewing children. It may be difficult as an adult to achieve an understanding between adults and children. Her theme of study is the practice of celebrating birthdays and the expectations related to it. When interviewing children it is relevant to show ethical considerations. In Norway this is institutionalized, with an official body to decide whether you are sufficiently ethical in your study.

An experience of the study is that it can be difficult as an adult to stand on an equal footing with children, so the effect is that the children answer "correctly" in order to be compliant.

Scott, and earlier in this book Christensen, is thinking about gender aspects in the interview situation. In this case it is easier as a woman to feel like a girl and more difficult to achieve the same understanding of the boys' thoughts and imaginations.

In interviewing people of 12–13 years of age it is also important to think of their so-called "social" age. According to the author this is highly relevant. One important observation is what is studied when interviewing children in a time of change: between childhood and adulthood, between home and school, between different relations and between different social roles.

When interviewing adults, they often fill in and explain things that are not obvious. This is not the case with children, they more often leave out some of their thoughts and it is important to be prepared and have more specific questions at hand. Another of the more important conclusions here is not only about meeting children, but also about meeting other cultures within one's own country, since these people receive culture and cultural habits rather different from people used to the tradition.

Many themes in the different articles of this book are intertwined and shared in different situations. One such theme is about the researcher as friend or enemy in the fieldwork situation. This is touched upon in Esborg's article and more elaborately discussed in the anthology's sixth contribution by Maria Zackariasson about positions and relations in field. Her experience emanates from fieldwork in a student corridor and in her study of Attac/Social Forum. She also notices the different practices of research ethics in Norway and Sweden, since she as a Swede is used to not having a national ethics committee as in Norway. She sees the difference between the student corridor situation as personal and the Attac study as political. In the personal sphere she felt emotionally involved as relations were established and used and she became part of the happenings on the student corridor. On the political scene she met more scepticism as to where she herself belonged politically.

Another theme is recalled in the seventh article presenting Iselin Frydenlund's fieldwork in Sri Lanka, where the international peacemaking role of Norway also (as in Israel, mentioned in the article by Rosmer) had a negative effect on her personal reputation as a Norwegian, and in some parts made it difficult to get access to people. She started her study before the role of Norway as peacemaker, so she noticed the difference before and after this fact.

Frydenlund's object of study is a pilgrim site used by both Hindus and Muslims.

There is also one thing to be considered when you don't speak the language, which is that there can be fear of talking through an interpreter, since the interpreter can be an enemy who does not agree with the opinions of the group under study.

The eighth contribution, by Kathrine Pettersen, also presents interesting gender aspects of field study. Pettersen visits women in Iran who are studying theology. She is surprised by how she gets access to this world through a man, an established academic with insights into western research tradition. She concludes that an important strategy is to make a test of the fieldwork situation before entering the real study. This makes it possible to discern difficulties and attitudes in a milieu totally different from the one you are used to.

Terje Planke is a Norwegian ethnologist wanting to do fieldwork in the past. He states that it is difficult to study the past in a fieldwork situation because the informants are absent. He finds a strategy to get into the past through present-day activities by building a Viking Age ship together with a traditional Norwegian boat-builder. By doing this he aims at approaching boat-building traditions of the Viking Age as they might have been. He would like to see more of an agency perspective in culture studies. Plunging into the craftsman's work is an example of this kind of agency approach. In a way it is a methodologically interesting article since it concerns the past and the possibilities of an alternative approach. But I also think Planke's contribution is indignant because of what he sees as a lack of understanding of craftsmanship within the academic sphere. The academy is not traditionally a place for craftsmanship, but of course it should be possible to integrate such a perspective, as Planke points out.

The concluding article by Knut Aukrust discusses the ethical aspects of fieldwork. The text is an attempt to enlighten future fieldworkers about the importance of an ethical approach. The difficulties are pointed out as the difficulty of both understanding and analysing the informant. To understand someone requires closeness and trust; to analyse requires distance and an ability to draw conclusions (p. 221). Aukrust also discuss the difference between morals and ethics. Morals is practical action, while ethics is reflection and thinking about how to act in a moral way. The article has the character of a conclusion both in its content and in relation to its role as the closing chapter of the book.

The purpose of the book as a whole, to present emotional aspects and individual experiences of anthropologically oriented fieldwork from a subjective angle, is achieved. As a whole the book illuminates not least the emotional difficulties that can emerge in the encounter with other people and cultures far and near. The book shows a wide range of different experiences in meeting people within the fieldwork situation, either in interviews or in observation situations.

Bodil Petersson, Lund

Questionnaires as Source and Method

Frågelistan som källa och metod. Charlotte Hagström & Lena Marander-Eklund (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2005. 219 pp. ISBN 91-44-03918-2.

■ "As the question, so the answer," as the old proverb says. But is it always as simple as that?

Twelve researchers from three Nordic countries have come together to discuss the questionnaire, to present the method (historical, geographical, thematic), and to reflect on what the responses to questionnaires have been used for in the last hundred years, and what they can be used for in future. The authors discuss and problematize the choice of theoretical perspective, method and process, the structure and purpose of the questionnaire. All the authors are working in cultural institutions, universities, or archives and have first-hand knowledge of using questionnaires.

The use of questionnaires distributed by institutions such as archives and museums has for a long time been criticized for being a rather colourless – and even trivial – collection method. There has been talk of unreflecting data collection, of the accumulation of scattered trifles from a vanishing peasant culture, and of quantity at the expense of quality. At the centre of this critique has been the focus of the questionnaires on empirical documentation of already known things without any profound theoretical considerations. The questionnaire has been left in the shadow of more "creative" field methods such as the oral qualitative interview and participant observation, which both involve an active and empathetic recorder/researcher.

This new collection of articles, however, overturns all that, and the potential of questionnaires is placed at the centre: What is the special characteristic of the questionnaire, can one speak of a distinct genre,

and how can already collected material be used to answer new questions? And how can completely new questions be put to today's target groups? What is the future for questionnaires in competition with the hectic culture of media and IT surrounding us? Can new technologies such as the Internet and chat rooms create contacts with new groups?

Some of the contributions to this book try to define questionnaire responses as a special genre in contrast to other genres. This brings out the advantages of using questionnaires. The definition runs: "a qualitative method in the form of a coherent written narrative on a set topic", and the material is kept in archives and museums. One advantage of questionnaires is that the informant can give his or her totally personal account, create a whole that can be read as a text with its own internal logic. The questionnaire allows informants to express themselves in a considered, personal, and connected way – even about sensitive subjects. In addition, it saves time for researchers to distribute questionnaires (as opposed to conducting interviews). In a short time one can obtain a large body of material about a given topic, and this material is suitable for comparison. The disadvantages are that one cannot reach people who rarely or never express themselves in writing. Unlike, say, interviews, the questionnaire is not a spontaneous medium, since it requires reflection on the part of the writer.

In a splendid introduction by the two editors, Charlotte Hagström and Lena Marander-Eklund, we are given a survey of the characteristics and history of the questionnaire. As a collection method this goes back to the start of the twentieth century as a way to obtain information and evidence of local variants of traditions and customs. There was a hierarchical relationship, with scholars formulating the questions and informants answering them. There was often a fixed panel of local informants, especially teachers or other literate people particularly familiar with a district, who answered questions about customs, about festivals of the calendar and the life cycle, about agricultural work processes, and so on. The Nordic archives are overflowing with this type of material, which often verifies what is already known, makes it concrete and gives it a local foundation. The informants write their answers, not only based on their own experience, but rather as the spokesman of the whole parish. Structured questionnaires were sent out with detailed questions, which often led to predictable responses. Through the years, the accumulated material grew to become a veritable bank of information, and most institutions right up to the present day have continued collecting in this way. The topics of the questionnaires have been modernized, containing material about "Weddings, Child Care, and Books. Pizza, Polio, and Personal Hygiene", as we read on the cover of this book. The archives thus contain every conceivable aspect of people's lives past and present.

After this summarizing introduction, the individual contributors proceed from concrete collecting projects and reflect on their own practice. How can one get hold of what is perfectly ordinary, of negative and unmentionable things? Carola Ekrem writes about how a questionnaire is built up, how earlier questionnaires were structured with the aim of collecting information about bygone times, whereas today's questionnaires are geared more to documenting the present day. But a certain form of continuity is nevertheless desirable, so that older responses can be used as comparative material. In Ekrem's current project about child care and child rearing it turned out that the informants wrote not just about their own experiences but also about what they had heard from others, for example, parents about their own childhood. Ekrem also takes up the important issue of questionnaires as a special genre, the genre of confession, where memories pour forth and are often presented in a wholly uncensored way.

Susanne Wollinger's article describes a long-term research project about the Swedish defence and the debate about it, using several questionnaires, a combination of several source groups, and contemplations about the nature of the actual working process, based on her own diary notes and research dairies. How can you ask the right questions? How does a research project change over time?

Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred's paper on how the pizza conquered Norway gives examples showing how quickly the (takeaway) pizza has become a part of Norwegian food culture, but also how it is included in many different meal contexts. Despite the low status of the pizza in some circles, the questionnaire has elicited valuable knowledge about the pizza as a catalyst of good memories, companionship, and fun. Skjelbred also describes the change that took place in the designation of the informants of the Norwegian Ethnological Survey, who are now called "collaborators". One can view this as an attempt at a democratization process intended to place researchers

and informants side by side. It would be interesting to find out whether this changes the power relationship between researcher and informant, and whether it has any significance for what is written.

Göran Sjögård's article, "Thoughts about the Telephone", likewise elicits emotions. This time the collected narratives concern the telephone as an innovation. The questionnaire was built up around major questions such as the structure of the telephone network, the telephone in the home and at the workplace. The relation between people and technology was the main interest, as informants wrote about telephony and the role of the telephonist in the local community, but also about the content of telephone calls and the potential to maintain contact with the family, relatives, and friends despite geographical separation.

In "Going to the Pictures and Reading Books" Carina Sjöholm writes about a study in which she combined the use of questionnaires with life-history interviews in order to examine how people use different media, such as books, in the course of their lives. The discussion centres on the status of different categories of material, for example, interviews and questionnaires, as regards representativeness and authenticity. There has been a tendency for all ethnologists to create their own material. Sjöholm argues that one should always combine several different types of material; no matter how the material was collected, it is always a new combination of material that is created in the research process. Also, it can be valuable to bring in older material.

In "Narratives of the Disabled: Informants' Collections as Autobiographies", Christian Richette looks at the Nordiska Museet's long tradition of collecting narratives and finds that the focus has changed from collecting ethnological facts to collecting autobiographical material where the first person is at the centre of the narrative. Using the concept of genre as an angle of approach, Richette discusses two recent collection campaigns, one about polio, one about skull injuries, to see how the informants talk about their illness or injury, and consider how fate has completely changed their life-course and hence their self-perception. The narratives are very moving, and we really feel a desire to read them in their entirety. With his examples Richette is able to discuss autobiography as a genre, the relationship between narrative and leading character, and leaving room for portraits of other people as part of the autobiography.

Several of the articles refer to the earlier discussion by Agneta Lilja and others about what a "good narrative" should be like. The collectors often have their own expectations as to what a narrative should be like: It should be clear, concise, detailed, reliable, and well-formulated, but not constructed. The informants were encouraged and guided in the right direction. Despite criticism of earlier classification of narratives according to quality there are still – in this book too – norms dictating which narratives are best. Now detailed personal and autobiographical accounts that also contain conscious and unexpected reflections are the only kind that are in demand. The responses, apart from their narrative qualities, also include a wealth of detail about specific topics. In her contribution Lilja discusses whether analytical categories from today's ethnological science can be applied to memoirs written in completely different circumstances. With the aid of a gender perspective on earlier narratives written by two women she manages to bring out modern reasoning about gender, power, and conflicts.

In "Breathtaking Stories and Telling Silences: Narratives in Questionnaire Responses", Susanne Nylund Skog gives an analysis and close-up reading of one woman's narratives written for the archive over a long period. The personal experiences of things like childbirth make up an interesting self-portrait which includes a description of notions about sexuality, reproduction, and the family.

In "From the Heart of the Earth: Collecting Material through a Competition", Juhan Nirkko describes the relationship between the archive and its informants through the use of competitions with prizes as an incentive. Based on a questionnaire about farming past and present in Finland, he describes the process from the initial idea to the analysis of the responses.

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell's article, "Published, But Not Public? Some Thoughts about the Use of Internet Sources", contains some interesting considerations about the use of the Internet as a source. Despite the potential of the Internet for intimate exposure in the open virtual space, it turns out that the participants in chat rooms and discussion forums perceive their personal contributions as private and not open for analysis and further publication by researchers. The boundaries between private, public, and published are drawn in completely different ways. It is essential to discuss ethical considerations in connection with the use of personal Internet narratives.

Blanka Henriksson's "Friendship on the Timetable: Questionnaires in Teaching" looks at a teaching project in which the use of questionnaires is part of a method for creating, managing, and reflecting on one's own material. The students are supposed to learn not only how to produce questionnaires but also to try responding to a questionnaire themselves, so that they will be familiar with both sides of the relationship. The assembled experience means that the students also become better at formulating "good" questions and understanding the informants.

Dan Waldentoft deals with the way in which questionnaires can be used in a specific museum practice: exhibitions. Based on two different examples he considers the problem that questionnaires which are concrete and geared to a particular exhibition do not give narratives of long-term value for the archive. In one case the informants perceived the questions in a quite different way from what the exhibition curators had envisaged, so the responses could not be used for the exhibition. In the other case the questions were so focused on the themes of the exhibition that they could not be used for much more than as concrete instances. The distinctive feature of the questionnaire – the subjective, reflective everyday description – thereby disappears.

Many of the contributors discuss the difference between traditional questionnaires and the present-day use of informants. The fixed panels are often dominated by people of middle age and older (especially women), but with few young people. Whereas in the past there was a fixed, regionally located staff of informants, many archives have changed to working with a range of target groups, depending on the subject of the questionnaire. Through goal-directed campaigns and by using the Internet they have managed to get hold of a wider circle of informants who only take part in a limited project. But it is still a problem to get the relevant target group to find a questionnaire on the Internet.

If I were to raise one critical objection to the book, it would be that it would have been nice to see a Danish contribution to this recent Nordic research. This absence is probably due to the way this book came about, since it is the result of a joint seminar in November 2003. The Danish Folklore Collection is mentioned in the introduction about the differences between the Nordic countries, but not the over 42,000 responses to questionnaires from the Danish National Museum's Ethnological Studies (NEU). Despite this minor imbalance, there is no doubt that this book should stimulate future use of the wealth of narrative material in the archives in more research projects and should lead to new collecting being done.

The book is especially intended for teachers, students, and others with an interest in the potential of questionnaires. The twelve authors splendidly demonstrate that the somewhat neglected genre has wider inherent perspectives, since reading the articles gives a powerful desire to find out even more about the life and experience of the informants. The concrete autobiographical approach, the personal language, and the often surprising ways of categorizing and viewing the world are a source of inspiration for new angles on research projects and on their communication to the general public. A delight in storytelling combined with curiosity about reading and listening to other people's life stories results in a felicitous combination!

Lykke L. Pedersen, Copenhagen

Finnish National Symbols in One Book

Suomalaisten symbolit (Finnish national symbols). Tero Halonen & Laura Aro (eds.). Atena, Jyväskylä 2005. 224 pp. Ill. Abstracts in Swedish, English, and Russian. ISBN 951-796-394-7.

■ The sauna, rye bread, tango, coffee-drinking, bilingualism, the bear, forest, lake, knife *(puukko)*, perseverance (*sisu)*, silence, the Kalevala, Sibelius, gender equality – Finnishness is a history of symbols. The ambitious work *Suomalaisten symbolit* brings together the best of Finnish experts, top young researchers and the enthusiasm of students of ethnology, folkloristics and cultural anthropology at Jyväskylä University. The articles by 25 writers reflect the broad scope of the cultural disciplines. The main articles are supported by 61 sub-articles, illustrations and captions. The sub-articles are written by both experts and students. The book combines new information with established and traditional interpretations, thus giving a general cross-section of Finnish national symbols.

According to the editors of the book, a symbol (Greek *symbolon* 'sign') is either a random or contracted thing; an ambiguous or adaptable emblem or image that illustrates a phenomenon, value, attitude, myth or belief which is perceived as important and referring to something external to itself. Anything

can constitute a symbol, for example, a picture, an object, a person, a phenomenon, a building or an event. Thus for example, the Finnish flag refers to the independent Finnish state, since it has been decided that a flag is the sign of an independent state, and the blue cross is the sign of Finland. National symbols are collective and communal. They are integrally connected with the life and past of the nation. National culture, identity, memory and tradition consist of a series of symbols.

The Finnish national symbols are concentrations of Finnish culture and identity. They bring the Finnish population together and reveal their identity, as they refer to things that are both familiar to and important for the Finns, such as mentality and culture, patriotism, Europeanness, feelings, beliefs, past events, home and daily life.

A symbol is an ambiguous concept. It is ascribed slightly different meanings within semiotics, psychology, tradition research and comparative religion, for example. The editors note that the following are notions closely connected with symbols: metaphor, icon, sign, periphrase, the holy, cliché, stereotype, nostalgia, identity and romanticisation.

The book takes modern-day Finns as its point of departure. The articles explore symbols that modern-day Finns feel as being their own, that they experience as close and dear – at times even hate. However, all of them are part of the national identity, that is, Finnishness.

The book focuses particularly on the birth, use and occurrence of Finnish national symbols. In addition, the articles explore the conscious or unconscious influence of national symbols on the past and present of Finnish culture and society. The writers also look at connections between the symbols and place them in a wider, European and global context.

The editors mention *Maamme-kirja* (*Boken om vårt land*, The book of our country) by Zachris Topelius (1818–1898) published in 1875, which created and, for a long time, taught Finnish national symbols, thus building a sense of Finnish identity. In his book, Topelius presents central events and places particularly connected with people and clans, the history and geography of the nation; his perspective being a conservative-religious and nationalistic one. The book was used as a reader in schools until and even after the Second World War. Thus the issues and phenomena presented in it gradually became national symbols. Thanks to Topelius, the Finns learnt the stereotypes of Savonians, Karelians and Tavastians, among others. He also chose and defined who were the great men of the nation and put them on a pedestal. Topelius' *Maamme-kirja* was also important from a scientific viewpoint: he put together and popularized the views of various disciplines, which were then disseminated among the people through printing, primary education and literacy, ultimately gaining the status of national symbols.

The book starts with the section "Muistissa Mielessä Luonnossa" (In memory, in mind, in nature). In the first article Pekka Laaksonen studies the Finnish national epic *The Kalevala* (1835). It is the result of the creative efforts and collection work of Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884). It has been difficult to define what in *The Kalevala* is genuine folk poetry and what is composed by Lönnrot. Was he the compiler of an ancient dispersed epic, an original poet, or simply the collector of folk poetry? How did *The Kalevala* become a national symbol, the national epic of Finland? It is obvious that a long epic poem is always the product of one brain. Thus *The Kalevala* is an epic "sung" by Lönnrot. It attracted international attention when it was translated into other languages; the Swedish translation (by M.A. Castrén) was published as early as 1841 and, surprisingly, the French one (by Louis Léouzon Le Duc) in 1845. Since then, *The Kalevala* has been translated either in part or in its entirety into 60 different languages; the most recent version is a children's *Kalevala* in the Veps language, and a translation into Portuguese is forthcoming [reviewer's comment]. The *Kalevala* article by Laaksonen is supplemented by sub-articles on Kalevala jewellery and the *kantele* instrument.

The Volga Bend can be regarded as a myth and symbol pertaining to the origins of the Finns, writes Ulla-Maija Kulonen. Nobody has ever put forward an exact argument that the Finnish people would concretely have come from that very area. It is evident that language and culture can be transferred from one people to another without major population migration taking place, and that the original home of a language is not equal with the original home of a people. The notion of the Eastern origin of the Finnish language emerged and was strengthened around the turn of the 19th century when the search for national roots began.

E. N. Setälä, Professor of the Finnish Language at the University of Helsinki from 1893, together with his colleagues tried to create an overview of

the vocabulary that was the common heritage from the Fenno-Ugrian proto-language. When the vocabulary was compiled, the next step was to locate the original home. Setälä writes: "If we attempt a more exact definition, the most likely alternative seems to be that the Fenno-Ugrian origins would have to be placed around the middle reaches of the Volga" (in the area between the Volga bend and the Oka, along the river Kama). Setälä did not claim, however, that he knew where the Fenno-Ugrian language originated. The Volga Bend continues to glimmer as part of the mosaic of the ethnic origins of the Finns.

However, Setälä's prediction has come true: according to the latest archaeological findings, the Fenno-Ugrian proto-language can indeed be originated to the areas between the Volga and the Oka. Genetic research has, however, shown that the Finns have only a few eastern features. Thus, the present abode would be at least as suitable as the original home of the Finns, if not even more correct than the Volga Bend.

In his article on interpretations of Finnish characteristics, Seppo Knuuttila notes that silence, laughter and perseverance *(sisu)* are traits in the emotional structure of the Finnish mentality. There are many contradictory interpretations pertaining to these features. As in all of Europe, national identity in Finland has also been constructed on a local basis. In *Maammekirja*, Zachris Topelius described the nature of the inhabitants in various parts of Finland as follows: the Karelians are cheerful and childlike, the Savonians are wise but arrogant, the Ostrobothnians are industrious but quick-tempered, and the Tavastians are diligent and quiet but slow in forgiving. Topelius did not make up these characteristics himself, but based his descriptions on written material. The perception of the Tavastians speaking little and slowly might refer to the fact that people easily understand each other and so elaborate conversations or small talk is not needed. In Finland, the taverns are the actual abodes of the talking culture and social laughter.

In the old Finnish spiritual literature the most common definition of perseverance *(sisu)* is evil. Evil *sisu* is hardness of the mind, stubbornness, depravity and pride. According to linguist Martti Rapola's definition, a person with *sisu* is rough and ruthless. *Sisu* may be expressed as courage and confidence, but also as indifference, cunning and anger. *Sisu* means toughness, the ability to withstand hardship, and patience. So, *sisu* is persistence but also super strength: a secret reserve that pushes a person to amazing deeds even after he himself thinks that all energy is exhausted. The qualities of envy, modesty and melancholy have also been suggested as characteristics of the Finns, as of many other nationalities.

In her article, Laura Kolbe looks at Finnish towns as concentrations of national memory. Pirjo Korkiakangas explores images that have romanticized the Finnish countryside. Pekka Virtanen writes about the importance of the Finnish landscape and forests. Juha Pentikäinen presents the mythology and rituals pertaining to the Finnish national animal, the bear.

In the second section, "Kulttuurissa Huveissa Sivistyksessä" (In culture, in entertainment, in cultivation) Jarmo Papinniemi investigates the classics and themes of Finnish literature; the Moomintrolls and respected works of art are the subjects of sub-articles here. Anna Kortelainen presents the Golden Age of Finnish painting, while two sub-articles deal with subjects of contemporary folk art and the painting "Taistelevat metsot" (The Fighting Grouse). Timo Koho discusses architecture; additional information is provided by sub-articles on Art Nouveau architecture and on World Heritage sites such as the Fortress of Suomenlinna, Rauma old town and Petäjävesi Church. Harri Kalha explores the heroic story of Finnish design. The brands of Iittala glass and Marimekko textiles and clothes are the subjects of sub-articles. Eero Tarasti emphasizes the significance of symphony and opera in Finnish music. Sub-articles on Jean Sibelius and the Finnish national anthem provide further information on the subject of music. Maarit Niiniluoto reflects on the Finnish tango as an identity narrative. Her article is supplemented by sub-articles on a summer phenomenon, the Tango Fair, and Finnish film. The birth of a sporting nation is in focus in an article by Esa Sironen. The sub-articles on Flying Finns and Nordic walking give further insight into Finnish sports. Tero Halonen presents the success story of the Finnish comprehensive school system. Sub-articles on the Student Cap and Doctoral Conferment Ceremony further enlighten the subject of education.

The third section "Ajassa Arjessa Juhlassa" (In time, in every day life, in festivities) begins with Laura Aro looking at traditional annual Finnish celebrations. Walpurgis Night and Father Christmas are characterised in sub-articles. Laura Kolbe writes about the offerings of Finnish dining tables and drinking habits. Finnish food and drink is further

explored in sub-articles on rye bread, Koskenkorva vodka and *salmiakki*, or salty liquorice. Tero Halonen introduces the reader to Finnish café culture and the high consumption of coffee, while sub-articles present the Runeberg cake and buns. Pekka Junkala explores the significance of the *rintamamiestalo*, a particular type of Finnish, post-war, single-family house. The dish-drying cupboard and the rug-washing jetty are the subjects of sub-articles. The role of the sauna is presented by Pekka Laaksonen and further information on the sauna subject is provided by sub-articles in folk healing and tar. Teppo Korhonen discusses the significance of the traditional Finnish knife *puukko*, and his article is supplemented by one on the mobile phone.

In the fourth section "Valtiossa Yhteiskunnassa Taloudessa" (In the state, in society, in economy) Tero Halonen studies how the memory of the Finnish nation has been shaped by past eras, such as pre-history, and certain years, as those of the last wars, as well as by various turning-points. Gender equality is discussed by Jan Löfström. Matti Klinge reflects upon the virtues on which Finnish patriotism has been constructed. Visa Heinonen, for his part, focuses on the way in which the business world makes use of national symbols in their advertising. Petri Raivo presents Karelia as a place of Finnish nostalgia. Antti Matikkala explores the coat-of-arms with the heraldic lion as the most important and oldest symbol of the Finnish State. Last, but not least, Tero Halonen looks at the message of the Finnish Independence Day (6 December) over the decades; additional insight into this subject is presented by the sub-articles on the Presidential ball and symbolic state buildings.

The Lutheran religion is a way of thinking for the Finns and the basis of the national unified culture. The traditional triangle of home, church and fatherland still strongly influences the thinking of many Finns. Protestant ethics and Lutheran work ethics are central features of the way Lutheranism is seen to be governing the morality of the Finns. They are part of the Finnish way of life. Working and earning money are virtues, and getting rich is not regarded as a bad thing. Time is money. Diligence, punctuality, practicality, honesty, modesty, silence, temperance, thrift and managing finances are admirable values, while spending, showing off one's money, laziness, idleness and lack of initiative are reprehensible, even sinful, according to Tero Halonen's article. Finland is the most Lutheran country in the world: over 80 per cent of the population are members of the Evangelical-Lutheran church. Still, only half of the Finns think of themselves as religious, and the influence of the Church (also the Greek Orthodox) on Finnish lifestyle is limited.

The 61 sub-articles present a wide variety of subjects ranging from the *kantele* instrument, the Saami, the Senate Square, the city of Turku, the dog breed *Suomenpystykorva* and the horse breed *Suomenhevonen*, granite and birch, and holy animals to the blue cross flag. The most respected brand in Finland, however, is the multi-national Coca-Cola. In these times of global economy, a brand has become more important than nationality. The dream of companies is to create "a globally standardized brand", which crosses over national and cultural borders. Previously Finnish companies emphasized their Finnishness, while today traditional Finnish brands have passed to multinational firms: the selling of Koskenkorva vodka and Turku mustard to foreign owners gave rise to protest movements in Finland, writes Tero Halonen. Studies show that traditionally appreciated brands are Arabia (ceramics), Abloy (locks), Fiskars (scissors, knives), Hackman (cutlery, saucepans), Kalevala jewellery and Iittala (glass, ceramics).

As can be expected, there is not enough space for all the national symbols in one book. The aim has not been to create an encyclopaedia, but a single informative book. Despite this, in the section on Lutheranism, I found myself missing the perhaps most distinctly Finnish religious symbols: the revivalist movements within the Evangelical-Lutheran Church which still exist and are very influential; that is, Western Finnish Beseecherism, Pietism, Laestadianism, Evangelism, and New Pietism. It can also be discussed, whether the conferment ceremony and the student's cap belong to Finnish symbols.

The book is a comprehensive presentation, which provides many interesting aspects of Finnishness. The work can be enjoyed by teachers of different cultural subjects, by experts and by enthusiasts interested in cultural phenomena.

Päivikki Antola, Tampere

The Meaning of Landscape

Mening med landskab: En antologi om natursyn. Jette Hansen-Møller (ed.). Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 2004. 249 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-888-7.

■ Does Nature really exist? The question was studied in detail by many human geographers, human ecologists, and ethnologists in the 1990s. The dividing line ran between materialists and social constructivists. The former regarded nature as an external physical reality with certain inherent properties. They were opposed by a post-structuralistically inspired critique which viewed nature more as something agreed upon, a convention so packed with linguistic notions and culturally negotiated assumptions that, for us in Scandinavia at least, it was hardly possible to talk about nature without making quotation marks in the air.

One distinguished figure in Anglo-Saxon literature on this topic is William Cronon, who edited the volume *Uncommon Ground* with articles by scholars like Carolyn Merchant, who looked at our relationship to nature from the viewpoint of environmental history and intellectual history, and Kenneth Olwig, who showed how the landscape has been subjected to restoration and politics. Among many researchers and thinkers in this field, it sometimes seemed as if the question of Nature was circumvented by using the term *landscape* instead. David Harvey was one of these, and gave the discussion a more distinct tone of power analysis: the landscape need not be essence or construction; it can instead be viewed as a physical manifestation of society's (power) organization – in highly simplified terms. In Sweden too the landscape was discussed, for instance in the volume *Moderna landskap: Identifikation och tradition i vardagen,* edited by the ethnologists Katarina Saltzman and Birgitta Svensson (1997).

Now a Danish research group has added its contribution to the landscape debate, a collection of articles edited by Jette Hansen-Møller, with a title that reads "The Meaning of Landscape: An Anthology about the Outlook on Nature". Here the gap between materiality and construction is bridged by simply allowing *landscape* to be an expression of *the outlook on nature.* If Swedish readers are to benefit by reading the book, they must first undergo a fundamental change of perspective, in view of the fact that Denmark, unlike Sweden, is a thoroughly cultivated and densely populated country. What we in Sweden perceive as nature *is* landscape in Denmark; for example, forest with less noticeable traces of use and long continuity is almost non-existent there. The landscape in which Danes move is also limited in another way than in Sweden, since there is no right of public access. People are of course allowed to walk around freely in the countryside, but it cannot be taken for granted that you can climb fences or stroll off-road in beech woods. It is not permitted to pick flowers, berries, and mushrooms on other people's land.

The editor, Jette Møller-Hansen, begins with an article inspired by the American philosopher C. S. Pierce, representative of a rather extreme constructivist perspective. Møller-Hansen, for example, rejects the word Nature, to "indicate that there is no innocent, prediscursive meta-language that can describe this reality". This introductory article, "Landscape: Habitat/Area/Symbol: A Model for Analysing the Meanings of Landscape", with its highly abstract pretensions and – in my eyes – an epistemologically unfruitful but consciously formulated distance to any form of empirical evidence, is extremely problematic and would have benefited from being edited so that it opened the way better for the subsequent articles in the book. Liv Oustrup, for example, surveys how ideas about the landscape have changed through time, in "The Comprehension and View of Nature in Historical Perspective". Without complicating or directly problematizing the connections, she notes that "[c]omprehensions of nature do not change in such a way that earlier comprehensions of nature disappear; new understandings appear, either as a development of or a reaction to earlier ones, which means that comprehensions of nature are constantly shifting and evolving." This simple but admirably instructive article would have been more useful as an introduction to the book. In "Nature as Process or Function" Henrik Vejre makes an interesting link between process and system thinking in natural science (just think of evolution or ecosystems) and how we interpret and perceive culturally conditioned changes in nature. His major point is that the dynamic in nature never stops, and that we therefore cannot take an exact state as the starting point for preservation or protection. A similar point is made by Hanne Stensen Christensen in her article "Authenticity and Restoration". What nature is to be preserved and what is to be restored? She refers to four criteria applied by the Danish National Environment Research Institute: wildness, originality, continuity, and authenticity. Originality

is presumably the most problematic category, where the natural right of domicile of species must be assessed. Stensen Christensen shows that genuineness and authenticity are significant for our perception of natural quality, even if these phenomena cannot be used as exact measurement instruments.

One of the more empirically based articles, by Arne Bondo-Andersen, discusses how nature guiding has changed from focusing on experiences and knowledge of nature to become an instrument for inspiring people to change their lifestyles towards sustainable development. Berit Charlotte Kaae has used a questionnaire to study the outlook on nature among 2,033 people, of whom 1,200 responded. The well-thought-out but quantitative approach feels refreshing, especially when it is presented together with a discussion of the scales to which the general public related.

A poetic and somehow old-fashioned – but readable – literary analysis of "Longing for Nature" is provided by Peter Paludan Seedorff. It is an analysis of literary images of homesickness with motifs of nature/landscape. The human ecologist Finn Arler, in his article "It Can't Be Seen", also opens for the possibility that values absent from the landscape must be part of our interpretation of what one normally sees – the sublime, what has just happened, economic and material changes. In a topical and relevant article about "Young People's Outdoor Life" Hans Jørgen Fisker discusses a young Danish man's perspective on how outdoor life should be lived. "Torben" indulges in mountaineering and rides a mountain bike. He is a representative of a special style, which is expressed both in consumer habits and in attitudes and values, but which is linked to a special kind of dream landscape. The use of the landscape of experience arouses certain mental qualities, he and his friends seem to think. In its simplicity, this article is a highly relevant augury of the future use of nature as a place for recreation.

As a whole, *Mening med landskab* is far too diverse a collection. The thematic cohesion cannot compensate for the diversity of empirical, methodological, contentual, and ideological directions. The texts that aspire to depth drift instead towards the esoteric, while those with an empirical foundation almost have the form of popular accounts of research. The gap between these is far too wide, seeming to reflect the absence of communication between the authors. The book never rises but it is not down to earth either, although it could have been both. As a basis for discussion, however, *Mening med landskab* may have a function.

Ebba Lisberg Jensen, Lund

Memories of the War in Finland

Minnen från krigstiden. Ingalill Ihrcke-Åberg (ed.). Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2005. 232 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-583-115-6.

■ In the last ten years many personal recollections of war have appeared in book form, and the flow continues, chiefly written about and by Finnish war children in both Finland and Sweden. The press and other media have also given a great deal of coverage recently to the Second World War in Finland. This book, "Memories of the War Years", differs partly from many of the narratives of the war children. It has been published by the Swedish Literature Society in Finland, which means that these memoirs were recorded by Swedish-speaking Finns. It contains narratives of many different kinds.

The book begins with an interesting survey of "Memoirs as a Source". It has become increasingly common in recent years for researchers to use personal recollections as a source of knowledge. The narrative form gives a person the freedom to stress some details rather than others and thus to link them to cause and effect. A personal narrative can have different meanings for the narrator: therapy, healing, inner cleansing, a need to tell others, etc. The book does not claim to be objective historical information; instead it conveys personal memories.

The book is divided into clear groups of narratives on topics such as such as: children during the war, adolescence – commitment and compulsory labour, everyday life and rationing, the heavy losses, memories of the armed forces and the front. This division gives a structure that paints an all-round picture of what life could be like in Finland during the war. The collection of these war memoirs, which took place between March 2000 and July 2001, was not based on any questionnaire; informants were able to retell freely what they remembered, based on suggested headings or entirely following their own ideas.

The major part of the material consists of "Children during War", a total of ten narratives, half of them by women, half by men. First there is a description of the conditions for transferring children to Sweden,

Denmark, and Norway. But we are also told about what the children who stayed in Finland did, although these activities varied depending on where people belonged. There are descriptions of the boys' work in the home guard, the boy soldiers and the female equivalent. In areas with a working-class population the activities were no doubt of a different kind. But there were naturally other examples of what both categories were engaged in, such as picking cones, bark, berries, and mushrooms, collecting paper, rags, and bottles. Distance tuition was arranged for pupils who could not go to school when the schools were closed because they had been bombed or had been taken over by the military. The newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* published exercises which the pupils had to do either at home or where they had been evacuated to. These exercises were then sent to teachers for correction. I do not know whether the Finnish-language schools also had distance tuition.

The section on "Adolescence – Engagement and Compulsory Work" gives information about how Finland organized tasks for the young to do. A general obligation to work had been introduced in 1939 for everyone aged between 18 and 54. Extra staff was needed in medical care; auxiliary nurses, for example, were trained for nine months and then sent to various hospitals in the field or on the home front. From 1942 the obligation to work was extended to children aged 15–17 and adults up to 65. Many adolescents had to help out on farms. One student from a training college recounts her memories of travelling to Sweden to help look after war children from Finland in a children's home. This type of narrative is particularly interesting because not many of them are recorded.

"Everyday Life and Rationing" describes the importance of women during the war, when the men were at the front fighting. The Ministry of Public Supply had control over the distribution of food among the population. Many foodstuffs were rationed. There was a flourishing black market. Those who had contacts with the countryside could get extra food from there. A student from Helsinki tells how she paid part of her rent with food from the home farm. Food became a hard currency. People showed great inventiveness in finding substitutes for what was unavailable. An advertisement tells of a stock extract which is "a yeast product that looks, tastes, and smells like meat extract – you can make all kinds of dishes for which meat is considered to be an essential ingredient". Every day was spent trying to answer the question what to eat and where to get enough food. Apart from worries about her husband, son, brother, or some other close relative at the front, a woman also had to worry about the bombing at home. Many went to live with relatives or neighbours when their homes had been destroyed.

In "The Heavy Losses" the narratives describe the joy of being in love amidst the horrors of war, and also the great anxiety for the beloved one at the front. There are heart-rending stories about the priest coming to announce a death to young widows, new mothers, or in some cases a widow awaiting the couple's first child. We read of mothers who have to tell their children, "Daddy won't be coming home any more."

The book ends with "Memories of the Armed Forces and the Front". The fortification work on the Karelian Isthmus had been done before the war, and many volunteers took part in this work, including women. The shots in Mainila on 26 November 1939 were fraught with momentous consequences. The Red Army attacked Finland without warning. The Finnish army was poorly equipped with machinery and other essentials. For example, there were not enough uniforms. Despite the material superiority of the Red Army, it too was badly prepared and the Finnish army could exploit this and put up resistance. In the last part of the book, three men tell of their experiences from the time when the call-up order arrived until the end of the war. One of them was captured by the enemy.

Each section in the book has a short historical background. This refreshes the memory of readers who may have forgotten what happened then, and it is essential for those with no previous knowledge about the Second World War in Finland. The illustrations, which consist of photographs, newspaper cuttings, and advertisements from the time, give authenticity to the text. Many of the photographs have been provided by the informants themselves from their photo albums. This gives a private freshness to the text. At the end of the book there is a glossary of technical military terms and Finland-Swedish expressions. There are also three maps: Finland before the Second World War, the city centre of Helsinki in 1940, the Porkala lease 1944–1956.

When one has read the book one understands the deep wounds the people suffered, and what freedom means for a country. The book as a whole gives an all-round picture of memories of the war years in

Finland, and is thus an important addition to the existing war memoirs. It is easy to read and should attract many readers in both Finland and Sweden. It could also serve as extra reading for history lessons in school, to illustrate how individuals experienced the war.

Rauni Janser, Ystad

National Borders in Scandinavia

Grenser og grannelag i Nordens historie. Steinar Imsen (ed.), Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, Oslo 2005. 459 pp. ISBN 10:82-02-24828-0.

■ Readers of this extensive anthology edited by Steinar Imsen will receive meaningful insights into the manner in which the national borders of Scandinavia have developed over the ages from mediaeval times and up until the present day. Some of these borders between the countries have remained constant while others have been changed at various points in time. A fundamental point of departure for the book is presented in the editor's remarks on how 'border regions constitute thought-provoking alternatives to the greater national societies' (p. 22). The different chapters of the book have their basis in wide-ranging Scandinavian research cooperation, especially in the field of history but also in linguistics. Scandinavia's outer borders are discussed in the book's initial major section, with a later section devoted to a presentation and analysis of inter-Nordic borders. Border conditions in the Northern Cap are discussed in a concluding section. The illustrations consist of maps showing how the national borders have changed over the course of time.

The contributors' interest concerning such outer borders has been centred on the boundaries between Denmark and present-day Germany, or in more historically correct terms, between Slesvig and Holstein. The Danish border town of Aabenraa has been the seat of the Institute for Research on Border Regions since 1976 where historians, linguists and ethnologists collaborate. The defence installation Danevirke, whose oldest roots reach back to the 600s, is considered by scholars to be the oldest national border in Scandinavia. From 1460 and until 1864, the Danish king was also sovereign of Slesvig and Holstein. In this way a personal union was formed in which the sovereign was the soul link between the various parts. A national structure of this kind existing before the rise of nation-states has come to be termed a 'conglomerate' state in newer historical research. The border between Denmark and Slesvig and Holstein at Kongeån was clearly marked. In the peace settlement of 1864 after Denmark had been defeated, Slesvig and Holstein, often called Southern Jutland came with their considerable Danish minority under Prussian and Austrian rule and after 1871, became part of the German empire. After a plebiscite was held in 1920, the Danish-German border was moved southwards in Slesvig. This border is still valid. It is one of the few in Europe that has been established by plebiscite. A Danish minority amounting to about 20% of the population still lives in the German portion of Slesvig, while a German minority estimated at about 25% remains in the Danish portion. This has led to a certain amount of tension, but also to agreements between the countries with regard to future developments. Thanks to the 'Declaration of Bonn' and the 'Declaration of Copenhagen' in 1955, relations between the minorities on both sides of the border have been normalised. Both the Danish and the German authorities have contributed substantial sums to their respective minorities and have protected the minority language.

During the Middle Ages, Norway had an outer border towards Scotland that ran through the Orkney Islands and the Shetlands. These islands were pawned, however, to the Scottish king in 1468 and 1469, respectively, and never redeemed. The Norwegian language, called 'Norn' in Scotland, still continued to be spoken alongside Scots for many subsequent generations.

Among the Nordic borders to the east, that of Karelia has been the subject of special interest in this book while the Baltic area has been overlooked, even though both Denmark and Sweden have had considerable possessions in this latter region for significant periods of time. After the peace treaty of Nöteborg in 1323, Karelia was divided into an eastern Russian and a western Swedish/Finnish area. This latter was ceded to Russia after World War II. More than 400 000 people, or about 10 percent of the Finnish population, were evacuated from the ceded regions. This is unquestionably one of the greatest forced population resettlements in Scandinavian history.

Scandinavia's inner borders are exemplified by regions that have belonged to different Nordic countries in the course of history. The long national border between Norway and Sweden was not permanently

determined and designated in the landscape until 1751. When Scania became Swedish in 1658, this province lost her position as an important economical and political region in the Danish kingdom and became peripheral. Her 'swedification' was finally accomplished by King Charles XI after Sweden had won a new war against the Danes in Scania in the years 1675–1679.

The provinces of Halland and Bohuslän in western Sweden were ceded from Denmark to Sweden in 1645 and 1658 respectively. Bohuslän had been an important part of the mediaeval Norwegian kingdom but, as was the case with Scania, became a peripheral region after becoming Swedish. At this same time, the Göta River ceased to be Norway's border river towards Sweden in the south. Numerous wars had been fought around this river. The rights to claim customs duties along the course of this river had also been an important factor due to cross-border trade.

Jämtland in northern Sweden was ceded from Denmark to Sweden in 1645. This province had enjoyed considerable freedom and independence compared to the rest of Norway and had a separate magistrate during the Middle Ages. This form for autonomy can be explained at least in part as a result of its peripheral location in Scandinavia. This status changed after the Nordic Union between Sweden and Denmark/Norway came to an end in the early 1500s. Jämtland then became a militarily strategic border province between Sweden and Denmark/Norway. This also led to the province being more integrated in Denmark/Norway than previously and thus less self-ruled.

The Torne Valley became a split border region when Sweden lost Finland as a result of the Treaty of Fredrikshamn in 1809. Finland was later an Archduchy until winning her independence from Russia in 1917. The town of Torneå became a border site on the Finnish side of the border. Haparanda was founded as a market town on the Swedish side of the border in 1812, becoming a town proper in the year 1842. This town played an important role as a transit site for the exchange of prisoners of war and wounded soldiers during the World Wars when Sweden remained neutral. It was not until the 1980s that any form for municipal cooperation was established between the two border towns of Haparanda and Torneå. Language difficulties are a hindrance, however, to any better development of cooperative efforts. The people of Haparanda speak Swedish for the most part, while bilingualism is slightly greater in Torneå on the Finnish side.

Detailed drawing of borders between the countries in the Northern Cap area took place fairly late in time. Being able to move freely without territorial restriction was of vital importance to Sami reindeer husbandry. Taxation regions common to at least two countries existed until quite late in recent times. When the Norwegian-Swedish border was determined in 1751, a special agreement allowed the Sami to retain the right to continue carrying on reindeer husbandry across the marked border. The border between Norway and Russia was finally regulated in 1826. The only change that took place in this border up to the present day was when Finland came to govern the Petsamo region between 1920 and 1944. The border regulation of 1826 was more problematic for the Sami than that of 1751 between Norway and Sweden. In 1852, Russia and Finland resolved a complete closure of the border to Norway for nomadic reindeer husbandry. This led to a certain strengthening of Norwegian apprehensions concerning "the Russian Peril" in the North and, after Finland's independence in 1917, a similar belief in "the Finnish Peril" with regard to the Kven, the people of Finnish descent living in that area. An essential objective on the national level in Norway up until World War II was the shielding of the country towards Finland with regard to cross-border passage and cross-border trade. After the Union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905, the right to reindeer pasturage on the other side of the border was regulated in a convention in the year 1919. This proved more favourable to Norwegian than to Swedish Sami.

The merit of the present anthology lies in the analysis of a majority of the border regions of Scandinavia, which covers a very long period of time reaching from the Middle Ages and up to the present day. Eminent scholars of the various border regions' history present the results of their research. The discussions are especially concerned with the political and legal perspective as seen in peace treaties, conventions etc. A national aspect is fundamental, while the living conditions of the border regions' inhabitants and their cross-border contacts have not been taken into consideration. Any viewpoint based on cultural meeting has, in other words, been made conspicuous by its absence. On the other hand, future research problems may be found here for cultural historians who will have the added advantage of making use

of the comprehensive research results that have been published in this book.
Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Living in the Best of Worlds?

Monika Janfelt, Att leva i den bästa av världar. Föreningarna Nordens syn på Norden 1919–1933. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2005. 256 pp. ISBN 91-7203-684-2.

■ When the caricatures of Muhammad published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* aroused anger against Denmark in much of the Muslim world at the start of 2006, a question asked in Sweden was: What has happened to Nordism? Lars Leijonborg, leader of the Liberal Party, called for support for Denmark but did not gain much of a response; the Nordic idea does not automatically include the other countries' politics. Yet these events simultaneously raised questions about how we relate to Nordic identity, how the Nordic can be understood, and what Nordic cooperation can involve.

It is precisely questions like these that the historian Monika Janfelt discusses in this book, with a title meaning "Living in the Best of Worlds: The Norden Associations' View of Norden 1919–1933". Based on yearbooks, minutes, newspaper material, etc., she describes how the idea of the Nordic was constructed during the first years of the Norden Association. Two problem areas occupy a central place. One is the relationship between centre and periphery, the other between Nordism and nationalism.

Branches of the Norden Association were founded after the First World War. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway associations were founded in 1919, while those in Iceland and Finland started a few years later, in 1921 and 1924 respectively. After the Second World War new associations were created in Åland, the Faroes, Greenland, and in Schleswig-Holstein. The task of the associations has been to work for cooperation and understanding between people in the Nordic countries (Norden).

Janfelt describes the start of the associations as a male elite project. The popular support and character that the Norden associations have today did not exist before the Second World War. In the inter-war years, the time studied by Janfelt, the members mostly came from the leading strata of society, with important positions in trade, banking, and industry.

What was the cooperation to be based on? There were ideas at the time of a political federation between the Nordic countries, and the Swedish and Danish associations expressed a wish for more pronounced political and economic collaboration. In Norway, however, where the struggle that had been waged to dissolve the union with Sweden was not far in the past, there was no interest in this. Here the activists wanted to restrict the collaboration to matters concerning culture and popular enlightenment. And it was the Norwegian view of what Nordic collaboration should mean that triumphed. Janfelt, like other scholars, argues that a powerful nationalism was a precondition for Nordism.

In the concrete work of the associations, however, Norway played a more marginal role than Sweden and Denmark. The fact that these countries set the tone and acted as motors is explained by Janfelt as being partly due to the absence of political conflicts between them in the inter-war years. Both were, however, involved in conflicts with other Nordic countries. Sweden was opposed to Finland on the issue of Åland, and Denmark was in dispute with Norway about eastern Greenland. There were also tensions between Sweden and Norway remaining since the breakup of the union.

The associations were for a long time rather small. In Sweden the membership in 1929 was just over 1,800, and the question of how to reach the people was a topic of constant discussion. Various strategies were elaborated. One was to focus on specific sectors, companies, and professional people, through meetings and personal encounters, to promote understanding of the Nordic idea and to build a Nordic identity. At the same time, however, some of the examples cited by Janfelt also reflect the social position of the members. When the Danish association tried to reach the farmers, it went via the manors.

As in many other contexts, both past and present, there is a powerful notion that changes at societal level should take place in and through school, and the Norden associations also invested a great deal of effort in school activities. They arranged teachers' meetings, and pupils from the different countries were encouraged to correspond and attend Nordic get-togethers. Schoolbooks were also examined from a Nordic perspective. Journalists were regarded as another important group. The associations assembled journalists, kept an eye on news items, contacted news agencies, and demanded greater attention to

Nordic issues. The way they focused on teachers and journalists testifies to an awareness of the significance of opinion moulding.

The associations worked to create what they perceived as a Nordic identity. Meetings to bring people together were part of this work; yearbooks and other publications were another channel. The work on yearbooks and their content also plays an important part in the book.

What constituted the Nordic? How was a Nordic identity constructed? Janfelt distinguishes some central ideas. Nature was one of them, pluralism another. She also points out that pluralism was essential if Nordic nature, which displays great variation, was to be described as something unique. Language and the shared ancient past were also considered important for the Nordic identity. The sense of a common origin could justify the use of the word "family" for Norden and the description of the peoples in the different countries as brothers and sisters.

The linguistic community was emphasized in the work of the associations as an important argument for Nordic cooperation. But Janfelt can also show that a Nordic language was not enough in itself to be included in what was constructed as Norden by the associations.

Not all the countries were equally Nordic either. Although Finland had been a part of Sweden for centuries, Finland did not have a self-evident place in the Nordic community. This is clear, for instance, from the fact that the Norden associations found it necessary to explain why Finland was a Nordic country. No such explanations were needed for the other countries, not even for Iceland which was so far away, and with which contacts with branches in the other countries were rather sporadic. Everyone wanted a share of the Icelandic sagas.

Finland plays an important part in Janfelt's discussion of centre–periphery and is one of the two countries to which a separate chapter is devoted. The other is Denmark. These countries both represent areas on the edge of Norden and are therefore particularly interesting to study when asking questions about the mental and geographical boundaries of Norden. But there are also great differences between them. Denmark was not just on the margin but was also a central country in that Denmark and Sweden were the initiators of the association. Finland, on the other hand, was always on the periphery and dependent on Sweden, sometimes described as belonging to Norden and sometimes as something alien.

The work of the Norden associations circled above all around cultural cooperation and exchange. This does not mean, however, that politics was left outside. Excursions in connection with meetings, where people presented the history of their own country, were also a way to pursue national politics. On recurrent trips to South Jutland, for example, participants from other Nordic countries were involved in Denmark's boundary disputes with Germany. This too is an example of how the view of the national and the Nordic could reinforce each other.

Monika Janfelt has written an interesting book and it is also well-written to read. She deals with the inter-war period, when the Norden associations were founded, but many of the questions and problems discussed are still topical and important today. This applies to present-day Nordic cooperation and what will happen if the countries go very separate ways in political terms; it also applies to the ongoing discussion about European identity and cooperation.

The political conflicts within Norden in the years between the wars are also an important reminder, even though the associations seem to have paid surprisingly little attention to them.

The book is about the Norden Association, and the author presents the branches and their activities. As a reader I sometimes wished for a wider look at the contemporary public debate. It would also have been fascinating to have some more reflections on or examples of other groups working to develop Nordic contacts, although this is a field on which little research has been done. Janfelt stresses that there was cooperation in various spheres and at different levels, and she mentions the folk high schools in particular. Yet there were others involved in Nordic cooperation. Since the end of the nineteenth century, in other words, long before the formation of the Norden Association, there were Nordic school meetings, and in 1919 there was a Nordic meeting about child welfare. There were also early Nordic meetings to discuss kindergarten activities. The trade union movement, which has traditionally had a distinct international character, could also be interesting in this connection. Was there a more specific form of Nordic collaboration within that movement?

Janfelt lets the actors speak for themselves through quotations from yearbooks, minutes, and other sources. The quotations evoke the character of the times, and it gives a special feeling to read Danish,

Norwegian, and Swedish on the same page or right beside each other! Together, however, the quotations are a bit too much, which also means that the text sometimes feels both too detailed and slightly thin. Yet it should also be said that the experience of reading other languages with little difficulty, although I have never studied them, gives a sense of living in an area that extends beyond one's own country.
Ingrid Söderlind, Stockholm

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism in the North. Michael Jones (ed.). Tapir Academic Press, Trondheim 2005. 346 pp. ISBN 82-519-2051-5.

■ This book marks the 60th birthday of ethnologist Venke Åsheim Olsen and presents a collection of her articles from a diversity of publications in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Britain as well as a few previously unpublished works. The bibliography at the end of the book shows all her writings ranging from research reports to scholarly articles and book reviews in journals, periodicals, books, newspapers and conference proceedings during nearly 35 years.

This volume presents a variety of multicultural aspects from Northern Norway, Venke Åsheim Olsen's own childhood environment. She has grown up in the midst of the "meeting of the three tribes" with Norwegian, Saami and Finnish elements in the local culture. This experience has influenced her academic interest, too. Many of her articles deal with the people of Finnish origin and their local traditions in Northern Norway. A central focus is the question of ethnicity, both theoretically and in everyday practice. Venke Olsen has studied the relations between ethnic groups and especially their ethnonyms, both ingroup and outgroup names in communication between different groups. She has also written about the Northern borderlands of Scandinavia, tourism, museums and museology. One concern has been to make the life and achievements of women living on the Arctic coast visible. The selected articles in this volume are in English or in Norwegian.

I would like to highlight a couple of her articles in this review. I think one of the most important articles is "Minority or immigrants. A survey of the situation of the Finnish population in North Norway". It was published in the series of Uppsala Multiethnic Papers in 1992. It deals with the legal status of Norwegian persons of Finnish descent (also known as Kvens) in Northern Norway. The author presents and analyses a Northern Norwegian newspaper feud of 1991 dealing with the concepts of minority and the questions of minority jurisdiction. The main question is whether persons with Finnish-speaking ancestry can be defined as an indigenous population on the same grounds as the Saami population. In the early 1990s the debate over the Kvens possibly being indigenous was totally new; the controversy started at full blast after the ILO Convention no.169 was ratified in Norway in 1990 with reference to the Saami population thus giving them the formal status of an indigenous population – the heated debate has continued ever since. Olsen grasped the subject at a very early stage and published this interesting article already in 1992, years before many other authors.

I'd also like to mention a previously unpublished article 'Det etniske aspekt ved intervjusituasjonen. Varangerregistreringen 1973' dealing with the ethnic aspect of interview situations. It is originally a paper given at an ethnological seminar the same year. Now, more than thirty years later, it is interesting to read the thoughts of a young ethnologist doing her fieldwork in a multiethnic local community. During a long post-war period no particular attention had been paid to the local population of Finnish origin but a new interest arouse both in the academic circles and in cultural politics in the 1960s and 1970s. Both Norwegian and Finnish researchers set out for fieldwork, and the Varanger fjord in Eastern Finnmark was one of the very popular areas. There were still many elderly people speaking Finnish, and cultural distinctiveness was remarkable.

In her article Olsen discusses the delicate questions of for example language choice in multiethnic interview situations. How to choose the language – either Norwegian or Finnish – when the informant is bilingual? What if the interviewer masters only one of the languages? Choosing the language reflects the power relations as well. The author also discusses the point of view of the local people when they suddenly started to get more and more researchers behind their doors: "different people come here asking the same questions every week", some of them complained.

Some of the elder people were suspicious of these interviewers even because they had learned to be wary about possible spies in the wartime and during the cold war. Living in the easternmost border area had made them careful not to talk too much to strangers.

Reading this clearly written article reminded me of some of my very early contacts in Northern Norway at about the same time. For all of us who have seen the change in the ethnic questions during the past three decades, it is interesting to recall the very early stages of research in the 1970s.

This book also includes articles dealing with two famous explorers of the North, both of them documenting Northern Norwegian folk life of their time. One is the Scottish lawyer, folklorist and geologist John Francis Campbell who made several journeys to Northern Scandinavia in the 1850s and 1860s collecting data on ethnographical, lingual, social and historical issues among others.

The other is the Finnish ethnographer and photographer Samuli Paulaharju, who undertook fieldwork in Nord-Troms in Finnmark in the 1920s and 1930s. Venke Olsen has written three different articles on his journeys in Northern Norway. The earlier articles (1984 and 1988) deal mainly with Paulaharju's activities as a photographer; he has taken altogether some 1100 photographs, many of them highly appreciated in Norway. However, some Northern Norwegian historians and ethnopoliticians have criticized Paulaharju and played down the significance of his documentation. He is said to be descriptive and non-academic, and even not reliable. He has also been regarded as a pan-Finnish activist in the 1930s.

In her latest article (1998) Olsen discusses the negative critique as well as Paulaharju's role as an ethnographer and a popular author in the national climate of 1920s and 1930s. She also argues that Paulaharju is an important source for Norwegian cultural research, in particular as the pre-war sources on everyday life and history in Northern Norway are scarce. Therefore researchers should not ignore the huge primary material in archives of Finland. In her opinion criticism of Paulaharju's fieldwork methods and the archive material must be based on analysis and interpretations of his primary sources, and not on his imagined political-ideological platform.

At the end of this review I would like to add some critical comments about the layout of the book, even though I understand that the editor has his reasons for his choice. The articles are published in their original layout as a facsimile edition, which means there are a variety of different fonts and font sizes used as well as different page layouts in this book. This makes the visual layout incoherent and confused.

Some of the illustrations, photos, maps and drawings have been originally published in different articles. Now some of them are reproduced twice or even three times in this book. For example the map of Finnish dialect regions comes out on three pages (94, 192 and 233), the map of Finnish settlements in Northern Norway in the 1880s can be found on two different pages (89 and 167) as well as the map of Paulaharju's travels (64 and 273). There are also some duplicates of some statistical diagrams and photos.

The selected articles are arranged in chronological order ranging from 1971 to 2002. This choice has obviously been convenient for the editor, and the reader gets a survey of the development of Olsen's writing. However, thematically related articles are now scattered throughout the book. Editing the volume by harmonizing the layout and by cutting down the overlapping parts and interconnecting the articles thematically would have made the book a more complete whole.

J. F. Campbell also made pencil drawings and watercolors on his journeys. While working on Campbell's travel journals in the National Library of Scotland Olsen discovered a drawing of a Finnish girl whom Campbell had met while traveling from the coast of Finnmark to lake Inari in Finland. It turned out that this girl, Anna, was a maid at the house of Venke Åsheim Olsen's maternal ancestors, where Campbell stayed while in Neiden in August 1865. Now the delicate pencil sketch of Anna is the front cover picture of the book.

Marjut Anttonen, Turku

Places in Europe

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Steder i Europa – omstridte byer, grænser og regioner. Århus universitetsforlag, Århus 2005. 305 pp. ISBN 87-7934-209-4.

■ Niels Kayser Nielsen at the University of Århus, Denmark, has published a wide-ranging book whose emphasis is on some specific places in northern and eastern Europe which have, for various reasons, been under dispute through the course of history and up to our own day. Both conflicts and the solutions of conflicts have left their effects. The aspect of space and a comparative perspective are conspicuous features of this book. Space is an abstract concept while the places themselves are not only specific and unique, but also variable. The location of the selected places has been in relationship to national borders, several

of which have been altered in the fullness of time. Fundamental discussions about different types of borders and the extent of their accessibility are thus of vital interest for the author. Ethnic, national, military, religious, and social factors have had different degrees of importance in connection with the conflicts at these various places. The use of history and the question of cultural heritage, historical construction and the production of memories then become other essential objects of study. Kayser Nielsen has not conducted his own field investigations in the majority of the selected places he discusses, but has instead been able to utilise other scholars' work about the various places and the different regions. His own investigations have mostly been conducted in Denmark, something that is especially noticeable in one of the chapters. He strikes a very personal note in those chapters in which he discusses events and experiences made during his own family's holiday visits to the west coast of Denmark and in the Finnish region of Ostrobothnia which is his wife's birthplace.

The first example of a disputed place is the city of Vilnius, the present capital of Lithuania, which has an extremely varied ethnical and national historical background. The city was first made capital of Lithuania in 1323 and has since been under Russian, German, Polish and then Soviet supremacy until the time of the latest liberation in 1991. Vilnius belonged to Poland, for example, during the inter-war years between 1921 and 1939, at which time Kaunas was the capital of Lithuania. Vilnius then became part of the newly established Soviet Republic of Lithuania. The Russians deported the great majority of the Polish inhabitants to Siberia and Poland. Later on during World War II, the Germans, who exterminated 90% of the city's Jewish population, occupied Vilnius. Both Lithuanians and Russians moved into Vilnius to replace the Poles and the Jews. The city thus experienced an entirely different population structure.

The second example of a disputed place has to do with the city of Przemysl whose population numbers some 70 000 people. It lies in western Galicia in the southeastern corner of Poland near the present Polish-Ukrainian border. An ethnic and religious boundary runs here between the Ukrainians of the Greek-Orthodox faith and the Roman-Catholic Poles, and this difference has led to a number of historical conflicts. In addition, Przemysl came to lie very close to the political and military borderline dividing the USSR and Germany after Stalin and Hitler had partitioned Poland in 1939. Both sides then conducted an atrocious ethnic purge of the Polish and Jewish populations in this border region. In 1947, the communists forced the approximately 200 000 Ukrainians still living in western Galicia to move to outlying parts of Poland.

The third disputed city is Cluj in Transylvania in the western part of what is now Romania. This is an important example for the study of the use of history among an ethnically mixed population. Transylvania belonged to Hungary until 1920, but many Rumanians had lived in the area even previous to this year. During the communist era, which lasted until 1989, Ceausescu claimed that Romania's oldest history proved that Cluj and Transylvania were Romanian. Opinions of this kind have been maintained even after the communist era. This has led to a continuation of the political antagonism with which the Hungarians in the region are regarded. Their view of history is quite the opposite in that they assert the significance of the area's Hungarian heritage.

The fourth example deals with the city of Viborg in present-day Russian Karelia near the Finnish-Russian border. In the course of history four population groups have lived here side by side, that is to say, the Finns, the Russians, the Swedes and the Germans. As a result of the important treaty of Nöteborg in 1323, Viborg came to lie on the Swedish side of the border. In accordance with the treaty of Nystad in 1721, Sweden relinquished the entire Karelian peninsula, including Viborg, to Russia. From 1812 and until Finland's independence in 1917, Viborg belonged to autonomous Finnish Archduchy under the Russian tsar. The region became Finnish in 1917, but the population was still ethnically mixed even if the proportion of Finns had increased markedly during the 1800s. The Finnish, Russian, Swedish and German languages were still spoken, and many inhabitants could understand all four of them. Any inner conflicts between the different groups of people in the city do not appear to have taken place. Viborg became a Soviet city as a result of the peace treaty after World War II.

National borders can be studied according to the aspects of openness/agreement or distantness/disagreement. Kayser Nielsen has chosen the German-Danish border as an example of openness across which countless cross-border contacts have been established, especially after the signing of the peace treaty of Bonn in 1955. The post-1918 Finnish-Russian border

is an example of distantness. This border also used to be far more open with, for example, considerable numbers of kinship and trade contacts.

Places can also come under dispute because of the demands of national military forces for space for their manoeuvres. This can lead to serious conflicts, not only with the local populace, but also with the owners of summer homes who can have visited the area for many years. Such conflicts involve considerations of economical, emotional and aesthetic interests which cannot easily be replaced. They can also threaten environmental protection and tourist interests. The protesters' sentiments concerning this space are in marked contrast to those of the military forces. Central powers oppose local efforts, the centre is against the periphery, and strength is brought to bear against powerlessness. Kayser Nielsen exemplifies such conflicts by discussing an expropriation case that affected several rural communities in Danish Jutland during the 1960s. The author bases this chapter on his own investigations in the form of archival studies and interviews. This is apparent in both the more thorough presentation of empirical data than in the other chapters and also in the many quotations that are otherwise absent in his presentation. In addition, he very obviously sides with the local inhabitants and against the State's autocratic attitude. He writes in this context of "unusually cynical, manipulative and nonchalant conduct on the part of the Danish state. The expropriation is one of the worst infringements on a local populace in Denmark since World War II. That reason alone makes it necessary that light be shed on this case" (p. 196). A statement of this kind is of interest, both on principle and as a matter of scholarly ethics. One might discuss whether or not the author can have overreached himself with this categorical declaration.

Nationalism does not necessarily refer to entire nation-states, but can also apply to provinces within the nation in their context of being national symbols. The author has devoted a chapter to the question of how this kind of nationalistic spatial dimension was expressed in Scandinavia during the inter-war years and especially during the 1930s. In Sweden's case, this has to do with the annual cross-country skiing race, *Vasaloppet*, in Dalarna province. In such cases, nature becomes a space in which the entire population, at least on the conceptual level, is encouraged to go outdoors and exercise themselves and enjoy the fresh air and lovely scenery. This chapter has a different character than the others in the book because it lacks the perspective of conflict in the form of "disputed places". Instead, it is concerned with a more kind form of nationalism reaching from the centre and out towards the regions.

The EU can also turn to and have benefit of regions within the borders of an area. The author illustrates this in a chapter showing how regional and national foods are used to strengthen and market the EU. This became of current interest following the treaty of Maastricht in 1992 which celebrated the importance of cultural heritage in EU policies. In 1998 a European network, the Regional Culinary Heritage, was established with funds granted by the EU in cooperation with the involved regions.

As a general conclusion concerning this book, it can be said that the strength of the author's presentation lies not in his own in-depth studies, but rather in his comparative analyses. These have been conducted in a praiseworthy manner and have obvious relevance for comparative ethnology in Scandinavia with its emphasis on the rest of Europe, as well as for current cultural research on national borders in Europe. One critical comment concerns the structure of the book. A concentration on "disputed places" and a comparison between them in accordance with the book's subheading would have been an advantage. It is in these chapters that one finds the book's greatest and ultimate value.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Danishness as a Root Metaphor in Music

Musik og danskhed. Fem faglige bidrag til debatten om nationalitet. Jens Henrik Koudal (ed.). C.A. Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen 2005. 129 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7876-399-1.

■ What does a concept such as Danishness in music actually mean? Is it at all possible to talk about such a thing as Danish music? What is specifically Danish about it? Is it a cultural and social construction or an observable fact? These questions are put forward and answered in various ways in an interesting little volume written by five scholars with a slightly varied disciplinary background, in music, history, art and cultural studies. What the five articles in the book show is that Danishness is a very complex, almost amorphous concept, which, in comparison to the more neutral sounding nationalism represents an

extension and a development, a specification of that general concept. I think that it is possible to speak of Danishness as a composite concept open to influences from ideologies and mentalities over time. This is also shown in the three first articles of the book, which have a fairly descriptive character. For a reader not so well informed about Danish musical history this builds up an interesting and highly informative exposition which puts the concepts of music and Danishness into a discursive frame where general history and a more specific musical ethnography function as prisms through which one can look at certain musical occurrences or phases and learn something about their specifics and generalities.

In this kind of historical setting, Danish musical history and Danishness seem to be rooted in ideologies in time which inform a complex semiotic play in the field of music, viewed as a social and cultural representation and a presentation of Danishness. Especially intriguing, as shown both in the introduction of the book and in music historian Heinrich W. Schwab's article about the music of the Danish golden age (1800–1850), is the fact that Danish nationalism in music to begin with had a strong connection to what might be called a cosmopolitan nationalism. A nationally rooted cosmopolitanism could somewhat paradoxically be called a direct result of eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophy, which in the case of Danish musical history occurred in the form of a cosmopolitan nationality movement among the royal conductors of that century, e.g. the German J. A. P. Schultz, who noted in 1789 that up to that point he had been a German in Germany but now wanted to become a Dane in Denmark. This meant, as Schwab writes, that one's fatherland was the country in which one lived well, i.e. where, descent and place of birth notwithstanding, a person lived as a productive citizen and as a loyal subject.

As Schwab demonstrates, this cosmopolitan nationalism was challenged around 1789 by another form of nationalism, which in Denmark occurred in conjunction with a feud about the staging of Baggesen and Kunzen's opera *Holger Danske* at the Royal Danish Theatre. Here a national romantic view started to crystallize, as the concepts of nation and citizen were connected to place of birth, language and history, a view derived from Herder and his concept of *Volksgeist*. The case of *Holger Danske* is a literary feud that degenerated into a conflict about Danishness and Germanness and resulted in severe strains on the Danish-Norwegian-German national construction, a process that continued during the nineteenth century with the Napoleonic Wars and Denmark's loss of Norway in 1814.

But one need not go any further into the historical agenda of this book. Instead one is justified in putting forward a couple of questions of a more general nature concerning concepts of Danishness and music, since this is, according to the book's title, the central question which the book tries to answer in various ways.

Confronting these texts, it is plausible to read Danishness as a root metaphor or a force field which are given different meanings in various times. To use a late modern scientific vocabulary, Danishness can be seen as socially and culturally constructed in a field in which several factors converged: questions of mentality, of social and cultural development (in fields such as education, urbanity, industrialization, technology and the like). As to the question of Danishness in music, it is interesting to note that there seems to be a deep, long-term connection of Danishness with something called the Nordic tone, and also with certain psychologizing adjectives.

As to the question of the Nordic tone, this is strongly linked to the national romantic ideology and era of the nineteenth century. But what is this Nordic tone? Can it be substantiated, fixed in some way? Is there a specific Nordic tonal language used in connection with Danish music that utilizes e.g. specific scales or a minor/major scale construction? That could up to a point be the case but this is not made totally clear in these texts. Schwab notes that some music scholars call the whole notion of a Nordic tone a pure fiction, since there are no discreet elements which can be distinguished as specifically Nordic. Instead, the Nordic tone phenomenon is a phenomenon of reception that is a question of how the music was received by the public, critics etc. The Nordic tone is not derived from some factual, existing folk-culture phenomenon but gets its relevance from the public, the critics.

One can also point out that neither Danishness in music nor a specific Northern tone can be derived from any specific national musical genres of a type that is to be found in several other countries. To give some drastic examples: Portuguese fado, Andalusian flamenco or Argentinean tango (or folk musical equivalents such as Swedish polska or hambo). Nor is there in existing Danish musical traditions any

particular musical instrument, other than the horn of the Bronze Age, which could help define a musical Danishness. This in contrast to e.g. the Swedish emblematic folk instrument *nyckelharpa*, the Norwegian *hardangerfela* or the Finnish *kantele*. This means that the abstractness and fictiveness of the conception of a Nordic tone in Danish musical history are underlined. But from the point of view of reception history this is no great problem.

As to the psychologizing way of describing Danishness, the volume demonstrates that the concept is connected to qualities of simplicity, ordinariness, plainness and relative optimism, also in an earlier phase to fighting spirit.

An important topic discussed in the book concerns the question of Danishness in relation to, on the one hand, vocal music, on the other, instrumental music. When seen in this perspective the topic of the Nordic tone, instead of being a unified field, is in the Danish case quite different from the developments in two other Scandinavian countries, namely Sweden and Norway. Instrumental folk music suits the Danish case in the newly developed nineteenth-century Danish culture quite badly, music historian Jens Henrik Koudal writes. The melodies used were not especially old, they had no specific characteristics that distinguished them from German or Swedish-Norwegian melodies, there were no distinctively Danish musical instruments left. Old peasant instruments such as the bagpipe and the hurdy-gurdy and their repertoires had vanished from Denmark in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Koudal notes.

As to vocal music, Kirsten Sassen Bak writes in her survey of Danish community singing that the importance and strength of this kind of singing is pronounced in comparison to the Norwegian and Swedish neighbours. When musicians in jazz and popular music create fantasies on popular instrumental melodies in Denmark this is often done with melodies taken from the communal singing traditions whereas in Sweden and in Norway musicians tend to choose folk melodies, i.e. melodies which are well known in the popular instrumental music repertoire.

Theoretically speaking, the texts generally play it rather safe. This means that the authors, with their great knowledge of the subject matter, are so "inside" their source material that it seems that there is no room for any far-reaching theoretical discussions concerning alternative views and interpretations of the processes under scrutiny. The main theoretical frame used in these essays is the productive one put forward by Benedict Anderson on imagined communities, i.e. communities constructed through media of various types, such as morning papers or the pulpit, later on also radio and television. Post-modern accents concerning the evaluation of music history, e.g. a cultural semiotic inquiry about metaphoricity in lines with work done by Hayden White, are absent from these papers.

An article whose subject matter lies pretty close to the field of interest of this reviewer is the one written by Annemette Kirkegaard. The text is an exposition of Danishness and a Danish tone in popular music. It is quite fascinating to read about rock music in a neighbouring country, a musical history which, despite the geographical vicinity, is not very well known in countries such as Finland. On the other hand it is possible to comprehend quite a lot about the developments described here, because there are several parallels between the rock history of the different Nordic countries. Reading about Danish rock and pop history thus means moving through a landscape that is both familiar and unknown. One could say that Denmark, concerning the "geopolitics" of popular music, is situated somewhere between Finland and the Anglo-American cultural field, slightly less peripheral than Finland, but perhaps a little bit more peripheral than Sweden. Or to put it another way, it seems that the popular music history of Denmark is more informed by different quarters than is the case with Sweden. Influences from the continent seem to be more important in Denmark than in Sweden.

Still it is not difficult to see that the development of rock in Denmark resembles the histories written in this field in the other Nordic countries as well. The beat music that spread in the sixties like a prairie fire in the Northern countries, especially among young men from the working class (rock music was heavily gender-marked from the start), in Denmark resulted in something called *pigtråd* (barbed wire) or *pigtrådsmusik*. Somewhat ironically, Kirkegaard seems to be so immersed in Danish rock history that she claims that the concept of *pigtråd* is quite specific to Denmark. A look to the north-east would have revealed that this is not quite the case, since the early instrumental rock music in Finland has a name that is a semiotic close cousin to the Danish one. This kind of music is called *rautalanka* in Finnish, which means iron wire.

Although rock turned its back on the older types of evergreens and communal singing, one can clearly see that in several countries it also took parts of these traditions and used them in more or less ironic ways. This can be seen in Denmark, Sweden and Finland (the same probably holds true for Norway and Iceland as well). A Danish example of this tendency to make rock out of older pop forms is Kjeld and the Donkeys' record of the old pop song *Ved Landsbyens gadekær*, which became a huge hit in Denmark. A corresponding example from Sweden is The Spotnicks' version of the old folk song *Alpens ros*, while in Finnish *rautalanka* music there is a whole repertoire of older Russian or pseudo-Russian romantic tunes, played by groups such as The Sounds (Emma and Mandchurian Beat being the best known of these tunes). The remark about *pigtråd* should not remove the fact that Kirkegaard's overview of Danishness in popular music is both a well informed and a nicely written survey.

The theoretically most challenging and interesting of the texts in this collection is the last one, Kirsten Sas Bak's take on communal singing and Danishness. There are some aspects of this particular text that are worth pondering on.

Firstly Bak shows that the performative mode, the fact that the music is created at particular instances, with particular aims, is a characteristic trait of Danish communal singing. She also shows that a clear dichotomy exists in Danish communal singing history, not least in the nineteenth century, in the form of two main lines of communal singing competing as to their centrality among the Danish singing public. On the one hand, there is a conservatively oriented bourgeois tradition in the capital and in the provincial towns that agrees with the idea of the official Danish school system, a tradition Bak defines as mainly non-Grundtvigian. This tradition stems from a bourgeois civic society and singing, the Denmark of free associations as she calls it, with a bourgeois-national repertoire learned in public school.

This tradition, in which the fighting spirit of Danishness also has a place and can be seen as a heritage from the time when Danishness was construed as a counterpoint to Germanness is compared in Bak's analysis to the Grundtvigian singing tradition which forms a cultural-political alternative to the bourgeois tradition. The contents of Grundtvigian singing are derived from Grundtvig's poetical oeuvre with its specific universe of Danishness, mother tongue, enlightenment of the people, *Volksgeist*, woman and love, education for life, mythology, history, biblical history, as Bak enumerates these elements, and the last of these floating over into church hymns proper. These two main lines, she notes, are not exact opposites to one another concerning the melodies but they function antithetically regarding ideology and style. The Grundtvigian singing tradition harks back to a diversified mode of singing among the peasantry, while the bourgeois cultural groups adapted art musical ideals learned from the official school system.

To broaden the picture, perhaps these historical tensions, between the Grundtvigian and the bourgeois aesthetic and ideological ideals, between the Danish and the German cultural influences in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and between Danish and Anglo-American influences during the rock era, form some of the most rewarding points of perspectivization when one is studying Danishness and music.

The fact that, as Bak notes, melodies are quite tolerant can start a process of further pondering on this kind of tolerance, often in quite stark contrast to the intolerance shown by those who use these melodies. The fact that an old drinking song from a gentlemen's club in eighteenth-century London has become a national anthem of "the American Empire" (USA), is but one example of this kind of tolerance. Bak mentions another example of this same tendency, a melody which actually is Swedish in origin, Otto Lindblad's *Vintern rasat ut* (*Längtan till landet*), which in Denmark has been used as a marching melody celebrating the Danish fatherland, as a weapon in the fight of the social democrats for an eight-hour working day and as a song used by the Danish watchmakers' union.

This volume hardly represents the last word in the discussion going on today about root metaphors such as Danishness, Finnishness or Swedishness in various fields (such as music, art, popular music). What happens to the concept of Danishness when one moves closer to the peripheries, towards what is less typical, less collectively informed, more odd, peripheral or transgressive? How does the theme of this book work, to take just one example, in relation to a highly idiosyncratic artist such as Danish cabaret singer Irma Victoria? For questions of this kind it is not easy to find clues in this volume.

As a whole the collection lives up quite well to the intention declared in the introduction, namely to open the eyes and ears of the reader to surprising

connections or lack of connections between music, language, literature and Danishness. The fact that the layout of the book is very elegant is an extra bonus to an already impressive volume.
Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Everyday Life

Everyday Life and Cultural Patterns. International Festschrift for Elle Vunder. Ene Kõresaar and Art Leete (eds.). Studies in Folk Culture 3. Tartu University Press, Tartu 2004. 328 pp. Ill. ISBN 9985-56-978-4.

■ This collection of essays is dedicated to Professor Elle Vunder, a leading exponent of Estonian ethnology, and comprises contributions by colleagues, friends and former students from several European countries. As is customary with a Festschrift, the topics discussed cover the range of her research interests, which is impressively broad. Following the editors' introduction, the volume presents sixteen essays, divided into four parts that reflect the broad themes of Elle Vunder's oeuvre: Everyday Life of Tradition; Culture and Memory Patterns; Interpretations in Everyday Life; and, Opening Perspectives.

Bo Lönnqvist opens the collection with a discussion of Estonia's contemporary revival of interest in the manor culture, which emphasises the country's roots in the German cultural circle and its distinction from Russian culture, identifying the theme of memory and forgetting as a key field of study for European ethnology today. This issue of the interplay between 'memory and oblivion', as he describes it, runs as a common thread through most of the essays. Adding a museological dimension, Nils-Arvid Bringéus examines the protection of wooden buildings in Sweden. The guild traditions and the impact of journeying craftsmen on the dissemination of European styles, fashions, tastes and ideologies in Hungarian culture is considered by Attila Paládi-Kovács. Indigenous responses to modernisation policies, especially with regard to hygiene and housing, are discussed by Art Leete with reference to peasants in the northern Soviet Union. The first part concludes with Outi Tuomi-Nikula's review of contemporary interpretations of traditional handicrafts in Finland, which ends with a call for a revised terminology to capture continuities and changes in the process of creating 'traditional products'.

Ethnology has long been associated with, if not entirely in charge of, recording and preserving the past, and thus providing a basis for nostalgia for a past that perhaps never quite was. Pirjo Korkiakangas analyses conceptualisations of everyday life in Finnish ethnology, and identifies methodological issues connected with these. Tiiu Jaago's piece on popular history, comparing two Estonian narratives of place, extends this examination to the sphere of oral traditions. This focus is elaborated further by Ene Kõresaar with reference to a 'culture of rupture' in Estonian narratives of the Stalinist period.

Turning attention to interpretations of everyday life, Klaus Roth looks at culinary practices in mixed marriages, raising issues of power balance and cultural boundaries. A different set and hierarchy of boundaries in both the vertical and the horizontal plane is the subject of Ilmari Versterinen's essay on the structuring of space and place that facilitates encounters with the ancestors in a Japanese village. Based on fieldwork in Norway and Sweden, Anders Gustavsson investigates ritual practices associated with fatal accidents and other instances of unexpected death. Pekka Leimu's somewhat tongue-in-cheek contribution on 'the origin of the Turku species' raises the issues of race in relation to culture, thus invoking not a few ghosts from a less than comfortable ethnological past.

The final four essays concentrate on the development of ethnology in different settings. Ülo Valk reviews the evolution of Estonian folkloristics during the 19th and early 20th centuries, showing how the ideological focus on the peasantry still exerts a strong grip on the subject, despite its long-established comparative approach and the more broadly-based perspective on folk culture emerging in recent years. Discussing the *Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires* between the World Wars, Bjarne Rogan identifies the quest for a comparative research programme and a common theoretical framework, both concerns that transcend the strongly national foundations of the discipline, as key motivations for international collaboration in European ethnology during that period. The emphasis on comparison – and therefore necessarily contextualisation – is continued by Anu Kannike, who reflects on the 'crisis of representation' with particular reference to changing museum practice. Marianne Gullestad, writing from a Norwegian vantage point, ponders the role of ethnologists as public intellectuals, picking up

the 'crisis of representation' issue in relation to the dilemmas of ethnographic fieldwork.

The *Festschrift* is a notoriously difficult genre to evaluate, as the usual criteria, such as topical coherence or the progressive development of arguments, almost by definition cannot, and should not be applied. However, with the present volume, the authors and editors have succeeded in composing a collection with a sufficiently strong common thread and a gradually unfolding, multi-stranded argument about the past, present, and future prospects of ethnology, not just in Estonia, but in Europe. The editing could have been more thorough and would, at the very least, have benefited from technicalities like a spelling and grammar check, but that should not distract unduly from this interesting and thought-provoking collection.

Ullrich Kockel, Derry

A Year's Museum Work

Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 2004. Carsten U. Larsen & Bente Gammeltoft (eds.). The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen 2004. 231 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7602-035-5.

■ Every year the National Museum of Denmark presents a book on the activities of the year. The declared intention of the book, called *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, is to present results achieved in the areas that are the *raison d'être* of the National Museum: the preservation, interpretation and presentation of the cultural history of Denmark. Prehistory, ethnography, churches and conservation are areas of activity.

The layout of the book is very attractive, with photographs and other illustrations, most of them in colour. The perspective is "monumental", as monuments of the past such as megaliths and barrows, churches and manors form a large part of the area of study. The focus on material culture and decay is also obvious, that is, the conservation perspective.

Each article has some references, not many, but I think it is a good thing. Perhaps it could have been formulated as suggestions for "further reading" if the purpose is to make the interested reader more aware of other publications and phenomena (books, exhibitions, Internet) on the same theme.

In thirteen articles such different themes as Stone Age graves and conservation of rainsuits are discussed. Archaeology, ethnology/ethnography, art history, church history and conservation are some of the main ingredients in the daily work of the museum. The articles are written in Danish and each article is provided with an English summary of 1–2 pages, and the illustration captions are also translated into English. This is useful for the foreign reader.

Yearbooks very often have a disparate character. It is not always easy to find the connecting theme. That is the case here too. The texts are based on themes arising during a year at the museum. The texts are either global or local, all with some connection to Danish phenomena. If things from other parts of the world are discussed, they often have some kind of connection to Denmark, as colonial phenomena or pieces of art owned by the museum that travel to other countries, perhaps where they originally came from.

It is nevertheless possible to classify the articles thematically as follows. Some have an archaeological theme, like "Skelhøj – A barrow construction from the Early Bronze Age", "Farms and fields in Southern Jutland during the Iron Age" and "The passage grave Birkehøj: The restoration of a 5000-year-old megalithic tomb". Some articles have to do with conservation: "Preservation of waterproof clothing" and "Indoor climate and preservation in churches". Finally, some of the articles combine a Danish and an international perspective, such as "An altar for Zeus: Oracles and prophecies in Antiquity", "With Albert Eckhout in Brazil" and "Views of race and class in the Danish West Indies: Danish attitudes to West Indian Coal-carriers, 1890–1917".

My intention here is to highlight some of the articles I found especially interesting.

"Skelhøj – A barrow construction from the Early Bronze Age" by Mads Kähler Holst, Marianne Rasmussen and Henrik Breuning-Madsen, is a methodologically interesting article, focusing on the construction of a Bronze Age barrow. Earth becomes interesting indeed! Not everything in archaeology needs to be glittering gold; there is a great fascination in a well-preserved glittering dung beetle dated to the Bronze Age. The only question that is left for the reader to guess is the burial: wasn't it found, or what? Somewhere it is mentioned that the barrow was robbed in the nineteenth century, was everything lost then? The article focuses on the barrow as a building instead as of a grave, which is unusual. But together with the pictures of the excavation it really becomes clear how people built this monument. It is very interesting and new information.

One rather interesting article is about "Preservation of waterproof clothing: New challenges in textile conservation" by Irene Skals and Yvonne Shashoua. They discuss the problem of conserving primarily military uniforms such as raincoats, etc. The waterproof materials turn out to deteriorate relatively quickly, and new methods are tested to make the preservation better. The conservationists seem to have arrived at a solution with the aid of different chemical methods. The text actually makes the reader a little desperate about deterioration as a phenomenon – in this perspective there are many things waiting to be preserved before it is too late.

An interesting article on "The many voyages of the Nydam Ship", written by Flemming Rieck, tells us about how this ship was used both in the Roman Iron Age, the period to which it is dated, and in more recent times, from the excavation of the ship in 1863 until today. For a year, from May 2003 until March 2004 the Nydam ship was shown at the National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark. Usually this ship is "at home" in Germany, Schloss Gottorp in Schleswig. The Nydam ship has had anything but a calm voyage until today. It is very relevant here to discuss the "life history" of this ship since it has travelled around and come to mean a lot to people apparently in the Iron Age and also in more recent times in both Germany and Denmark.

It is a fascinating story that is told. During the Roman Iron Age, ca. 220–475 AD, some boat offerings were performed in the Nydam Bog. In 1863 the ship was excavated by the Danish archaeologist Conrad Engelhardt and his team. In connection with the war between Denmark and Germany in 1864 Engelhardt tried to move the ship to Copenhagen. This was the Nydam ship's first voyage since the Roman Iron Age, but the ship only reached Korsør. The peace treaty of 1864 dictated that the ship and the finds from the Nydam bog were to be brought to Germany. The boat was then first exhibited in Flensburg but was soon moved to the German city of Kiel. During the Second World War the ship was moved to a barge hidden at a place in Mölln for five years. Then it was moved to Schleswig and Schloss Gottorp in 1947 and has been there since then, with a short break as mentioned in the years 2003–4 for a visit to Copenhagen. Who could have believed that this sacrificed ship would later travel around so much?

In Copenhagen the ship was exhibited in connection with the exhibition "The Spoils of Victory: The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire". Now it is prepared for the finds from the Thorsbjerg bog (now in German territory) in the National Museum to be exhibited together with the Nydam ship in Schleswig. The connections between Germany and Denmark are seen to be very important and a result of good cooperation between the former enemies. A joint research project is also formulated connected to the bog finds in the region during the Roman Iron Age.

In the article "Topographical embroidery: Small pictures from the Golden Age" written by Mona Rasmussen we can take part in a rather exclusive activity from the beginning of the nineteenth century in Denmark. It is embroidery done according to copperplate engravings, etchings and aquatints from a certain period, by women, usually young, but in some cases even middle-aged. In a gender perspective this activity shows socially relevant evidence that these embroideries were seen as cultivating and gave the producer status as virtuous and conscientious. It is worth thinking how male and female activities are valued today and how these activities reached out in the times when they were performed: their message, intended for mother-in-law, husband-to-be, relatives, friends?

Another story of things travelling around the world is told by Barbara Berlowicz and Espen Wæhle in their text "With Albert Eckhout in Brazil". It is a story of the paintings of the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Albert Eckhout. The paintings were packed and sent to Brazil in the years 2002–3. The paintings belong to the National Museum since the owner donated them to a Danish king after an expedition to Brazil in 1637–44. The article shows the same trend of museum things as "global heritage" as the Nydam ship, although more regionally, travelling around like people and thereby getting a lot of attention. Travel is a key word relating to our time, global perspectives, travelling across every border; museum things becoming global in a sense they never had before.

It is an unforeseen journey to read books like this. You cannot know beforehand what is going to catch your interest. It is both pleasing and annoying. A general objection I have is the details in some of the articles. A phenomenon can be described interestingly without going into too much detail, for example the name of the conservation chemicals (p. 50), or far too detailed information can be given, for example about when particular embroideries were made (p. 191).

Another reflection is that it is rather depressing to read about the impossible struggle to preserve everything, when decay is seen as something very bad. The preservation work is really a Sisyphean task and for what purpose? Perhaps we as humans are afraid of the personal as well as material decay around us and we therefore are so engaged in preserving. Our connection with the past is strongly connected with the doom of decay, and this fact becomes extremely obvious in the work of a large museum.
Bodil Petersson, Lund

Towards an Ethnology of Magic and Imagination?

Magic, Culture and the New Economy. Orvar Löfgren & Robert Willim (eds.). Berg, Oxford & New York 2005. 145 pp. ISBN 978-184520-090-9.

■ A well known hit from the sixties, by the Lovin' Spoonful, asks the following question: "Do you believe in magic?" And the answer to the question is, in the world of pop: "I'll tell you about the magic, and it'll free your soul / But it's like trying to tell a stranger 'bout rock and roll.".

In a new collection of ethnological texts dealing with a period that has been christened The New Economy (the crazy years of 1996–2000) when an experience-oriented, strongly innovative and optimistic economy had its boom years, a group of Nordic ethnological researchers led by Orvar Löfgren and Robert Willim (editors of the book) introduce magic as a central metaphor for an understanding of this epoch – and also of some earlier ones. The idea of using the concept of magic, and more specifically something Orvar Löfgren describes as a Mandrake economy, after the cartoon figure Mandrake the Magician, created by the American Lee Falk in the 1920s, is daring. But the metaphor proves to be quite productive and indeed a stroke of genius. This book is then a fine introduction to a whole new world of something one could name a late modern or postmodern ethnology which this concept of magic/Mandrake invites the reader to ponder on.

Introducing a conceptual metaphor of the type exemplified by Mandrake, a figure known for his illusions, but also for his ability to hypnotize an audience, and one of the first gentleman superheroes in the world of comics, makes these ethnographic studies emerge in quite new and unknown territory with certain special qualities. What happens then is that the Mandrake concept makes the whole modern ethnographic research tradition oscillate. This does not mean that materiality and praxis, two of the cornerstones of solid ethnographic work, are thrown out with the bathwater. They are still there but are made less obvious, less surefooted, more processual, less static.

At the same time the central concept in the book implies a connection back to classic anthropology, especially to Marcel Mauss and his theories concerning magic. Yet there is no extensive discussion of the epistemological roots of this tradition, of the place of magic in anthropology and ethnology. The volume is more of an ad-hoc adaptation of various concepts and ideas, a little bit like when blues or jazz musicians use different musical recipes available in other musical areas to expand their musical knowledge. To find more elaborate discussions on the theoretical implications of magic in today's anthropology and ethnology one can go to, e.g., Vincent Crapanzano (his essay "The Moment of Prestidigitation: Magic, Illusion and Mana in the Thought of Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss", in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, 1995) or, if one wants to dig deeper, to Michael Taussig, who has written extensively from the point of view of magic.

The other thing that happens when magic is introduced into cultural analysis is that one wanders off into another realm of ethnology than the one well known in the Nordic countries (which incidentally is one in which Orvar Löfgren has had quite a defining role!), this tradition being concerned with an ethnology of daily life, materiality, an ethnology of the small, trivial, but important things in life. Here one instead glides into ethnological questioning about fantasy, imagination, phenomenology, questions about the "mysteries of the world", about mind and body, soul and spirituality, what could be called sensing the world from both an individual and a collective point of view. Just as magic, according to the common knowledge base of anthropology, is situated on the margins of religion and technology, it also moves in a border area between the individual and the collective, something these texts highlight in quite fascinating ways. The question of universality vs. specificity is one of the most difficult ones as to an ethnological study of sensing, imagination, fantasy. The question often concerns being able to judge what is individually

and what is collectively constructed. This is also one of the key questions concerning magic.

With the concepts of magic and of Mandrake as central tools, the nine researchers attack a vast and complicated problematic. The idea of Mandrake/magic is clearly a very productive one, since a whole bundle of concepts and dualities immediately announce themselves on the research horizon. *Magic, Culture and the New Economy* then begins to function as a manual of sorts, not only about the New Economy, the Mandrake economy, but also – and this is perhaps even more interesting – about research angles and concepts which are useful in this kind of ethnological analysis. What you get then is a research focusing largely on metaphor, a study of its place in human thought and in human practices.

The central metaphor of Mandrake also points towards something of considerable interest in cultural analysis, and one of the most intricate questions here: the value of what could be called the cartoonish element, an adjective derived from cartoons, clearly. Why are cartoon figures such as Mandrake such effective conceptual metaphors in this kind of analytical work? The question is complex, but one answer would be that it has something to do with how contemporary culture functions, how it involves the use of strong metaphors such as Mandrake, Superman, Spiderman, aliens, Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse etc. These are all collective personages charged with powerful cultural meaning, resonance in the collective imagination. These cartoon figures are to be seen as personified myths in disguise, just as Mandrake is an archetype or prototype in disguise, a figure with a family resemblance to many other such figures, say James Bond, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Elvis, figures from the memory bank of modernity's and late modernity's popular, collective unconscious.

The kind of tool kit that Löfgren, Willim and their colleagues deliver is quite extensive. Some of the central concepts used are the dichotomies of stasis/flow, materiality/spirituality, tradition/innovation, hot/cool, freedom/slavery and slowing down/acceleration. A special problem concerns the use of metaphors in analytical work, when these same metaphors are also in wide circulation in more common discourses. Take for instance Orvar Löfgren's timely introduction to the cultural history of fashion and the cool/hot dichotomy he insists is central to an understanding of this history. His article on catwalking and coolhunting with its subtitle "on newness" raises this question. The great risk here is the jeopardy of being swallowed by the kind of advertising language with which the metaphorics in question is bound up through its history of usage. Löfgren is of course well aware of the dangers involved and is able to watch out for the pitfalls. In less experienced hands the risk of being sucked into the maelstrom of popular culture and journalism is daunting and the whole analytical enterprise might come to a standstill. This kind of metaphorical investigation, which to my mind comprises quite a rewarding and important contribution to today's cultural analysis, is reminiscent of being a geologist investigating the eruptions of volcanoes. Standing on top of such a volcano one is of course aware of the fact that it can begin to erupt at any time and deadly lava will pour forth from its crater.

What is also obvious is that this book represents different approaches and traditions in the field of ethnology, especially an ethnology of southern Sweden and Denmark, with at least two distinct poles of interest or traditions, one more sociological, "traditional", descriptive, the other more textual, theoretically inclined, speculative. Of these nine essays the ones by Lynn Åkesson, Karin Salomonsson and Håkan Jönsson to my mind represent the more "traditional" pole of the ethnological continuum, while those on the more speculative side would be the texts by Orvar Löfgren, Tom O'Dell and Per-Markku Ristilammi, and the afterword by Nigel Thrift. Somewhere in between we have Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon, Robert Willim and Maria Christersdotter, the last two being amongst the youngest researchers in the group. Of course none of these texts are strictly "traditional" and descriptive or strictly theoretical and speculative. But the tendencies seem clear enough.

As to those texts from the more traditional pole, the concepts of performance and performativity and especially Erving Goffman's theory of appearances and masks seem to be important. Closer to the more speculative pole, the research seems to be focusing more on a phenomenologically informed type of ethnography, with questions of spirituality, embodiment, and their combinations popping up all the time. It is, I think, in this latter school of thought that some of the most exciting ideas and concepts of this book are to be found.

Typical of the ambiguity of the concept of magic is that it positions itself in a border zone between the spiritual and the bodily realms. A couple of the most

intriguing texts here investigate these borderlines. This does not imply that the other essays do not hold up well. They do, but from my own perspective the study of "frontline" concepts like vaporware, aura, fetish, cloaking, Mandraking and stealth are especially promising.

After this general discussion of the book, a short critique of the separate essays.

In "Meditation, Magic and Spiritual Regeneration: Spas and the Mass Production of Serenity" Tom O'Dell describes two Swedish spas, with different backgrounds, one in the Stockholm area and the other on the Swedish west coast. What O'Dell shows is that there is a deep paradox between the practice of mass producing peace of mind, tranquillity, relaxation in these spas and the exploitation of workers going on at the same time, all these nimble hands massaging and mending the tired bodies and souls in the spa. This paradox, the almost burnt-out customers being taken care of by staff who are on the verge of burnout themselves, is a dominant feature of O'Dell's analysis.

Another thing that he shows is that the two facilities, though quite different in cultural orientation, one attributed an underlying Christian light/sun symbolism and the other with an Eastern/Japanese, philosophical, Zen-like leaning, both work in an area with marked spiritual components. At the same time part of the rhetoric connected to the spas describes the customers as some kind of human electromagnetic machines, i.e. batteries to be recharged by the spas. O'Dell's well-written and imaginative text raises a lot of questions and associations, from the age-old traditions of hot wells in Antiquity to holy shrines such as Lourdes to the commercialized "water temples" of today. A conclusion of his text could be that the spas are curiously situated in a cultural border zone between serenity and touristy kitsch.

Lynn Åkesson's rather short essay "Brokers in Biotech" describes a professional category which is situated at another crossroads. These persons are "technology brokers" who comprise the link between inventors of new biotechnology and companies who can use this knowledge to create compatible biotech products. Åkesson uses what is mainly a scheme taken from the ethnologist Erving Goffman, with three interrelated categories - net work, face work, trust work – to show how work which relies heavily on trust – or Mandraking – gives the brokers a chance to become wizards, alchemists in their area of operation. Åkesson's text applies, I would think, to many different branches working with a global/local perspective. An example of a sector where her findings could also apply is e.g. the marketing of new technology in the music business or in IT, where alchemists of this type are struggling to "break".

An interesting observation is that it is often easiest to find the central pieces of these kinds of "puzzles" or performative constructions in their initial phases. This evokes a documentary about a "wizard" in another business, Bob Dylan, as director Martin Scorsese depicts him in "No Direction Home", in which the viewer gets an opportunity to look into the cultural construction of this emblematic youth icon. Åkesson's rule also applies to the construction of Dylan and to Scorsese's documentary. It is Dylan's formative years and his early professional phase that we are shown in the film.

A fascinating text which to a large extent comprises of an outtake from a field diary is Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon's essay "Possessed by Enterprise: Values and Value-Creation in Mandrake Management". The text takes us to a tourist location in Mexico, on the Pacific Coast (incidentally in a North American context an area often seen as the ultimate escapist fantasy, as in the movie *Shankshaw Redemption*, based on a novella by Stephen King). In this "fantastic" place a large conference of both hot and cool players act out their dreams and their anxieties, frustrations. In the melting place of the conference one can note how these two concepts – hot and cool – tend to become fused in a way that makes it difficult to see where the transition from one to the other actually takes place, with hot initially marking trendiness, a novelty factor, while cool stands for a special kind of individualism, coupled to a particularly strong, untouchable appearance. Goldschmidt Salamon is very apt at describing the enthusiasms both literally and metaphorically which this group of global actors (management consultants and personal managers in international firms) experience at this conference in November 1998. The 24-hours-a-day notes of the researcher sketch an illustrious group of more or less naive enthusiasts, hard-boiled cynics and possessed romantics practising different shades of magic in a process where spiritual values are transformed into economic ones and perhaps also vice versa.

The guiding thought of the conference, as Goldschmidt Salamon reads it through her notebooks, is that some form of inner, personal liberation is thought

to occur in the first place, followed by a more collective feeling of liberation as a direct result of these individual emancipations. We are dealing here with phenomena such as New Age, coal-fire walking, the Celestine Prophesy, Potlatch, Eastern wisdom, in a soup which appears just as ambivalent as the best of Mandrake's illusionist tricks. A number of paradoxes emerge in the trails of this enthusiasm, this state of being existentially "high": romantic workaholism, spiritual quest companies, enthusiastic experiences on the edges of insanity and naivism.

In "Catwalking and Coolhunting" Orvar Löfgren demonstrates how the hunt for newness as it could be observed in the New Economy actually is rather old-fashioned. The roots of the search for newness lie further away temporally than one might hastily conclude. Löfgren traces some roots of the New Economy's obsession with newness in the creation of the Parisian haute couture phenomenon in the middle of the nineteenth century, with later adaptations of the cyclical newness formula in the car manufacturing industry and Hollywood, both in the early twentieth century. What Löfgren's broad historical perspective shows is above all that there is a close connection between the Mandrake mode and the movie industry, especially Hollywood, where different forms of staging both of the movies and of their stars are constitutive of the whole industry. Historical and aesthetic studies of the staging of movies both in general and of particular directors' movies, such as the films of Hitchcock, John Ford, Ingmar Bergman, Fellini etc. – all eminent Mandrake figures in their own right! – could be one of the next steps in the quite interesting and important research process which this volume is part of. The aim of such research is, to put it tentatively, to try to understand some of the cultural and social mechanisms to which we are all exposed, through intense mass-medialization. Löfgren's text, of which a shorter version has been published in *Kulturella perspektiv*, is especially interested in exploring what he calls kinaesthetic and thermal energies. He points towards a daunting bundle of future areas of research, questions of intensification/acceleration/retardation, cultura heating/cooling, radiation as a conceptual metaphor, the different transformative acts of the nervous kinaesthetic energy etc.

Maria Christersdotter describes in "Transformers: Hip Hotels and the Cultural Economics of Aura-production" how a business company in the IT economy, Pan Interactive, which manufactured video games, made its impression on the market and especially in connection with international trade fairs by way of a special concept involving the rental of a suite in some trendy boutique hotel in the vicinity of the fair. The company thus created both a business and a buzz around the concepts of aura, elegance, lifestyle, where this whole package so to speak could be used by the company's personnel as a form of cloak enhancing the person's image and self-confidence. What one gets here is some sort of corporate John Wayne or Madonna effect. With the aid of aura, glitter, lustre and kitsch, a playful but deeply serious framing of the company could take place, where the borderlines between the private and professional sectors, between high and low, were erased, at least temporarily.

Still the emphasis in this essay as in most of the other texts is on a combination of mass production and high-tech or highbrow values. Luckily there are also examples in the book which take note of more lowbrow aspects of this cultural economy. What one could wish for is perhaps a more marked interest in an expanding cultural field which somewhat paradoxically gained strength during these boom years, namely the flea markets, the second hand shops, the antiquarian shops, the whole culture of collecting, which, I think, should be seen as a significant part of the New Economy, an economy of desire, a desire of desire, as one of the contributors, Karin Salomonsson puts it.

In "Spectral Events: Attempts at Pattern Recognition" Per-Markku Ristilammi has written perhaps the most intriguing text of this highly enjoyable book. What makes Ristilammi's brand of ethnology so compelling, and also in this context quite different, is that he is busy studying elements of haunting, spectral events, what he calls the haunting of modernity. This he does by examining micro-ethnographies of events such as the building of the new bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö in the Öresund region. More specifically he explores two events connected to the event industry which this big building enterprise created. In both cases the visual artist Robert Wilson is a central resource person. The first event Ristilammi describes is a gathering of these "culture bridge builders" from Öresund at an old telegraph station in Long Island, New York, finding new ways of representing the region by using different art forms, the event being mastered by Wilson. The other case concerns an application of the special form of aesthetics associated with Wilson, made by a Danish architecture student,

Claus Jørgensen, in the form of an installation in an old sand silo in Brösarp, Skåne.

What Ristilammi manages to squeeze out of these two events is some rather complex and daring thoughts. He shows that what Wilson and his pupil Jørgensen are engaged in are the creations of achronic ("non-temporal") rhetorical spaces and moods. These are spaces which float around without definitively connecting to any certain time in a chronological sense, a form of cariology, so to speak. The staging takes the forms of austerity and dreaminess, of slowing down of pace, of bottling up tension and releasing it in outbursts of energy. Wilson's familiarity with Eastern meditative techniques and Japanese Noh drama comes as no surprise. Something called "the understated event" takes place in the sandmill installation where a Pantheon-like space is created with minimal means. According to Ristilammi, the key to understanding these mergings of art and management is to understand them as displaced temporalities downplayed hierarchies and informalizations. Ristilammi adds a slightly baffling note: "One important feature of Wilson's aesthetics has been the suggestion of temporality mixed with an utmost haunting notion of death. Wilson's aesthetic world mirrors a general trend within the New Economy, which is a sense of parallel temporalities, where the present, the past and the future intermingle to create a sense of time-space compression." The remark makes me think of the slowing-down exercises in humans, e.g. so-called freezes. One need not look any further than into the realm of popular culture and figures such as Elvis, Michael Jackson and Madonna to find striking parallels to the avant-garde aesthetics of Wilson.

A nice illustration of the symbolical power of slowing-down processes is offered by Robert Willim in his finely crafted article about a new automobile factory in the former German Democratic Republic, the factory being situated in the historically significant city of Dresden, in which Volkswagen has built a car factory conceptualized as a work of art, an exhibition hall or a museum, called Transparent Factory (Die Gläserne Manufaktur). In this factory the new prestige car of the company, Phaeton (meaning "the shining one", in Greek mythology the son of sun-god Helios, which Willim oddly enough fails to mention) is being built. Willim makes several interesting observations on a field trip to the factory. He notes that the construction of the factory as an exhibition hall shows the building process as a thing of beauty, elegance and sophistication, but that according to the Mandrake mode (what the right hand shows the public at the same time gives the left hand freedom to manipulate the viewers) nothing of the noisy factory work is shown to the viewers. This latter kind of work is performed in other places. It is only the carefully chosen and visually appealing stages of the car building process that are shown. And an additional class division occurs in the form of tourists on one hand and customers on the other. Being a customer of one of these cars gives the visitor access to more places on the premises than the ones open to the general public.

Willim also notes that the highbrow restaurant in the factory is often rejected by casual visitors in favour of a "cheap" beer cellar just outside the plant. On the other hand the visibility of the factory and its transparency in the city centre is constructed to highlight the historically important places of Dresden, such as the Frauenkirche, the Zwinger, the Semper Opera House, while the shabby and humble blocks of flats and the beer cellar are made invisible by the design through an operation that Willim calls window magic.

Another case of a rather successful form of Mandraking is presented by Håkan Jönsson in an article focusing on "The Dairy Counter in an Economy of Added Values", as he calls it. This is not a Land of Milk and Honey but one of Milk and Money, he states in a hilariously written text leaning over into a more sociologically defined terrain. But it is still a very interesting piece of research showing how this New Economy, seen from the angle of milk production in southern Sweden, creates bizarre paradoxes. One is that the nostalgic and romantic notions held by the counter culture of something primordial, real and authentic in food production only seem to have led to a larger *de facto* concentration of the food industry, to mergers which knock out small, independent milk-producing companies and give the big ones a chance to stage themselves as old-fashioned, rural, authentic and small, when in reality they are quite the opposite, high-tech, big and stylized. Especially paradoxical is the selling of milk these days through the iconology of the cow as an emblem of naturalness and whiteness. No more is the high-tech production of milk, with its standardization, pasteurization, sanitization processes likely to been seen on the milk bottles or in milk and other dairy commercials. After food scandals, mad cow disease and "Frankenstein-

food" the whole production line is made invisible, Jönsson notes.

In the final contribution Karin Salomonsson describes how the concept of Mandraking can be applied to changing labour market ethics. The mechanisms involved can at this point be rather well anticipated by the reader. They are called flexibility, adaptability, employability. Salomonsson describes how a new labour market situation, taking advantage of the Internet, creates applicants who function almost like entrepreneurs, selling their labour with epithets such as openness, playfulness, flexibility. Salomonsson rehearses the concept of life as a theatre or a stage in her description of the new labour market. The trick is nowadays to craft oneself, she writes, to make your life into a career construction, to be able to mingle professionally, to work almost as a stand-up comedian, applying some of those skills in your processes of job searching. What is fascinating about Salomonsson's text is above all the implications it holds, that the New Economy also creates a new kind of aestheticized, highly performative human being, with the needs of society today directly inscribed in the person's mind and body.

This leads rather nicely up to the afterword written by British geographer Nigel Thrift, who makes the case for something called neuropolitics, involving processes such as interospection (communicating knowledge of the internal surfaces of the body), proprioception (communicating knowledge of movement and consequent displacement of space and time), or some mix of the two. What is at stake here, according to Thrift, is the construction of a human "sensorium", which can register some faint and fleeting things which dissipate and are blown away by events they cannot surmount, as he puts it. These kinds of senses in Thrift's view only register for a while, often as a hardly noticed background, and then fade away, having produced some movement, some sensation, some effect. As Thrift himself notes, this kind of magic is scarcely new. But what is perhaps new in the New Cultural Economy, he adds, is a kind of business magic, instilling confidence that something will happen which might add value. This type of magic then, called engineering, positioned somewhere between science and art, fact and fiction, belief and trickery, is what this highly readable and enjoyable collection of essays is all about.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Teaching Female Textile Craft

Marianne Marcusdotter, "Med vackra inslag pryd din lefnads väf!" Den kvinnliga textila slöjden på folkhögskolorna 1873–1920. Skapande Vetande 42, Linköpings universitet 2005. 318 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85297-41-0.

■ Marianne Marcusdotter's book is a cultural history of craft tuition as it developed in folk high schools in Sweden for a fifty-year period from their inception in 1873. The account is constructed within a rectangle with four axes: the history of folk high schools, women's history, the history of textile craft, and the history of education. The context is thus extensive, and even though the chapters in the book are arranged within this rectangle, it can be difficult to maintain the focus because of the broad perspective. Or to put it another way: so much material has been included that it can obscure the specific purpose of the book.

On the other hand, it must be said that this is the first time a Swedish scholar has tried to survey this vast material and write about the events and trends that characterized the initiation and development of women's opportunities to learn about textiles at folk high schools. The book is thus pioneering in that it illuminates women's learning on an equal footing with men's learning in folk high schools.

The source material is chiefly the annual reports that the schools had to issue. About a thousand reports have been studied, categorized, analysed, and compared with other written sources about and from the time. To get closer to specific named schools, the author has chosen to describe the main features of development at the national level, which is what makes this book unique.

The author has divided the development into three periods: "The Trial Period" 1873–1886, "The Establishment Phase" 1887–1900, and "The Golden Age" *c.* 1900–1920. Each period is given its own chapter. In addition there are several chapters dealing with various contexts, such as the folk high school, women's culture and traditions, and the aesthetic perceptions of the era. The book begins with Kajsa Ohrlander's knowledgeable account of the place of the female folk high school in history and in the women's movement.

Eva Trotzig writes in the foreword that the pupils' encounter with the high school affected them for the rest of their lives, as both what they learned and the actual form of the high school had a built-in power

that changed them. She also declares that the book gives these female pupils back their history, preventing the female textile cultural heritage from getting lost. A bibliography of research on adult education shows that, of a total of some 300 titles, only about 20 are about women in folk high schools!

It has not been the author's intention but to describe the history or techniques of textiles, to describe the opportunities that craft tuition in the folk high school gave women to learn not only about textiles, but also about citizenship in the new industrial society. She stresses that the teachers at the folk high schools were often favourably disposed to or actively involved in the struggle for female suffrage. The emancipatory aspect is thus a theme running through the whole book.

Marcusdotter has worked with the topic for ten years and has gone through a large number of sources. This process can be intoxicating, and in some of the conclusions she reaches along the way one may suspect that this has caused her to lose her critical eye. One example is the treatment of the term *self-activity*. At several points this is described as emancipatory, which is slightly too bombastic when one considers the period. Self-activity was a major issue in the educational discussion of the day, but in the nineteenth century it did not have the connotations attributed to it in the latter half of the twentieth century, when it was associated with concepts such as creativity and initiative. In the nineteenth century it meant "learning the right way to the goal", that is, learning how to perform a specific task without help from a teacher. But the task was set by someone else. From the point of view of gender and emancipation, self-help and being independent or creative are two very different things.

The high school pupils undoubtedly learned many things. The author highlights weaving as one of the areas where the pupils could pursue "individual creativity". She writes, for example, on p. 207 that the pupils "increasingly choose personal creativity, working with colours and forms in artistic weaving". But what does the pupils' choice consist of? On the next page we are told that collections of patterns for artistic weaving began to appear and were frequently used in folk high schools. Does this mean that the pupils simply chose a model and a pattern? I think this is the case, based on my knowledge of Danish material from the same period. The tuition of female pupils at Danish folk high schools was normative at this time. Marcusdotter mentions criticism of the folk high school's craft tuition from different groups, but she does not discuss whether this criticism was justified. A close study of these potential conflicts could perhaps give some answer to my question about the girls' freedom of choice and independence.

Danish researchers have published books and articles dealing with the serious tensions that arose at the end of the nineteenth century, when some women and school pupils began to express a wish to choose for themselves, in other words, not just to learn what others had planned. They also wanted to determine what was beautiful, for example, a concept to which the author gives great consideration. In Denmark these changes took place at the high schools and in private organizations such as Dansk Husflidsselskab (see e.g. Bjarne Kildegaard Hansen, Kunstbroderiet – Vor Herres Søndagsbarn, in *Den jyske Historiker* 33 (1985), pp. 43–64; Carsten Hess, Sofapuder og klassekamp: En kulturdebat i Husflidsbevægelsen i 1890'erne, in *Folk og Kultur* 1976, pp. 96–120; Minna Kragelund, Husflid og hedebobroderier, in Ena Hvidberg (ed.), *Hedebo – et nationalromantisk omdrejningspunkt*, Greve, 1994, pp. 77–87; Mette Thomsen, *Kunsten og folkehøjskolen*, Copenhagen, 1982).

I do not doubt that Marcusdotter's division into three periods nicely illustrates the development of craft tuition, but I am afraid that she draws far-reaching conclusions about emancipation on the basis of her material. The huge leap from the traditional peasant society to emancipation and professionalization in industrial society was not accomplished in the 50-year period covered by the book. A great deal happened, but the period included both, as Kajsa Ohrlander concludes in her introduction; in some areas there were two steps forward and one step backwards.

The book should inspire other researchers to take up the topic and, for example, contrast it with conditions in the other Nordic countries. Or they could look in greater depth at a problem that I find incredibly fascinating, that the Swedish folk high schools, according to the author, based their craft tuition on the local textile culture. What did this mean for the content of the actual teaching? And were the differences so great that they became visible in the profiles of the folk high schools?

The book tells about *what* the pupils learned, i.e., the techniques, but not much about *how* they learned these things. If that question is not answered, then I do not think one can say very much about whether the

teaching was emancipatory, because it is especially in the answer to *how* that the normative and/or emancipatory aspect becomes visible. Perhaps this is due to the choice of material for the study, which is primarily written sources. If the author had also been able to use surviving textiles, she would possibly have been able to deduce something about how far the pupils were able to choose for themselves, that is, to use and sharpen their judgement, taste, and will.

Folk high schools meant a great deal for the female pupils' learning (e.g. many textile techniques) and education (e.g. normative ideals of beauty), and this could be a good start for subsequent professionalization and emancipation, because the pupils, through their time in folk high school, had elevated the private, female world of textiles into the public sphere.

The book shows commitment and is well written, but it would have benefited from some editorial simplification. There are too many repetitions, but the subject is captivating – no doubt about that. And the book leaves one with questions on one's lips, for there is material here for many more studies.

Minna Kragelund, Copenhagen

Images of Good Childhood

Bilder av den gode oppveksten gjennom 1900-tallet. Ingrid Markussen & Kari Telste (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2005. 227 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7099-407-3.

■ During the twentieth century Nordic childhood underwent huge changes. The transition from agrarian society to industrial society and further to the information society, the development of the welfare states and the changes in the conditions of children's lives and in discourses of childhood make us realize how much has happened during the last hundred years. A collection of articles with the title "Images of the Good Childhood in the Twentieth Century" could therefore not fail to arouse the interest and expectations of a childhood researcher like myself. And after having read the eleven chapters, which draw images of Norwegian childhood and youth from different times and places, my general impression is that my expectations were fulfilled. I get a lot of information and new aspects of phenomena in the lives of children and adolescents; from computer game gatherings of the 1990s and boys' sport clubs of the 1920s; from the youth organization Changemaker where young people work for a more peaceful and fair world, to gang fights and child robbers in the 1950s and today; from the dysfunctional family as it appears in the case books of child welfare commissions to the ideal family as it is described by older people remembering the Christmases of their childhoods.

The book has been written within the research project "Growing Up: Childhood and Youth at the Intersection between Space of Experience and Horizon of Expectation", financed by the Norwegian Research Council. The authors are researchers and doctoral students, representing cultural history, folkloristics, ethnology, sociology, human geography, media and communication science and history of ideas. As far as I can see, they all share the view of childhood which has been developed during the last few decades in what is usually referred to as "childhood studies" or "sociology of childhood" and which involves regarding children as active subjects, who act in the world and affect both their own lives and the surrounding society.

Though the quality of the volume as a whole is high, there are rather large differences in the extent to which the data are theorized and analysed. The chapters I found most rewarding were those with a nuanced and reflective approach, putting the data in a wider historical and social context. These chapters were inspiring and gave me the impression that the phenomenon treated was far more complex than I had imagined. *Anne Schanche Kristoffersen* presents an exciting study of 10-year-old children's views of childhood, youth and adulthood. Well rooted in childhood studies, she carefully analyses the children's statements. No stereotyped representatives of the category of childhood appear in the text, but living, reflecting human beings. The birthday party is the scene that *Erika Ravne Scott* takes as a point of departure to reflect Norwegian childhood from a traditional Norwegian and a Muslim point of view. It is pleasing that both the Norwegian and the Muslim are made visible and problematized, which she does by looking at the birthday party through the concepts of duty and similarity. She convincingly shows the dilemmas that occur and does not fall into the trap of telling what is right and what is wrong.

Lillian Halvorsen, in her chapter about the youth organization Changemaker, does not only present an image of youth which is a contrast to the problematic, egocentric, indifferent youth we often meet in both media and research, but tells us that there are young people who can very well combine involvement in

global issues and identity building, showing their individuality by combining humanity with creativity. By placing the young people in a historical, ideological and social context, she is also able to show how today's youth is influenced by the definitions of youth made by those who were young in the 70s, and she discusses the voluntary work of these young people in relation to "adult" characteristics, such as working life and burnout.

From today's point of view, the childhoods of the 1950s are often described in nostalgic and idyllic terms, and *Kari Telste* takes hold of this discourse by comparing the media debate on child and youth criminality in the 1950s and today. Many interesting points are made: that violence was as serious in the 1950s as nowadays, but then it was defined as a child and youth problem – which stops when they grow up – and now it is defined as an immigrant problem – which remains and therefore is apprehended as much more threatening; that the media take part in creating not only opinions about youth violence but also the violence itself, since the gangs use the media as windows of advertising. She also analyses the "pride culture" of the immigrant gangs and shows that it is a result of the time and place where it exists, not a blueprint of their grandparents' rural culture in their countries of origin.

An interesting text analysis is made by *Eivind Engebregtsen* in his study of the genre of case books of child welfare commissions and the specific relations these case book texts have to the objective, the subjective and "the Other". He shows convincingly that the notes in the case books not only concern solving problems for the families. Nor do they only confirm the power of persons of authority; they take part in establishing and defending basic social values. But Engebregtsen also shows that the powerful position has its weak points and that a personal subject arises in the casebook texts at the same time as the writer tries to be objective. Engebregtsen presents a complex picture of the relations of the child welfare officer and the parent, whose roles are not contradictory, but sometimes become blurred.

In her chapter about old people's stories about Christmas in their childhoods, *Anne Eriksen* unerringly states that Christmas nostalgia in itself is a Christmas tradition and that "the past" is a moving entity, always placed sufficiently far from "nowadays". The Christmas of the childhood therefore works as a "memory place", a symbolic element in the collective memories of a group, memories that are created both of individual memories and of shared values. Through this perspective she places the individual narrations in a literary narrative tradition and analyses the contexts of the narratives, not forgetting all the things that are not told in the stories.

In all the chapters but one the emphasis is on the empirical data. Some chapters have a thorough analysis, while others are of a more descriptive character. *Birgit Hertzberg Kaare* gives a refreshing contrasting picture to the view of computer-interested young people as neither asocial individuals nor computer addicts, but competent, social beings using their computer skills as an introduction to working life. In her eagerness to refute the negative images of young computer users, however, she presents a somewhat idyllic and romantic picture of her informants, which arouses scepticism in the reader. When it comes to gender discussions, she refers what her informants say, which gives a well-known stereotyped view of gender. It would have been really interesting if instead she had analysed how gender is constructed in such a strongly gendered context as The Gathering.

Camilla Hedvig Maartmann's chapter likewise deals with gender. The descriptions of how girls were excluded and marginalized in their leisure occupations are thought-provoking and even shocking, especially since we know that it is not only a historical phenomenon. It would have been interesting, though, to see more analyses of the rifts and transgressions that still occurred and are also mentioned in the text; girls' – and perhaps also boys' – resistance to stepping into a prescribed gender role, doing gender in other ways than the officially sanctioned one and the space that made at least a mild form of "gender troubling" possible.

Ørnulf Hodne and Anne Eriksen writes about the same data, a collection of old people's stories of the childhood. But while Eriksen takes her point of departure in the narratives as produced within a specific context and theorizes the data from the start, Hodne just recounts how the informants describe their childhood in an illustrative light, with brief contextualization only in the conclusion. The data in Hodnes's chapter are just as interesting, but in the text the informants' descriptions also become the author's, and the chapter becomes a story of "how it was" in the old times. I cannot help wondering why Hodne was not more influenced by Eriksen's way of approaching the subject.

This brings me to the issue of the mutual relation between the chapters. In the preface it is said that the project group chose Reinhard Koselleck's theories of places of experience and expectation. Several chapters, but not all, explicitly treat issues of experience and expectation, but none of them refers to Koselleck, which is a bit surprising. The volume as a whole represents a historical perspective. But this is not reflected in the individual chapters; each one tells his/her story. Yet this is not actually negative. Together the contributions make up a collection of stories, which do not grasp each other as links in a chain, but constitute a collection of examples from children's and adolescents' lives during the last 100 years. I appreciate this, and also that the authors have different theoretical sources of inspiration, which give not only empirical but also analytical variety to the reading. I get a feeling of walking from one room to another, constantly meeting new interesting subjects and new fresh angles of approach, all relevant for me as a child researcher.

At the same time, my general impression of the relations between the chapters is divided, due to the lack of a dialogue between the authors. In the first chapter *Ingrid Markussen* and *Kari Telste* give a good introduction to the book, and Markussen's chapter about the historical background of the Norwegian welfare state and its ideologies neatly and skilfully ties up the volume. Markussen's is the only chapter after the introduction where the author refers to the collection as a whole, and it immediately creates a sense of consistency within the reader. When so many different subjects are treated, it is difficult to keep everything in mind, and therefore it is helpful to be reminded of different connections during the reading. It is strange and a pity that the other authors have not taken this opportunity for a dialogue. Since they have worked in the same project for several years, as part of a dynamic research collaboration, one would have expected that this might have been more visible in the texts.

Such internal discussion could also have concerned more general issues. For example, the concept of "locales", used by Ahnström, and "place and space", used by Maartmann, in relation to Koselleck's "places of experience/expectation", could have been an object of discussion. "Generation" is a concept much problematized in today's childhood research, e.g. by analysing how people of different ages "do generation" or "do age". Now the generation issue only recurs in isolated comments. Hertzberg Kaare, for example, refers to "The Commodore 64 generation", a generation constructed from a specific computer model, and Halvorsen puts generation as a cohort against social and biological understandings of youth. This is really interesting and would have gained from being lifted to a general discussion. The concept of "the competent child" is mentioned and the concepts of "being" and "becoming", also commonly used in childhood research, are implicitly present in the book and could have been an object of analysis. This would have connected the volume more closely to current Nordic and European childhood research. Now theories of Childhood Studies are used explicitly only by Kristoffersen and Ahnström, but neither these two nor any of the other authors relate to the work that has developed Childhood Studies in the 2000s. A common impression is that it is a Norwegian perspective that we meet in the book, both empirical and theoretical, since a great deal of the references are Norwegian. It is appealing that the authors bring out interesting research done in their own country, but as a researcher from another Nordic country I can see that some interesting work from other Nordic and European countries is missing.

When it comes to the sequence of the chapters, I find it a good idea to start in the well-known circumstances of the present and then go back in time to the experiences of earlier generations of children and youth. Markussen's tying-up chapter suits well at the end of the book, and I would have expected it to be the last chapter. But there is one more chapter, written by *Leif Ahnström*, which concerns the project "Growing up in Oslo around the year 2000", the same project as Kristoffersen writes about. Ahnström was the project leader and Kristoffersen did the fieldwork. In his chapter Ahnström tells us about the background and the accomplishment of the project, but most of the chapter is devoted to an introduction to phenomenological theory. It is a well-written and good introduction, but it is difficult to understand the purpose of it, especially since none of the authors uses this theory, not even Kristoffersen. Other theories in the book are presented within their empirical context, which works very well. I remain uninformed as to how the editors have thought here.

Finally, I would like to thank the eleven authors for well-written texts, interesting facts and insightful analyses. I can warmly recommend this volume to anybody who is interested in getting to know more

about Norwegian (and Nordic) childhood in the twentieth century.
Barbro Johansson, Gothenburg

Dress, Body and Identity

Påklädd. Uppklädd. Avklädd. Om kläder, kropp och identitet. Bo G. Nilsson (ed.) in collaboration with Jan Garnert, Barbro Klein and Lena Palmqvist. Norstedts Akademiska Förlag in collaboration with Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, 2005. 208 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7227-433-6.

■ Having recently been one of the organizers of the third interdisciplinary conference on fashion and dress in Scandinavia, it was interesting for me to read the anthology "Dressed. Dressed Up. Undressed. On Clothes, Body and Identity". It should be understood in several ways. Firstly, the volume is inspiring as a method of documenting and preserving a research event for posterity. Secondly, it is a significant contribution to the debate about how the museum world and academia can collaborate and mutually fertilize each other's research on fashion and dress. Thirdly, it is a collection demonstrating the breadth of the research field, from analyses of artefacts to studies of discourse.

That this volume came about at all is mainly due to Bo G. Nilsson, who took the initiative to arrange a research conference at the Nordiska Museet about clothes, body and identity, with the papers to be published afterwards. Unfortunately his sudden death in 2003 meant that he was unable to complete the work himself. Thanks to the good work of colleagues and friends the volume is now available. Readers can only be grateful for this.

It is not by chance that three Nordic conferences on fashion and clothing have been held in the last five years. The first, "Clothes, Body and Identity" took place at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm in September 2000. The second, "To be Fashionable", was held at Södertörn University College in Stockholm in October 2003. The third and latest, "Interdisciplinary Conference of Fashion and Dress Cultures", was held at Denmark's Design School and the Danish Museum of Art & Design in Copenhagen in October 2005. Research on fashion and dress made great progress in these years. There is a growing interest in the field, which is partly due to the revived interest in material culture in ethnology and other cultural historic disciplines, where materiality is regarded as not merely reflecting cultural practice but also helping to constitute it (Miller 2005). It is the *interaction* with objects, the practice and performativity, that is in focus in studies of identity creation, subjectivity formations, and gender construction.

The anthology is thus a product of this development. Viewed as a whole, the volume falls into two parts. One concentrates on the history and theory of fashion and dress research. The other is a series of studies of examples, mainly museum-based research on dress, all considered in terms of the interplay between clothes, body, and identity. The sequence of the articles in the volume does not follow this division, however. It is not clear what the rationale for this is.

It is perfectly natural, however, that the volume begins with Bo G. Nilsson's article "Embodying the Nation – On the Significance of Costumes when Museum Workers and Folklife Scholars Discovered the People". This is about research policy, telling the costume history of the Nordiska Museet from the time when the founder Artur Hazelius collected the first garment in 1872, a home-woven woollen skirt from Stora Tuna Parish in Dalarna. Hazelius thus laid the foundation for the way in which dress, especially folk dress, became a means to document folk culture and also to arouse national self-awareness among the Swedish people. Until the early decades of the twentieth century this meant that the curators at the Nordiska Museet viewed it as their main objective to preserve the authentic expression and use of folk dress. Later, the focus shifted from origins to distribution and variation. Diffusionism became the leading research perspective at the Nordiska Museet from the 1930s until the end of the 1960s. The dissertations by Sigfrid Svensson and Anna-Maja Nylén represented this research perspective. Yet several years later Nylén was the main force in moving away from this towards more contemporary research perspectives, and the distinction between peasant and bourgeois culture was ignored in favour of a more general view of clothing through time and place, and in relation to the functional and social significance of dress. This change, moreover, led ethnology to expand its interest in dress to include fashion as well.

Bo G. Nilsson's paper is followed by an article by the English professor of dress and textile history, Lou Taylor, "Artefact-based Perspectives on the History of Dress and Textiles". This concentrates on museum

research on fashion and costume, especially as it has developed over the years at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, the Costume Institute in New York, the Musée Galliera in Paris etc. Taylor high lights the female dominance in the field and point at its significance for the low status of the research field in the academic world. She also remarks that the emergence of material culture studies has renewed interest in the study of dress not just in museums but also in universities, and that it now finally seems possible to work across disciplines. In Valerie Steel's paper, "Fashion Theory – The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture", this change is confirmed. The publication of *Fashion Theory* is an expression of the justification for the research field. Since 1997 the quarterly journal has contributed to greater insight into how dress and fashion through diverse practices helps to constitute identity. The article is recommended reading for those who want an introduction to the basic purpose of the journal and the content during the first three years of its existence. In the same breath one may also mention the fashion researcher Elizabeth Wilson's article, "Dress Theories for the Twenty-first Century", which, like Taylor's, states that the chief task for future research on dress and fashion will be interdisciplinary work, integrating the close-up study of artefacts with discursive research. The other articles in the volume try more or less convincingly to demonstrate this contemporary research ideal.

Starting from the beginning, there is Berit Eldvik's article, "Dress as Cultural Heritage – Folk Dress and Local Identity in Today's Sweden", which continues Nilsson's history of Swedish research on folk dress. Whereas Nilsson's article is a survey, Eldvik's is a result of the Nordiska Museet's study from 1998 of how a folk-dress tradition is constructed, specifically the Sollerön costume in the twentieth century. It is clear that the interest in revitalizing the Sollerön costume followed in the wake of the local heritage movement that grew in the 1930s. To enable as many people as possible to afford folk dress, it was made of modern, machine-made materials. This applied to the dress of both men and women. The study shows that it is women who continue to wear the dress, considering it natural for special occasions, whereas men have switched to the international dress of jacket and trousers. At the same time, the study also shows that the appearance of folk dress, which one might expect to be constant, is always changing. Women in the 1970s became interested in the original look of the Sollerön costume and therefore reintroduced old elements in the new dress. As recent research on nationalism has observed (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) and Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983)), traditions are always subject to change. They are redefined and reinterpreted in terms of the context in which they appear.

The Australian scholar Jennifer Craik continues along the same lines with the article "The Shaping of Australian Bodies and a National Culture". The focus here is on what Craik calls "Australian body types" – more precisely three rival stereotypes of Australian identity, formulated through the use of three different forms of Australian dress: the Speedo "Fastskin" swimsuit, Australian fashion based on traditional Aboriginal patterns, and clothes associated with the life of white farmers in the outback, such as moleskin trousers, Akubra hats, RM Williams jodhpurs etc. Craik thus puts the emphasis in her analysis on the interaction between body and dress and how this takes place against the background of different ideas about the distinctive character of Australian clothes. Craik also stresses how these ideas are reproduced and exported, for example, through the choice of dress for the Australian athletes and officials during the Sydney Olympics in 2000.

The article by the English fashion researcher Christopher Breward, "Fashion and the Metropolis – Clothes and Immigrant Identities in Nineteenth-century London", represents work in progress, which has since resulted in the book *Fashioning London: Clothing and the Modern Metropolis* (2004) and the exhibition *The London Look* at the Museum of London (2004/2005). Breward's analysis is discursive. Fashion is understood as processual, constantly under change, and offering an angle for understanding the surrounding world as fluid, always in movement. Breward's research object is thus not physical clothes but various written sources – everything from literature to tourist guidebooks – which can help to illuminate how clothes through the ages have been described and have characterized the metropolis, rather than how clothes have been used in the city.

The last two papers in the book, Ingrid Roos Björklund's article "The Bra – Undergarment of the Twentieth Century" and Helena Lindroth's "Shoes, Chafed Feet and Identity", are both based on the Nordiska Museet's collections and, like Eldvik's article, they are examples of how museum collections can be used as research material. Björklund bases her article

on the interview material collected by the Nordiska Museet about how women view the significance of the bra in Sweden in the 1990s. The overall picture she paints is of a change from the 1970s, when the bra was regarded as a repressive restriction on women in 1970s, until today when it is an undergarment that women must wear to feel dressed. Björklund concludes, not surprisingly, that the bust is important for women's identity creation. Lindroth's article correspondingly shows – again not surprisingly – how the choice of shoes creates identity and that changing shoe fashions reflect the times.

As a whole, this collection of articles is most of all a documentation of a research conference. In that sense it is successful. What it lacks, however, is the discussions that followed the papers, and the articles do not dare move outside familiar perceptions in the research field. Having said that, it must be appreciated that the editor took the initiative for the publication while he was alive, and that Jan Garnert, Barbro Klein and Lena Palmqvist then completed the work. The book should function well as an easily read introduction for people in Scandinavian culture studies with an incipient interest in research on fashion and dress. They will thus be introduced not only to recent research on the topic but also to the epicentre of the research field – Anglo-American research on fashion and dress and its current figureheads: Breward, Steele, Wilson and Taylor.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Taxation of Peasants in Skåne

Mats Olsson, Skatta dig lycklig. Jordränta och jordbruk i Skåne 1660–1900. Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2005. 219 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-78446-82-1.

■ It can often be useful and rewarding to orient oneself in the research that is carried on outside one's own discipline. It is well known that crossing boundaries can give inspiration for theoretical and methodological renewal. In addition, the research findings themselves can also be significant for one's own research work and be included as an important part of the explanations in fields where one cannot personally pursue primary investigations. For cultural historians this is the case with Mats Olsson's book about taxation and agriculture in Sweden. The author is at the Department of Economic History, Lund University.

His research findings are important because they say something about the basic conditions for people's everyday lives and their standard of living. Although the book is written in the tradition of economic history, the material is made accessible with the aid of thorough explanations of concepts, and instructive tables and diagrams lucidly convey the results of the analyses.

The area studied is the southern Swedish province of Skåne. The in-depth analysis concentrates on five parishes in western Skåne which represent different types as regards ownership and source material. By limiting the investigation area in this way the author has managed to study the taxation of peasants in concrete practice. This is the main problem tackled by the book. The period covered is 1600–1900.

A general methodological device, and one with an important point, is to assess tax pressure not in isolation but in holistic perspective. In other words, taxation is analysed in relation to the total economy of which it was part, and of society in general. This aim determines the analytical course and overall outline of the book.

The first part is a diachronic description of the taxes and rents exacted from the farming population of Skåne. The rest of the book gives a survey and economic quantification of peasant farming in the province. The results of these analyses provide a foundation for establishing time-series for different categories of peasant. Finally, the author compares the series for tax development with the development of production, expressed as the gross product per taxation unit (*mantal*). In this way it is possible to calculate the total tax burden, that is, how large a share of the farm's gross production was paid in tax.

The quantitative analyses show that the tax burden for different categories of peasants with regard to ownership conditions fell significantly over time, from 30–35% in the second half of the seventeenth century to 6–10% at the end of the nineteenth century. This distinct trend will undoubtedly be important for understanding controversial and crucial issues in agrarian history.

This explanatory factor is important for understanding the background to the improved standard of living and investment potential of peasants in the studied period. At first the surplus production mostly went to the crown, the church, or the nobility. From the eighteenth century this changed considerably, especially for freeholders and tenants of the crown. At the end of the period they had the right of disposi-

tion over the major part of their surplus production. This was used, among other things, for expenses in connection with the redistribution of land, for purchasing land, and perhaps above all for investment in new agricultural technology.

Naturally, the author uses a lot of space to analyse and discuss the sources on which the quantitative analyses are based. The tables and diagrams are therefore important if one is to be able to follow the reasoning and overview the main findings. They seem convincing on the basis of the clear regularities and tendencies in the quantitative analyses. For an ethnologist who wishes to use the results of this research in order to understand the development of prosperity for peasants in Skåne, this is sufficient. A more detailed source-critical and methodological assessment would be a specialist task for economic historians.

Ragnar Pedersen, Hamar

Before and After the Union

Bo Stråth, Union och demokrati. De förenade rikena Sverige–Norge 1814–1905. Nya Doxa, Nora 2005. 688 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-578-0456-7.

Francis Sejersted, Socialdemokratins tidsålder – Sverige och Norge under 1900-talet. Nya Doxa, Nora 2005. 596 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-578-0457-5.

■ In the first of these two excellent books, Bo Stråth, professor of contemporary history at the European University in Florence, serves up a huge mouthful. But it is also a very tasty titbit. Although it is mostly intended for historians, this is an extremely readable book that anyone with an interest in history – including Nordic ethnologists – ought to be able to enjoy. It is a splendid contribution to research on the history of Scandinavia, because of the broad look at the geopolitical consequences of the Swedish-Norwegian kings' foreign policy for all the Nordic countries, especially in the years around 1814, the Crimean War, and the dissolution of the union of Sweden and Norway in 1905. The nineteenth century was still dynastic, but the democratic movements were gaining a foothold.

This is a very learned book, throughout which Stråth conducts a direct and indirect dialogue with a large number of Nordic historians and discusses a great many problems, both large and small, that Nordic historians have dealt with in the last few decades. This is a significant reason why the book has swollen to 688 pages. One can also read it as a historiographic account, another factor that makes great demands of the reader.

Yet it is an independent contribution to Nordic research, not least because Stråth has set himself the task of doing cultural analysis in a way that resembles ethnology: considering self-evident things as less self-evident, questioning what is accepted, finding latent undercurrents in history, and seeing things in quite different ways. Or to put it plainly: many of the works published to mark the centenary of the dissolution of the union, an event celebrated by Norway and observed by Sweden, find the reason for the peaceful settlement in the political circumstances in the years around 1900. Bo Stråth agrees in this perception, but simultaneously goes further back and points instead to a race between the two states of the union in the mid-nineteenth century. For him it is reasonable to think that the union did not necessarily have to be dissolved, because the political culture in the two countries was so remarkably similar – far more than people usually think. It is believed that the Norwegian boldness and radicalism as regards democracy was a little ahead of the political culture in Sweden, where the progressive liberal circles were heavily influenced by Norway. Implicitly: in Sweden there were powerful anti-democratic forces that opposed any progress concerning the union in general and democracy in particular. Bo Stråth does not wholly share this view. He sees a more multifaceted picture and observes the many similarities in both politics and culture.

An overall idea in the book is that the union broke up as a consequence of differing views of democracy. The Norwegian and the Swedish left were out of step with each other, and the Norwegian and the Swedish Right had never been able to come close. This meant that when the economic cooperation was to be supplemented with political integration, the union had to fall. There was no common ground on which to build this integration, so people resorted to national separatism. The king could no longer assemble the forces. It is instead in the centre field in the two countries that we can find the conditions for agreement. But the united parliament that the Union Committee proposed in 1867 was never realized. Here, then, we have the alternative, which could have become a uniting force. The middle line in both Norwegian and Swedish politics in the years between 1850 and

1870, which represented harmony and liberalism, is the author's hero. It is represented in Norway by men like Anton Martin Schweigaard, Georg Sibbern, and Fredrik Stang; in Sweden by forces like André Oscar Wallenberg, Louis De Geer, and Johan August Gripenstedt (see especially ch. 5). However, this midfield never really came into its own; the mobilization of the Norwegian farmers from the 1870s was too strong and too politically smart to allow that, since it linked nationalism and the struggle against Sweden with a struggle for democracy. In addition to this there was the protectionism, which influential powers in Eastern Sweden forced through in the 1880s, further splitting the midfield.

Despite this, up until the tariffs dispute, the Norwegian right and the moderate liberal left in Sweden were a bridge that could have assembled the forces. Neither of these wings professed the divisive Manchester liberalism that could never have built a society. Nor did they go to political excesses, instead wishing for calm development to continue, limiting the constitutional power of the king, and eager to prevent excessively risky royal ventures, such as Oscar I's plans for Finland after the Crimean War and Carl XV's escapades in collaboration with the Danish King Frederik VII. In both cases foreign policy could threaten vital economic interests, as regards the market and the flow of capital. The centre was not naïve but clear-sighted, pragmatic realpoliticians, who emphasized the role of the state for a free economy and for ensuring the rights and freedoms of the citizen. The state was supposed to be the visible hand that created the conditions for the modernization of the two countries; united.

With an approach like this Bo Stråth is akin to scholars like Göran B. Nilsson with his studies of the history of the Wallenbergs, Francis Sejersted's research on the Norwegian *Sonderweg*, which is closely related to Torbjörn Nilsson's studies of Swedish officialdom, where a public official could also be a capitalist, and Rune Slagstad's work on national strategists in Norwegian politics, which similarly sees the Hegel-inspired "moral" politicians in the Norwegian centre in the mid-nineteenth century as something different from, and more than, ego-centred conservatives from the class of officials.

Obviously, with this alternative historiography, other parts of the history, particularly Swedish history, must be left out. Not much space is devoted to the popular movements and their contribution to the modernization of Sweden from below. The odd nexus of nationalism and democracy that this part of Sweden's and Norway's history represents is not easily seen from the selected point of view. The educational ideal that characterized the popular movements in the form of an ethic of individual responsibility and vocation did not fit well together with the Hegelian ideal of collectivism that is the basic idea of the book. It is in large measure a political work; also in the sense that heavy emphasis is placed on the intervention of the great politicians in history, on behalf of the people. A significant role is ascribed to these actors, with their combination of liberalism, state control, and paternalism. Correspondingly, Norwegian particularism in the shape of the radical-democrats is also portrayed in a less favourable light than is often seen in works on Norwegian history.

Stråth does not try to conceal the fact that the book was written in the light of experience with the European Union and its problems of combining union and democracy. There is no doubt where his sympathies lie, but Stråth is an honest enough historian to admit that the EU has its democratic weaknesses, and that in a situation where the EU is losing ground both in legitimacy and in popular support, there is an urgent need for parliamentary platforms in the union. Here too there is a crucial problem, how a popular perception in national garb can be integrated in common European politics.

This brings us to a point where the book is less precise, namely, the outlook on the national. At several places the author contradicts himself on this delicate point. On the one hand he stresses that nationalism must be contextualized, and that it is subordinate to its political will and to specific historical circumstances, so that it is always linked to specific historical problems such as suffrage and democracy. On the other hand, there are countless examples throughout the book showing that the author operates with nationalism as an independent force and an independent actor; this applies not least when nationalism is to be used as an explanation for why things go wrong. It is unfortunate. It would have been fruitful if he had stuck to the idea that nationalism is a radical democratic entity which does not operate with gradations among the nation's citizens; it is also a lens and a framework for understanding. Had he done so he would have had one more card in his hand in his defence of the union: that a political union is by no means incompatible with a strong cultural

nationalism. Both Finland and Germany are good examples of this. The EU, if it does not fall apart, could conceivably be yet another example.

This criticism of one of the blind spots in the book does not detract from the impression that this is a historical masterpiece that Bo Stråth has accomplished. Although borne up by a clear political intention, the book is so self-assured in its holistic view, and simultaneously so generous and loyal in its discussion of other positions than the author's own, that one can only take delight in the book's clear-sightedness and its wealth of empirical detail. New readers have a great experience awaiting them. I warmly recommend the book with the greatest respect for its solid craftsmanship.

The second of the two books published by Nya Doxa to mark the centenary of the dissolution of the union is Francis Sejersted's *magnum opus* with a title meaning "The Age of Social Democracy: Sweden and Norway in the Twentieth Century". The book begins where Bo Stråth's work ends, in 1905. The two books also resemble each other in many ways, although Sejersted to a greater extent than Stråth views 1905 as a new and modern take-off and not as a conservative modernization. Both authors apply a broad social-historical perspective; both have a keen eye for what Rune Slagstad has called the "national strategists" and both are less interested in the extremes than in moves towards the centre and the creation of a society. This is clear in Stråth's assessment of the harmony-seeking liberals in the mid-nineteenth century, but it is also a recurrent feature in Sejersted's book.

Not that he rejects Eric Hobsbawm's idea of the relevance and significance of the century of extremes, but the history of Norway and Sweden in the twentieth century has quite simply displayed less radicalism than the rest of Europe. In this sense one can rightly speak of a Nordic *Sonderweg*. Yet this is also due to the unusual cooperation between farmers and the working class that is so characteristic of Scandinavia in the inter-war years. Everywhere in Europe we see growing capitalism, and in most parts of Western Europe also strong parties representing the working class, but only in Scandinavia do we see a constellation of farmers and workers initiating a social democratic management of capitalism – or as Sejersted would prefer to say: management of modernity.

One of the main ideas in the book is that the twentieth century witnessed a conflict not only between capital and labour, but also between tradition and modernization, and the social democrats in Norway and Sweden pursued not only a socialist policy but also a policy of modernization. Farmers took part in this as stewards of tradition; after a crucial turn away from the *Blut und Boden* policy of the 1920s, with the risk of getting fascist dirt on their fingers, they saw the advantage of modern alliances with the social democrats, but simultaneously helped to shape society by putting a damper on excessive innovation in what is summed up as "negotiating corporativism" and "administrative corporativism". This was particularly significant in Norway with its more radical Labour Party, but also in Sweden, where Sejersted rightly attributes great influence to Axel Persson of Bramstorp. From this point of view, one gets the impression that he was a more important non-socialist politician than, say, Bertil Ohlin. "Horse trading" is one of the fulcrums in the book. Sejersted points out that social liberalism prevented the social democrats from turning towards dictatorial socialism, and that strong right-wing politicians like Hambro and Lindman hindered extremism on the brown side.

One of the basic ideas in the book, which is connected with this, is that if the twentieth century stands out as the century of social democracy, it is not because of any necessity or a master plan on the part of the social democrats (in any case, it was difficult to see any such plan, particularly at the start of the century), but due to political opportunities and historical contingency. This has to do with the methods used in the book, which are specifically historical in that the author stresses the relationship between structure and "ideologists of action" (pp. 152 f.) and has a watchful eye for "the cunning of history" in the field between determinism and chance (p. 508). Correspondingly (p. 139), he is not much interested in what social democratic policy "really" or "ultimately" was in terms of the history of ideas or political science. The crucial thing for him is the decisions made and early policies in their facticity. This makes it easier to detect the *carpe diem* policy of social democracy and its strongest leaders' flair for the art of the possible – always with regard for concord and political viability.

A third basic idea is that social democratic policy owed a great deal to the predecessors, not least of all the far-sighted bourgeois politicians. In Sweden there was the wise national strategist of the Right, Arvid Lindman, who saw the necessity, as early as

the restless period 1900–1914, of giving the working class political influence. The situation was the same in Norway, with the "state socialism" of the liberal politician Gunnar Knudsen. As the author puts it (p. 280): most of the systems that are considered particularly social democratic had been launched in Norway by the liberals (Venstre). The other predecessor, according to Sejersted, can be found in the "popular movements" of civil society, which he rightly stresses far more than Bo Stråth; perhaps because it became much more obvious in the twentieth century how decisive the popular mobilization was. Sejersted views them as democratic movements within democracy – in the same way as he sees examples of women being able to act politically before they acquired full political rights – and claims that a social democrat in the first decades of the century could not hope to pursue a political career if not he could get through the eye of the needle that was the temperance movement; this idea has also been put forward by Bengt Lindroth in his analyses of civil society. This puritanism would later give rise to some trouble, when good behaviour was no longer as important as being a good consumer.

A fourth main idea is that Sweden became industrialized before it became democratic, while the reverse was the case in Norway. This had the consequence that in Norway, at both state and local levels, there was a more direct politicization, and large-scale industry had harder conditions for success than in Sweden, where, at least in the heyday of social democracy, 1940–1970, things could be arranged at a lunch meeting between Marcus Wallenberg and Gunnar Sträng...

Structurally the book consists of three parts, the first of which covers the time 1905–40, when the foundation is laid, after which the house is built in the second part, covering 1940–70, which is called the "fortunate moment" of social democracy. This was when the fruits were to be harvested, and harvested they were. On the basis of industrialization, centred on the use of hydroelectric power and electrification, which had been established in the first phase. Here it became obvious that the policies not only concerned socialization but also modernization. The result was a mixed economy, as reflected particularly in social policy, where Sejersted rightly stresses the social insurance in the two countries: was it to be universal, or should it take income differences into account? The result was a mixture of both, with universalism – not surprisingly – strongest in the traditionally more egalitarian-democratic Norway, while Sweden, which had been industrialized before it became democratic, put greater emphasis on income differentiation, so that the principle of the introduction of the supplementary pension, ATP, was that no one should incur a reduced standard of living because of unemployment, illness, or retirement. This happened in Sweden with the backing of the working class, where respect for status differences even within the working class meant that they were against breaking up established hierarchies (p. 279). Traditionalism thus flourished in the midst of all the modernization and socialization.

Around 1970 the heyday began to fade. There were several reasons for this. The economic cycles no longer permitted crises to be solved through permanent growth. Also, the distance between the party and the people had grown too great. In Norway this was illustrated by the way the Youngstorg triumvirate with Einar Gerhardsen after the war took over with a firm hand. Or as the author says (e.g. p. 451): the parties no longer seemed like vital parts of civil society, but like the long arm of the public sector; and (p. 507): the parties lost their base in the "popular movements". One could also say that they had been too victorious. Social democracy had become all-embracing. There were no longer any fundamental issues on which to reach compromises, or reluctant negotiating partners who were in such disagreement that a major compromise could be visible. Social democracy had resulted in a new type of state and societal conformism. Halvdan Koht's project for the complete integration of the working class in power as the zenith of democracy-nationalism had now been achieved.

After this, things went downhill in the third period, 1970–2000. It is refreshing that Sejersted does not join in the massive criticism of the social democrats that has been so vociferous in Norway and especially in Sweden – but endeavours to find more general explanations for the crisis. His approach, like that of Stråth, is to point out the disparity between union and democracy as the reason for the breakup of the union, today we can observe a disparity between the ideas of equality and freedom. The policy of class and interests that had paved the way for cooperation between workers and farmers in the 1930s, and which also continued into the heyday of social democracy, dwindled in the 1970s and 1980s. The collective responsibility and the shared norms were succeeded by forms of individual liberation and desires for singularistic diversity.

The culture of revolt and its cry for here-and-now activism did not fit well with the normative obligations of social-mindedness and liberation from "the realm of necessity", out of which it had grown. The clientification of the bourgeoisie should be viewed in this light more than as an explanation in itself, as many critics of social democracy have argued. The obligatory cooperation and the powerful Swedish idea of "doing one's bit" lost relevance. The power of solidarity was unable to compete with hedonism, the public manifestation of which was inscribed as a part of consumerism.

In a few fields a look at Finland and Denmark would probably have made Norway and Sweden stand out more distinctly. Pointing out the powerful influence of the state on "popular movements" and organizations in civil society, as is the case in Finland, could have shed further light on the great influence of these "non-state" phenomena in Norway and Sweden, and also the absence in Denmark of things like Norway's *landgymnasier* and Sweden's folk high schools, which passed on proper knowledge and not just Sunday-school "gobbledygook", could have illuminated the significance of schools in the formation of society in Norway and Sweden – and of nationalism in both countries.

This would have also helped to sharpen the profile of the peculiar combination of political and cultural nationalism which – albeit in different forms – is so characteristic of Norway and Sweden, but not of Denmark where there have been increasing problems through most of the twentieth century in synchronizing the two. Sejersted writes (p. 165) about Per Albin Hansson, that he used the terms "the people's home" and "the citizens' home" synonymously, that is, with equal weight for cultural nationalism and politics. It seems to be an extremely important point which is not sufficiently followed up in the rest of the book. The use of nationalism as society's cement and the attendant problems, especially in Sweden, of handling and respecting people's nationalism in the period of social democratic weakness, could have been highlighted more as one of the major viewpoints. It could also have strengthened the cultural-history profile of the book. But that it virtually the only criticism one can raise against this magnificent work, which is so crystal-clear in its structure, so packed with information on every page, and so well written with an enviable ability to sum up events and causal connections in a single sentence – very often using paradoxes, dialectics, and other unusual formulations.

In short: The book is an exceptionally fine piece of scholarship and will probably be essential in both Norwegian and Swedish historical research for several decades. It could hardly be better.

These two books were published in Norwegian, by Pax forlag, Oslo, and appeared in both countries simultaneously.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Textiles as a Feminist Battlefield

Den feminina textilen. Makt och mönster. Birgitta Svensson & Louise Waldén (eds.). Nordiska Museets Förlag, Stockholm 2005. 218 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7108-499-1.

■ The authors behind "Feminine Textiles: Power and Patterns" are driven by an ambition to change the way people view cultural categories which, according to the editors, are not understood and valued as deserved. The cultural categories with which the book is are concerned are women and textiles. The textile cultural heritage, as the editors say in their programmatic introductory article, is clearly gender-coded as feminine, for better or worse. In private households it has traditionally been the women's responsibility to ensure the production and maintenance of clothes and textiles, and mastery of textile techniques has been reckoned as a particularly female property and a virtue, something that gave women status and power. At the same time, we are told, learning textile techniques has been part of a particular female disciplining process, which has contributed to constructing women culturally as gender and has been used to keep women – as a biological category – in subordination. When women have voluntarily or involuntarily devoted so much time and attention to textiles, they have not had a surplus of energy to become competent and gain power in other fields, such as academic education or political influence. These arenas have therefore been occupied and dominated by men and by masculine norms. The problem with textiles is not so much the gender coding, as the editors Birgitta Svensson and Louise Waldén write, as the low social status of textiles in society in general, and they claim that textiles would probably have enjoyed higher status if they had been coded as male, since masculinity is still the norm in the prevailing gender order. It is therefore a matter of liberating textiles from

their social subordination and of liberating femininity from its cultural subordination.

The papers in the book derive from a conference held at the Nordiska Museet in 2003, where the aim was to focus on the gender identification of textiles as feminine and to ask questions of the museum collections from a gender-theory perspective. The result of the conference is now available in this edited volume, which is divided into two equal parts, the first concerning pioneering women associated with textiles, written by experienced female scholars with detailed knowledge of the Swedish handicraft movement, the museums' textile collections, and the women behind them. The second part deals with textile research as culture and gender-theoretical issues, and is written by younger female doctoral students who wish to "make space for textile craft as a feminist strategy and paths for cultural-historical research on textiles".

The title of the book has been chosen to stress the feminine connotations of textiles and to draw well-deserved attention to the people who have helped to create the textile cultural heritage. The book has come about, it says, because there seemed to be a great need to write the significance of textiles into history – and thereby also to write in the women who have asserted textiles. Some of the eleven authors – albeit not in equal measure – use textiles as a decidedly feminist battlefield. This is therefore not a book you should read if you want to learn about textiles from the point of view of techniques or if you want to find out about concrete practices of textile craft; it is a book to read primarily if you are interested in the women who created the part of material culture that, more than any other, has feminine connotations.

But how come the authors are in agreement that these so-called feminine textiles are so problematic for research today? And for whom are textiles so problematic? How can it be that both women and textiles have low status in our society, in research, and in museums? Why are the pioneering women in textile studies ignored when museums and associations write anniversary festschrifts? How can it be that textile acquisitions are given lower status when they are feminized? All these relevant questions and many more are tackled in the book, as the authors analyse and answer them and simultaneously do something with them from the perspective of gender theory.

The first half of the book, on the women who have been significant especially in the domestic craft movement and museums from around 1850 onwards, is not presented as gender theory, but rather as classical biographical accounts of the lives of the individual women, their work, and not least their career. This is a fairly traditional (masculine?) form, well known in academia when writers wish to honour and highlight the work of like-minded people. These articles are particularly interesting and enlightening reading if, like me, you are interested in museum history and museological practice.

Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark writes in the first article about the significance of Lilli Zickermann, Elsa Gullberg, and Gunnel Hazelius-Berg for the handicraft movement and the museum system. Sofia Danielson's article considers three generations of women, each of whom has had great influence on the preservation of textile folk art in Sweden. Sophie Adlersparre, who was a famous feminist in the mid-nineteenth century and later took the initiative to found the Association of Friends of Textile Art, regarded textiles as a way for women to achieve self-sufficiency. Stina Rodenstam, who started a private housekeeping school and a handicraft shop, was one of the founders of the National Association of Swedish Handicraft Societies. Finally, Anna-Maja Nylén, who was in charge of the textile collection at the Nordiska Museet, is held up in particular for her ambition to spread knowledge about costume and textile and to emphasize the production and function of textiles, their economic basis and their significance for society. Eris Erlandsson's contribution is about Hedvig Ulfsparre of Högbo, who created the biggest private textile collection in Sweden. Ingrid Bergman writes about three women: the textile artist Märta Måås-Fjetterström, whose art could be found in many upper middle-class homes around 1900, the art historian Gerda Boëthius, including her work for the Zorn Museum, and the historian of art and textiles Agnes Geijer, who was the first woman to write a dissertation about textiles in Sweden. The final article on important female personalities in the world of textiles is by Janken Myrdal, and concerns Gertrud Grenander Nyberg. Apart from having been called the grandmother of ethnology in Sweden, she published a large number of articles and books on textile subjects, including her dissertation about Swedish looms.

The part of the book, written from the perspective of gender analysis, opens with an article by Pernilla Rasmussen, who has investigated cultural changes in the nineteenth century and changes in the outlook

on male and female in the clothes-making craft. She discusses the feminization process in the production of fashions for women at the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth century, as an expression of technological development and the gender division of labour. Anneli Palmsköld questions whether it is possible at all to talk about textiles as feminine. She has studied a group of interior-design textiles that went out of use at the end of the nineteenth century and has followed the path they took as a group of artefacts and a category in museum contexts, and she discusses how the textiles have been interpreted differently in different paradigms. The domestic handicraft movement as gender and class is analysed by Catarina Lundström on the basis of folk dress from Jämtland. She discusses the gender of the folk-dress movement and regionalized nationalism. Marianne Larsson analyses the significance of the post-office uniform in everyday practice for the many women who entered the labour market in the 1960s. The last article in the collection analyses the link between modernity and tradition when the old traditions of textile craft are revived. Johanna Rosenqvist has studied the aesthetic-political strategies in the processes that created the magazine *Hemslöjden*, and made it possible to use it as a feminist strategy.

It is not just in Sweden that research on dress and textiles has encountered hard times; the same also applies in Denmark, in both museums and universities. But I do not agree with the book's unambiguous explanation for the alleged low status of textiles. I can only partly agree that it has to do with the feminine gender coding of textile issues. It is probably correct that some female researchers with their roots in the women's movement of the 1970s refrained from working with and doing research on textiles because the subject in itself has aroused negative associations and has become associated with coercion, repression of women, and disciplining. It is therefore laudable that the authors want to "rehabilitate" textiles. But I cannot agree with the claim that this new focus on textiles has become possible only because of gender theory. It is not just research on textiles that has had low priority for many years now; the same seems to be true, in my experience, for theorizing and research on material culture in general. And this probably has to do with the fact that post-structuralist and semiotic analysis of things as signs divorced from physicality has dominated cultural studies for quite some time. But it looks as if a theoretical turn on materiality is happening, hopefully to the benefit of both textile studies and research into materiality as a whole.

Although it is refreshing to see textile subjects analysed from the perspective of gender theory, it does have its problematic sides. If the analysis focuses in a one-sided way on the cultural construction of gender, there is a risk of overemphasizing the cultural significance of gender coding, and thereby perhaps neglecting or accepting other types of cultural constructions, dichotomies, and preconceived concepts which should also be considered in ethnological analysis.

All in all, this is a fascinating and well-written collection of articles, with something to say and full of food for thought. The individual contributions debate important textile subjects and consider themes that have not previously been illuminated. In addition, the book is an aesthetic delight, with its large format, many illustrations in colour, and attractive, reader-friendly design.

Helle Leilund, Copenhagen

Pictures by Olaus Magnus

Jan-Öjvind Swahn, Olaus Magnus bilder i urval. Historiska Media, Lund 2005. 192 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85057-82-7.

■ Olaus Magnus (1490–1557) was one of the last Catholic bishops in Sweden. However, he was never installed and, as a matter of fact, his position was even questionable, for at that time Sweden was recently reformed and officially a Lutheran country, and King Gustavus Vasa did not approve of the Catholic archbishop. Olaus Magnus had the opportunity to visit Norrland and Norway in 1518–19, and that journey gave him a chance to gather information on his native country in a way that was not common in his time. He and his brother Johannes Magnus had studied at several universities in Germany, but later on they were condemned to exile and, therefore, they stayed in Germany and Italy. Three factors seem to have dominated Olaus's literary work, namely, patriotism, disgust for Lutheranism, and homesickness. In this recently published book, Jan-Öjvind Swahn presents the biographies of Olaus and his brother Johannes Magnus in an informative and entertaining way.

It is not mainly for his unsuccessful episcopacy that Olaus Magnus has been remembered for more than 450 years. He left two important publications behind: a map of northern Europe, and a description

of the people living there. The map, *Carta marina* (1539), was published in Venice and it shows how geographical, topographical, biological and, partly, anthropological issues were understood. The book, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), is a description of the Swedish people, their customs, their nature, their resources, their history and their economy. Facts and fiction, down-to-earth authenticity and exotic stories alternate in the text. Both publications contain illustrations. Swahn has picked out a number of them furnished with Olaus Magnus's texts, which he has modernized slightly after having added his own comments.

This is not the first time that Olaus Magnus' work has been provided with comments. The classical and comprehensive, extremely detailed and high-quality scholarly commentary was written by John Granlund in 1951. His edition is intended for scholarly purposes. Swahn, on the other hand, clearly states that his aim is to present Olaus Magnus' work in a more popular way to a broad public.

In Swahn's edition the chapters are divided according to themes such as nature, wars and misery, folklore, housing and home life, calendar and life cycle, and the Saami. Being a folklorist, Swahn is obviously fascinated by folklore issues in Olaus Magnus' writings, for much of Swahn's text concerns such themes. Swahn presents two main ideas from which to consider the works of Olaus Magnus. One derives from the fact that Olaus Magnus, who lived for such a long time outside Sweden, enlisted the aid of southern European illustrators whose understanding of Olaus' texts was fundamental in the pictures we see today. They are modelled according to a continental conception, and therefore, they can hardly be utilized as documents of Swedish society as such. Supplementary comments and explications are extremely important. Just because, in the sixteenth century, the borderline between facts and fiction seems to have been blurred, the commentaries of cultural historians-folklorists-ethnologists such as Granlund and Swahn are necessary. Otherwise, one easily brushes Olaus Magnus aside as too imaginative.

The other recurrent principle in Swahn's presentation is to demonstrate that the sayings, ways of thinking, motifs and customs, i.e., folklore, that Olaus Magnus described in 1555 could still be documented by folklorists in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. In many a chapter Swahn mentions how the folklore items have changed a little, but that they have generally been almost the same for nearly five hundred years. In many cases he gives generous hints from his huge experience and profound knowledge of cultural history and folklore from all over Europe. Certainly, I am glad to read them, but I would have been even happier to find references to further reading as well. Now Swahn's book is an entertaining and learned piece of popular scholarship. I am sure it will open the eyes of many readers to Olaus Magnus' huge masterpieces.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

The Family in the World

Göran Therborn, Between sex and gender. Family in the world, 1900–2000. Routledge, London and New York 2004. 379 pp. Tables. ISBN 0-415-30078-9.

■ Family life is private, but also public. Family matters are discussed almost daily in the big daily newspapers, and at the societal level families are involved in various forms of transfers. Family issues, albeit from partly differing respects, are also an important research field in a number of disciplines: ethnology, anthropology, history, sociology, psychology, demography, pedagogy, social work, etc.

Research shows that the family is not a uniform concept, neither today nor in the past. The family changes but is a tenacious institution which also adapts to new conditions. It changes yet remains there, and during life we belong to different kinds of families. The family is also one of the most central institutions in society. The age at which we get married, who we live with, or the number of children we have is affected by societal structures and values, but people's choices and everyday life also affect society in different ways.

In the book *Between Sex and Power. Family in the World 1900–2000* the sociologist Göran Therborn covers the whole world in the last hundred years. He discusses similarities, differences, and changes in three main areas: the significance of the patriarchate for women's conditions; marriage and sex; and childbearing and state policy. Data from public statistics and legislation in different countries are crucial parts of the account. The book contains a number of tables but, surprisingly, not a single map, despite the fact that the examples in the text are taken from different parts of the world.

In a hundred-year perspective, women and children

have acquired rights and the power of the patriarchate has been reduced, according to Therborn. He places special emphasis on the significance that women's movements and socialist and communist movements have had for development. Change proceeds in the same direction all over the world, even though the pace differs. He notes that there are areas where the patriarchate is still very strong, but he is optimistic about the future. Perhaps in some respects he relies too much on rhetoric and official policy, which might depend on the fact that he has not engaged in detailed study.

Demographic changes play a significant role in the book. Therborn discusses the population and its structure in relation to the balance of political power and the development of society. He stresses the potential of politics to influence and change birth rates and family formation, and the complex relationship between structural changes and cultural values. An interesting aspect that Therborn highlights is that the decline in birth rates which has occurred in some countries during the last years has often been due to state policy, while a corresponding decline in the Western world in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century cannot be connected to any state intervention. A fascinating question is what led this change to happen simultaneously over large areas, even though it concerns something very private. How did women and men make their decisions about the number of children in the family?

There is a need to compile large surveys, and it is important that researchers do so. Yet the book also shows the difficulties associated with broad surveys. There are examples here of collections of excerpts and passages of text which are at a too general level. In both cases it is easy for the reader to lose the thread. *Between Sex and Power* is rather impenetrable in places, but it is an important addition to research on family issues. It also raises one of the crucial challenges of our time: Why do people in much of the world choose not to reproduce, despite peace and relative prosperity?

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Culture as Explanation and Instrument of Power

Bruket av kultur. Hur kultur används och görs socialt verksamt. Magnus Öhlander (ed.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2005. 370 pp. ISBN 91-44-04327-9.

■ How is culture used as an explanatory model in contemporary Swedish society, and what are the political and social consequences of the present emphasis on cultural difference in public debate? These and related questions are posed and discussed in this anthology, which consists of twelve independent articles preceded by an introductory chapter setting out the basic premises underlying all contributions, and identifying themes recurring in many of them. One of these themes is the intimate association between the uses of culture and the exercise of power, often connected analytically to discursive practices and social action in the texts. Even though the authors do not always explicitly invoke this theoretical framework, discourse analysis—and critical linguistics in particular—forms an interpretative background to the issues addressed.

The first three articles, written by Beatriz Lindqvist, Oscar Pripp and René Léon Rosales, revolve around different articulations of cultural difference related to ethnicity. Lindqvist explores the process of constructing a national identity in Latvia after the collapse of the Soviet Union by assigning Russians to the slot of ethnic others, excluding them from participation in "Latvianness" and Latvian civil society by restricting their possibilities to gain citizenship and excluding them from Latvian history. Pripp considers the confusion of social and personal identity in Swedish discussions of segregation and discrimination against immigrants on the labour market: the reasons for their difficulties in finding employment tend to be reduced to a matter of insufficient mastery of the Swedish language, and an implicit racism devaluing their professional skills and opportunities in life blurs the distinction between an alleged lack of individual competence and belonging to the cultural category of "immigrant". By performing this evasive manoeuvre, the ethnic majority can retain its hold on political and social power. A similar conflation of ethnicity and culture is dealt with in Rosales' analysis of the debate following the murder of Fadime Sahindal in 2002; the viability of equating Kurdish culture with Kurdish ethnicity, and indissolubly linking them to a posited

culture of honour condoning or even encouraging honour killings was the chief object of contention. Such "logic of equivalence", as Rosales calls it, is a hindrance to emancipation, and might fetter people to a certain description of ethnic characteristics, and it limits their potential field of action.

Mirjaliisa Lukkarinen Kvist's article is rather unique in this anthology as it is mainly concerned with the self-definition of an ethnic immigrant group, Finns hailing from the municipality of Haapajärvi and now living in Mälardalen. She studies their way of constructing and enacting their "Haapajärviness" in speech and action in the context of Mälardalen's Haapajärvi Society, and traces the contacts between their former and present domicile. She notes that the members of the society are keen to contribute to the development of their old home district, and to inscribe themselves and their history into the history of Haapajärvi. They demand, and get, a place in the collective memory of Haapajärvi. Very little mention is made of Swedes and Swedishness, which does not seem to constitute a contrast to their own group.

Otherness constructed around music and dance forms the topic of several contributions. Lars Kaijser discusses the presuppositions underpinning the constitution of the history of popular music as revealed in top lists compiled by Swedish music critics at the end of the millennium. The colonial gaze proves to be important in discerning the quality of popular music and of crucial innovations within the field. "Blackness" emerges as a metaphor for all good music; blackness has "soul", which is contrasted to (implicitly white) academic sterility and stuffiness. The usual colonial hierarchy of black and white is inverted, and a new canon of taste is established on the basis of this inversion and on "blackness" as a marker of quality and historical significance. Blackness is therefore exoticised and romanticised, but it is also given a profoundly emotional meaning. Similarly, Ebrima Kamara contemplates the politics of African dance and drumming in Sweden, calling attention to the redefinition of them as a form of physical, mental and spiritual exercise aiming for the creation of well-being. In this process, African dance is regarded as a more primordial, true and essentially liberating activity inseparable from African society and culture. It is primitive and exotic, and the transposition and appropriation of it, especially by Swedish women, is experienced as a colonialist or neocolonialist project by Africans living in Sweden. Swedish women use African dance as an ingredient in female emancipation, while African dancers feel deprived of their culture and dancing traditions in yet another instance of Western colonial rapacity. The conflict of interests here is interesting, but a fuller description of African perspectives on dance and drumming could have been used to flesh out this part of the argument; as a reader I wanted to know more about this.

Music also figures in Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius' analysis of the production of cultural difference through temporal otherness. According to his research data, old people tend to be construed as oriented to the past; thus, those in charge of leisure activities and rehabilitation for the elderly expect them to remember and cherish songs and objects from their childhood or a vaguely defined past, though the elderly themselves might show greater interest in the present and future. This past is perceived as peculiarly Swedish, excluding old people of foreign birth, and it is thought to be virtually the same for all. The ascription and imposition of a retrospective attitude on the part of the elderly receives a special poignancy in the case of patients suffering from dementia. In therapeutic sessions, medical staff tries to train the memory of the patients, but does so with things that have little bearing on their current lives.

The situation of the elderly is also touched upon in Eva Lundgren's article, but from a different angle. Lundgren studies the creation of homelike housing for the elderly, investigating the relationship between aesthetics, taste and class, and the struggle between various professional groups involved in evoking homeyness in what is still an institution. The elderly themselves do not appear to have a say in the decoration of the public areas of the institution, whereas architects, interior designers, heads of units and nurses exert influence on the furnishing. The former three categories advocate a formalised aesthetic, commensurate with middle-class taste, and attempt to minimise the intrusion of the informalised aesthetic represented by the working-class nurses. Architects, interior designers and heads of units disapprove of the "overly decorated" style of the nurses, labelling it as "bad taste", while the nurses consider the formalised aesthetic tasteful but sterile, and far from homey, hence partially resisting the hegemonic demands of representatives of the formalised aesthetic. This link between taste and class is gendered as well, connecting the informalised, working-class aesthetic with

women and the female domain, and the formalised, middle-class aesthetic with men and the male domain. Consequently, female architects and interior designers are masculinised, but their cultural gender also makes them more vulnerable to critique from the nurses, who challenge their professional competence.

The descriptions of immigrant patients in Swedish journals of medicine and health care are discussed within the theoretical framework of discourse analysis in Magnus Öhlander's text. Cultural difference is often employed for the purposes of social categorisation, and culture functions as an explanatory model, along the lines of simple cause-and-effect reasoning. Immigrant patients tend to be associated with "problems", and are characterised as either deviant (problematic) or different (exotic). This discourse of cultural difference comparing them to a covert norm may trap immigrants in otherness, constraining their freedom of action and their ability to define their own identity. Other ways of depicting and talking about them must be found, for example by applying a processual perspective involving cultural hybridity, greater attention to psychological and sociological factors, and a conceptual relativisation achieved through the recognition of the culturally, socially and historically situated character of Western medicine.

The uses of culture in medicine and health care constitute the topic of the last three contributions as well. Eva Karlsson investigates the ideal of a holistic approach to palliative treatment in the home that is now dominant in the Swedish health care system, concentrating on the utilisation of ethnic culture as an explanation for the behaviour of individuals. Her case study is complex in that the medical staff engaged in the treatment of a certain immigrant patient diverges in the attribution of ethnicity (Turkish, Kurdish or Assyrian) and religion (Islam, Christianity). These attributions nevertheless inform their interpretations of her behaviour, which is always related to an ethnic and cultural grid. Simultaneously, staff voice a suspicion of generalisations and categorisations of ethnic groups and individuals, and stress the value of experience and learning by doing in encounters with their patients. Yet they still feel a need for increased cultural knowledge, and exhibit ambivalence between an open attitude to ethnicity and culture, and rather static conceptions of what actually constitutes them. Karlsson states that the spectrum of interpretative models available in the attempt to understand immigrant patients is more limited than in the case of Swedish patients.

The otherness of immigrant patients in terms of childcare and children's development is the subject of Helena Hörnfeldt's article. She discusses the universalisation of Western medical knowledge in these contexts, and describes the process in which a focus on difference implicitly refers back to a normative Swedish normality that remains invisible but highly influential in the discourse on immigrant patients. This focus on difference is also a way of maintaining established positions and relations of power, and the culturalisation of otherness and abnormality is associated with a perceived lack of involvement with children. Culture becomes a model of explanation for the children's and their parents' otherness, and it is conceptually linked to "problems".

The culturalisation of the individual is also accorded attention in Fadume Warsame Halane's text on transmigrant Somali women and their interaction with Swedish midwives and nurses. She notes that differences in culture are used as forms of explanation both by the Somali women and medical staff, but this kind of thinking seldom promotes mutual understanding. Culture is also used by the Somali women as a strategy for creating security and a sense of belonging in their current situation, orienting themselves to their own ethnic group and cultural traditions. Finally, culture can be employed in negotiating a common position acceptable to both staff and the Somali women, based on dialogue.

A fairly unified picture of the current discourse on culture and ethnicity emerges from these studies. The reductionism implied in conflating the two has a number of unpleasant consequences: firstly, it reduces individuals to mere representatives of their culture, whose tenets they are surmised to always and uncritically embrace. They are deindividualised, and therefore tend to be viewed as a "problem"; difference becomes synonymous with deviance. Secondly, the prevalence of the dominant discourse restricts people's options in life, and may obstruct the creation of competing or new discourses; indications of this are hinted at in some of the articles. Thirdly, the romanticising and exoticising component in Swedish perspectives on ethnic cultures is strong in many contexts, linking them to a distinctly colonialist frame of reference in which difference is positively valued, but still subject to prevailing hierarchies of power.

What I missed in this otherwise elegantly wrapped-up book was a deeper appreciation of the human

need to categorise, i.e., difference as a hermeneutic and cognitive tool for making sense of the world, a process starting with the acquisition of language and the formation of a sense of self. Few authors raised this issue at all, and those who did accorded it little weight in their studies. I find this something of a pity, as it might have added to the analytical complexity of the texts. As it stands, the perception of and construction of difference is not only problematised, an operation that is both desirable and necessary, but also regarded almost exclusively as a problem, which isn't quite as necessary. The anthology's focus on culture and the equivalence of culture and ethnicity, culture and homogeneity, and culture and collectivity in contemporary non-academic discourses on multiculturalism is indubitably a contributing factor; the postcolonial framework of the book exposes many of the dangers inherent in processes of othering and excessive emphasis on difference. Constructions of difference can be employed politically with disastrous results for individuals and groups, as history has repeatedly shown, and this brings me to the second aspect I would have liked to see integrated into the articles to a greater extent, namely a slightly deeper discussion of the historical roots of the present situation. Granted, the articles contained in the book are largely synchronically oriented, and that is a perfectly legitimate temporal delimitation. However, sometimes I feel the analysis might profit from being situated in relation to a somewhat longer temporal perspective: difference as a cognitive tool has a considerable history in Swedish society, as elsewhere, and this might have given interesting accents to the very able interpretations offered by the authors. For the anthology is a good representative of the strong tradition within Swedish ethnology of scrutinising notions of ethnicity, migration and multiculturalism, and despite its diversity in subject matter, it is a remarkably neat whole. Maybe "the uses of culture" is an unusually rich and fertile theme, concrete enough to be tangible, and broad enough to allow for many individual touches. The result is a successful fusion of a common frame and emphasis with distinctive points of view and sources of material.

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Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should if possible be sent by e-mail or on diskette. 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. Articles will undergo peer review. 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, approx. 50,000 characters. 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. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

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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, 8,000–10,000 characters. 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.

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Translations and proofs should be returned to the editor as quickly as possible. The deadline for manuscripts, at present 1 September, must be observed so that publication is not delayed.

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What does a site for hazardous waste and rare birds on a city fringe in Sweden have in common with female farm tourism business in rural Finland or life in the archipelago? The answer is connected to environment, place, nature and landscape, which is the main topic of Ethnologia Scandinavica 2006. The theme running through this year's issue is that nature is not a separate part of the world. The cultural perspectives and development of the post-war environmental discussion are the focus of some of the articles. The concept of eventalization inspires a study of a case of oxygen depletion in the Kattegat and the controversies to which it gave rise. When a distinction is made between the use of the environment, of nature, and of farming land. That landscape emerges as linked to both moral and ideal values. Depictions of the heritage of the pastures display the vision of the ideal pastoral life, a timeless existence with shepherds and grazing herds, a productive ancient oriental abstraction or motif. The commodification and privatization of nature in the Scandinavian context is compared to an American example of contemporary leisure and tourism in a ski town. Consumption is also in focus in an essay challenging frequently used statements about female consumption of clothing in Norway. Also related to nature is history, and this year's issue ends with an essay reflecting on the denotation of the past in modern Sweden as compared to the more history-based national identity in Denmark. Here the author asks whether the future-oriented Swedish national identity also makes Swedes more inclined to adopt a European identity.

Printed in Sweden
Grahns Tryckeri, Lund 2006

ISSN 0348-9698