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THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Cover illustration: Postman number 126, Edvard Sandström. Watercolour study by the painter Carl Wilhelmson (1866–1928). Done for the monumental painting "Skeppsbron, Stockholm" in the public hall of post office Stockholm 1, situated in the General Post Office. The painting was completed in 1907. Object in Stockholm Post Museum collections (PM 14410). Photo: Yngve Hellström/Postmuseum (neg. 249z).

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Editorial
By Birgitta Svensson

The strength of ethnology has always been that the subject contains so many different questions about our possibilities for identification in time and space. A noticeable change today is that the space has been considerably extended. People move all over the world, and Nordic ethnology can thus deal with problems concerning distant places. This year's *Ethnologia Scandinavica* covers several topics current in the research field of cultural history, from the part played by gender in different professions and chores from the Middle Ages to the present day, to discussions of materiality and cultural heritage processes.

Gender affiliation is perhaps the issue that has captured the interest of ethnologists more than anything else in recent years. In the opening article Marianne Larsson discusses how male subordination is established in a bureaucratic system. In discussions of gender theory the focus has increasingly been on how gender formation relates to questions of class and other social and cultural affiliation. The article considers how the ritual use of small symbols on special garments enabled the categorization of social belonging, which also shaped special masculinities.

The theme of how a profession creates gender recurs in Leena Paaskoski's article about how Finnish university-educated foresters presented themselves and their professional culture in different generations during the twentieth century. In regular meetings they created a shared memory, like a kind of institutionalized brotherhood, similar to what we know from Ella Johansson's research on "the free sons of the forest". In the world of masculinity that Paaskoski describes, however, there is also room for women, who communicate masculinity even more forcefully.

How is regional identity created in the European integration process? Perhaps it is a EuroMan that is shaped and reshaped, one who makes strategic decisions based on rational economic and political grounds. Dorte Andersen and Marie Sandberg argue that the EuroMan is a type of actor who plays a part in the new regionalism in Europe today. They show how region builders rely on the same kind of historical narratives today as the medieval Hansa did when establishing a common cultural identity in the Baltic Sea region. The actor has a multifaceted self which enables him to make wise decisions both as an entrepreneur and as a political citizen. Yet they show that it is also possible to be critical of this ideal type. Misrecognition is also a part of the European identity formation process.

In medieval Sweden butter making was a woman's occupation. Janken Myrdal shows how a task that is economically significant gives social status to those who perform it. Through a detailed study of the dialectic process whereby women in the Middle Ages were skilled dairymaids with a key position as producers, but simultaneously were a challenge to patriarchal society, he discusses why female competence is subordinated. Myrdal draws on an earlier discussion in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* during the 1970s where the focus was on women's work. Both then and now it is clear that household duties tend to be underestimated as a dynamic factor, not least in feminist research. And, as Myrdal observes, it seems that when female-dominated professions rise in status, their competence is demonized.

Female skill is also the basis for Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl's article. Starting from a Norwegian minister's statement about how his government is investing in aid to build up tourism in the Third World as a way to counteract poverty, she discusses how an important place of political memory in South

Africa is transformed into a successful tourist area. Soweto has become a site for secular pilgrimage, with over 200,000 visitors yearly. Mathiesen Hjemdahl argues that sustainable tourism requires the potential to regain ownership of history, and that small-scale tourism enterprises should be created. Women in Soweto have started an organization to help each other with their B&Bs, but their success makes others envy them. The neighbours do not like poor people to become rich, and the structures of tourism also work against them. As the first black association, they find out that benefits may be intended only for whites. Another threat comes from the big hotel chains now opening in Soweto, so even if black empowerment and female entrepreneurship are encouraged in national policy, these women cannot find a way to carry on their successful businesses based on the experiences of the local inhabitants.

Cultural heritage can be used but also abused. That is the theme of Dragan Nikolić's article about the old bridge in Mostar. As a World Heritage site it has become an important destination for tourists visiting the Adriatic coast. Yet here too problems arise as to whose memory or whose interpretation is to apply. The bridge is a constant reminder of who was the perpetrator and who was the victim, Nikolić observes. By using Hanna Arendt's concept "space of appearance" he shows how monuments create both opportunities and discipline.

In the vigorous return of materiality studies that has occurred in ethnology, artefacts are often described as socio-material phenomena, as we see in Hanne Lindegaard's article about something we use daily, namely, the flush toilet. It is an artefact that appears over most of the world, and Lindegaard searches for the processes underlying this. Her study also shows the significance of combining knowledge of technology with knowledge about health and hygiene. Water, for example, turns out to be important in this context.

While the article about the diffusion and development of the water closet shows the importance of design, especially in Denmark, Christina Haldin's article considers the design of single-family houses in Åland. Building and dwelling are closely intertwined processes, naturally enough, and we learn about the different factors in everyday life that structure the design of houses.

Literature can also be objectified and materialized in festivals, landscapes, and theme parks, and this year's *Ethnologia Scandinavica* ends with an article about how literature, by being understood as action, can be festivalized. Connie Reksten shows how a Norwegian poet has given rise to a literary and poetic culture and to a special form of "literary mysticism" when his poems have become things and his books places.

The potential of materiality studies in ethnology is thus tied together, from the opening discussions about how materiality can exercise gender power, via its role in Europe and the world, to the concrete experiences of actually dwelling and having access to water closets, and to the fact that even poetry can be studied on the basis of the material forms it can create.

Numerical Symbols on the Uniform Collar
Post Office Constitution of Subordinated Masculinity
By Marianne Larsson

A photograph in the collections of Stockholm Post Museum shows a young man reclining comfortably on a park bench. With his arms and legs crossed, he is looking straight into the camera with a hint of a smile. There is something in his facial expression and posture that gives the picture a modern feel, but his clothes reveal something else. He is dressed in a well-worn postman's uniform – jacket, trousers and peaked cap – in a style dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. The cap badge and *one* gold braid around the crown of the cap are symbols of rank showing that the man is a permanently employed postman. A caption explains that the photo shows a local postman from the 1910s. The period can also be determined from the numerical symbols attached to his collar. Between 1904 and 1917, postmen in the larger cities were obliged to wear such gold-plated numbers. The trade union constantly argued against these numbers as they were interpreted as a symbol of class in a negative sense. In the periodical of the trade union, one of the members expressed himself as follows:

A symbol of class. When you are forced to wear a number visibly, and when it is as large and malformed as the numerical symbols the Post Office has supplied, then you feel – at least I do – that the distinction between the classes widens even more, as the number cannot be anything but a symbol of class distinction, which should have been removed a long time ago. That is precisely why the numbers are so obstinately preserved. [...] If the number is to be worn by employees of lower rank, it may seem that it should not be forgotten according to employees of higher rank, as a new uniform for this group has recently come into question. [...] (*Postmannen* 16/1912).[1]

The resistance and criticism against the numbers became stronger in 1917, when the Post Office Administration (*Generalpoststyrelsen*) decreed that the numbers should be removed from the uniforms of permanent senior postmen who performed "tasks of a great importance and responsibility". As a replacement for the numbers they were to wear a gilt post horn on the collar, and a *third* gold braid around the crown of the cap (Circular 9/1917; *Postmannen* 17/1917). That the numbers were only to be removed for postmen who had attained a higher level in the hierarchy was annoying for the Union of Swedish Postal Workers (*Svenska Postmannaförbundet*), who had repeatedly demanded that all numerical symbols should be completely discontinued. A proposal to the Post Office Administration shows that the Union had never accepted the explanations as to why numerical symbols were necessary (but there is no indication of what these explanations were). The only explanation the Union considered possible was that the numbering of the permanently employed postmen would enable the public to keep an eye on postmen working in the public arena. The logic of this was questionable, however, as temporary workers were not affected. As it was the Union's interpretation that the postal administration employed "anyone they could pick up off the street" as a postman, numbering the permanent employees seemed totally without justification, especially as these postmen were all known to the Post Office (*Postmannen* 13/1917).

In this article, focusing on the subordinate postmen's uniform, I will discuss the Post Office structure related to Michel Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power. One characteristic of disciplinary power is that, with the aid of minor details and discreet actions, it produces an individual who is a willing cog in a larger machine. The aim is to create "docile bodies" that are exercised to improve their own abilities, at the same time as they are persuaded to become increasingly submissive (Foucault 1991:135ff). In this way, a force can

Local postman number 211, Stockholm, 1910s. Photo: Unknown photographer/Postmuseum (neg. 370e).

be created that is greater than the sum of the forces produced separately by the individuals; the body is reduced to a function, which is to be slotted into a whole, as part of a machine, according to Foucault (1991:164f). My contention is that the postmen were turned into smoothly operating cogs in the bureaucratic machinery, and that the uniform was one of the "minor details" that helped to make the machinery work. To serve as a lower-ranked postman, no further education was necessary, a fact that made it possible for a large number of young men from small circumstances to work for the Government. Perhaps better dressed than ever before, the postmen wore the Post Office uniform with great pride (cf. *Postman minns* 1956).

Foucault emphasizes that power is not something that anyone possesses or owns. It can appear anywhere at different levels in the hierarchy. What he calls "relational power" is exercised discreetly, at the same time as it upholds itself through its own mechanisms. Disciplinary power can be absolutely indiscreet "since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade" and since it constantly supervises the very individuals who are supervising. Relational power is at the same time absolutely discreet as it functions largely in silence (1991:177). Within the Post Office system, the power moved between the hierarchical levels, between individuals who were all ranked in relation to someone else:

> A Post Office employee is obliged to show respect and obedience to his superior and to observe any orders and instructions given to him regarding his work. An employee should also be polite and obliging to his colleagues (on the same level) and, towards his subordinates, he should watch himself carefully and always behave in such a way as to invite respect and confidence (*Postboken* 1915:290).

The numbers were introduced during a period when society was changing fast. The larger cities grew when new industries were established, and there was a steady stream of people moving from the country to the cities. The changing society made more and greater demands on the Post Office. The growth and greater mobility of the population and the increase in the number of people who could write were all factors that contributed to the increase in the volume of letters. In a circular dated December 1903, the Post Office Administration announced that new *Instructions for Postmen* (*Instruktion för postbetjänte*) would apply from 1 April 1904. One of the paragraphs concerned the numerical symbols:

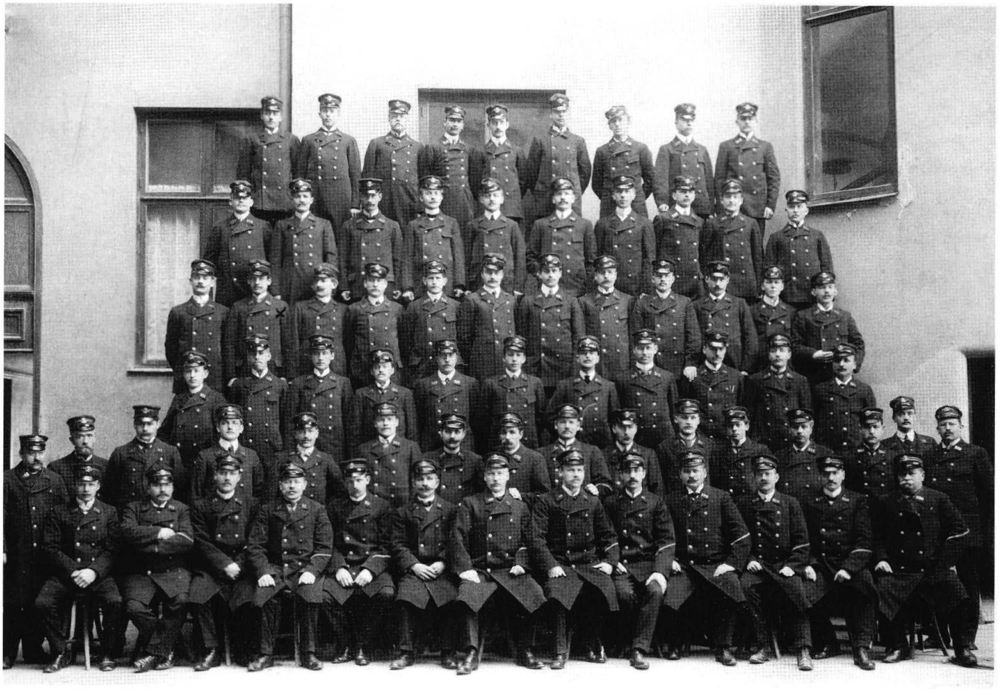
> [Concerning the uniform] the Post Office Administration has decreed:
>
> That numerical symbols are to be attached to the collars of the coat, jacket, uniform overcoat, raincoat

and raincape, intended for postmen at the post offices in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö;

That the same will apply to similar items of clothing, intended for postmen at other large post offices, to the extent that the area manager so requires, taking into account the number of postmen employed at such post offices [...] (Circular 77/1903:246).

This means that it was the outdoor clothes of the growing number of postmen in the larger cities – Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö – that were to be provided with clearly visible numbers. The introduction of numbers was optional for area managers, in other large towns, who wished to improve their control over large groups of postmen.[2]

The reason why the numerical symbols were introduced is not expressly stated in the texts available, but according to evidence in the form of documents and pictures, I can only interpret these numbers as an increase in the control system. When the uniform salary benefit (a free uniform for low-ranking postmen, among other things as compensation for low salaries) worked as a kind of oil in the Post Office machinery, the numerical symbol was obviously grit in the same machinery. Focusing on the numerical symbols as a class distinction, I will uncover the bureaucratic system representing a repeated social ordering of human beings and artefacts. And the ordering related to the uniform was all about masculinity. Through the uniform, the bureaucratic structure ordered different kinds of masculinity in different categories, according to education, class and age (cf. Colville 2003; Joseph 1986).[3] During the period when the numbers were in use,



Seventy-one postmen at the post office Stockholm 6, 1906. Almost all of the postmen are wearing a numerical symbol (among others, number 10 and number 490). In the front row, permanent senior postmen with two gold braids around the crown of the cap, and one gold braid along the outer side of the left sleeve. Photo: Carl Nyqvist & Co., Stockholm/Postmuseum (neg. 5944x).

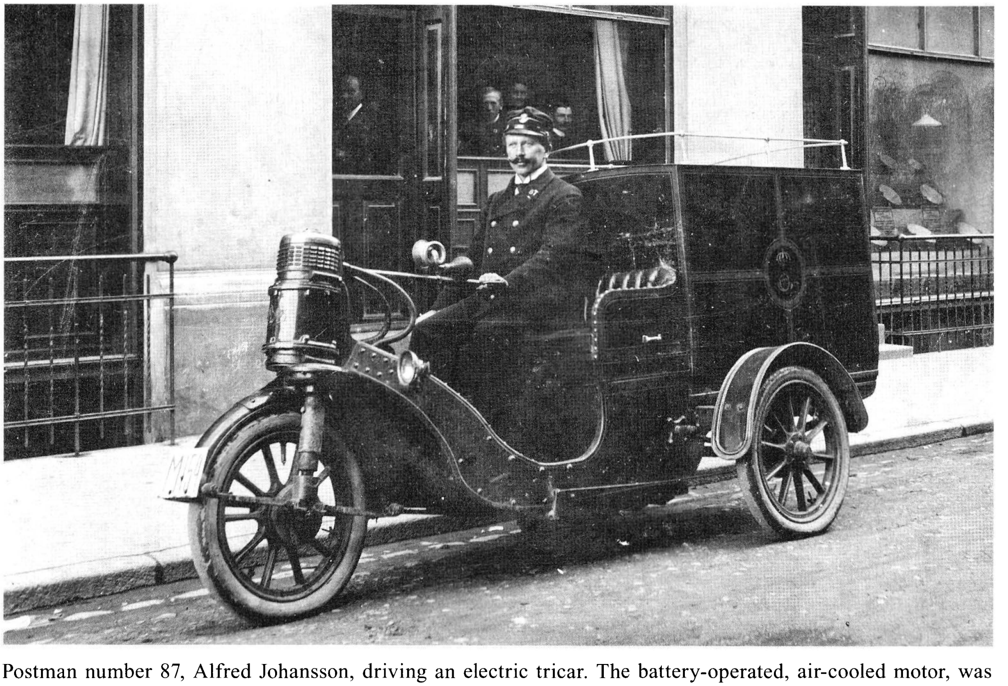
there were ongoing negotiations (as always), but still there was some sort of balance in the system, which contributed to the wearer's pride in the uniform.

One does not have look through very many volumes of the periodical of the Union to find a lot of articles and letters to the editor that make the delicate power relations between supervisors and subordinate postmen visible. The explicit distinction between the senior employees and the postmen (postal workers) was a consequence of the bureaucratic hierarchical structure of the authority. The hierarchal levels among low-ranking employees could be seen from the cap badge and the number of gold braids around the crown of the peaked cap. While wearing a uniform was a right *and* an obligation for the low-ranking postmen, it was solely a right for the high-ranking employees.[4] Consequently, the postmen I am focusing on here were obliged to wear uniform, symbols of rank and numerical symbols. Letters from the editor of *Postmannen* and from the low-ranking postmen indicate discussions of negative experiences of supervision and control from high-ranking employees. It would appear, in my sources, that employees often took advantage of the position of power they possessed at the time, in relation to others. On all levels there were supervisors whose task it was to check, record and pass on information upwards. As R. W. Connell points out – when providing a framework for studying different kinds of masculinity – a large number of men have a relationship with the hegemonic masculinity (in this case embodied by the Post Office Administration) without embodying it themselves. According to Connell's framework, both higher and lower ranking Post Office employees have a relation to the hegemonic project, but between the two levels, under the top of the pyramid, there was an explicit relation of authorization and marginalization (Connell 1995:76ff).

The article is mainly based on material from the Post Museum collections, especially books, documents and photographs.[5] The reference book *Postboken* ("The Post Office Book"), of which I have made frequent use in preparing this text, was completely in line with the rapidly expanding postal activities at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Postboken* was published in three editions (1908, 1911 and 1915) and increased noticeably in size from one edition to the next. Two high-ranking Post Office employees, who seem to have worked on it in their spare time, produced the book. The authors state that they considered such a reference book to be necessary to enable the postal employees to quickly find the appropriate Post Office rules and regulations when the increase in the volume of work required the tasks "to be dealt with in great haste" (*Postboken* 1908). The design and contents of *Postboken* are good examples of the detailed bureaucratic instructions typical of the period. Thousands of headwords offer the facts that make it possible to uncover the mechanisms of disciplinary power (but in spite of its enormous verbosity, it is not always easy to work out the details). The aim of the book is to inform about postal technologies, but headwords about employees and uniform details offer knowledge enough to analyse the disciplinary power through the uniform.[6] In the first edition of the book the authors thank the Post Office Administration for "the great support and good will" shown in buying a number of copies (*Postboken* 1908). In fact, the book was produced by high-ranking postal employees in order to direct the postal activities, including the postal workers of lower rank. For the sake of simplicity, in the following, I mainly use the edition from 1915.

As I see it, the numerical symbols on the collar highlight the negotiations related to the low-ranking postmen's uniform. The main question in this article is why the numerical symbols were considered to be a symbol of class in a negative sense, when other symbols of rank in the Post Office hierarchy, at least in some way, were accepted as symbols of individual social status. The intention is to analyse how the Post Office structure constituted subordinated masculinity, and to discuss the function of the numerical symbols as control instruments according to the disciplinary power. As the postmen were working in the public arena out of sight of their superiors I will investigate how, in spite of a certain freedom, they were controlled, through the uniform, by the Post Office, as a Government authority.[7]

According to Foucault, disciplinary power spread into society's very smallest units during the nineteenth century. Foucault starts out from what he refers to as the "panopticism", which originates from an architectural power system designed by Jeremy Bentham at the end of the eighteenth century. Bentham's *Panopticon* was a prison designed with a surveillance tower in the middle and the cells surrounding this. The intention was that the prisoners in their cells would be clearly visible and capable of being supervised from the tower, but separated from each other. The surveillance system in the tower was designed in such a way that it was impossible for the prisoner to know whether he was being supervised at any particular time or not. This resulted in constant self-control and self-discipline, which gradually became an integral part of the body. The openness of the building enabled supervision of the prisoners not only by the prison director



Postman number 87, Alfred Johansson, driving an electric tricar. The battery-operated, air-cooled motor, was charged at Malmö Electricity Board. The photograph shows the tricar in Hagagatan, at the post office Malmö 7, 1912. Photo: Unknown photographer/Postmuseum (neg. 1013d).

but by anyone who entered the tower. In this way the whole system could be controlled and supervised – although the supervisor was also supervised. Although Bentham created his *Panopticon* as a prison building, he believed that the same system could be applied to other institutions, e.g. hospitals and schools (Foucault 1991:195ff, Bentham 2002/1791). Foucault uses panopticism in his study of the modern prison system but like Bentham he emphasizes that disciplinary power will work in a number of institutions, including Government authorities and other state institutions. In Foucault's opinion, disciplinary power is based on fairly simple strategies. I see the uniform as one of the strategies contributing to the ability of disciplinary power to create self-generating discipline in the individual.

The Room: The Uniform

The discipline starts by distributing the individuals in space (Foucault 1991:141). An important part of Foucault's power analysis is that the individual is placed in a room that can be openly supervised but which is at the same time enclosed, fixed and controlled. As the work performed by the individual in the enclosed room can be carried out in series, based both on the type of work and the ability of the individual, a "useful space" is created (1991:143f). As my reading of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1991) coincided with an exercise to write a paper about the theme – recurrent in Swedish ethnology – of Time, Space and Social Setting, it was not difficult to see the uniform as a room or "useful space".[8] Even if the postmen started out from a building where they were closely supervised, and even though they had to follow a specified route and schedule, part of their working day was spent in comparative freedom in the public arena. The postmen were not therefore supervised in an enclosed room in the same way as the individuals in Foucault's example. It is therefore interesting to discuss how the disciplinary power nevertheless governed the postman's working day. Foucault states that disciplinary rooms can be both real (in the architectural sense) and theoretical. The theoretical room is created using characterizations, assessments and hierarchies that are projected on to the location (1991:148). Even if the postman spent his working day in a real room, the uniform, this is just as much a theoretical room. The uniform moves around in space at the same time as it represents a room (for supervision), a room whose walls enclose the body tightly. Characterizations, evaluations and rankings are projected on to the uniform in the same way as on to a location.

Classification: Cap Badge and Gold Braid

Another part of disciplinary power is the way the individual is classified in the system. Discipline is the art of creating ranks and hierarchies, as well as making it possible to change the ranking order, Foucault writes (1991:145f). Discipline creates architectural, functional and hierarchal rooms, which turn "the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities" (1991:148). To organize the multitude is a way of controlling it. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Post Office hierarchy was divided into four clear levels. At the top of the hierarchal pyramid was the Post Office Administration with its officials and clerks, and with the Postmaster General at the top. The level below covered high-ranking employees involved in administration who were responsible for and located at postal districts and permanent post offices all over the country. The base of the pyramid contained low-ranking postmen whose main task was to sort and deliver letters and parcels and who were also expected to help out as necessary.[9] On an implicit level below these I classify high-ranking women postal employees, but as they were totally excluded from the uniform practice in this period they are not present in this text. Between these hierarchical levels, power relations operated in a specific bureaucratic structure, and within the levels, the employees were split into further hierarchal levels. In 1917 permanent postmen of lower rank were divided into three hierarchal levels: sub-permanent postmen, permanent postmen and permanent senior postmen (*Postboken* 1915:646). And for some years before reaching the rank of a permanent postman, you had to work as a reserve postman.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, all permanent postmen wore a peaked cap with a post-horn badge and *one* gold braid around the crown of the cap. During the period when the postmen were obliged to wear the numerical symbols, 1904–1917, several structural innovations were introduced, which had an influence on the postmen's likely hierarchical positions. From 1904 it was possible for the low-ranking postmen to attend a "training course" to qualify them as permanent senior postmen (Engström 1988:124ff).[10] A postman of this rank was obliged (or entitled) to wear a *second* gold braid around the crown of the cap, and a gold braid along the outer side of his left sleeve (Circular 15/4 1904). This new situation meant that a symbol of distinction (meaning difference, and not mainly merit) for the first time split the subordinate postmen class into different hierarchical levels. The training course was sought after as a part of the emancipation of the low-ranking postmen, but at the same time it disturbed the collective identity (Engström 1988:137).

Another structural innovation was that new titles were introduced for the postmen. In 1903 the word "post duty servant", in line with the desires of the postmen (as I consistently designate the category), had been replaced by "post servant". At the same time it was the postmen's desire that, in everyday speech, ordinary words like letter carrier, messenger, sorting clerk and mail-driver should be used (*Svenske Postvaktbetjänten* 7/1903, 8/1903). Yet, in the following years the postmen and the Union repeatedly criticized the suffix "servant" for devaluing low-ranking postmen, especially in relation to the high-ranking employees. In 1909, then, in a period when thoughts about equality were growing, the postal administration decided that all staff categories in the organization should be entitled officers. However, this innovation did not imply that the explicit distinction between supervising high-ranking masculinity and subordinated masculinity disappeared. The distinction was also preserved in the daily practices as in the regulations and the clearly visible insignias of the uniform. In addition, the strict limit was constituted, in the postal rhetoric, by using the expressions "officers of higher rank" and "officers of lower rank" (Circular 68/1909).[11]

During his employment, the individual postman's position and development was governed by the hierarchical system. To be accepted as a reserve postman, the applicant had to be between 18 and 25 years old; he had to be healthy, educated to the fourth year of elementary school and to have legible handwriting. In addition, he had to have had work experience in a post office and proved himself suitable for the job (Engström 1988:131). A reserve postman was obliged to work at times and locations as the need arose. If he was not required to work, he received no pay, and it was therefore normally necessary for reserves to have another income. A reserve was entitled to wear no more uniform garment than the peaked cap, with a smaller gilt crowned post-horn (and without gold braid around the crown) (*Postboken* 1915:525, 872). After a number of years as a reserve, the postman became a sub-permanent employee with authority to wear the complete uniform, now with *one* gold braid around the crown of the cap and a cockade in the post-horn (and possibility to get an employment contract). When an individual had a contract of employment, he was a permanent employee and could only be dismissed for serious misconduct in service. After a few more years, the individual became a permanent employee, which does not seem to have had any effect on the symbols of rank. However, if an employee reached the level of permanent senior postman, he had the right to wear *two* gold braids round the crown of the peaked cap (1915:524). A *third* gold braid, and a gilt post horn on the collar (in the place of the numbers) was, as I have already mentioned, introduced in 1917 for permanent senior postmen who performed duties of special importance. If an individual postman was one of the few low-ranking employees who succeeded in reaching the level of a high-ranking employee and then by his own will *chose* to wear a uniform, the cap was decorated with *a silk ribbon with woven leaves, post-horns and crowns and had a badge of blue cloth with embroidery in gold thread showing a post-horn below a royal crown as well as oak and laurel leaves* (1915:870).

Time and the Body

To extract the optimum performance out of the individual, discipline involves treating time and body efficiently. Even if the individual is placed in a fixed schedule, the body should not be forced to carry out uncomfortable and uneconomical movements, but must be suitably coordinated with the work it does and the objects it handles. Foucault writes that the natural body has a certain strength and a certain time dimension; the body can carry out certain specific operations which all have their order, their stages and their internal conditions (1991:155).

The postman had to turn up at the post office to start work at a specified time, wearing the correct uniform. As regards correct uniform it was possible to choose either the elegant, knee-length but old-fashioned frockcoat or a more modern style with a jacket and waistcoat (*Postboken* 1915:909). The postman's working day followed a fixed schedule from morning to night and, to carry out his job correctly, each individual had to follow the strict instructions issued for his own level. The first task of the day was sorting the letters, a dusty job, which required the postman to protect his uniform with a dust coat (1915:170f). The work then had to follow a certain schedule, to enable the postman to be ready to start his first delivery round at a certain time. It was up to the supervisor, the senior postman, to check and note what time each individual left the sorting office (1915:306ff). Although the postman had greater apparent freedom in the public arena during his round, the route was carefully specified and scheduled so that the work was carried out as efficiently as possible. The mail was to be delivered in the order of the recipients' addresses, starting with the one nearest the post office. Neither the volume of mail nor any other circumstance was allowed to change the order (1915:891). The large volume of mail meant heavy satchels, which under no circumstances were to be left out of sight. Wearing the correct uniform and with the carefully sorted letters in the satchel on his shoulder, the postman had to do his round in the right order and deliver his letters at the right time, all of which was carefully checked by his supervisor. In addition, a low-ranking employee in uniform had to salute when he greeted someone out of doors (1915:340). When disciplinary power has entered the individuals' bodies, it has created "docile bodies".

The Development of the Individual in Time Series

Another part of disciplinary power concerns the development of the individual within the system. For each individual, time is divided into segments, where the individual's ability and achievements are checked, by training or other testing. Each individual is set tests appropriate for his rank and length of employment. By organizing the activities in series, the power controls the time (Foucault 1991:157ff). Karl Sjöblom describes his great happiness when in December 1898, at the age of 22, he was accepted as a reserve postman:

> I was dizzy with happiness. Little did I know then how long I would have to wait for a reasonable "slice of the cake" in the Post Office. However, I had made a start and right now that was all that mattered [....]
>
> Being in the employ of a Government authority was at this time the dream of most young men. Then, more than ever, the statement was true that the Crown's cake was small but secure. The "cake" was small everywhere, but by no means secure. In addition, it was a relatively clean job and, not least of all, with the right to wear a uniform (Sjöblom 1956:34).

Sjöblom's first working day as a reserve postman was Christmas Eve 1898. He started at 6 a.m. and worked until 8 o'clock the following morning, which means an incredible 26 continuous hours. It was not until three years later that he became a sub-permanent postman with a contract of employment and the right to wear a uniform. In December 1906, he was promoted to permanent status and in January 1907 he was allowed to attend the "training course". In 1918, after 20 years as a Post Office employee, Sjöblom was promoted to senior postman. He was also one of the relatively

Postmen in Norrköping 1914. The photograph shows that postmen in other bigger cities than Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö were numbered as well. Photo: Unknown photographer/ Postmuseum (neg. 5938x, enlarged detail).

few persons who succeeded in becoming a high-ranking employee. Although Sjöblom often refers to his body and clothes in his life story, he does not comment on the uniform or the numerical symbols he was probably obliged to wear.

Foucault refers to the disciplining of the individual by the power as "exercise". Exercise is the technique whereby bodies are made to carry out constantly repeated, but at the same time different tasks, which are always graded. The step-by-step exercises become part of the body, resulting in subjugation without end (1991:161f). When I try to incorporate my examples into the different parts of disciplinary power, it is rather difficult to decide what's what, according to Foucault's model. I feel that everything comes together in discipline and exercise: the compartmentalization of time and space, the treatment of time and body, and the division of time into series. With the body tightly enclosed by the supervised room – uniformed, ranked and numbered – the postman did his round, well exercised, with a heavy weight on his shoulder and ready to raise his hand in a salute.

Reward and Punishment: Clothes Inspection and the Uniform as a Benefit

Disciplinary power does not rule and command but it strives to tie the individual's strength to itself, in order to simultaneously increase and utilize the strength. Foucault considers that its success is probably due to the fact that disciplinary power uses such simple means. The means he refers to are hierarchal supervision, a normalizing system of reward and punishment, and their interaction in the examination process (1991:170).

Foucault's disciplinary power system involves some forms of light punishment, such as minor humiliations or loss of benefits. A micro-system of punishment results in a self-discipline that makes the individual strive to follow a system of norms, and not to deviate from the rules and regulations. However, disciplinary power strives to use rewards rather than punishment, as the individual's desire for reward is stronger than his fear of punishment. Foucault considers that, in a disciplinary system, promotion and the possibility of improving one's rank is sufficient reward whilst demotion is sufficient punishment. As an example, he quotes the complex military system of honorary classification, which is expressed in different ways in the uniform. The ongoing system of reward and punishment controls the disciplinary institutions. By comparing, differentiating, ranking, and including and excluding individuals, an internal system of norms is created (1991:177ff).

It has been well documented that both working for a Government authority and wearing a uniform were valued status symbols at this time. This situation was created and exploited by the disciplinary power within the Post Office system. I consider that the uniform was used as a reward, according to Foucault's power analysis. There were often several years between each step in the hierarchy. Years of effort and longing resulted in a permanent and therefore financially secure job, the outward sign of which was the first uniform, which meant a new identity and improved status. Further steps upwards on the hierarchal ladder resulted in new symbols in the cap badge. In the postal rhetoric there was mention of a *uniform clothing benefit*, or that Post Office employees were *entitled* to wear uniforms, and it was not a secret that the uniform was intended to compensate for the low salary levels (Forssell 1936:64, cf. Kvarnström 1998:55ff). As long as the uniform lived up to its position as a benefit, it was an important instrument in the Post Office's disciplinary power system. Despite the postman's closely scheduled, controlled and supervised working day, the uniform was a sufficient reward to produce the self-generating discipline.

The uniform could also be used as a means of inflicting subtle punishment. The right to wear uniform was dependent on the postman obeying the rules and regulations and assuming responsibility for the care of his uniform. If the postman neglected to look after his uniform, this work was to be done by the supervisor, but at the employee's expense (*Postboken* 1915:872f). If the postman did not take proper care of his uniform, he incurred certain costs, which could be compared to a fine. His superior could also demand to carry out a *clothes inspection,* which was considered to be a form of violation. In *Postmannen* (12/1917), an upset postman describes how he was summoned to the director's office for an inspection of all items of uniform clothing. To be able to carry the whole load, which had the "dimensions of a standard allotment hut," he had to enlist the help of a porter. The negligence of one colleague had resulted in all postmen in the same group being summoned to this clothes inspection. The writer considers that such an extreme measure and lust for harassment both humiliates and wounds a tidy employee. The letter ends with a bitter postscript: "We older people are normally welded to the shackles of slavery, as we have given our best years to an authority that treats us in this way, but the younger generation should be able to find employment where the innate feeling of human dignity will not be repeatedly abused by a flock of upper-class bureaucrats" (*Postmannen* 12/1917).

Examinations and Power of Writing: Staff and Clothes Records

Within the disciplinary power system, an examination is not only a final test but it is part of the ongoing testing of the individual. Examinations provide an overview through which the individual can be differentiated, rewarded and punished. Foucault considers that examinations are therefore extremely ritualized in all disciplinary contexts. Traditionally, any demonstration is usually of power, but in an examination the disciplinary power becomes invisible whilst the subjects become visible, a fact that confirms the grip the power has over them. Disciplinary power does not involve grand graduation ceremonies, but the individual is tested by a glance from the power (Foucault 1991:184ff). The examination process is accompanied by a system of record and document collecting that traps the individual. This creates a "power of writing" as an essential part of the disciplinary machinery (1991:189). Foucault compares the examination to an objectification ceremony. The method of recording the examination result turns the individual into an object and is at the same time used as a means to subjugate him. The examination involves a way of exercising power whereby each and every one is associated with the qualities that characterize him and turn him into a special case (1991:191f). In summary, an examination increases the power's knowledge about the individual, whose examination results and qualities are carefully recorded in writing. The individual is reduced to a case and seen as an object, which is used by the power to subjugate him.

The reference book *Postboken* can be seen as a clear expression of the power of writing, but in the Post Office archives there is also documentary evidence about the individual.

Since before the turn of the century, i.e. 1900, records have been kept on Post Office employees, in annual staff lists showing title, year of birth and promotion. I looked up Karl Sjöblom in a list from 1919 to investigate the possibility of checking his career. The data agree closely with his story (though there are some minor discrepancies). On 1 July 1919, Karl Sjöblom was working as a senior postman in the department for incoming mail in Gothenburg. His annual salary was SEK 2,700. The narrow columns show that he was born on 24/1 1876; he was accepted as a sub-permanent employee at the post office Gothenburg 1 on 7 October 1902 and he became a permanent employee on 4 December 1906. On 6 December 1918 he became a senior postman. Sjöblom's three hard years as a reserve were, however, not recorded. It was only when he became a permanent employee and entitled to wear a uniform, that he was recorded in the staff list (*Ämbets och tjänstemän…* 1919).

The Post Museum collections contain no original documents on individual employees, but it might be possible to find Sjöblom's "staff records" and "clothes ledgers" in the National Archives. Regarding staff records, *Postboken* states that each employee had his own page with records of his terms and conditions of employment such as salary, leave of absence, appointment, punishment, examinations, study trips and awards of distinction (*Postboken* 1915:575). Regarding clothes clothes ledgers, it is stated that each employee entitled to wear a uniform was allocated a page where he had to sign for each item of uniform. It was just as important to verify the details when items of uniform, buttons or insignia were returned. Records were also kept of when the employee was on leave for any length of time, as the period of wear of the clothing then had to be extended. When a postman left the service, the ledger was supposed to show where the items of clothing ended up (1915:105f).[12] According to the clothing regulations, the postmen were allowed to keep the clothes, after removing insignia and gilt brass buttons, when the allocated period of wear had expired (*Beklädnadsreglemente 1893*). According to the 1904 regulations, Karl Sjöblom, as a permanent postman in Gothenburg, would have been wearing the numerical symbol. He did not mention any numbers in his life story (Sjöblom 1956), and nothing was noticed in the staff list. Yet, if the reason was control and surveillance according to the disciplinary power, his number would have been noted either in the staff records or in the clothes ledger.

Foucault considers that the more anonymous and functional power gets, the more individualized the subordinates become. By surveillance, observations and measurements, a norm evolves which is confirmed by deviations rather than by achievements. In conclusion, Foucault considers that power should not only be seen in negative terms. Power is productive as it produces a reality consisting of new subject fields and truth rituals; the knowledge acquired about the individual falls into this category (Foucault 1991:194). If talk about the status of the uniform is to be regarded as a truth ritual, I consider that the uniform and its truth rituals are an expression of productive power.

The Numerical Symbols Violate the Norm

The different innovations in the period meant that aspiration for a higher rank (which formerly was a practice only within the high-ranking employee level) was implicit among the postmen. Perhaps the aspiration was a very conscious act in the postal disciplinary power system, where the aim of the uniform (as a salary benefit, among other things) was to retain the postman within the Post Office for life-long employment, especially as the low-ranking postmen were a growing occupational group. The postman's different titles, the cap badge and the gold braid clearly indicated the position of the individual within the Post Office disciplinary power system. *Postboken* shows the steps within the system, and *Postmannen* makes the complaints clear.

Against the background of the uniform in the disciplinary power system, I return to the question of why numerical symbols were regarded as a class symbol in a negative sense. The main problem was, as I see it, that the numerical symbols violated the norms. Foucault considers that the disciplinary power had to be in control of resistance; one way is to create vertical hierarchical connections to counteract horizontal associations (1991:219f). The disciplinary power did not always operate smoothly, without grit in the machinery. The Union of the Swedish Postal Workers was a strong party in the negotiations. If the postmen were of the opinion that the uniform did not serve its purpose as an advantageous salary benefit, voices were soon raised in complaint. The functions of the uniform as a reward made the employees keep a close eye on it. Dissatisfaction with the quality, appearance or fit often resulted in letters to the Union publication. To make the disciplinary power work properly, it was sometimes necessary to adjust or restore the relative strengths of the parties.

This is where the fight over the numerical symbols enters the story. The background to these was apparently a need for increased control on the part of the Post Office power system, at a time when an increasing number of postmen were to circulate freely in the public arena of the expanding cities. In these circumstances the distinction between supervising and supervised employees was further emphasized. At the beginning of the twentieth century, men in uniforms were a rather common sight in the city streets. The police wore uniforms and so did the army. Through the compulsory military service almost all men, at least once in their lifetime, wore a military uniform. Even a large number of civil servants, especially of lower rank, wore civil uniforms following the military bureaucratic system, for example at the Swedish Telecom, the Customs Department and the Swedish State Railways. Since the second part of the nineteenth century, the three-piece suit (jacket, waistcoat and trousers) and the peaked cap were the basic garments for almost all kinds of civil servants uniforms. The insignias (mainly the cap badge) made it possible for the public to identify to which public authority the uniformed individual belonged. In the same period as the postmen wore numbers, railway employees had to wear numerical symbols in the cap, and policemen were obliged to wear them on the uniform collars. The Post Office was not unique in this matter.[13]

An interpretation of the dissatisfaction among the postmen may be that the numbers violated the norms established by the disciplinary power system. Whilst the postmen were included in the Post Office hierarchal system, as well as in the collective (and individual) identity that the uniform embodied, the introduction of numerical symbols was something different. The numbers singled out the individual postman in a way that deviated from the norm. The postman was highlighted in the public arena with the aid of an extension of the "power of writing" in the concrete sense of the term. Even though the everyday symbols of rank individualized

Summer jacket made of hemp, marked with number 73. Garment from the museum collections (PM 727). Photo: Marianne Larsson 2005.

the postman, the numerical symbols resulted in the individual being supervised in a way that was not in accordance with the internal norm. Secondly, the numerical symbols made it possible for the public to identify the individual postman, which definitely violated the norm. The postmen's dissatisfaction was certainly also an expression of the feeling that the public, who traditionally were considered to be subjugated to the state, the Post Office authorities and therefore also the postman (even if he was at the very bottom of the hierarchy), acquired a position of power that created an imbalance in the system.

Another interpretation of the number as a negative symbol of class may be that the postmen considered the increased supervision and control to be a result of the ongoing upheavals in society. During the period when the numerical symbols were in use, there were widespread troubles with strikes and demonstrations in the country, and outside Sweden, a world war was going on. In 1909, a large national strike, intended to paralyse most of society, occurred as a result of depression and low salaries. As postal workers in the public service, with a written authority, the postmen had no right or possibility to strike. As the low salaries were compensated for with the uniform benefit, perhaps the postmen's new title, officers, was a benefit as well. In the spring of 1917 the largest demonstrations ever in Sweden were staged in Stockholm; food shortages and high food prizes, as a result of the war, caused violent hunger riots, which were initially started by working-class women. Although the postmen were at the bottom of the Post Office hierarchy, their status was said to be (or was experienced as) some degree above the working class. Perhaps the postmen's Trade Union believed that the postal administration suddenly considered the members to be unreliable, and that they were therefore reduced to the status level of the working class. If this was the case, it was also a deviation from the internal norm. In the publication *Postmannen* there were constant discussions about the subjugation of the low-ranking employees and how their superiors treated them, with frequent references to the question of class.

In the end, the Union's fight over the numbers paid off. Under the heading "The class symbol disappears" in *Postmannen*, the Post Office Administration announced that from 1 November 1917 the numerical symbols would no longer be in use. The editor added a comment that the members were certain to receive this news with gratitude and satisfaction, and the editor was convinced that the Post Office Administration would not have reason to regret its well-advised decision (*Postmannen* 21/1917). Even some daily newspapers noticed that the Union and the postmen at last had their request granted (*Svenska Dagbladet* 24/10 1917; *Aftontidningen* 5/11 1917). Violating the internal norm system, it is apparent that the numbers had been grit rather than oil in the machinery, and it was in the Post Office's interest to restore to normal the relative strengths of the respective parties. I perceive the *movement* between power and resistance as a characteristic of the Post Office power system. The function of the uniform as a reward, a closely watched salary benefit, resulted in its becoming an interesting topic for negotiations. The power system of the Government was not only to develop well-educated and loyal high-ranking hegemonic masculinities, but also to discipline subordinate postmen into "docile bodies". Different levels of masculinity in changeable power relations were a requirement for the disciplinary power system.

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Notes

1 *Postmannen* ("The Postman") was the periodical of the Union of Swedish Postal Workers (*Svenska Postmannaförbundet*).

2 Actually, it seems that the Stockholm postmen were obliged to wear numbers earlier than this. An investigation from 1892 states that in 1878 the numbers were moved from the postbags to the uniform collars (Anförande… 1892). Numbers were not only a Swedish phenomenon. Preserved in the Post Museum collections there is a lithograph of (probably) a London postman from about the middle of the nineteenth century. He is wearing a red coat marked with GPO (General Post Office) and number 117 on the collar. Among the museum objects there is a peaked cap from Australia, marked PMG and number 29, used about the 1920s.

3 In Sweden women were not permitted to serve as postmen before the 1940s (which may be compared with the situation in for example Germany and Great Britain where women worked as postmen as early as the First World War). Women were permitted to be employed as civil servants of higher rank in the Post Office since the 1870s, but while men of higher rank had the right to wear a uniform (if they wanted to, but they had to pay for it), women of higher rank were totally excluded from the uniform regulations.

4 For certain groups of high-ranking employees, who mostly worked outside the permanent post offices, e.g. at a railway post office, the uniform was an obligation.

5 Since 1906 the Swedish Post Museum has been situated in the Old Town in Stockholm. Preserved in the museum collections I have found only one garment that is still decorated with a numerical symbol: a light brown summer jacket made of hemp marked with number 73. However, the numbers are not mentioned in the catalogue of the collections. In the collections there are even single numbers 0–9, gold-plated and quite beautifully designed, and there are lots of portraits, both of individuals and "staff portraits", showing postmen wearing the numbers.

6 Of course this analysis could be done by focusing on another postal subject, or by studying the Post Office structure itself.

7 This article is part of my thesis in ethnology, on civilian uniforms in the Swedish Post Office, at the Department of Ethnology, Comparative Religion and Gender Studies at Stockholm University. The aim of my thesis is to analyse the negotiations between the Post Office structures and the Post Office employees, and to investigate what the uniform does according to the person who wears it.

8 The connection between Foucault, the uniform, the body and the disciplinary power has also been considered by the fashion and dress scholar Elizabeth Wilson (1992). Joanne Entwistle (2000) has discussed Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power related to the body.

9 The Swedish Post Office bureaucracy, and the Post Office officials, are very well described in Max Weber's study of the essence, condition and development of modern bureaucracy (Weber 1987:58ff).

10 The training course comprised six weeks for low-ranking employees, to obtain qualifications for promotion to senior postman. At the end of the course there was an examination consisting of oral and written tests (*Postboken* 1915:883ff).

11 The new title, officers of lower rank, was introduced for the workers in the Swedish State Railways as well.

12 I am quite curious as to whether it would be possible to find out from his clothing records what numbers Sjöblom had on his collar during his service in Gothenburg, or if it would be possible to identify, by the numbers on his collar, in some original document, the local postman from the 1910s.

13 On special assignments, since the 1990s, Swedish policemen are obliged to wear numbers on their helmets, as a form of self-control and self-discipline – according to a curator in the new Police Museum in Stockholm (personal phone call 19/2 2008).

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Brothers and Sisters of the Forest

Gender in the Forester Profession

By Leena Paaskoski

Many professions and occupations are characterized by gender. It means that they are generally considered either men's or women's professions (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1987: 6-9). All the Finnish forestry professionals, from forest workers to university-educated foresters have mainly been men until the very recent times. This long tradition of men has affected attitudes, values and norms, the culture of these professions. What happened when women arrived in these male societies?

In this article I will focus on the male-dominated profession of Finnish university-educated foresters. I analyse the way the foresters express and describe themselves and their profession in their oral history, private photographs and student magazines of the 20th century. I ask how the masculine professional culture of foresters is created, maintained and also changed during these decades – and how the arrival of women affected it. Especially the latter half of the 20th century saw a period of major transition to both the institution of Finnish forestry and to the profession of foresters. Part of this alteration was also the increased amount of female foresters. A professional culture, considered in this article, is here understood as a process in which a group of individuals not only creates, but also adapts, maintains and changes common manners, values and ideas (Ehn & Löfgren 1982:90; Anttonen 1999:198-210; Arvidsson 2001:16-17; Ehn & Löfgren 2004: 8-11; Ylijoki 2004, passim). This culture can be interpreted by pointing at and analyzing its varied expressions (Kalela 2002:108-109; Lehtonen 2005:20).

In 1999–2002, a large oral history project called "Forestry Professions in a Changing Society" was organised by The Finnish Forest History Society, The University of Helsinki (Department of Ethnology) and The Finnish Forest Museum Lusto. The collected material consists of over 1,000 biographical interviews of Finnish forestry professionals. Over 200 of them were university-educated foresters who told about their life, work and experiences in the profession during the 1930s to 1990s.[1] This oral history material reflects, as well, both male and female foresters' specific attitudes to gender issues in the male-dominated profession. Usually, the question of gender was particularly asked and discussed in the interviews, but in a way, it was also constantly present in all telling, at least between the lines. In this article, based in oral history of about 100 foresters (born in the 1910s–1970s), I also refer to nearly 20 private photograph collections and their photographs taken by individual foresters during their student days, as well as to student magazine articles written by forestry students. These different sources cover both contemporary and recalled experiences in the education and profession of foresters.

When a person tells his or her life story, it comes down to a question of memories and choices. Between the moment of each individual experience and the moment of telling about it, there is always a body of events that inevitably has an influence on the story and the way of both remembering and telling it (Portelli 2005: 68-69). One chooses the story and the way in which it is told. One version of the story, for example, is submitted to an interviewer, often many decades after the experience itself. A photographer has to make a choice, as well. He or she chooses the object, and an owner of photographs chooses what is preserved. The photographs are also given meanings by organising and giving subtitles to them. As contemporary sources, photographs document a contemporary experience that is worth remembering.[2] They become evidence of meaningful experiences.

Moreover, memories are created and often remembered in social situations. In other words, because things have been experienced together, individuals' experiences incite reminiscence and are often also recalled together. One can combine others' memories with one's own. Some memories are, furthermore, transferred from generation to generation (Halbwachs 1992:38; Korkiakangas 1996:29; Korkiakangas 1997; Peltonen 2003:20; Portelli 2005:66; Schrager 2005, passim). Therefore, the oral as well as the visual stories and remembrances may form a collective and shared memory of a group.

Considering the masculinity of foresters in this article, the special role of university-educated foresters as academic professionals must be stressed. Academic men have sometimes been seen to demonstrate less than masculine features (Bengtsson & Frykman 1987:46; Frykman 1998:128-134). The education and work of university-educated foresters were, however, seen to require a range of masculine abilities and physical strength, as well as organizers' and leaders' capabilities. The combination of both physical and intellectual skills showing one's masculinity is actually typical for forestry professionals (Brandth & Haugen 2000:343, 352). The foresters often even characterized themselves as "academic lumberjacks" (Metsäylioppilas 1954; Ylioppilaslehden metsänumero 5c/1937).

The Profession of Foresters

The higher forestry education[3] was established in the Evo Forest Institute in southern Tavastia at the beginning of the 1860s. In 1908, the education was transferred from Evo to the University of Helsinki. From the very beginning, the idea of the forester education was to combine both theory and practice. In the Evo Forest Institute the education included a lot of practical work in forests, and in the university the academic year was organized into three periods. In addition to university lectures there were several training periods arranged in forests and on the countryside during summer time. During the 20th century the most important of these, and common to all the forestry students, was the so-called first summer training session at the Hyytiälä Forestry Field Station in Juupajoki, northern Tavastia. This included a variety of practical forest activities in the area. Hyytiälä was a kind of boarding school in the countryside where the student group worked and lived together for three months. In this way, it continued the tradition of the Evo Forest Institute. It was often considered that a long tradition of foresters' education, professionalism and their feeling of cohesion and togetherness is based on shared experiences in these small, outlying societies.

The first foresters were educated for service in the Board of Forestry but during the 20th century the number of employers increased markedly. Foresters were occupied as well in forest industry companies, private forestry organisations and gradually even other fields of the economy. Their professional position was often as a director or as an expert on forest issues. Even if their occupations were diverse, their aims and duties seemed to have more in common. University-educated foresters often considered themselves as being caretakers of the national wealth, Finland's green gold.

During the history of the profession, the number of foresters constantly increased as well. While there were less than 200 foresters in Finland at the beginning of the 20th century, the number had grown to 1,000 in the 1940s and 3,000 in the 1990s. All the students of the Evo Forest Institute and almost all the students in university as well, until the 1970s, were men. After that the student groups gradually became more equal, but female foresters did not have equal opportunities on par with men in getting jobs in forestry for a long time. In the profession they still are a minority.

Many features of the forester profession – including gender issues – have been characteristic to many other (Finnish) professions as well. Professions like engineers or military officers, for example, have shared similar experiences and professional history concerning the feeling of togetherness, defining common professional aims or accepting female newcomers to the profession.

The Spirit of a Paradise

In an old black-and-white photograph, nine naked young men in their twenties are lined up, leaning into one another for the pose in the midst of a forest. Someone has drawn a big black snake on the picture to cover part of their nakedness. The picture features a cryptic subtitle: "In the paradise of Karhujärvi. On the left Margelin who in a day cut an asp of 20 centimetres." The boys are forestry students and the photograph was taken during their summer training period at the Hyytiälä Forestry Field Station in 1932 (Lusto. V94012:23/H32). What kind of memories does this picture conceal and what does it tell us about a university-educated foresters' profession?

"The paradise of Karhujärvi" with its very intensive feeling of close togetherness, freedom of young men and a shared sense of humour, is only one of many expressions that connote the meaning of Hyytiälä as one of forming tight-knit student groups with a feeling of togetherness, which facilitated in socializing forestry students into their future profession. About the same content was reflected, for example, in the student magazine in the 1950s like this:

We learned a lot of forestry and experienced, at the same time, a happy summer in freedom, which

"In the paradise of Karhujärvi". Forestry students in Hyytiälä in 1932. Lusto. Lasse Kilpinen's collection.

certainly will be remembered for a long time. It is said, justifiable, that the foresters' chronology starts from the summer spent in Hyytiälä (Metsäylioppilas 1954).

As well, remembering this summer for 40 years later, one could still emphazise its meaning:

Hyytiälä was... if I would like to categorise the summers during my whole life, it was definitively one of the best. It included so much other things in addition to learning forestry. It was this group of friends, the fellow students, and we organized parties and celebrated and had excursions. And, this summer training period of Hyytiälä is also the first practical experience in learning forestry (Lusto. A02001:115/m35).

In this way, the foresters connected the birth of togetherness, without exception, to the training period spent at the Hyytiälä Forestry Field Station. Besides learning things about forestry, the students became well acquainted with one another in Hyytiälä. In both the oral history and photographs concerning the forestry students' studies, the Hyytiälä training period was also the most commonly recalled and described.[4]

For many, togetherness meant lifelong brotherhood and friendship. It also had an importance for working in the profession in future. A man who studied in the 1960s described the importance of Hyytiälä like this:

Quite many of us in the profession know each other already during the studies and afterwards, because this education is a little bit like team work, we spend summers together and so on. It has been a benefit that already during the student days one has gained a good network. ... Of course we did plant and measure and draw maps and so on [in Hyytiälä], drove forest machines and did all sorts of things, but surely, the best thing was that our student group became one unit and learnt to operate as a group and then later we could always trust each other as well (Lusto. A02001:127/m48).

This feeling of togetherness even had a special name, the forester spirit: "... no doubt the forester spirit was created during the Hyytiälä summer. And it is or has been significant... through my whole career. And I've been proud of it" (Lusto. A02001:109/m37). The Finnish (*metsämieshenki*) and Swedish (*skogsmannaanda*) expressions include the word *man*, evidence of the long masculine history of the profession. In Finnish, the expression refers as well to hunters, but it gained its special meanings concerning foresters at the latest in the 1930s (Metsäylioppilas 1939; Leikola & Kallio 1990: 164-166; Leikola 1997:95).

The concept of a forester spirit seemed to be familiar to everyone in the profession. Every group may share a common spirit of solidarity, but in some professions, there is a certain term for it (like 'a fireman spirit'). Even if it has a name, it may not have an exact definition. Some of the foresters even considered it impossible to define the concept. The forester spirit has many synonyms that specify the nature of the spirit or its background. For instance, the foresters talked about a course spirit[5], a Hyytiälä spirit, a good brother spirit, a team spirit or a spirit of solidarity. A forester spirit was often described also as a network or a circle of colleagues. According to a forester who studied in the 1970s, it was a question of understanding each other even without words:

... well [the forester spirit] is sort of a – feeling of togetherness with brothers and sisters in the profession so that we speak the same language and understand each other almost without words... it is... it must be the same in other professions as well but we call it the forester spirit... (Lusto. A02001:60/m55).

However, the spirit was not only "born" in a group but also more or less consciously created. Teachers (themselves university-educated foresters) and older students conveyed the forestry education. For example, during the 1940s and 50s, older students organized lectures called sapling lessons, which taught the forester spirit to younger students. The real forester spirit included good forester manners, like honesty and responsibility. The spirit had to reach beyond one's own student group to other foresters and even to all forestry professionals (Metsäylioppilas 1947; Metsäylioppilas 1949). The foresters often combined the forester spirit, professional pride and foresters' demanding duties as caretakers of the national wealth. The feeling of togetherness was needed, because it supported them in their profession.

The reason for emphasizing Hyytiälä's meaning for the studies can be found in the characteristics of this training period. Hyytiälä was often called "a paradise" (Metsäylioppilas 1939; Ylioppilaslehti 10/1934; Tertti 1935) or considered otherwise a very special place in forestry students' experiences and in foresters' memories. It differed totally from the university, as it featured a different working, living and spare time environment in a socially restricted community. In the interviews with men, Hyytiälä was seen as an opportunity to acquire experience in practical work and the forest itself. The same wish often already had been central when choosing the forester profession. There was also spare time for sports, playing cards, partying, brewing alcohol, drinking, and building students' own "monuments" like a jetty, a tennis court or a gate at Hyytiälä. Maintaining all kinds of tradition from one forester generation to another was a central part of this summer. The idea of a student group as a uniform unit became clear while staying together for the whole summer.

The photographs taken in Hyytiälä by the students show almost the same contents as to be found in the oral stories. The summer was spent in physical work, excursions, celebrating and doing sports. There are plenty of photographs, for example, of wood-cutting, ditch-digging or lecturing in forests. Although the buildings and views of Hyytiälä were immortalized by the camera, generation after generation, most of the pictures illustrate people, the student group itself working, resting, riding bikes to training areas, entertaining in their spare time or posing in different group photographs.

However, Hyytiälä was considered not only as a free zone for university students, but especially as a men's paradise and a men's world. When defining life in Hyytiälä, it was frequently mentioned that activities among these student groups were often wild, stupid and uncultivated because of their manliness. The summer of Hyytiälä was a boys' "adventure" with lots of drinking and partying (Metsäylioppilas 4/1970) – which was typically connected to their gender. The other features that the foresters considered typical for men were accurate and hierarchical social relationships, as well as a good team spirit in the group. The students had organized themselves in Hyytiälä so that everyone had some duty in a group. One was a leader, another was a treasurer, "a beer master" or responsible for sports. This was called a course organization. Also military manners were easily integrated into everyday life and Hyytiälä was often seen as being equivalent to an army. Both Hyytiälä and an army were considered places where a boy "became a man" (Metsäylioppilas 1939; Varis 1934; Leivo 1937:40; Leimu 1985:9-13; Ahlbäck 2006:122-123).

How could I say it, if I'm honest, we drank a lot and celebrated. Fifty [males] experiencing late puberty and living there by the lake without almost any discipline, it was quite a wild period. But we did do the work as well and – learnt the lessons nevertheless. Happy days. Hyytiälä was like having conscription again, like a short, three months modification of an army (Lusto. A02001:1/m47).

Men's way of forming and preferring male groups have often been analyzed with a term *homosociality*, but also by talking about *brotherhood* (Arvidsson 2001:60; Kuosmanen 2001:41-44). The term brotherhood was frequently referred to also by foresters themselves when speaking about this group of one's own, in so far as the brotherhood explained the social relationship between men. In the interview situations with foresters, the men could also presume that this brotherhood was difficult to understand by female interviewers. Brotherhood eliminated competition between men and defined norms, values and approved behaviour in a male group. Among a student group, in a course organization, approved behaviour was often defined and emphasized by talking about the forester spirit:

It is not enough that the forester spirit is born in Hyytiälä. We have to maintain it without selfishness as well. It is our responsibility to try to brighten its brilliance and to improve it with the warmth of our hearts. It is the necklace of pearls that joins all the foresters together and we all can add our own fine pearl to it for the future (Metsäylioppilas 1957).

Forestry students digging a ditch in Hyytiälä in 1939. Lusto. The Society of Finnish Professional Foresters' collection.

An Institution of Brotherhood

Following their studies, the experiences of forestry students were preserved in their collective memories. The togetherness of the group as well as the forester spirit was, however, actively kept up. These former student groups were the basic elements for the whole network of foresters that constantly maintained the idea of a firm profession and its common duty in Finnish forestry. Similar kinds of social ties in many professions and occupations have seen to give strength, ideas of togetherness and even unofficial social security (Saaritsa & Teräs 2003:22; Teräs 2003:138-140).

Remembering important joint experiences can create a special recollective culture which can be established or strengthened by surrounding changes (Virtanen 1982:176; Korkiakangas 1996:18.) It presupposes, however, concrete situations for meeting and recollecting. These situations can be diverse ceremonies, celebrations or just being together, but they always represent the past and create continuity with the past (Connerton 1991:45, 72; Olsson 1999:220-221). To maintain the social and professional network the forester groups had to meet each other regularly in the profession. Already in the 1930s and 40s some forester groups had started to meet each other annually for so-called course lunches. It soon became a general tradition among foresters

(Multamäki & Laitakari (eds.) 1967:4; Palosuo 1987:1; Koivisto & Sippola 1997:31-33). These meetings were occasions for keeping up the group's cultural tradition, which included shared memories, stories, humour and professional views. The occasions were documented by writing course lunch diaries and by taking photographs of the group. These writings and photographs were often organized as course archives that were preserved with care.[6]

For example, in 2004 all former student groups (1936–2000) except one had invited their members to a course lunch during the big annual event, the Forest Days, organized by the Finnish Forest Association (76. Metsäpäivät 29.–30.3.2004). Especially the older foresters were devotedly taking part in the course lunches and emphasized the significance of meeting regularly. As a forester, who studied in the 1950s, explained: "And one has to remember, of course, that it [the forester spirit] lasts because there are course lunches once a year..." (Lusto. A02001:70/m36). For example half of the members of one student group, which graduated in the beginning of the 1960s, still took part in their course lunches 40 years later. Another group had even been mildly competing with one another over active participation:

> I've taken part in all our course lunches [during 40 years]. It is a hobby for me, and I'll try to participate in them all as long as I live. There are only three of us left who have taken part in all of them (Lusto. A02001:70/m36).

The forester groups started to organize even annual excursions. They visited each others' homes and organisations and especially places full of memories of their student days. Visiting Hyytiälä every five or ten years after leaving it became a general custom of these groups as well. During these course anniversaries the foresters went to admire ditches they had dug in their youth or took photographs where they posed decades earlier. As Hyytiälä was considered a paradise during their youthful student days, it now became a holy place of "pilgrimage" (Lenkki 2/1956; Metsäylioppilas 1959; Mikola 1959:12). Visiting Hyytiälä was a way to connect a place and a memory, to maintain shared memories, solidarity and

Foresters and their wives at the course lunch in Helsinki in 1954. The same men had been in Hyytiälä in 1932. Lusto. Lasse Kilpinen's collection.

togetherness and to recreate meanings of historical places (see Halbwachs 1992:200; Nora 1996, passim; Thompson 2000:133; Peltonen 2003:187-191; Fingerroos 2004:112; Korkiakangas 2006:134; Latvala 2006:174-175, 182-183).

A common sense of humour had an important role in preserving the togetherness of the group (Pöysä 1997:69) and it was also often connected to the best memories shared by course brothers. It was considered a part of the forester spirit as well. On the other hand, the humour could be a means to handle problems and conflicts among the members of the group. This kind of humour existed and was understood only inside the group. It typically had special language full of hidden meanings and it could appear in strange ceremonies often established as a joke in the student days and, for the sake of memories and togetherness, maintained afterwards (Lenkki 1/1957; Forstihuuto 4/1987; Leikola & Kallio 1990:164).

The forester groups with their course lunches, course archives and course excursions were not only unofficial organizations established in Hyytiälä but they also became institutions of recollecting. There is always some reason for recalling (Korkiakangas 1997:15). Maintaining joint experiences and shared memories made the profession of foresters stronger and more united. As such it could better serve the Finnish forestry and the country.

A Woman in a Paradise

In an old black-and-white photograph, there are 20 young men in their twenties leaning in towards one another for the camera on the floor. Only four people are sitting separately by a fireplace. One of them is a girl. The picture is subtitled: "Baltic herrings in a barrow". The boys are forestry students and so is she. The photograph was taken during their summer training period in Hyytiälä in 1922 (Lusto. V04032:88/H22). What kind of memories does this picture hide and how did one distinguish the experiences of many men and one woman?

Her name was Martta. She was the second woman to study forest sciences at the university and the first one who also stayed in her profession. The first woman had become a forester just before Martta started her studies. Prior to the 1940s, altogether six women studied forest sciences at the university. They had all been sole women in their student groups. In the 1940s there were occasionally several women at the same time, but in the 1950s there were again few female students, one at a time. The last student group, which consisted only of men, trained in Hyytiälä in 1961. After that it was already common to have a couple of women in every student group. At the beginning of the 1970s, however, the number of female students started to rise and during the 1990s it reached the same number as male students (Kärkkäinen & Toivanen 1995:17-25, 132-134; Suomen metsänhoitajat 1977–1986).

Consequently, prior to the 1970s, women constituted a small minority in a male-dominated group of students. Thus, for the first 60 years, students studying for a degree in forest sciences were exclusively men, and almost exclusively men 50 years after that. Women acquired jobs in forestry even more slowly; prior to the 1970s many of them ended up as housewives or in other professions, often after they had worked for only a few years in the field (Kärkkäinen & Toivanen 1995).

It was not until Martta and other women that the masculinity of the profession became more visible. Even if one woman could not

“Baltic herrings in a barrow”. A student group of 1922 in Hyytiälä. Lusto. Aarno Liuksiala’s collection.

change the way that 39 young men were living in Hyytiälä in 1922, she made it evident. Altogether 60 photographs documenting this summer were taken by one of the men. What do they tell about the position of Martta? She is portrayed in ten pictures; many of these were group portraits in the training areas and at work. Sometimes she is sitting or standing a bit apart from the others. She did not (of course), at least according to the photographs, take part in the beach life of the naked boys, nor in the nights of partying or in brewing alcohol. Only one photograph is taken of Martta particularly: sleeping under a tree beside a training area. The photograph is subtitled by men: “A woman in forest work” (Lusto. V04032:74/H22).

All the experiences that she did not share with men because of her gender can be considered characteristics of a masculine profession. The position of men in Hyytiälä was self-evident and founded on a long tradition of brotherhood. Masculinity was a norm, which also meant the invisibility of gender (Lundgren 1990:24; Lundgren 1993:44, 54; Brandth & Haugen 2000:345; Lidestav & Sjölander 2007:352). When the foresters were, for example, asked what the forester spirit was, it was interesting to see how the features of the foresters’ professional culture were sometimes much better shown by the women’s rather than the men’s descriptions. The oral history material concerning the forester spirit indicates that the concept was not usually problematic for the male informants, while it quite often led the women to talk about men. In fact, men did not usually talk about their female fellow students at all in their oral stories about their student days. If there were women in a group and an interviewer approached the subject, the question was usually discussed briefly and neutrally. The interviewer was just told that women were treated equally, fairly or in a gentlemanly way.

When women talked about their studies and especially about Hyytiälä, gender was always present. It had to be taken into consideration even when telling about the physical aspects of living, because the women lived apart from men in another building (called "the castle of the maids"). They needed to express how they managed the heavy physical work and whether they were treated equally or not. Many of these women told about fair treatment and the feeling of fellowship with the men, but some considered the Hyytiälä summer almost a punishment because they believed the men tried to get rid of women there. Sometimes it was the military behaviour in Hyytiälä that the women especially recollected. A female forester who had been in Hyytiälä in the middle of the 1960s described the training period:

> It was really organized in a military manner, and we always had one person from our student group on duty, and he reported those present. Every morning we stood in a line in the yard where we got our orders... Of course the teachers at that time were men that had been in the war, and it showed (Lusto. A02001:16/f46).

The familiar stories told by the men concerning excursions, parties, drinking, sporting and the forester spirit were seldom emphasized or even mentioned in the female oral history. Although women have also photographed the environment, themselves working, or their own student group in Hyytiälä, something is lacking in their pictures. It seems that spare time activities especially distinguished the positions of men and women before the 1970s. Spending spare time together not only demanded inventiveness but also a capacity to co-operate, and a consensus of opinion. What was done together was also decided together. One cannot even imagine women in certain photographs. The common brotherhood, warm relations and freedom in a group of course brothers are seen especially in group portraits or playing the fool in spare time photographs. It is often actually difficult to point at the concrete distinction between photographs taken by men and women, but the feeling they convey is obvious.[7]

The forester spirit could as well be recalled in a different light by females. When male foresters described the forester spirit, for example, as "a spirit of brothers in arms" (Lusto. A2001:154/m32), "the brotherhood of men who had been in a war" (Lusto. A02001:128/m19) or "a stupid group of boys" (this particular group also included girls) (Lusto. A02001:123/m49) they left their fellow female students almost unintentionally outside their togetherness. Therefore, a woman, a student in the 1950s, thought the forester spirit was "something that had a strong smell of beer". None of the boys could – according to this woman – speak normally to the only girl of the group (Lusto. A02001:4/f38). Another woman believed that the forester spirit "was not directed to us girls" (Lusto. A02001:203/f47).

The first women studying the forest sciences could astound their fellow male students but they were, in any case, considered as pure curiosities. A lively discussion about women in the profession arose for the first time in the 1940s. In the summer of 1943 – partly because of the war – altogether twelve female forestry students had started their training period in the Hyytiälä Forestry Field Station. Afterwards this unusual phenomenon was handled in a student magazine. In this magazine "Metsäylioppilas" in 1945 both men and women were writing about the gender issue in forest sciences and in the profession of foresters. Twelve women could no longer be considered harmless curiosities. In many articles the male writers guessed that women had chosen this profession just to find husbands in forestry. One of the professors, for example, gave the impression that women in forest sciences resulted in an economical loss, because they acquired both a forester education and a forester husband. Usually only a husband could get an occupation while a wife stayed at home, after all. Men's suspicious attitudes towards women forced these twelve women to explain their choice. In their article, "A mistake, an accidental impulse or a firm persuasion – in other words, why do we get dressed in men's trousers?", they assured the reader that they had exactly the same motives as the male students:

> We have the same target as our fellow male students – the work in aid of the Finnish forests and the whole nation. So, we sincerely wish to find good mutual understanding with all our future colleagues and to notice that the men do not despise these few links that we women form in this noble chain of forestry students (Metsäylioppilas 1945).

It seems that after this surprising year of 1943, an eye was kept on the number of women in forest sciences. Every now and then women were made to feel they had the "wrong gender" in the forester profession (Lusto. A02001:181/f54). Even if the attitudes of men later were less disapproving, there was still plenty of discussion about the gender issue.

A Problematic Gender

Both male and female oral and illustrated stories can be read as descriptions of the relations between men and women. In both types of sources men were placed in the centre, while the position of women was more marginal. Instead of becoming natural members of the group, women were forced to find other strategies to cope.

The first women to study forest sciences between the 1910s and the 1960s often had the view of an outsider. A few women could not change the masculine culture, nor could they create a strong culture of their own alone. There were quite often not enough women to form a group of their own. Therefore, these women in the minority were sometimes left – although not on purpose – in isolation. Some of them reacted, however, neutrally to the men's common culture even if they were not part of it. At that time, it was accepted that there were different rules for men's and women's behaviour, as a male forester described, when recalling his time in Hyytiälä in the middle of the 1950s:

> And Elina was our only girl [in a student group] and she has later asked us why we never took her with us to parties or when we were having fun during the Hyytiälä summer; she was, for example, living in another building and only listening through the window when we had fun… and at that time [everything was not suitable for girls] … not like today when the students are equal and spend their spare time together... (Lusto. A02001:68/m34).

In Hyytiälä, female newcomers were judged according to the norms of the existing community. This meant that they were easily treated not as fellow, but as female students. Men were gentlemanly and gave women special treatment. When women themselves asked for equality instead of speciality, they ended up playing a masculine game: the same male rules for everybody without any mercy or exception.

If the women wanted to join a common male group and cope with this culture they needed to be boyish and brisk and to adopt the men's manners. They could get the respect of the masculine group only by obeying its cultural rules. In some cases, one can even talk about obtaining a male identity. When the male foresters were asked what their attitude towards their female mates was, the concept of a good guy was often introduced.

> Anja and Maarit – they were the best boys in the village. During the training period [the 1960s] they lived in "the castle of the maids" in Hyytiälä but otherwise it was not a question of being a man or a woman… (Lusto. A02001:41/m43).

Another man, a student in the 1950s, answered: "… she [the only woman of the student group] was a very brisk and good guy" (Lusto. A02001:154/m32). When comparing the university-educated foresters' experiences, for example, with engineers' attitudes one can find many similarities. Female students in engineering also met with the concept of a good guy, which was a worthy title for a girl who coped well (Nitovuori 2003, passim). There was no problem – according to the male foresters – as long as these female "guys" got along in a man's world.

One of the very good guys among foresters was Saara Peiponen, who had chosen her career for her love of nature in the 1940s. She was the first woman with the office of a district forester in public service in 1957 (Kärkkäinen & Toivanen 1995:61-65). It can be said that Saara Peiponen became a legend of the profession because of her gender. The male interviewees talked admiringly about her: she got on well with men, was not shy and could even pee together with men in a forest. She was admired as well by other female foresters, since she had good social skills, managed with hard physical work and could act just like men to advance her career. Saara Peiponen never married, which was seen as an advantage to her forester career (Metsäylioppilas 1981; Vänkäri 1/1985; Kärkkäinen 1997:175). Even if some men thought that a forester career was not suited for women, in general, the case of Saara Peiponen proved that men and women could have equality in the profession: Saara was like the men. When all the members of the community were men or like men, the community could – according to men – be seen as equal.

Younger female students could see the situations differently than their older female colleagues. The male-dominated group was more like an opportunity than a threat. There were women – as before – that felt at home in the company of men. A woman who became acquainted with her course mates better in Hyytiälä in the 1960s thought that "… it is a close relationship. They are like brothers to me, these fellow students" (Lusto. A02001:16/f46). Those who did not get on as well with men could now share their interests with other women: "… we have a group of five girls that meets annually since the first ones graduated" (Lusto. A02001:220/f57).

The female foresters took part in their course lunches more or less actively. But if they had had difficulties in adjusting to men's values, a group of course brothers or the real forester spirit, they probably had the same difficulties later in the male-dominated profession. As the social network of foresters meant unofficial social security and possibilities to gain access to occupations, the lack of a network could harm one's future career. According to a woman who studied in the 1950s:

> Because I had not been inside the circle of fellow students during my student days, there was nobody to whom I could have called and asked whether they knew about any job or so on... it worked like this anyway, to get a job at least at that time, it works like this even now – even if no one admits it (Lusto. A02001:4/f38).

Another woman had had a nice and very social summer among men in Hyytiälä in the 1980s, and she even felt herself as a real and equal member of the group. But afterwards:

Female "good guys" learning forest work in Hyytiälä in 1943. Lusto. Ela Blomgren's collection.

We have talked with the girls many times later about how we were one group, and good guys all of us, during our student days; but now in the profession... the field of forestry is so conservative and male-dominated that it can be seen now how the nice guys turn out to be men with certain attitudes towards [women], I sometimes wonder how it really happens or do we women change somehow [laughs] – I do not know (Lusto. A02001:189/f65).

The old traditions and attitudes concerning gender existed for a long time in the profession. Even if the women had experienced equality during their student days, after graduating, at the latest, they could face many difficulties in the profession. Getting jobs, equal salaries or fair treatment had to do with their gender. When employing women, the male foresters had to define "suitable occupations for female foresters". "A suitable occupation for a woman" usually meant all sorts of office work where female abilities were considered an advantage (Metsäylioppilas 3/1970; Metsäylioppilas 4/1973; Kärkkäinen & Toivanen 1995, passim).

Establishing social networks had to do with the gender as well. For example, the women in engineering had established their own association in the 1930s when there were about 20–30 female students. On the other hand, they were partly afraid of emphasizing themselves as females. They appreciated the company of other women with similar experiences but needed to get a professional identity instead of a female identity to be able to work in an engineer's profession (Nitovuori 2003, passim). Unlike women in engineering, the few female students in the forest sciences did not have any official student association of their own. In the 1970s, when there were about 20 female students in every student group, the first female chairman of the student association in forest sciences said she hoped that people would stop comparing the differences between men and women (Metsäylioppilas 1/1977). The students wanted to be regarded as future professional foresters, not as females. The situation, however, was very different in the profession. The university-educated female foresters came up against a far more unequal world when they graduated and joined the professional communities that were still strongly a men's area. As a result, the female foresters established a professional association as early as 1955. Although there were few women in the student groups at that time, there were already 30 women with degrees in forest sciences (Kärkkäinen & Toivanen 1995, passim.; Saarimaa 2004:116). Yet, even during the 1990s a young woman in the profession felt like "a stranger" in the company of her older colleagues, because she had not adopted the "right" forester spirit (Lusto. A02001:45/f67).

In a way, the gender became problematic to both men and women and it constantly needed to be taken into consideration (see Bengtsson & Frykman 1987:31-32). The way of socializing new members into the profession by joint experiences and shared memories was not as obvious as before the females had entered the profession. In the eyes of women, the norms of the profession were not purely formed by foresters but by men. Therefore, there were two kinds of forest professionals – foresters and female foresters.

Brothers, Sisters and Experts of the Forest

A professional identity is needed in order to be able to successfully work in the profession. The personal identity is created by comparing one's own personal story with cultural narrations shared by the group (Hall 1992:291-296). Therefore, to become a member of a group, one needs to assimilate its common culture and its cultural narrations and expressions. After one has acquired the membership, these narrations are adapted with one's personal story. This is the process that produces new elements to be shared in the group. The individuals do not only assimilate and maintain, but also change the culture (Ylijoki 2004:145-157).

The forester spirit's task was to strengthen the profession and to support its work. It was an old professional heritage that was created in a male community during the studies and passed on mostly by men. In order to survive, it needed constant social communication in the profession. The tradition of course lunches once a year was one of the organized ways of maintaining togetherness among university-educated foresters. The members of this male group seemed to be socialized into it quite unanimously. Up until the 1960s and 1970s, the few female foresters either adopted the masculine culture of their student groups or felt, more or less, like outsiders.

Between the 1970s and 1990s, however, the foresters' education and profession changed in many ways. It was not only a question of an increased number of female students and foresters. Students on the whole no longer formed as a uniform group as before. Male and an ever-increasing number of female students were studying at two universities and in different lines of study. The training period in Hyytiälä was split into many short and optional fieldwork courses. The student groups were bigger than before. Together with new branches of study, the universities took in students with a variety of values and visions regarding their future careers. The student organisations could no longer socialize the large number of new members into their own tradition (Eskola 2002:290). There was tension between tradition and radicalism, continuity and change.

The much more pluralistic values in Finnish forestry as well as multiple uses of forests became part of both the younger and older forester generations' work from the 1960s onwards. These diverse values in forestry also produced diverse attitudes of foresters. As this period of transition in Finnish forestry was intensive, it even created disagreements and conflicts between forester generations.

The Board of Forestry, the forest industry and private forestry organizations had long been the most important employers of university-educated foresters. From the 1970s, professional foresters became qualified for other jobs as well, even outside the traditional area of forestry, and at present the university-educated foresters' profession is one of the most international academic professions in Finland. It also seems that earlier, when Finnish forestry organizations were set up according to a professional hierarchy, the professional culture formed one's most important reference group. Modern team organizations, on the other hand, are based on more equality – a member of a team may feel that his or her working community is the primary reference group. All these changes are evidence of a more pluralistic field in forestry.

This progress may have strengthened the position of the foresters' profession by offering versatile possibilities for work, but it has weakened the prerequisites needed for the forester spirit to be the exclusive property of a certain group. In a way, it has actually given better opportunities to male and female foresters to form common professional groups, because men no longer want to emphasize the forester spirit either. There is no particular need to strengthen the public – or one's own – view of university-educated foresters as legitimate caretakers of the national wealth, but rather as forest experts capable of wide and versatile co-operation. Finally, it is not only a matter of opening up the foresters' profession, but of opening up forest issues to the society as a whole.

As a property of a group, a professional culture includes all that is shared by the members of the group. When searching for unifying elements of the research material, it may easily result in unreal cultural unity and misleading consensus (Ehn & Löfgren 2004:12-13). Even if the professional culture of the older generation of foresters included and emphasized a strong gender perspective as well as an inner demand for professional solidarity, the profession as a whole could not in reality have been as unanimous. In the profession, there were always different individuals as well, with distinct experiences and various attitudes – even among men. In oral history, however, the male older generation of foresters' recollections supply a surprisingly homogenous view of foresters as patriotic caretakers of the national wealth. To keep the profession unified, the cultural process of foresters created a shared narration by recreating joint experiences and reminding each other of professional aims. This narration was adopted, or at least recognized by all the professionals, whether they were male or female, older or younger. As parts of this narration "the paradise of Karhujärvi" with its secrets was shared and preserved in the memories of only men, but "the Baltic herrings in a barrow", in any case, at least showed a female newcomer what an acceptable narration could be like.

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Notes

1 My PhD thesis on Finnish university-educated foresters and their professional culture in the 19th and 20th centuries, "Being a University-educated Forester. An Ethnological Study on Finnish Forest Professionalism", will be published in 2008. Its main material is this oral history, 226 biographical interviews of university-educated foresters, which roughly cover a 70-year period of their experiences in studies and professional work. In addition, I also have used photographs and student magazines. See Lusto. A02001; http://www.lusto.fi/resources/File/mmm-hanke/english/index.html (accessed 16.2.2008).

2 As Seija Ulkuniemi (2005:105) has shown, snapshots concentrate on special events and experiences. They do not portray everyday life as it really is, but as it is wished to be.

3 The present academic degree of the profession is Master of Science (Agriculture and Forestry). The Finnish historical name, which is still in use as a title that the faculty grants to all graduates, is *metsänhoitaja* (*jägmästare, forstmästare*). In this article this is translated as *university-educated forester* to differentiate it from those educated at the forestry institute. When I discuss foresters in this article I mean the university-educated foresters.

4 The training period in Hyytiälä was brought up in many contexts in the interviews. Additionally, photographs were seldom taken in the university or in the capital; almost all the pictures are from different training periods and excursions.

5 With the word *course* (*kurssi*) I mean a group of students that studied together and also kept in touch later in the profession. In this article I mostly use the expression *a student group*, *a forester group* or just *a group* but expressions like *a course lunch* or *a course anniversary* refer to things shared by this group as well.

6 There are several photograph collections including this kind of photographs in the archive of Lusto. See, for example, Lusto. V94012:231–236/H32, V94021:1–11/H43B, V04031:192, 194–197/H39, V07027:1-7/H37. There are also many course archives of foresters including collective course diaries. See Lusto A98008, A00010, A02021, A06007, A06016, A07001, A07016, A07018.

7 According to Anja Petersen (1999:140-141) it is interesting how photographs are considered objective but analysing them is seen as very subjective. Photographs should also be analysed on different levels, not only considering what a picture concretely denotes, but what it connotes on a symbolic level.

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The course archives of foresters A98008, A00010, A02001, A02021, A06007, A06016, A07001, A07016, A07018

The photograph collections of foresters V94012/H32, V94021/H43B, V95004/H23, V95013/H11, V95014/H31, V99008/H12, V01020/H33, V01023/H43, V02005/H36/H39, V03004/H53, V04003/H36, V04031/H27, V04032/H22, V05008/H12, V05017/H16/H31, V07009/H55, V07012/H67, V07027/H37. 'H' in the signum of the photograph collection means Hyytiälä and the subsequent number is the year of the training period.

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Constructing EuroMan

The Enactment of Regional Identity-formation in the European Integration Process

By Dorte Andersen and Marie Sandberg

Introduction

According to the British anthropologist Cris Shore, Homo Europaeus was invented years ago. When Jean Monnet in the 1970s envisioned "homme européen" as a European human being building Europe on the values of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, he made a considerable contribution (Shore 1999). Since then, European politicians and officials have produced a variety of ideals supposed to reflect the role of European man in the European integration-project. According to Shore, however, the European politicians' and bureaucrats' visions of Homo Europaeus are characterised by a deep gulf to European reality. He underlines this in an analysis of how the European Commission in 1996 awarded a Swedish-Norwegian supermother, Woman of Europe. The woman, whom Shore calls Eurowoman, had ten children, yet the remaining energy to be actively involved with issues of European integration, such as the environmental. The irony is emphasised by the fact that the woman obviously did not feel at ease with receiving the award (Ibid.: 61ff).

The purpose of this article is to shed light on yet another construction of European man, a construction we have named EuroMan. EuroMan is an actor-type possessing the ability and will to pursue rational-strategic goals and he appears in the form of an economic agent as well as a participant in political processes. Inspired by poststructuralist (Lacan 1997; Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Butler 1997; Hall 1996) and actor-network theory (Callon & Law 1997; Latour 1991) we apply a both constructivist and relativist conception of the actor. We understand the actor as a specific type of practice enabling specific actions (and disabling other forms of action). EuroMan is in other words not a flesh-and-blood individual but a 'he', an 'it', or an 'I', that is, a unifying name for a set of practices that can be enacted. Moreover, we do not suggest that EuroMan is the only possible actor-type in Europe. The understanding of the actor-type we describe is not universal (even when many understand it to be) and he may potentially disappear. For the actor-type to be actual it is therefore necessary to stage him, which is best described in terms of the process the French structuralist Louis Althusser has called interpellation (Althusser 1971). In order for EuroMan to be an active in European integration processes a variety of subjects need to be interpellated by him, that is they need to recognise themselves in him. In the subject's self-recognition in EuroMan, the actor-type reiterates, that is, a retelling and reconfiguration of the type takes place thus activating EuroMan and making him able to play his role (Butler 1997). EuroMan is thus not an *a priori* principle in which our selves passively reflect; only his active expression gives him existence.

As we intend to illustrate, EU regional policies as well as theories of so-called New Regionalism are crucial sites in which EuroMan appears and unfolds. The region has altered status and become one of the key figures in developments of European social cohesion and economic growth over the last two decades, conceptually as well as politically. A new understanding of the region as motor in the developments of economic growth and European integration reflects a paradigm shift in political and economic theory. Within the heading of New Regionalism, economic theory considers the region a vehicle of processes whereby the European knowledge society is to evolve, because the regional level provides a foundation for entrepreneurship and innovation (e.g. Porter 1990; Storper 1995). Political theory of New Regionalism focuses on how regions are constructed, and very often regionalisation is connected with new forms of governance and multiple identities (Hooghe & Marks 2001; Neumann 1994).

Accordingly, our focus is the enactment of EuroMan in European regionalisation processes. In contrast to Shore's analysis of Homo Europaeus as an ideological construct that only works in the reality of EU-bureaucrats, however, it is our intention to show how EuroMan is enacted in a complex field of practices, including ideological ones. We are not making a distinction between EU-bureaucrats, who construct, and a European reality located elsewhere than the construction. In the context of our analysis of European regionalisation, we therefore show how EuroMan's actor-traits are expressed in a broad range of practices, even when he is only able to appear as our analytical construction.

Regionalisation, identity-formation and the key characteristics of EuroMan unite in EU regional policies and New Regionalism. In the first two parts of the article, we analyse this connection in detail. We show how normative guidelines for regional developments in both policy-making and in theory emphasise specific actor-traits. In the context of our analysis, we regard policy-making and theories of New Regionalism as practices and therefore treat them as objects of ethnological studies as we would everyday practices (cf. Foucault 1994).[1] Hence, we include EU policies as well as economic and political theories of New Regionalism as fields in our analysis. In the last part, we illustrate how EuroMan is enacted in the Spanish region Catalonia and in the border town Görlitz-Zgorzelec in the German-Polish borderland. These two examples have been made possible by extensive ethnological field-work conducted by the two authors respectively. The question of how EuroMan is enacted in different ways is thus exemplified in our studies of documents on EU regional policy-making, of political and economic regional theory[2] as well as in our respective fieldwork.

In our analytical approach to practice we are inspired by the concept of enactment which according to Judith Butler implicates that: "power not only *acts on* a subject but, in a transitive sense, *enacts* the subject into being" (Butler 1997:13). Constituent to the analytical approach we analyse practices in different shapes and contexts (Butler 1997). It is therefore necessary to illuminate variety in EuroMan's practical enactment when we problematise constructions of him. We thus illustrate how EuroMan is open for more than one meaning and how he attains his power of attraction when enacted in and by many different practices at once. EuroMan may be our unifying and invented name for a particular version of the European man, but the construction is made meaningful by the range of our empirical analyses and is thus a reflection of a broad variety of existing practices.

I. The Region as Motor in European Regional Policies

In the European Union's regional policy targets as well as in research on regionalism and regionalisation, a distinction is often made between a new and an old regionalism. Regional policies were traditionally influenced by a centre/periphery problematic, where the goal was to integrate the regional periphery in dynamic state-centred economies. In the course of the 1980s, however, interest has shifted towards regions as motors of growth, thereby making the region an actor in its own right rather than a passive receiver of subsidies (cf. Keating 2003; Harvie 1994). The shift in focus can be regarded a result of so-called globalisation-processes, particularly the increased international extension of market-forces and a corresponding restructuring of the European nation-state and integration-processes. Within the comprehensive ethnological field of regional studies there is general agreement that even though regions and regional identity are not new phenomena, recent developments of regionalisation and Europeanisation generates new conceptions of the spatial organisation of Europe, conceptualisations of place and of belonging (see e.g. Becker 2005; Frykman & Niedermüller 2002; Wilken 2001; Giordano 1999). At European level, the idea of "A Europe of Regions" has also caused much speculation about which direction the EU will evolve into, both as positive visions and as scare campaigns (Højrup 2002; Hooghe & Marks 2001). Sometimes the image created is one of a regional restructuring influencing all possible assets to European society. However, as Michael Keating, sociologist and an expert on European regionalisation underlines, European regionalisation is not a new invention and it is therefore essential to understand current regionalisation-processes as partial and highly complex processes, and not as a singular, intentionally directed thing (Keating 2003).

In the following, we analyse the role played by regions in European community policies. What is significant about these policies is how they assign actor-traits to regions by emphasising that regions ought to be responsible for their own developments. Hence, EuroMan here appears in the shape of the responsible (and responsive) European region.

European cohesion through regional convergence

The community has had regulations and subsidies for regions and the European periphery since the 1970s but it is not until the 80s that an actual regional policy takes shape. The structural funds double in this period and become the second largest post on the EEC budget. Running parallel with the development of European regional policies is a change in the understanding of regions, quite similar to the distinction mentioned above between old and new regionalism. In 1994, the committee of regions (CoR) is then established, a committee whose core intentions are exemplary of the changed status granted to regions in Europe over the past 30 years. The CoR administers the EU's principle of subsidiary stating that matters ought to be handled by the smallest (or, the lowest) competent authority and thus most often at local or regional level.

The EU's 3 structural and cohesion funds, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund have for several decades now had as their main task to improve infrastructure, investments in business, as well as labour market integration in the European regions and periphery. If we take a closer look at the guidelines of the structural and cohesion funds in the current period (2007–13) and if we look at the means used to reach the targets set, we see how a new understanding of regions is taking shape.[3] Firstly, the funds aim at convergence in the least developed member-states and regions, the so-called "convergence-regions" that have a GDP of less than 75% of the Community average. Means to achieve convergence are the creation of conditions for growth and employment. Secondly, the funds aim at enhancing regional competitiveness and generating employment by encouraging innovation, entrepreneurship, protection of the environment and regional labour market attachments. Thirdly, the funds aim at promoting European territorial cooperation (meaning cross-border, transnational, and transregional cooperation), especially by extending networks between small and middle-sized companies, the so-called SMEs. Special attention is also paid to research and development (R&D) (European Commission 2007a:6, 20).[4] Regions gain access to the funds by way of application, nowadays through the Interreg-programmes, established in 2000.

It is not extraordinary that regional policies still aim at equalising economic differences between the European memberstates and between the regions. What is extraordinary is rather the way convergence is to be achieved. Regions are expected to be self-motivated and prepare for change on a rational-strategic basis, thus illustrating some of EuroMan's most basic features. In contrast to earlier funding, the aim is to create a foundation in lacking regions for innovation, entrepreneurship and networking, which is to say that the activities implemented to transform development patterns in lacking regions are to be found internally to the regions; transformations in economic potential must be based on endogenous resources. Apart from this self-motivated process, the aid that the lacking regions will get derives from the resourceful regions. The strong regions are supposed to act as role models leading the way for other regions. As it says in the introduction to the summary of the EU's cohesion policy 2007–13:

> The issue is to improve competitiveness and the potential for growth at local, regional, and national level. The competitiveness of economies benefits the whole of the European territories, including convergence regions. All the parties win. A Europe showing solidarity must also be a dynamic, productive and innovative Europe (Ibid.: 7).

What sustains the role of strong regions is, among other things, a process of knowledge sharing in which the lacking regions are allowed to learn from the success of the strong, through benchmarking and other such modelling. Knowledge sharing displays solidarity internally to the EU and it provides a way for all of the European regions to enhance their ability to cope in the global economy. EuroMan must in other words be prepared to work with his own endogenous resources and he must be willing to help others to help themselves in a process creating innovative, entrepreneurial and networking abilities. As the next section will illustrate, the most suitable milieus for these traits to evolve are regional clusters.

Clusters and networks as best policy-practices

At a summit in Lisbon in 2000 the European Union set itself the target that European economy was to develop into: "[T]he most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and respect for the environment." The Lisbon strategy has proven difficult to implement in practice. In the Wim Kok report from 2004[5], a report evaluating the strategy four years after its implementation, it says: "Individual Member States have made progress in one or more of these policy priority areas [the knowledge economy; the internal market; the business climate; the labour market] but none has succeeded consistently across a broad front. If Europe is to achieve its targets, it needs to step up its efforts considerably" (European Commission 2004:7). Individually, the new memberstates have had difficulties implementing the strategy, and the extension of the EU into the East represents the perhaps greatest challenge ever to the European cohesion policies.

However, according to the recommendations made in the Wim Kok report, there is no reason to reject the Lisbon strategy. Instead, the report emphasises how regions should be included as important actors in these processes, something, which is underlined by attempts to consolidate regional cluster-formations in relation to knowledge-based economic developments. Regions provide basis for close physical contacts between companies and research institutions, an interaction supposed to drive future European economic developments:

> Creative interaction between universities, scientists and researchers on the one hand and industry and commerce on the other, which drives technology transfer and innovation, is necessarily rooted in the close physical location of universities and companies. There is already ample evidence around the world that high-tech clusters are built on this interaction (...) (Ibid.: 20-21).

Satisfactory conditions for entrepreneurship are closely related to cluster-developments according to the report:

> The Commission's analysis on deepening access to capital markets, as called for by the High Level Group[6], should provide other concrete answers on the appropriate measures to mobilise the required risk capital. What is abundantly clear is that the stimulation of networking, including the clusters and ideopolises[7] (…), is crucial and requires attention from policy-makers (Ibid.: 30).

Hence, the close spatial proximity between regional institutions and economic agents consolidates the region's role as motor in European integration-processes and EuroMan is in his element in this regional clustering of agents important to knowledge-based economic developments. The European Commission has for long recognised the importance of cluster-policies to support such processes. In 2002 the Commission published a report called "Regional Clusters in Europe", mapping advantages and disadvantages in cluster-developments for European economy as well as providing a regional cluster-map of Europe. The conclusion reached in the report was that European cluster-policies needed upgrading because they represent important tools for policy-making if Europe is to reach the goals of the Lisbon strategy. Regional cluster-policies are considered to be the foundation upon which Europe will be able to maintain its social models of equal distribution of resources, sustainable development and social cohesion.

A broad range of EU policy-areas recognise that regional activism and the right conditions for entrepreneurship at regional level are important factors in Europe's socioeconomic development. The existence of risk-capital as well as human resources in regions is therefore important issues:

> If Europe is to compete in the global knowledge society, it must also invest more in its most precious asset – its people. The productivity and competitiveness of Europe's economy are directly dependent on a well-educated, skilled and adaptable workforce that is able to embrace change (European Commission 2004: 33).

The realisation of the Lisbon strategy depends on the formation of a workforce at regional level with the resources needed to participate at a global marketplace, where specialisation, innovation and entrepreneurship have substituted the benefits of low-cost production.

EuroMan appearing

In the above, we have illustrated what is expected of EuroMan and what are the optimal surroundings for him to play his role as motor in European political and economic integration. When EuroMan appears in the shape of the region, he also appears to have a wide range of traits, such as the innovative, the enterprising and the competitive. If regions and regional actors do not yet possess these traits, the EU will aid the regions' abilities to develop them by establishing the best possible conditions for them. Optimal conditions for convergence are generated by a regional activism, that is, high-tech clusters and innovation networks supporting enterprising and innovative activities. Moreover, in a process of knowledge sharing, the strong regions are supposed to lead the weak whereby the weak will learn how to optimise their growth-potential by encouraging and utilising endogenous resources. The lacking regions are in other words masters of their own faith, not just receivers of subsidies as they used to be. In the following section, we highlight the political and economic theory legitimising such regionalisation-processes, thereby further explicating who EuroMan is.[8]

II. New European Regionalism(s)

During the 90s, agreement was established in economic and political theory that the region is becoming increasingly central to economic, political and social processes in Europe. This interest can be summed up under the heading, New Regionalism. Economists have mainly concentrated on the economically strong regions and an increasing amount of attempts is made to map the factors responsible for regional economic strength. On their side, political scientists have been preoccupied with the region as a basis for new forms of governance as well as political actors' construction of new communities and understandings of security-issues. Hence, the newly found research-based interest in regions reflects the changed status and conception of the region in EU-politics. Together the regional policies and theories of regionalisation lay a firm foundation for the configuration of EuroMan.

The Region builders and the identity-managers

In much political theory in the 90s, the end of the Cold War opened the possibility of constituting new forms of transnational and post-sovereign cooperation and region-formation in Europe.[9] The Baltic Sea Region is an example of this and it has, accordingly been the object of a tremendous amount of political theoretical research.[10] Sometimes New Regionalism is also called a new medievalism, where different kinds of belonging and identities develop across territorial borders, and where political questions are handled at many governmental and administrative levels (Wæver 1997: 295; Neumann 1994).

Inspired by nation-building approaches and genealogical analysis[11], one of New Regionalisms founding fathers, Iver B. Neumann, argues for a constructivist understanding of the region thereby contributing to a postmodern turn in political theory (Browning 2001: 3). In these approaches there is a keen interest in analysis of how regions are constructed; who are the actors formulating which strategies, who decides to use them, and who attains something in the process. The focus is thus on the region builders, or the actors (Neumann 1994:58, 73). There is a parallel between this approach and the call in EU regional policies for regional activities and we can thus add regional activism and participation as theoretical prerequisites to the construction of EuroMan.

In the wake of Neumann's Region Building Approach, political research, including the Copenhagen School, has taken a keen interest in New Regionalism as foundation for security-issues (Wæver 1997; Browning 2001). The thesis is that new forms of governance facilitate new security-structures, structures, which are not necessarily tied to military threats. The Copenhagen School develops its thesis on the basis of speech-act theory[12], inferring that something only becomes a security-issue when it is spoken off as a security-issue (Tassinari 2004: 37-44). The speech-act needs to be conducted by political leaders or actors belonging to the elite and it has to be acted out in the context of a collective. It was for instance only the speech-acts of political and intellectual elites, with their slogans and historical narratives that made possible the construction of a common cultural identity and past founded on Hanseatic Towns in the Baltic Sea region (Wæver 1997).

The new conception of the region as the political actors' construct can be easily linked to new ways of understanding decision-making processes in EU integration-policies. Multi-Level Governance theory, for instance, understands the incessantly intensifying European integration-process as a reason to reinterpret contemporary forms of governance (Hooghe & Marks 2001). Politics should be regarded as a system of multilevel governance consisting of different levels, where various types of actors, such as social movements, NGOs, transnational networks, European institutions, and the regions have a say (Hooghe 1996: 92f; Lähteenmäki-Smith 1999). Several examples illustrate that there is direct communication between the subnational level and the EU, and the Maastricht Treaty as well as the principle of subsidiary are considered as steps in a process whereby regional influences increase (Hooghe & Marks 2001: 81).[13] The CoR and the many subnational offices in Brussels[14] are also emphasised as exemplary of processes facilitating the regional actors' capacities for self-management.

In multilevel governance theory, the emergence of governance at various levels is understood in relation to a development of multiple identities. An argument often heard is that having a European identity does not necessarily exclude a strong sense of regional belonging, to the contrary. Identities spread across borders, and the nation-state is not necessarily the only unifying centre in identity-formation: "The absence of war has meant the absence of an immensely powerful influence toward exclusive identity, leaving causal space for a variety of other influences that have had the effect of sustaining multiple identities" (Hooghe & Marks 2001: 61). New identities involve transnational social interaction and economic integration, border-crossing actions that in themselves strengthen the identity-making and cultural integration across the European borders.

It is striking how the Region Building Approach, including the Copenhagen School, emphasise the actor's ability to participate actively in political life at regional level ("the region builder"), and how Multi Level Governance theory stress his ability to administer belonging at different levels (active identity-managing). The focus of regional research inspired by political theory is thus similar to the one found in EU regional policies, namely the emphasis on the importance of buttonup processes, endogenous regional activities and the regional actor. It should in other words be recognised that regional political theory consolidates EuroMan's traits and, as we shall see, this explicit support of EuroMan's configuration also counts for economic theory.

The networker with human capital

With Michael Porter's theory about national economic development in the global economy (Porter 1990) and the occurrence in the 90s of new geography (Storper 1995; Scott 1996), the spatial dimension experienced a transformation in economic theory. Inspired by

Porter and the new geographers, economic studies once again became preoccupied with a specific economic phenomenon, the cluster-formation. Following Porter's definition, the cluster consists of:

[G]eographically close groups of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by common technologies and skills. They normally exist within a geographical area where ease of communication, logistics and personal interaction is possible. Clusters are normally concentrated in regions and sometimes in a single town" (Porter 1998: 199).[15]

Since the beginning of the 90s, cluster-research has mainly been concerned with high-tech clusters and the technological developments and human resources that support a highly specialised production. This interest is strongly influenced by Italian studies from the late 70s of the dynamics of modern industrial districts, studies that are among the first to stress the benefits of flexible and specialised production for economic growth (Becattani 1979). They also seek to demonstrate, how smaller companies and businesses with local ties are central actors in cluster-developments. Historical and institutionalised anchorage of local actors supposedly has a huge influence on the potential for growth in a modern industrial district.

When understood as a locality for geographically anchored modes of production, the region has therefore had a renaissance in economic theory resembling its altered status in European policy-making. Focus in these theories is foremost on the economically strong regions because these regions can be regarded drivers of economic growth in a larger geographical context. Moreover, the region is understood as centre of knowledge-production, a phenomenon for which various concepts are used, such as Knowledge Intensive Regions and Regional Innovation Systems (cf. Asheim & Gertler 2004). The regional cluster-formations dealt with are characterised by an accumulation of two forms of resources, the hard and the soft. The hard resources refer to costs related to a specific market-based production, such as the availability of natural resources, transportation costs, infrastructure, the number and size of companies in an area, etc. The soft resources are more humane and refer to the availability of labour in a region, to the educational level of the labour-force, to the institutions supporting the regional production, such as educational institutions, and not the least, the resources deriving from the industrial tradition of the region. It is stressed how important it is that each region does its utmost to optimise the presence of both forms of resources, preferably on the basis of endogenous traits.

In the discussion of soft resources, human and social capitals are often used as descriptive terms. The terms are associated with individual actors' capacities as well as social behavioural patterns influencing social interaction and networking in specific geographical areas. They were developed in socioeconomic studies conducted from the late 80s and onwards of relations between the existence of human resources and the nature of economic and civil society developments in countries like the US and Italy (Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993, 2000:18ff). The terms have not been difficult to appropriate in studies of labour markets that are knowledge-dense, and where specialisation, independence, and responsibility among the labour-forces are considered essential for economic success. Moreover, the terms create the possibility of analysing the influence of area-specific networking on innovation and knowledge sharing.

Most economic theory today agrees that it is necessary to create the optimal conditions for interaction and opportunities for the entrepreneur, who dares to think anew and take risks in order for geographically anchored economies to be successful. Because of this, it also makes more sense to many political actors today to focus on regional cluster-formations as foundation for successful economic developments than to focus on the state's equal distribution of resources between regions. Hence, the development of economic activities in Europe should be understood as interrelated with a range of theories and political initiatives aiming to unleash regional actors in order to create the necessary foundation for sustainable economic growth in Europe. Theorists and politicians alike recognise that without EuroMan's active participation in the processes there will be no long-term basis for European integration.

EuroMan unfolding

In political as well as economic theories of regionalisation, we confront a range of traits assigned to EuroMan, traits, which are in line with EU regional-policies but also coupled with each other (cf. du Gay 2000). We saw how the Region Building Approach understood an intensified interaction across state-territorial borders as the precondition for new communities and identities to form. Moreover, in these theories, political actors activate historical, cultural, and political narratives. Apart from the fact that the region builder thereby becomes the natural point of departure in an analysis of regionalisation, it also infers that the focus is on activities taking place in regions. The thesis in multilevel governance theory is that new forms of governance result in new senses of belonging. Identities are not necessarily tied to state territories; they spread across many more levels and are multiple. That belonging is transnational and border crossing and identities multiple infers that the individual can contain many identities at the same time as well as being able to navigate between them.[16] The individual actor and his activities are thereby staged as central, thus stressing the actor's ability to strategically manage his senses of belonging. A unifying word for the actor-type in these examples of New Regionalism within political theory is *the political participant* upholding membership at many different levels.

The entrepreneur is the most central actor in talk about European knowledge-economic developments. Entrepreneurship is considered an essential factor to a successfully growing European economy, both when it is already knowledge-dense and when it is developing into it. The entrepreneur is willing to take risks and always value maximising his actions, that is, he is able to calculate which actions are the most rational if his business is to attain growth. Words like innovation and entrepreneurship are in turn connected with the existence of social and human capital in a regional context, not only theoretically but also within policy-making. Human capital refers to specific attributes ascribed to the individual person, attributes making him attractive at the knowledge-economic market place. Apart from the individual's competences and a certain educational level, the enterprising capital is crucial when estimating how attractive an individual is. Social capital on its side refers to an accumulation of trust between people, an asset, which is conducive for networking and interaction and thus corresponds well with cluster-formations. In a knowledge-based economy it is desirable that individuals possessing human capital are also able to cooperate, a cooperation aided by interaction based on tolerance and trust.

Active participation, which is highly recommended in EU integration-policies, fits in well with the idea of a social capital facilitating cooperation. However, social capital should be understood as an intuitive social relation depending on so-called tacit knowledge, that is, unmediated awareness of behavioural patterns in a population that has been collaborating for generations. In most integration-policies, such as those concerning the European citizenship, social interaction is a reflexive, social rationality, referring to the actively participating individual who is socially conscious and responsible in relation to his fellow citizens (Andersen 2007). This individual is through dialogue and negotiation able to reach an understanding of the best possible social conditions for attaining his goals without violating the interests of others. Hence, the individual possesses a social rationality, which is beneficial not only for himself, but for others.

The many traits associated with the economic entrepreneur and the political participant, are all preconditions if the EU's political initiatives at regional level are to function and its rationalities to be successfully implemented. All traits are thus integral to our construction of EuroMan, or to be precise, we unite the traits of the entrepreneur and the political participant in EuroMan.

III EuroMan Enacted

EuroMan's traits apply to a range of different levels, such as the individual, the regional, the state-level, and the European. All of these levels are regarded individual actors, who are able to strategically predict what would be the best possible foundation for success. Accordingly, the European Commission calls for the region to take responsibility for its own developments. In the EU policy-making as well as in theories of New Regionalism, specific actor-traits are emphasised including abilities to compete, to innovate, to be responsible and the ability to manage identity-formations. In our description of EuroMan, he is thus realised as the entire spectrum of actor-traits, ranging from the rational, value maximising smallest unit to the socially situated, hyper-reflexive and internally differentiated complex unit able to handle identity-formation at many different levels at once.[17] In what follows, we will exemplify how EuroMan is enacted in regional practices, using the German-Polish borderland and Catalonia in Spain as cases. When engaging with integration-processes at regional level it will become apparent that such processes also entail misrecognitions of EuroMan. Hence, our analysis is open to the possibility that misrecognising practices partake in the production of EuroMan and that the enactment of him can be both assuring and abolishing.

The following two sections are products of more extensive ethnological fieldworks. In the present context, however, they can merely serve as cases illustrative of how the enactment of EuroMan currently takes shape in and shapes regions.[18]

EuroMen building Catalonia

Alongside Spanish democratisation processes in the late 70s and with Spain's entrance into the EEC in 1986, Catalonia has become increasingly independent.[19] To mention just a few examples, the country is considered bilingual, Catalan is the official language used in the regional administration and Catalonia is one of three regions that the Spanish constitution grants the status of "historical nation" (Schriewer 2007). Since the late 80s, the most powerful Catalan politicians have also been frontrunners in European regionalisation processes (Guibernau 2004). The triangular relation between Catalonia, Spain and the EU is thus significant for Catalan political developments over the last thirty years, including the strong nationalistic tendencies in the country. Hence, the EEC has been, and the EU is, important forums for Catalan politics to enfold independently of the Spanish state and thus extremely influential on the social organisation in the country.

It is therefore not surprising that a regional activism incorporating recent European economic integration-policies, takes form in the region. As we have seen, the policies emphasise how regional economic models need to become knowledge-based for regions to compete internationally. In most cases, this infers that regional economic models must change from low-cost production to high-added-value production. Hence, the Catalan government's business development agency, CIDEM, aims to transform existent Catalan industries into knowledge-based production. As Jordi from the agency says about the traditional Catalan industries:

> What we call mature or traditional sectors, which are highly exposed to international competition, (...) these sectors have a very important weight in the Catalan economy but they have trouble competing in global terms. In some cases, we have had a low-cost model for 20, 30 years, and now this model is exhausted. We have to work to change these companies ... to help them develop new products and give high-value-added services (Interview 20070115).

At the same time as bringing the traditional industries up-to-date with technological innovations, CIDEM aims at enhancing production in technology-dense industries:

> On the other side, we have strategic sectors, which do not have a traditional weight in the economy but they should be promoted in order to become relevant in 5 to 10 years. These sectors are biotech, renewable energies and the highly advanced food and drinks sectors (Ibid.).

It is mainly by attracting international investors and highly specialised workers to the region that the strategic sectors are supposed to develop in a groundbreaking way. Such developments materialise in city-planning projects like 22@barcelona, a project relocating knowledge-dense industries in the region. As it says in a promotional brochure explaining the project's purpose: "The main goal of the 22@project is to create in the Poble Nou district of Barcelona an economic, scientific, technological and cultural area that permits the city of Barcelona to consolidate as an innovation centre into the global economy" (b_tec brochure).

Human and social capital is considered important for these developments. As Montserrat, the Catalan Investment Agency's director, said:

The symbol of the 22 project, the Agbar tower is visible from almost everywhere in the inner city of Barcelona. Photo: Dorte Andersen 2007.

> One thing is that Barcelona represents quality of life and that Barcelona attracts talent (…) but the other thing is that you need to have a university environment or technological centres, you need to have an infrastructure whereby you are able to convince investors (Interview 20070515).

Networking entailing close ties between researchers, public institutions and businesses are enforced to aid these developments. 22@ is one example and the research park, Parc de Recerca Biomèdica Barcelona (PRBB) in the harbour-area Barceloneta is another. PRBB is located in an architecturally remarkable building placed in-between the main campus of University Pompeu Fabra and Hospital del Mar, and housing researchers from different branches of the life sciences. The close proximity between university, hospital, and research park, and the daily contact between researchers in the building is meant to stimulate entrepreneurship and innovation; ideas develop while researchers converse over lunch, in the elevator, or in the corridors.

Related to the new regional activism is a narrative about Catalonia as an industrial nation with a population who possesses the spirit of entrepreneurship. Alongside the Basque Country, the narrative portrays Catalonia as the only part of Spain that played an active role in the industrial revolution in the 19th century. It is noteworthy, how explicit this narrative is made at the Catalan museums and by the regional administration. The Catalan Historical Museum (Museu d'Historia de Catalunya) devotes about a quarter of its permanent exhibition to the industrial history of the Catalan Country. It is stressed how Catalonia unlike most of Spain experienced a period of economic growth during the 19th century, mainly because of technological innovations in the textile industry. Catalan civil society also developed at its own pace and in a completely different way than most of the Iberian Peninsula in the 19th century. The exhibition thus contrasts the development of a strong bourgeoisie and an equally

The PRBB Building. Photo: Dorte Andersen 2007.

strong working-class to that of Spain where the majority of the population was peasants at the time. When more recent Catalan economic developments where introduced by Jordi at CIDEM, he also spent a considerable amount of time on Catalan history. When asked if he thought that this history was important to the current developments, he said:

> Maybe, yes, because this industrial tradition has meant that we have a rich part of SMEs that traditionally have been importing and exporting to Europe. Apart from the dictatorship time, the rest of the period Catalonia has always had a relationship with the outside world, especially with Europe, with France and with Italy. This tradition has meant that the Catalan companies have always been above average in terms of exports, in terms of new developments (...). We have been ... the bridge for the entrance of external innovation (Interview 20070115).

The immediate benefit of this narrative is that it places Catalonia on the global map, not as a part of Spain but as an independent region. This is an obvious move to make by a regional administration struggling for legitimacy, both in relation to a central state with which the government has been struggling to attain autonomy since its constitution in 1979, and in the light of international market extensions constraining traditional industries in the region. The narrative corresponds well with EU's visions for economic developments in Europe. With its history of industrialisation and a population that possesses the spirit of entrepreneurship, the Catalan country has the right historical foundation to participate in the processes making Europe into the world's most competitive knowledge-based economy. Contemporary Catalonia can thus serve as exemplary of the enactment of EuroMan.

For these visions to materialise it is important that individual actors are willing to associate with and participate in the global competition on knowledge-based resources. If EuroMan is to consolidate socially, individual actors need to actively recognise themselves in him. The way Jaume describes global economic developments portrays this kind of enacted regional activism. Jaume is very explicit about the benefits of empowering regional production, thereby releasing the positive effects of clustering. As Jaume says:

> It is interesting to understand that for the new open markets the cluster has a lot of importance and Catalonia could be considered a cluster with regards to certain businesses; an individual economy in the south of Europe (...) in our [Catalonia's] case we are a nation and we want to build up a future for ourselves. This is the reason why we have our own government, we want to manage our business by ourselves (...) the reason right now is the cluster. In other parts of Europe that do not have the [Catalan] history but just as dynamic an economy it makes a lot of sense [to promote the region as a cluster] (Interview 20070509).

Jaume contrasts these developments to the way states redistribute resources between poorer and richer regions:

> These kinds of dots on the European map that display successful economic developments make a lot of sense. It makes more sense than the traditional states (...). The Spanish [government] fails to have the same tendency. Instead the state distributes between the different areas in Spain more in the sense of a lack, and not in the reasoning of clusters, that is, of the real economy of this area (...) there is a lot of money in Spain that does not go to the [economic] hotspots (Ibid.).

Comparison sets in motion logic of identity-formation through differentiation to external spaces of reference. In practice, the strategic positioning involves distinctions between region and state, between Spanish and European regions, and between the regional, European and global space. It exemplifies a strategic use of differentiation between categories of identity in order to position the regional space in a global context. Jordi knows that he has to compare and differentiate between the economic developments in his region, in other regions and in the rest of Spain in order to consolidate his subject-position. He is obviously also highly reflective about this when he states that comparisons between Catalonia and Spain are made for promotional reasons:

> [B]ecause of our history we maybe give too much relevance to these kinds of indicators but the idea in this presentation, in the other documents and in these kinds of guides are that they are our promotional guides for investments in Catalonia (Interview 20070115).

With his ability to distinguish between different levels of identity-formation Jordi reflectively incorporates regional activism into the way he articulates his identity in the regional context. At the same time, he has the human resources and social capital needed to

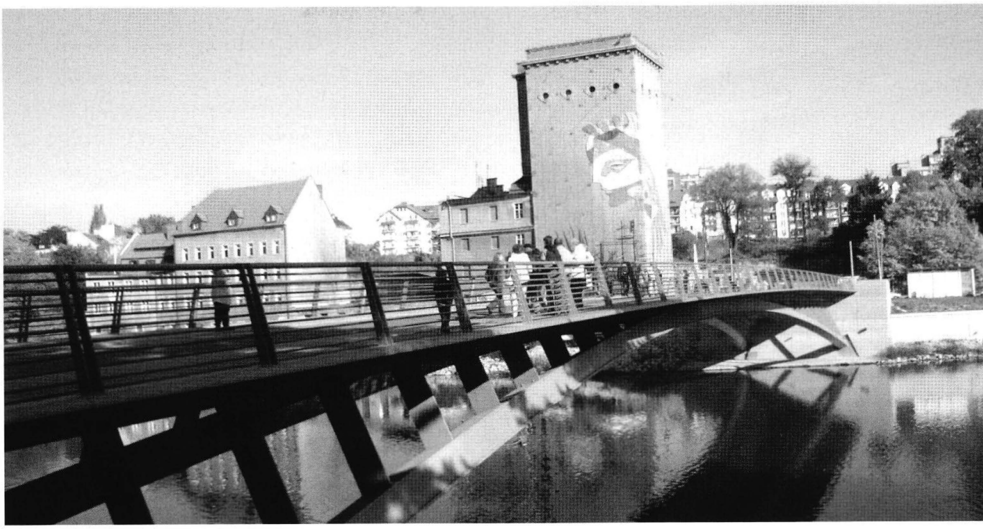
Streamers from Silesia. Photo: Marie Sandberg 2007.

play an active role in the processes optimising Catalan economy. Both Jordi and Jaume could be considered impersonations of EuroMan.

EuroMan at work in the Polish-German borderland

„Nicht hupen! Fahrer träumt von Schlesien!" ("Don't honk the horn, the driver dreams of Silesia"). These are words from a streamer for the rear car-window. Silesia is a region in the Polish-German borderland, since 1945 with its main area in Poland[20]. Formerly, mainly Germans inhabited the region. However, after World War II, the region was divided into a Polish and a (very small) German part and it has been heavily affected by massive expulsions of Germans. Likewise, many Poles who were expelled from the former Polish areas in the East resettled in Lower Silesia, the part of the region closest to the German border (Parak 2006).[21] Today Silesia is best described as a historical-geographical region rather than an administrative and political unit.

Due to the region's history, several Germans still have a strong sense of belonging to the Silesian region.[22] When some German drivers dream of Silesia today they might dream of their own childhood in the part of Silesia now situated in Poland (Pfeiffer & Opiłowska 2005). It has also become important for local politicians, regional museum researchers, and cultural workers in the border town of Görlitz-Zgorzelec to (re)vitalise the Silesian region and identity. Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located on the German-Polish border, and divided by the river Neiße/Nysa. A notion that has become central to identity-work in the region is what is known as the "Silesian tolerance". Local historians have shown that in Silesian prehistory several ethnic and religious groups have lived together side by side in the region, including Germans, Poles, Jews, Sorbs[23] as well



In 2004, a pedestrian bridge connected Görlitz and Zgorzelec with each other. Photo: Marie Sandberg 2005.

as Protestants and Catholics (Bauer 2005: 22; SZ 2007). Historical Silesia is represented as a home of multiculturalism thus making the region a historical proof that living together in multicultural, multiethnic and multiconfessional societies is possible. There is a parallel between this idea of a tolerant, multicultural Silesia and the tendency in European integration policies to stress the potentials of diversity, also coined in the EU's slogan, "unity in diversity" (Rasmussen & Sandberg 2007; Wilken 2001). It is therefore possible to regard the revitalisation of Silesian regional identity an attempt to make the borderland into a vehicle for European integration.

Following the EU's cohesion policy strategy 2007–13, Görlitz and Zgorzelec would be categorised as convergence region eligible for support.[24] The general de-industrialisation of the border area creates structural problems such as high unemployment and migration rates. There are several examples that one of the local goals is to change the peripheral status of Görlitz and Zgorzelec and turn them into assets in European integration processes, very much in line with the targets of current cohesion policies. The aim is symbolised in the slogan, "We build the European Cultural City – From Middle of Nowhere to Heart of Europe" used when the two towns competed to become the European cultural capital in 2010 (Großmann 2006; Becker 2005).[25]

These processes have a long history. Already in 1991, the Polish, German, Czech cross-border cooperation Euroregion Neiße-Nisa-Nysa was established (Kurcz 1999).[26] Among other things, the Euroregion works for the promotion of successful firms in the region for instance by awarding a prize for the best innovation every year.

Tourism and projects promoting cultural heritage also develop within this framework. Hence, in Görlitz and Zgorzelec, a wide range of Polish-German integration projects aiming at mutual understanding and bridge building has taken place since the early 90s.

One of the integration-projects' more specific targets is the youth. In Görlitz the municipality for instance sponsors a Polish-German Info-office for young people and the coordinators tasks include organising Polish-German youth projects, fundraising, PR, as well as lobbying and information work. Most projects are supported by Interreg-programmes. Fulfilling the tasks, however, is not a straight forward matter, something which is illustrated by the coordinator Markus. According to him the possibilities of making projects related to Polish-German youth integration in the border town are many, but he prefers that initiatives derive from the young people themselves, and this is not always the case, far from it. As he puts it:

> Almost everything is possible; [there are] interesting, attractive offers – the only precondition is that the young people express their interest themselves, they can come to me and then we will work something out. If they want to make a bike-trip, we will make a bike-trip. If they want to canoe, we will go canoeing on the [river] Neiße. (…) Only, they have to show their own interest (…). I do not want to create projects and announce them on some poster and then nobody shows up (Interview 20051026).

Weekly events related to the Info-office are Polish-German bike-trips in the border area, or Polish-German jogging sessions offered ahead of the yearly Europe-Marathon taking place in the border town. It is remarkable how the different projects all relate to some sort of activity; it is in other words possible to bike, to run or even to paddle yourself into German-Polish integration if you are a young citizen of the town.

However Markus finds himself confronted with recruitment problems. It has proven difficult to get in touch with the young people on the Polish side. As the following excerpts from two group-interviews with 15-year-old pupils from a Polish high-school in Zgorzelec show, there are huge differences in how often, why, or even if they cross the border:

> Q: How often do you go to Görlitz?
> Tómasz: Almost never, I never go to Germany.
> Q: Why?
> Tómasz: I don't like Germany at all, it is a foreign, unfamiliar town, and nation, and I can't speak enough German! I like Zgorzelec more.
> (…)
> Q: Do you ever go to Görlitz to play on the sports grounds there for example?
> Michał: No.
> Q: Why not?
> Michał: Because I don't know the sports grounds over there. But anyway ours are good enough, and we don't need to go there! And I know people here, with whom I like to play.
> (…)
> Agnieszka: Well, generally I have no time [to go to Görlitz]. When I come back from school I go to play the guitar, or I go to my sister...well, I have really no time, of course it is nice there...but I wouldn't like to go there alone...maybe it would be nice if the two or three of us went together.
> Agata: I don't go there because I'm trying to get a temporary ID-Card, but didn't manage to get it yet.
> Q: Don't you have a passport?
> Agata: No, I don't.
> Q: Oh, O.K.
> Kasia: I don't go there, because I have to study; besides I don't feel like going there. I just like some places there, which I know.
>
> (…)
> Q: What do you think when you see an event, which has Polish-German in the description, for example Polish-German bike trips etc.? Would this be more or less interesting for you - or the same?
> Tómasz: It has no influence!
> Michał: It depends on what it is about.
> (…)
> Agata: Well, I haven't got a passport, and I haven't got a bike!
> (…)
> Kasia: Once I took part [in a Polish-German event], it was more or less a coincidence. They were making some drawing projects near to the bridge [the pedestrian bridge connecting Görlitz and Zgorzelec], and when I saw it I decided to join! I really liked it! (Interview 20070522, Interview 20070523).

As the excerpts from the conversations with the Polish pupils show they only seldom go to Görlitz and the reverse is also true. Moreover, national stereotypes are at work. Even in a Polish-German class, there are only few examples of friendships developing cross nationalities.[27] According to Markus, young people, Polish as well as German, apparently do not associate international youth exchange with projects made conjointly with the next-door neighbour. They wish to go to France or Italy, or to Denmark. These tendencies might result from the fact that not everyone in the region connects cross borders; as one of the girls in the excerpt tells, it is not even everyone that has a passport or an ID-card.[28] Silesian regional identity is apparently not a widely spread cross-border phenomenon. As Markus describes it:

> What would I be when coming from this region? Am I "Oberlausitzer" [Upper Lusatian] or am I "Niederschlesier" [Lower Silesian]. People usually say, 'First, I'm "Görlitzer", and I'm proud of it.' Only then, on the next level, comes the region. (…) [O]n the German side [of the border] the regional identity is not at all clear or homogeneous. Well, on the next level again one feels Saxonian, then German, and then European (Interview 20051026).

Mrs Blume is the German coordinator of the Joint Coordination Commission dealing with cross border cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec municipalities. This commission counts the two mayors and their administration staff and meets once a month. According to Mrs Blume, the growing interest in Silesian history, especially on the German side, has to be understood in relation to the fact that Görlitz was formerly part of the closed GDR society:

> In the times of the GDR it was not OK to use the word Silesia. We were then "Bezirk Dresden" [district area Dresden] and nothing more (…) and then after 1989/90 it was suddenly interesting to investigate the region's history (…) and quite provocative too. Now it is quite normal to say, 'Well, what am I really – Görlitzer", Silesian, Upper Lusatian, etc.' (…) there is actually not one correct notion of belonging to this region. Everyone says what he thinks and relates whatever he wants to the different notions (Interview 20070626).

This quotation exemplifies how regional identity is expressed in multiple ways. Apparently, identity-formation is a matter of how the individual defines identity and what sort of content one would associate with it; identity appears thus to be an issue of self-management.

A key example of the visions whereby the region is to change its peripheral status is the planning of a Technological-Industrial Park in the Zgorzelec area. According to the mayor of Zgorzelec, the intention is to make the area more attractive for businesses and investors:

> I don't want to say anything too early, but it is 99% certain, that Siemens is going to open an agency here; there is going to be a design office, and we will attract engineers, etc. (…). It is a great success for me, because we attract well-educated people with a high income. To establish those kinds of offices is a success for the town. These people are also young (…) (Interview 20070525).

Free radio and Internet access is also part of the mayor's plan, but much depends on future EU funding. When asked about Silesia as a common cross border regional identity, he answers:

> It's hard to answer for all people. Those who live here [in Zgorzelec] came from Ukraine, Belarus, the Eastern parts of Poland ... in fact all of us are displaced, at least our parents are. Most people here are simply citizens of Europe because they are more attached to Europe than to the *Heimat* [German for 'homeland']. There is no regional attachment but everyone is proud of his or her Dolny Śląsk [Lower Silesia]. We are attached, but we do not have a tradi-

tion (...). In Zgorzelec there are Gypsies, Germans, Czechs, Greeks, Ukrainians, a smaller group of Sorbs, Poles of course, it is a melting pot (...) (Ibid.).

As different ways exist of interpreting the past in Görlitz-Zgorzelec, the idea of Silesian tolerance is one among many. Likewise, as several ways exist of describing senses of belonging in the region and as one of the excerpts expresses, it is more or less up to the individual to decide how to appropriate and interpret these multiple identities.

The case clearly shows that EuroMan is at work in the Polish-German borderland. In building up the region to become a "Heart of Europe", endogenous resources are mobilised and innovation and entrepreneurship encouraged. Young people are encouraged to participate in cross border activities and to partake in integration projects. The participation is notably to be taken literally as doing activities – biking, running, and paddling. However, participation does not only include the activities but also the *planning* of the activities. The young people's potential thereby becomes part of integration processes, encouraging the youngsters to feel individually responsible for it. This process can be described as a process of responsibilisation (du Gay 2000), which contributes in the making of the entrepreneur and the political participant, that is, of EuroMan. However, implicit to the ideals of Polish-German integration is also a misrecognising attitude towards him. This makes the route of EuroMan unpredictable and illustrates how his enactment entails a highly complex field of practices (Butler 1997:14ff).

Concluding Remarks

In the above analysis we have been bearing witness to the rise of EuroMan; we have seen how he appears in EU regional policies, how he unfolds in theoretical approaches to regionalism, and how he is enacted in multiple practices illustrated by two cases from European (border)regions. The appearance of EuroMan in regional policies and the unfolding of him in political and economic theory are integral parts of his enactment. EuroMan is thus a construct embracing a differentiated field of practices. He does not represent one specific way of acting and neither is he an unambiguous actor. We regard him an actor-type whose differentiated and multiple self make him exemplary for several ways of acting. These ways relate to each other within a single continuum of types spanning from the entrepreneur to the political participant. As we have illustrated, all types refer to the same basic understanding of the individual as a rational, intentionally acting entity. Internally, however, the types are highly differentiated and sometimes they are even in conflict with each other.

We also want to underline that EU policy-making, regional theory-building, as well as regional practices are all diverse aspects to the same European reality. If we maintain that the ideals and visions of European integration-processes created by bureaucrats and politicians, together with theories about such processes do not belong to the European reality consisting of actual practices, we would merely repeat Cris Shore's claim that there is an unavoidable gap between theory and practice and that the European reality remains somewhere "out there". In contrast to Cris Shore's Homo Europaeus, our EuroMan is clearly recognisable for many different Europeans acting at many different levels at the same time. It is exactly therefore, he can be such a complex figure as well as having a unifying significance. This however, does not imply that the European integration-process runs smoothly or that no matter what we do as Europeans, our practices will always be enactments of EuroMan. As illustrated above, we recognise that even within the described identity-forming processes it is possible for actors to activate both negative and positive relations to EuroMan. Recognition and misrecognition are in this way regarded intertwined aspects to identity-formation in the European integration-process.

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Notes

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1 A parallel methodology is seen in the way Foucault analyses liberalism as a practice (Foucault 1994).

2 The article is based partly on a previous in-depth study of approaches to New Regionalism in political and economic theory (cf. Andersen & Sandberg 2006).

3 The structural funds dispose of 347 billion Euro in this period, corresponding to 1/3 of the EU's entire budget (European Commission 2007a: 7).

4 See also: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/structural_cohesion_fund_da.htm

5 Wim Kok, a Dutch politician, was in charge of the group carrying out the report, hence its name.

6 A High Level Group is another name for an expert group.

7 The "ideopolis" represents an intensification of the knowledge-dense cluster-formation in a city-area.

8 It is interesting how important it is today that policy-making is legitimised by economic and political theory, especially in the EU context, and that political and economic theory is legitimised by its applicability in policy-making. The EU's framework programmes for research funding are examples of this reciprocal relation between research and policy-making.

9 Political research in regions includes a range of policy-making levels: From macro- or world-regions, via interstate and regional cooperation to analysis of micro-regions as administrative units within states, units that can also have transnational characteristics. New Regionalism should thus also be regarded a very broad research-field.

10 See for example Christiansen, Joenniemi and Lindström 1997: 11; Fawcett 1994: 18.

11 Here we refer to analyses inspired by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Michel Foucault, respectively.

12 Speech-act theory is most often associated with John Austin, in particular his book *How To Do Things With Words* (1971).

13 Cf. article 5 and protocol 30 in the Treaty of the European Community.

14 Such subnational offices are established in Brussels and represent different regions or cities in Europe. They can be regarded informal, regional embassies (Gerstenlauer 1995).

15 Cluster theories occur with Marshall's studies of early British industrialisation in the 1890s emphasising the accumulation of means of production in specific areas in the country.

16 However, the claims of multilevel governance theory can also be understood to indicate that a unified identity can be communicated at many different levels and in many contexts at once. This understanding of identity emphasises what psychoanalytically inspired identity theories would call a schizophrenic identity (cf. Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 26-38).

17 Hence, we understand these actor-types in their relation to each other and thus as an internally differentiated identity. This stands in contrast to theories that problematise these understandings of actors because of their inner contradiction, particularly the relation between the economic and self-interested individual and the political and reflective individual (cf. Kristeva, Arendt and Habermas).

18 The names of our informants have been anonymised by the authors.
19 The following section is written on the basis of fieldwork conducted from January to May 2007. Most data quoted in the present article derive from conversations with informants from the regional administration, from museum exhibitions and from observations of the city-space, but the actual fieldwork conducted include conversations with a broad variety of actors in the region, observations of city-planning activities as well as observations of formal and informal meetings in and between people from the industry, from research and from public administration.
20 Today Polish Silesia consists of the voivodships Górny Ślaşk (Upper Silesia), Opole, and Dolny Ślaşk (Lower Silesia). On the German side there is no administrative unit by the name Lower Silesia. However, Niederschlesischer Oberlausitzkreis is a district of the Land Sachsen, which is situated north of Görlitz. To complicate matters even more there is one further historical-geographical notion in play: Lusatia (or Lausitz in German and Łużyce in Polish) divided into Upper and Lower Lusatia.
21 The following section embraces a larger fieldwork material conducted during autumn 2005 and spring 2007 which consists of interviews, participant observation, and the study of local newspapers, exhibitions, statistics etc. The main part of the fieldwork has been conducted among 15-16 year-old German and Polish high-school pupils in the border town but also interviews with local politicians, cultural workers, museum researchers and so on are part of the material.
22 This specific sense of belonging is most distinct among first generation German expellees (Pfeiffer & Opiłowska 2005: 20ff; Rada 2007).
23 The Sorbs are a Western Slavic minority living in the North-Western area of Görlitz near Bautzen, Cottbus, and Lübben.
24 All of Poland and most of the Land Sachsen are eligible. However, at state-level Germany is not (European Commission 2007a: 13-14, 17).
25 In original: "Wir bauen Europas Kulturhauptstadt – From Middle of Nowhere to Heart of Europe" (Großmann 2006).
26 See www.neisse-nisa-nysa.com.
27 In Görlitz it is possible to attend a Polish-German gymnasium education, of which one of the classes was partaking in the fieldwork.
28 The interviews were made in 2007. Poland became part of the Schengen-agreement this year but one still need to show a passport or an ID-card on request as is the case in all other parts of the Schengen-area.

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Women and Cows – Ownership and Work in Medieval Sweden

By Janken Myrdal

The question

In this paper, I will be looking at butter making as a woman's occupation. The general hypothesis is that, when this task gained significant economic importance in the Middle Ages and demanded increasing skill over time, it influenced attitudes towards women and their status in society. The critical aspects include not only the abundance of the work, but also its economic significance and the skills it required. In a slave system, the slaves from whom greater skill is required enjoy higher status, even though they are all subject to slavery. Here butter production as a female activity requiring skill is the subject, but other spheres of female activity can be discussed using similar research on, for instance, textile production, child birth, child rearing, etc. Some modern genderoriented research is also going in this direction of interpretation (see e.g. Svensson & Waldén 2005 on textiles in Sweden).

A scholar who has inspired me is the sinologist and agrarian historian Francesca Bray in her writings from the 1990s. She is critical of "feminists" who according to her underestimate household work, and have thus underestimated the importance of women (Bray 1997:177–178, 237). One of her examples is Chinese textile manufacturing, which was long the province of women. This was production that required knowledge and skill, and was managed inside the household walls, in the "inner quarters". As the process became increasingly industrialized between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, much of textile production was transferred to men. But women stopped weaving primarily due to customs and moral strictures that barred women from leaving the home, not because technology had changed. When most textile manufacturing was eliminated from the female sphere, women also lost social status (Bray 1997, where the change is described in detail).

Bray's comment seems to be, at least to a certain degree, valid for recent research on women's work in the Middle Ages in Europe, which has been oriented towards gainful employment and women who worked in cities. Scholars have shown that women worked in lowstatus, poorly paid occupations, partly because they were denied access to the formal training offered by the guilds. This is an important conclusion, but household duties tend to be underestimated as a dynamic factor.[1]

Even if the differences between butter production in the Nordic countries on the one hand and textile production in China on the other is substantial, Bray's contention that everyday technology must be studied in detail, and that female skill is a decisive factor, has given the guiding principles for this article. Two empirical studies have been combined. One is a more traditional study of one specific source and a welldefined question: namely ownership of cattle according to wills from around 1300, mainly from Sweden but with some complementary material from Denmark. The other empirical study is more unconventional as it uses a wide range of sources, with the intention to register every medieval indication of butter production mainly from Sweden but also with evidence from the rest of Scandinavia. This method is here labelled "the sourcepluralist method" (about the method, see below).

By combining these investigations, very different images emerge. The first is of the influential Northern European woman with a strong position in stock farming, a key economic sector, and the second of the oppressed and despised woman accused of witchcraft and theft (Lövkrona 1990 mentions these images, but does not note their symbiosis). My interpretation is that these images are connected. The medieval woman's economic status was part of a historical process in which she gradually gained a stronger position in a sector that demanded progressively higher skills. In the maledominated society, this was met with resistance and suspicion of her activities, suspiciousness that could certainly be practised by other women. There is another basis for this argument. Only certain tasks were closely connected to magical beliefs: tasks that demanded a "hidden" skill, that which is sometimes called talent. (I am not talking only about "tacit" knowledge, that which was omitted from conscious description). This kind of skill was achieved through intensive practice, through wider dispersion of knowledge and skill in society, but also through personal aptitude. Chopping wood is chopping wood (although some skill is certainly required), but fishing requires an inner sense of where the fish are biting. The historical process that I will outline during the Middle Ages and beyond emerges in the confluence of woman as a key producer and the oppressed/slandered in a maledominated society and the requirement of certain tasks (here, the production of butter) for talent and skill, often interpreted as "magical".

This must be seen as a dialectical process with an interaction between the usefulness of skilled dairymaids on the one hand and the provocation of skilled women in a patriarchal society on the other. I will not in discuss later periods, but apparently during the historical process the negative attitude to skilled women (in butter making) was at least partly broken, and in the next phase from the late nineteenth century, men took over dairying from women, but only after women had contributed to a technical change – and they did not leave because of technological change, but because of other factors.

In order to study women's social status in relation to animal husbandry, I will begin with the ownership of livestock before moving on to the particulars of milking and butter making. Finally, I examine attitudes towards this work and the skill it required. This sequence is also determined by the different sources and methods I use, and the more unconventional method used in the second half of the article needs some comment.

The Source-Pluralist Method

The basic principle of the source-pluralist method is the use of multiple source materials, due to scarcity of evidence. In another article I have explored the method in more detail, with herding of cattle in medieval Sweden as an example (Myrdal 2008). I will repeat some of the arguments and elaborate others, especially about the comparisons between the fragile evidence from the Middle Ages and the affluence of evidence from the nineteenth century: the ethnological and anthropological sources.

The method is adapted to issues that are difficult to research, where evidence in a single source is not enough and even the total amount of evidence is scarce. Such issues lingering in obscurity exist also in research about modern times, for instance the history of gestures. For the everyday history of earlier periods the researcher will often have to use the pluralist method. Regarding butter production, for instance, a few pieces of evidence are scattered among multiple source materials, such as proverbs, archaeology, etc.

The source-pluralist method has to be combined with the use of circumstantial evidence and clues, as the study is expanded to multiple sources with information of varying content and importance. There is an inherent risk of overinterpreting in such a method. To counteract this tendency, not only classical source criticism can be utilized, but also source pluralism as such. In social science the corresponding method for control is labelled "triangulation" or "multiple indicators", but with other data than historical sources (Bryman 2001). Results from one source material can be compared with the testimony of other sources, and for earlier periods the researcher has to add dimensions of source criticism and the uncertainty included in the interpretation of historical sources.

Pluralism must be differentiated from interdisciplinarity, where research traditions meet within a broad field of research, often through the cooperation by several researchers. In the source-pluralist method one researcher instead uses multiple and different sources to answer a more specific question. A difficulty in source pluralism is thus that the researcher has to understand the singularity of each source material, and manage a wide range of subjects from art history to archaeology, and it could be combined with an interdisciplinary approach wherein several researchers are consulted by the single researcher.

The use of a wide range of sources also implies that the answers given by these sources tend vary, and vary in such a way that the question has to be adapted to the specific source. Thus the subject will be illuminated from different angles, even though the single researcher has a main focus. Partly the different source materials will steer the investigation, with archaeology, for instance, providing more technical details while images from medieval art also give ideological elements.

Scarce evidence also compels arduous searches in large volumes of material for a few pieces of evidence. And when these pieces, from different sources, are combined they often provide a fragile basis for conclusions. If research should desist from these difficult questions, the result is that large parts of medieval cultural history are expelled from the realm of serious research. It is more constructive to try and find a way that allows the acceptance of uncertainty. A first step is to accept that true statements will be fewer than likely statements. In a second step one has to realize that the description will be a rather rough draft, and shorter time periods and many regions have to be left out. For example, it is nearly impossible to make more detailed analyses of different "peasant ecotypes", for instance separating butter making in woodlands from that in the plains, and the mountain region of Northern Sweden has left nearly no evidence at all about this subjects. (On peasant ecotypes in later periods see for instance Löfgren 1976.)

Such a reconstruction is full of gaps, and the scanty information available tends to be disguised and difficult to understand. The necessary method to understand and fill out the lacunae in our knowledge is critical comparison between different time layers, especially with the well-researched and documented late nineteenth century. A huge corpus of material on everyday life, material culture and folklore was collected by ethnologists and anthropologists. Documentation and objects were collected in museums and archives from the early twentieth century, with the goal of registering and preserving the memory of a vanishing preindustrial culture. Even if one has to reject the idea of relict regions, and thus the possibility of understanding the history of preindustrial culture just by sorting out a typology of objects and habits, the rich documentation collected must be the main reference for every study on everyday life in earlier periods. The critical use of this documentation includes an open eye for the fact that many elements of the nineteenthcentury material culture or folklore were rather recent innovations, or heavily remoulded variants of older implements and habits.

In the source-pluralist method the classical source-critical criteria must still be utilized: reason-based criticism; chronological criticism, tendency-based criticism; and dependency-based criticism. The main difference between this method and the traditional source-critical method is that the source-pluralist method is inclusive, in the ambition to add as much evidence as possible – meagre as it often is – about a subject difficult to research, and for earlier periods to understand this fragile reconstruction in relation to later and more fully documented periods.

Milking of Cattle

Milking and further processing milk was a female "competency", belonging to the "female sphere", in North-western Europe long before the Middle Ages and remained so through the early twentieth century. Deborah Simonton stated, in her overview of female labour in modern history, that, "particularly dairying was recognized as a craft and involved passing on skills and 'mysteries' associated with it from mother to daughter". This connection between women and milking/dairying is also well known from the Middle Ages.[2]

There is no biological determination to say that women are more suited than men to milking cows and processing dairy products. Men also milked cows in the Middle Ages (Hagen 1998:28 on how shepherds were known to milk cows in the Anglo-Saxon period, although women usually did the milking). Widening the exemplification to other cultures than Europe, the handling of milk was part of the feminine sphere in most cultures (see e.g. Forde 1963, who in a global overview presents the Masai in Africa, p. 295, and the Evenks (Turgus) in Siberia, p. 395, where the women milked reindeer), but there are important exceptions, proving that milking of animals is not definitely tied to women. An interesting (and well-known) example can be mentioned from among the Nuer in Sudan, where even though there was a strong relationship between cows and women, young boys could also do the milking up to the age when they underwent initiation rites. Thereafter, it was unacceptable for them to milk unless there were no women around, such as during cattle raids. They were then allowed to milk the cows, a skill they had learned as young boys (Evans-Pritchard 1940:24–25). That there is no biological determination tying women to milking is also evident in the oldest pictures of milking, from Egypt and Mesopotamia circa 3000–2000 BCE, which show only men milking and processing milk (Benecke 1994:129, 131, 135, 271).

In a gender-based division of labour, this work was assigned to women for social and historical reasons. Once this kind of fundamental division of labour has been established, it creates bonds of tradition that are reproduced through factors such as knowledge transfer between generations or ideologies and norms that make it a "given".

The scholarly discussion on the division of labour between the sexes in the preindustrial period is vast, mentioning factors such as men's superior physical strength; women's tendency to do work that can be combined with childrearing is often emphasized, or the division of labour itself. But neither factor provides a full explanation (see e.g. Rhum 1997:217–218). Without going further into this immense field of study I will just mention an important discussion in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, which is relevant for my interpretation, and which has influenced the Nordic discussion. Günter

Wiegelmann published a paper in 1975, and several scholars commented upon his paper. He characterized women's work as: (1) far removed from the economic centre of interest, (2) not requiring complex tools, (3) less physically demanding, and (4) often repetitive and requiring greater manual dexterity (Wiegelmann 1975:17). The Danish scholar Ole Højrup, an eminent authority on the entire spectrum of women's work, remarked, in a somewhat acerbic note to his paper in the same issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, that threshing was one of the more repetitive tasks, and that looms and spinning wheels were technically complex tools (Højrup 1975:37, cf. his major opus Højrup 1967). Orvar Löfgren took up ecological aspects and elaborated this theme in several articles, but I will not dwell on this, because the medieval sources do not allow a more detailed analysis of regional differences in Scandinavia. Instead I concentrate on the general question on skill in butter production and its economic importance, in relation to the position of women.

Women's Ownership of Cows

Previous research on women's ownership in history has concentrated on land ownership, but here the focus will be on livestock, which was a means of production comparable to land (one historian who has emphasized this and the significance of women for dairy management is Bitel 1996:117, 123, on the Irish Middle Ages). The earliest extensive documentary evidence is found in medieval wills.

Preserved wills that include bequests of personal property are relatively common in Sweden in the century following the 1270s (see, in general, Waśko 1996 and Myrdal 1985:206). They were preserved because the wills mention land bequeathed to the church; almost none specify only personal property, which was a common practice on the continent. The documents are from Eastern Sweden (Småland, Östergötland, Uppland). The peak was reached in the 1310s to the 1360s, after which the number declines. During the studied period, about sixty people made bequests to about two hundred others (and a few institutions). Wills bequeathing personal property are uncommon in Denmark, and existed in Skåne primarily during the Swedish period of the province (second quarter of the fourteenth century). Norway was not studied for this paper, but such wills were few in number there as well (see Andersson 2006:22).

Several factors may have been involved in making this type of will common. Conflicts about testamentary law were one. The Swedish high nobility opposed gifts of land to the church, and in one or two cases the will states that the bequests of personal property should be considered compensation to relatives. Disputes were ongoing concerning the rights of clerics to bequeath property, and several priests' wills specify the heirs. A third reason was the estate structure in which stewards were in possession of some of the estate owner's livestock, and many testators thus owned animals dispersed over their estate holdings. But this does not explain the copious mentions of other personal property. One must also see this type of will as a separate phenomenon, a tradition for a time.

Just as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century probate inventories provide a peephole into the material culture, these wills give us another, which instead of telling us what things were found on a farm, tell us who gave what to whom – *a materialization of social relationships*. Costly cloth (scarlet and silk) was given to relatives and friends, while cheaper cloth (domestic woollens and linen) was given to servants and the poor (Andersson

2006:239). Swords and other weapons were as a rule bequeathed to the closest male heir (Waśko 1996:133–134). These letters could be used to study the entire structure of social relationships, but I will limit the examination here to *women and men as testators or heirs of livestock*.[3]

I will address the heirs first, divided between women and men. Priests have not been included among the men, since these bequests may be regarded as being directed at the Church (the priest's portion). There was a special tradition by which a testator gave every church/priest a cow in the parishes where he or she had landed estates. This custom, which surely goes far back into the thirteenth century, had begun to die out by the 1320s.

As always in medieval source material, several considerations must be made, essentially document by document. I will mention only one here: "workhorses". Only in certain cases does the will explicitly state whether the bequest is of workhorses or riding horses. For that reason, I have assumed that the horses mentioned along with other livestock are workhorses, unless the document specifies otherwise. Most horses were bequeathed with no gift of other livestock, and such horses were left almost exclusively to men.

Obviously, women were more often given cows and sheep while men were bequeathed all types of livestock. The more comprehensive Swedish material also permits the relationships between testator and heir to be studied, and such relationships are stated for nearly half the legacies. Of these, about fifteen are relatives (but they are ignored in the continued analysis).

Of the women, 25 are identified as dependants, while only 15 of the men have such a position. Of the women, the deys, who were the household managers with particular responsibility for milk and dairy products, were predominant (18 of the women). Many of them were housekeepers for priests, and three inherited cows jointly with their daughters. Whether they were the priests' mistresses escapes our knowledge, but it is interesting that the cows were given specifically to the deys' daughters. In one or two cases, a landowner (not a priest) left one cow to each of the deys on his farms. The men's occupations were more diverse: carpenter; smith; fishermen; parish clerk, messenger; lawyer; cellarer at a monastery.

Seven of the testators give to the poor, often described in rather general terms, but specifically in three wills; in all three, a cow

Table 1a. Bequests of livestock in Sweden 1268–1382.

Heirs	Workhorses	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine
79 Women	5	6	84	38	19
79 Men	13	40	68	29	18

Table 1b. Bequests of livestock in Denmark-Skåne 1283–1353.

Heirs	Workhorses	Oxen	Cows
15 Women	0	0	15
21 Men	5	12	14

Remark: The evidence regarding small livestock is too limited to report in a table.

was to be given to a poor woman. In one case, the will also specifies that the cow should be given to a poor woman who did not own a cow. Married couples who inherited cows provide further clues. In four instances, the wife was given one or more cows, in two instances, the husband. (There were also a couple of instances where both spouses were left cows, and they have been counted in the tables for both women and men.)

Overall, it seems that women who had a direct relationship to cows were given them as legacies: deys, wives, and poor women who needed them.

If we look at the testators instead, we see a corresponding pattern. There are fewer pieces of evidence, and so the Swedish testators, just shy of sixty in number, have been combined with the Danish/Scanian testators, about ten. There is no tendency for any group of testators to give remarkably much to any particular group of heirs, such as women to women. Noblemen bequeathed fewer animals than did noble women and clerics. The table reports only oxen and cows, as small livestock animals were bequeathed almost exclusively by clerics.

The cows were thus property that not only working women owned (that is, were given ownership of), but over which noblewomen also had relatively extensive rights. Men also bequeathed and inherited livestock because cattle in general were an important component of wealth. (The English words *capital*, *chattel*, and *cattle* all share a common root, while the meaning of the Swedish word for wealth also reverts to cattle). For instance, when the monetary economy collapsed during the civil war in the latter fourteenth century, cows and oxen were used as a form of money. (Cattle as units of money were called *värdörar* and they are often mentioned in bills of sale.) Thus, it is remarkable that women had such strong influence over dairy animals.

Table 2. Testators of livestock.

	Oxen	Cows
13 Women	6	50
41 Clerics	46	120
15 Other men	10	29

The medieval regional law codes, of which there were about ten in Sweden, were written down between the latter half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. Women's rights to personal property are addressed in connection with the distribution of a man's estate after a childless marriage. The wife was entitled to bedding, some of her garments and her jewellery, as well as onethird of the property acquired by the estate during the marriage (Carlsson 1972:123). The law of Gotland contains a statute added in the early fourteenth century, which is connected to the circumstance that the wife had no definite marital rights to the estate under this law. The statute says that the widow would inherit cattle up to "the fifth band," while she was entitled to the number of horses she had brought to the estate. What is certainly meant here is that she inherited up to five head of cattle tethered (with a band/strap) in the cowshed. The idea is that she managed the cows and thus had a right to part of the herd, but not to the horses, which were managed by men. Ten cows, if she were given half (or fifteen cows if she were given a third) are thus stipulated as a sort of conceivable limit to the number of cows that a woman managed, which is consistent with other sources on the livestock herds at individual farms (Myrdal 2007a).

With regard to illegitimate children, the Gotland law also differs from the other regional laws by emphasizing the father's duty of support ("Oäkta barn" in KL). There is a statute in the earliest version of the law, circa midthirteenth century or earlier, that the father of an illegitimate daughter who had attained the age of eighteen was to be given money, a bed, and clothing, as well as "cows in proportion to his assets". Illegitimate sons were instead allotted money, weapons, and textiles.

These statutes confirm what is shown by the legacies of personal property in wills: of agricultural production resources, there was a particular connection between cows and women.

With this comparison between the study of wills and evidence in the regional laws the article turns to the source-pluralist method. But first a general background will be given and a presentation of ethnological and historical studies about the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which here are used as reference material.

The Cows and the Butter

Butter was one of the earliest and most important agricultural products, since butter had high value in relation to its weight (the fat from the cream) and could be transported at a profit. Butter became an accepted form of payment for trade and taxes. (Taxes were also payable in cheese, but I will for the most part not deal with cheese and cheese making here.) There is evidence of the butter tax from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when a more comprehensive survey is possible, and it probably occurred even earlier. Trade in butter can also be proven that early, and increased during the late Middle Ages. Salt was a prerequisite for largescale preservation of butter, and more extensive trade in salt developed in the centuries after the year 1000 ("Smörskatt"; "Smörhandel"; "Salthandel" in KL; table of taxes in the Nordic countries thirteenth–seventeenth centuries in Gissel 1981:148–149). Butter was part of the new economy with its state authority, nobility, and cities. Butter also gained an indisputable position on the banquet table, not only among the rich and powerful, but also among the peasants. (On the display of butter on festive occasions among peasants in nineteenth-century Sweden, see Nylén 1951.) In fact, much of agricultural production was eventually oriented towards maximizing butter production.

In order to understand the work process, I will first address the time from which there exist more comprehensive sources, that is, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The agrarian historian Carin Israelsson described dairy management in Sweden during that period in an important study, for which her material included ethnological sources, personal interviews, accounts, and estate inventories.[4] Israelsson uses the term "good eye for cows" or "good eye for animals" (literally translated from the Swedish), a familiar concept among people who take care of animals. It refers to the ability to "read" the animal, to discern subtle signals and deal with them. Cows could be difficult to milk (especially if their teats were injured). The cows' personalities make a difference, as well. They can be restless and kick, overturning the milk pail. Cows can also "hold back" the milk, especially if they don't like the person who is milking them. A skilled dairymaid must be able to bend the cow to her will, as the skilled equestrian does with the horse. Since the work is physically arduous, and particularly wearing on the hands, it was often performed by younger women (Israelsson 2005:42, 142–145, 268). Men were mainly occupied in chores that did not involve direct proximity to the cows.

The next step was to pour the highfat "sweet milk" into shallow vessels to let the cream rise. The cream formed a top layer, and after sitting for at least a day, the skim milk was poured off while the layer of cream was held back. Then the cream had to be churned to collect the fat globules. The butter churn was a "plunge churn," a tall, cylindrical tub made of wooden staves, in which the cream was agitated up and down with a wooden stave that had a plunger (a disk or cross) at one end. Churns came in various sizes and were usually filled two-thirds full. Ingrid Söderlind has carried out a careful study based on the ethnological material from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and she shows that churning was "work and an art", as one respondent put it (Söderlind 1977:174). The cream had to reach the ideal sourness and was collected for up to a week. Temperature was critical, optimally about 15–20 degrees Celsius, and there were several methods of warming the cream. The plunger had to be lifted just above the surface of the cream to gather air before it was plunged down again (roughly as one does with a hand whisk today). The time required to churn the cream to butter varied and sometimes the effort failed entirely. Thus, churning butter was a task associated with magic. After the cream was churned, the buttermilk (the Swedish word is literally translated "churn milk") was separated and fat globules were shaped into lumps. The butter was "paddled" to press out the remaining fluid milk, and then washed in cold water and the water worked out. Finally, salt was worked into the butter.

Hygiene was critical throughout the process. If too much bacteria grew, the taste and keeping qualities were impaired. The cows' udders were wiped clean and the milk was usually strained to remove impurities. The straining cloth was made of hair or horsehair and was laid in a wooden strainer (a tub with a perforated base). The churn was cleaned with hot water, and sometimes scrubbed. In his important work on folk culture in Dalarna, Lars Levander writes: "Dairy churns were cleaned far more carefully than food vessels" (Levander 1947:355).

This overview of the work process in the latter peasant culture forms only a backdrop to that which will be substantiated from the Middle Ages. Butter handling is a historical process, and each step must be substantiated in its time before any interpretation is possible.

Source-Pluralist Method and Icelandic Sagas

Earlier researchers on medieval dairy work have developed some empirical evidence, but none have performed a total review ("Mjölkhushållning"; "Smör"; "Ost" in KL a comparable overview for the British Isles in Hagen 1995, Hagen 1998). All sources that shed light must be used, and I present all of the materials separately below. This is consistent with the source-pluralist method, wherein the specific contributions of multiple sources are put in relation to one another to form a distilled and complex interpretation (Myrdal 2008).

I will begin with the Icelandic sagas, continue with other medieval literature and other documentary evidence, and conclude with archaeological and pictorial material. The saga material is somewhat on the side of the main corpus of evidence, but the Icelandic sagas function as early reference material in the sense that they often give the earliest written documentation of everyday life in Scandinavia. A frequently cited source-critical problem with the Icelandic sagas is that they were written down long after the events they describe. The problem is not as germane to research on everyday cultural history, and the sagas describe a time layer around the year 1000 in rich detail. The sagas are almost exclusively about Iceland, but to some extent also about conditions in Western Norway. Since Icelandic agriculture is unique in many respects, this also means that the sagas can be seen only as comparative material.

Milking was considered one of the particular tasks of female slaves. There are several mentions of men (unfairly) mocked for doing the milking. Beyond this male contempt for women's work, there was also social disdain, and free women of rank would sometimes refuse to milk ("Kvinnearbeid" in KL; Jochens 1995: 117, 122; Myrdal 2003a: 126). Butter was a prestigious product, but seems to have been made mainly for household use. The sagas provide no details about how butter was made.

Nordic Laws

The work of female slaves is described in the laws in connection with statutes regarding the freeman's liability when he has seduced another man's bondswoman. According to thirteenth-century Sjælland law, grinding grain and baking were the typical tasks of simpler bondswomen, and fines for seducing such a woman were lower than for seducing one who performed more prestigious tasks in the house. The law considered the seducer liable to compensate the owner for the lost working time, if the female slave got pregnant and had a child, and the laws provided a couple of examples of her work. The twelfth-century Norwegian Gulating law states that a man who has impregnated a slave woman must assume responsibility for her until she has regained sufficient strength to carry two pails of water from the well. The early thirteenth-century law of Västergötland does not stipulate a test of strength, but instead the most typical tasks, as it requires the man to assume responsibility for the woman until she is able to milk and grind grain again. As in Iceland, milking was a job for female slaves.

Theft of milk was a serious offence mentioned in several laws, but in the greatest detail in the laws of Svealand in Sweden, which have a large number of identical provisions and were written down roughly simultaneously, around 1300. The laws of Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, Hälsingland, and Magnus Eriksson's general law for the Swedish realm, enacted in the 1340s, characterize this theft as the work of a woman: " … if the woman is milking …" and is caught redhanded with a vessel or pail. Sheep and goats could also be milked, but the fines were considerably higher for poaching cow's milk.

Further evidence of the close connection between women and domestic animals is found in the late thirteenth-century Uppland law and the early fourteenth-century Hälsingland law. These laws state that women were allowed to testify in two kinds of disputes. They were permitted to testify about events that might happen during childbirth, since men were not allowed near a woman giving birth. Women could also testify in cases involving the injury of one domestic animal by another, and the obvious basis for the law is that women were often the only people present.

The statutes in the Gotland law on women's ownership of cows have already been addressed, and I will move on to statutes that deal with the handling of animals. The laws list various flaws in relation to the purchase of cows, such as that the cow could not calve or gave no milk (was barren). Another flaw specified in the early fourteenth-century law of Dalarna was that there was something wrong with the cow's teats. The Gotland law mentions as a serious fault that the cow used to kick, so that the animal could not be milked. Here we encounter a few of the difficulties also mentioned in the ethnological material: flaws in the teats and balky cows.

Miracle Stories

One of the most important signs that a person had the status of a saint was miracles that occurred after death, when the deceased person executed divine mercy. To enhance the status of a saint worshipped at a certain place, miracle stories were periodically written down. The stories are about accidents or illnesses, and the broad masses appear in miracle stories more than in other medieval source material.

Such stories are also found in Scandinavia. There are about fifty in Norway dating from the late eleventh century to the twelfth century, about a hundred in Denmark, mainly from the thirteenth century, and more than six hundred in Sweden, dating from the latter fourteenth century to the 1470s. Neither milking nor dairy management are mentioned in the miracle stories, but sick or accidentally killed animals are mentioned on several occasions. One story relevant to this study is about a miracle performed by the local saint Nils in Århus during the first half of the thirteenth century. In the story, a woman owned but one cow and it suddenly dropped dead. She wept because she had no other way to feed her children. But when she and her neighbours prayed to the saint, the cow rose again and was healthy (Olrik 1893–94:301). This is connected to the mentions of poor women in deeds of gift. A woman who owned a cow could survive.

Saint Birgitta and Olaus Magnus

Most of the medieval literature consists of paraphrases of European texts, or the Bible. Although certain fragments and the terminology may be interesting, the source material is of little consequence to the study everyday life, especially the material life and work of common people. Domestic manuscripts consist mainly of chronicles about subjects that do not provide much information about daily life.

Alongside the laws, the Revelations of Saint Birgitta are the earliest texts that reveal anything about everyday life. The Revelations were delivered in Sweden starting in the 1340s and in Italy after 1350. Birgitta married as a young teenager in 1316 and was mistress of Ulvåsa Manor in Östergötland in the 1320s and 1330s, where she bore eight children. She did not take up her religious calling until the 1340s, when she was also widowed. Her imagery is rich and she often uses experiences from her earlier life.[5] She writes in detail about sheep and bees, but there is only one parable involving cattle, and it recurs twice. She describes how cows throw filth onto the people around them with their dirty tails. This is a problem, particularly in cowsheds where people were forced to be near the animals. The mistress of Ulvåsa certainly did not do the milking, and avoided the cowshed if possible. This provides a parallel to the view of milking as a degrading job found in the sagas and the early laws, which were mainly contemporary with Saint Birgitta.

Another parable is about cheese moulds, and Saint Birgitta's description tells us the reference is to hard cheese, which was impressed with a pattern carved into the mould. One parable talks about the importance of washing straining cloths, and warns people not to strain through an unclean cloth. In the context, this seems to refer primarily to wine, which according to Birgitta nearly always had dregs, but the requirement to clean the straining cloth is nonetheless interesting.

The next comprehensive text is Olaus Magnus's *History of the Nordic Peoples* from the mid sixteenth century, where the exiled Catholic bishop wrote about conditions as he remembered them from the early 1500s. Milk production is dealt with in volume 13, chapters 45–46. He talks about the extensive butter production, which was also exported. Inconsistencies in the quality of the butter were well known. He also wrote a long section about cheeses, including descriptions and pictures of cheese moulds and cheeses with pressed patterns.

Proverbs

Proverbs are a comprehensive source of material. They are spread out among various sources, but the fundamental material is Peder Låle's collection of proverbs. The book was first conceived (by the otherwise unknown Peder Låle) in the late fourteenth century in Denmark, but the earliest preserved copy is a Danish edition from the early sixteenth century. The oldest manuscripts are in Swedish and date from the early fifteenth century. The collection includes 1,000–1,200 proverbs (in various versions). Many were based on European models, but the selection is partly significant to Nordic folk culture. (A source-critical study of proverbs as a source of information about everyday life in the medieval and later periods will be published separately.) The collection was used for contemporary Latin instruction in choir schools, and each proverb is given both in Latin and in the vernacular.

A couple of proverbs address the significance of butter. One is: "I care not for the cows, so long as I get the milk" ("I will happily hoodwink the cows, so long as I get the milk".) The other reads: "He who has plenty of butter adds it to the cabbage." The milk was the cow's most important product and butter the refined luxury product, which truly was not used in cabbage soup.

A few proverbs mention skill and the woman's role. One reads: "Better one cow than two unwilling." This may be compared to the Gotland law text about a cow that kicks so that it cannot be milked. We also have: "The cow gives no milk if only the woman wills." A couple mentions the skill involved in handling the milk: "The milk rarely sours for the woman who looks for sweetness," and "You should have a clean vessel for your milk."

Letters and Accounts

A few medicinal notes in a late fifteenthcentury codex of the law of the realm (the law covers most of the manuscript, while the medical notes are on spare pages at the end of the manuscript) specify unstrained sweet milk, which shows that the milk was usually strained, especially since the notes continue with the advice to "simmer the milk and skim off the impurities" (Läke- och örteböcker 1883–1886:452; see also "Mjölkhushållning" in KL).

Inventories mention butter churns as well as a number of tubs, shallow milk troughs, or bowls (in 1314, one churn and two tubs; 1516, four milk troughs, 1525, one large butter churn and seventeen milk bowls, see Myrdal 1985: 213, 230, 234). And the instructions for farm management commissioned by Hans Brask, bishop of Linköping, circa 1513–1525, included a list of the equipment the dey had in her charge. In addition to twelve cows, which she was admonished to take good care of, her equipment included: one churn, a strainer and straining cloth (straining cord); four milk pails, including two with lids; two troughs; two milk tubs; and twelve setting pans (for settling the cream). She was also instructed to "clean her setting pans daily", and keep accounts for them, as well as accounts for the bailiff showing how much butter was made (Arnell 1904, Appendix 1:37).

The "setting pans" refer to bowls for the strained milk. One of the earliest surviving sets of detailed farm accounts is from Stegeborg in Östergötland, where they purchased large quantities of setting pans: sixteen in 1488, fourteen in 1489, and twentysix in 1491. The pans were consumable goods because they were washed carefully and wore out.

When the proverbs and accounts are added to other documentary sources, it becomes clear that, at least by the late Middle Ages, butter making had started to reach a level about equal to that of the nineteenth century, at least with respect to hygiene standards (but not with respect to the amount of milk per cow).

Archaeological Material

The archaeological material provides an understanding of the details of tools and of periods and areas otherwise not covered by the documentary material. The drawback is that whole tools are seldom preserved and there is usually only general information about the context in which the tools were used. Wooden tools have been preserved in large numbers from medieval cities.

From a global perspective, the plunge churn was an innovation compared to the earlier shake churns. Because the plunge churn is suitable for handling large quantities of cream, it was connected to the evolution of butter into a means of payment for trade and taxes. As a type, it was found in the nineteenth century throughout Eurasia from Tibet in the east to Western Europe.

The plunge churn was found in England during the Roman era, but did not become common until later. Along the North Sea coast from Holland to southern Denmark, it appears in archaeological material (and pictures) starting in the ninth century. Plunge churns are a common find from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and afterward in nearly all northwest European city digs. The characteristic appearance of the plunger makes the type easy to identify, which also permits comment on the lack of plunge churns in earlier archaeological finds of wooden objects (Myrdal 1986; see also Morén 2007:102 concerning pictures of Roman plunge churns in Britain).

If butter as a commodity was part of the more highly developed commercial and feudalist system (see above), its tool was the plunge churn – as a more efficient tool for making large amounts of butter. The technological shift brought a number of ancillary changes: the cream had to be kept longer to fill larger churns, and the churning itself required greater skill than the former shaking (in shake churns). Salting was a novel step and hygiene standards were gradually raised.

In addition to a number of plunge churns, a wooden strainer has also been identified from fifteenth-century Vadstena: the typical tube with a hole in the middle (Swedish Museum of National Antiquities: Vadstena, Borgmästaren block, find 942), as well as an eleventh-century mould for kneading butter from Lund (Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:54 describe the object as a "cheese groove" for holding cheese moulds, but comparisons with pictorial material show that it is instead a tray for kneading butter).

The only extensive rural material including wooden objects is from a village in southern Dalarna, circa 1300 (in garbage thrown in a shallow pond). Short barrel staves intended for wide tubs were predominant, which I have interpreted in a published paper to mean that the most common barrel was used for settling the cream from newly strained milk, in the aforementioned setting pans. They were found in large numbers (Myrdal 1984:30).

The archaeological material provides a picture of an emerging new technological complex surrounding butter between 1000–1300, which involved highquality production for longdistance trade and taxpaying.

Pictorial Material

Pictures provide overall descriptions of objects and labour processes, as well as an ideological element. Two key source-critical problems concern whether the images were taken from models outside Scandinavia and whether the purpose of the picture – often religious – affected its design. These questions have been the subject of debate in Europe, which concluded that medieval imagery often contains concrete descriptions of everyday life, but that the pictures must be subjected to source criticism in each instance (Myrdal 2007b with Swedish examples).

In most of Europe, illuminated manuscripts make up the majority of pictorial material, but Nordic illuminated manuscripts are rare. They are somewhat more common in Sweden than in the other Scandinavian countries, but unlike the European manuscripts, they are not illustrations of religious texts (which Swedes purchased abroad), but of secular law in Sweden. The advent of these costly legal manuscripts can be explained by the special status of the law during the civil wars in late medieval Sweden. The Swedish nobility (and the commons) often referred to the Law of the Swedish Realm in their struggle with the Danish king and his followers (see Myrdal 2006). In a 1433 manuscript of Magnus Eriksson's Law of the Realm (at Uppsala University Library, call number B 68), where each code is preceded by a fullpage illustration, the illustration to the Inheritance Code shows a woman and a man struggling over (pointing at) a copper pitcher and a plunge churn between them. In a text scroll, the man says: "Give me the pitcher and you can have the churn." The woman retorts: "The pitcher is better." In this image, butter churning emerges as a distinguishing mark even of the rich and highborn woman, despite her resistance and pointing out the higher value of a copper pitcher than a wooden churn.

Other images of dairykeeping are found in fresco paintings on church walls, in a cycle of pictures. They show the woman who, aided by the devil, "steals" cream from neighbours so she can make large quantities of butter. According to the magical belief system of the time, a cow that unexpectedly went dry had been "milkrobbed". There is an entire course of events in the cycle, which is not, however, found in its entirety in all churches: (1) milking or milk theft involving various magical animals, (2) churning, (3) preparation of the butter, (4) shaping of the butter into a conical pile or loaf on a special butter platter (for a banquet), and (5) the woman's punishment when she is sent to hell. The demons are all over the pictures.

Hundreds of Nordic churches have thousands of late medieval pictures, mostly with motifs from the Bible or religious legends. The motif with the milkstealing woman is found everywhere that frescos have been preserved in Northern Europe, with concentrations in most of Denmark including Skåne, and in Sweden in the Mälaren Valley, and also in Gotland, the large island in the Baltic. It is actually one of the most common late medieval motifs with an agrarian connection. The oldest piece of evidence is from Sjælland, circa 1420. A wave of others followed from 1450 to about 1520, with sixty preserved depictions.

This coincides largely with the great wave of late medieval frescos.[6]

The discussion has revolved around questions such as whether the motif is based on religion or folklore, and whether there may be earlier models, if not in pictures, perhaps in medieval plays. The fresco cycle is part of the increasingly popular and burlesque ecclesiastical art of the late Middle Ages, and the aspects relevant to this paper are the descriptions of work and the ideological content in relation to work and skill.

Pictures from Gotland and Finland show how the woman milks (in other areas, magical animals suckle the cows), but she has no stool and instead squats or kneels to milk. The cows were small and milking stools were not introduced until later. The milk is poured (or regurgitated by the animals) into low, staved tubs, that is, setting pans. (Straining is not shown, which may be because the magical, milkthieving animals (*bjäre*) were believed to regurgitate strained milk, see Wall 1977:136, with evidence from the seventeenth century.) The women make the butter in tall churns that reach above the waist, emphasizing their size and capacity to hold a great deal of cream. The devil helps with the heavy labour it takes to churn such abundant cream, and in one picture there is so much cream that it overflows the churn. The butter is churned by married women, with covered hair, which shows that this was the prestigious labour of the housewife by this time at the latest.

A few picture suites from Uppland also show the task of working the butter, in trays with high sides and a draining gutter, with the buttermilk dripping down into a low staved tub (Forsmark 2003:18–19). The last step is when the butter is shaped into a tall loaf on a turned butter platter intended for display at banquets. (This type of wooden dishes on a cylindrical foot could still be found in much the same shape in the nineteenth century, see Nylén 1951.) When the woman is finally banished to Hell, she has a churn or butter platter with her as her attribute.

In order to understand the ideological meaning to the viewers of these motifs, one must turn to the more detailed documentary material, and so I leave the Middle Ages to use evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, to a certain extent, nineteenth-century folklore. This must be understood as a part of the source-pluralist method, when reference material has to be used time and again to understand the fragmentary evidence on everyday life and mentality in the Middle Ages. But again one must be aware of changes over time.

Folklore, Envy, and Skill

There is evidence of the popular belief in milkthieving women as early as the ninth century in northern France, which is followed by more exhaustive evidence from twelfth- to fifteenth-century Ireland, Wales and England and from thirteenth-century Iceland. There is one mention in Sweden from the early fourteenth century. The magical destruction of cows is mentioned in a couple of places in the Västergötland law, and of cattle in the Östergötland law, but, although likely, the text does not state whether this involved "milk theft". The Svealand laws mention only the putting to death, with "black magic", of human beings. There is copious evidence of the popular belief about magical milk theft from the sixteenth century onwards in documentary material throughout the Nordic countries (Wall 1977; Wall 1978).

I am not primarily interested in the belief system as such, with its various magical elements, which Jan Wall has so thoroughly studied, but rather in the socioeconomic factors behind the belief system. The entire fresco cycle is on a very wideranging geographical level associated with the area of Europe where milk processing was the focus of stock farming, from northern France and the Netherlands and British Isles over to Scandinavia. The importance of butter was the foundation of these beliefs. Where butter was of importance, the idea of magical butter stealing was prevalent.

All Europe experienced witch hunts in the late medieval period and later, and in Sweden milk theft was one of the most common accusations directed at women suspected of witchcraft.[7] During the major witch trials in northern Sweden in 1668–1677, the abduction of children for the devil came to overshadow the proceedings, but milk theft was still a central element in the interrogations, and child abduction was compared with the past, when the "witches" instead took butter, cheese, and other foods (Ankarloo 1971:221, 253).

In their defence at trial, the accused give examples of using "white magic" not intended to hurt others (Ankarloo 1971:51, ox head under the threshold of the cowshed; Andersson 1998:212, on milking over a coin or a ring; see also Östman 2000:214 on the magical properties of the housewife's wedding ring in relation to dairy work in particular). This white magic was related to the difficulty of getting cows to give milk and to the art of butter making. But in the popular belief system, white magic was closely related to black magic, the magic intended to hurt others.

The basic idea was that "milk fortune" could be stolen by another person using magic. A woman who got more milk and butter than was considered normal or reasonable was liable to be accused of stealing the neighbours' milk, especially if their cows went barren or began producing less. This is also expressly mentioned on several occasions when women were accused of milk theft.[8] Jan Wall gives a significant example. A woman and her husband in Västergötland in 1664 had only three cows and yet produced enough butter to sell, which raised suspicions. Their defence shows that their production was distinguished by skill, care and attention. The husband helped his wife churn the butter; he had a particular talent for it and was indifferent to the gender stigma. The wife and husband both earned their living in part by helping others cure bovine illnesses.

It seems that women who owned only a few animals were often accused, but women with rather many cows could also be the targets of these accusations. (Wall 1977:143, 203, not always poor, Wall 1978:74 on how poor women were accused in most of Sweden, but that middleclass women were also targets in the north.) Thus, the poor woman's solicitude for her few cows (or only cow) is connected to what the medieval evidence tells us, but also to what Carin Israelsson has shown with regard to the nineteenth century – the cows of the poor and their hidden significance (Israelsson 2005).

To posterity, it is obvious that the differences in yields were due to how different households cared for their cows (which is still so, as any country veterinarian or livestock advisor can testify). What happened was thus that skill raised suspicion and envy was manifested in accusations of black magic.[9] That the belief in "milk fortune" had grown strong and appeared on late medieval church walls and in the trial records of later times can thus be connected with the economic importance of butter production at that time, and with its demands for a high level of skill and a "good eye for animals," which could result in varying productivity among neighbouring farms.

However, there are many other jobs that require the same ability to read nature and use personal knowledge. Hunting and fishing are typical examples, where one hunter can go out and come back emptyhanded, while another almost always catches something. These activities are also strongly associated with magical beliefs, and "hunting fortune" is a living concept in Sweden today (or "fishing fortune"). It was also generally believed that skilled hunters used magic.

In his article on peasant ecotypes in Scandinavia, Orvar Löfgren has a thorough discussion about the connection between herring fishery and magical belief, and the similarities to butter making are obvious. Some fishermen seemed to be damned by bad luck, where others got good catches most of the time. The belief in the existence of magical destruction was very strong, and it was thought that one could steal luck from another. This was connected with the belief in the limited good. Superstition and ritual ruled in this activity, and people could be enemies because of accusations of or suspicion of black magic (Löfgren 1976:110–114).

But there is a difference. Fishing and hunting luck did not lead to social demonization and condemnation from the society as a whole. It could be considered likely that the man had sold his soul to the devil, or that someone had used black magic. But a not unusual reaction was admiration. No skilled hunters or fishermen were depicted on the church walls as creatures in league with the devil. They were not described by the clerics as damned. Men could be accused of witchcraft, but rarely because they were skilled hunters or fishers. Why, then, were skilled women more demonized than skilled men?

Conclusions

Two arguments can be followed through this text. The first is that skill made the difference, and it depended on having an "eye for animals" and the ability to handle cream; this is why everyday magic was used, but there was also suspicion; the idea that fortune could be stolen has been connected to envy; the skilled woman was the victim of slander, but when compared to hunting or fishing fortune, a gender aspect entered the picture: men's skills were socially acceptable, but not women's.

The second argument differs somewhat: skill and economically significant work gave women genuine influence; this was manifest early in history as women's rights to own cows; handling milk was at first disdained as slaves' work, but became increasingly important and eventually a housewifely occupation, due to its economic significance and higher demands for skill.

These interpretations could be linked. One can presume that as women's work became more important and gradually strengthened their status that the result is precisely the opposite, a demonization of the skill she must acquire to maintain her position. (This can be compared to the situation today, when a female executive is judged by different standards than a male executive; what is condemned as hard aggression when it comes from her is admired as firm decisiveness when he dishes it out.) The medieval technological shift should thus have been followed by a long period of struggle in which women's economic advances were followed by an ideological advance and the contempt for skill gradually died away. During the great agrarian leap of 1750–1900, women and their skill played a decisive role in the advance of stock farming. This is a history that has been described by Lena Sommestad for Sweden and Bodil Hansen for Denmark, who show how the dairy industry emerged from this high level of skill (Sommestad 1992; Hansen 2006, cf. also Simonton 1997:123–124). I do not follow the historical thread forward here, to the period when women lost control over dairy production.

The historical process until the early industrialization can also be put into an even wider frame of reference. One may well ask whether, as Bray pointed out for China (see above), the household sector, which consumed large parts of the labour force, did not in fact play a critical role in determining the status of women. There is striking geographical agreement between the spread of Western European marriage patterns and the spread of the particular type of combined agriculture, with both field farming and stock farming, with the latter oriented towards dairy production. The positions were strongest for both in the British Isles, along the North Sea coast and in the Nordic countries.

However, a dynamic dairy sector can only be one factor in the discussion of how women, accompanied by backlash, raised their status. And the social position of women in a patriarchal society must of course be understood in a much wider context, and not only in relation to genderbased division of labour and the role of skill in the female sphere.

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Notes

1 On women's work in the English Middle Ages, see Goldberg 1992:99; Mate 1999:31, 50. On women's occupations in the Nordic countries in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Österberg 1980:286, 292. In general, household work and its requirements for skill is mentioned occasionally, but is not shaped into concrete analysis even when it is; see e.g. Frader 2006:27, 34. However Simonton 1997 emphasizes women's household duties, and describes them, and also has an important discussion of the meaning of skill, Simonton 1997:81–83.

2 Sommestad 1992:29 on this as a "competency" in modern times, cf. Sommestad 1995:195–196. Simonton 1997:30 about the skill, and Simonton 1997 30–32, 122–123 about dairying as belonging to the female sphere. On the Middle Ages see Goldberg 1992:139–140; Mate 1999: 3, 14, 28. Mate 1999:31 mentions that milking was a low-wage occupation, but in the nineteenth century dairymaids were among the highestpaid women workers, Simonton 1997:122.

3 The material will be presented more exhaustively in forthcoming a study of medieval stock farming, funded by Stiftelsen Lagerberg (The Lagerberg Foundation), which also applies to the evidence in laws, etc. in this article.

4 Israelsson 2005; she has been an active dairy farmer for many years, which contributes to her understanding. I also have some minor experience of handmilking, etc., which has influenced my understanding.

5 I have discussed about a hundred more detailed parables from horticulture, construction, etc., in a source-critical review of the Revelations of Saint Birgitta as a source of information about everyday life in the fourteenth century; see Myrdal 2003, on cheese moulds, see also "Ost", in KL.

6 Medieval pictures: northernmost Germany 5, Denmark proper 17, Skåne 3, Småland 1, Västergötland 1, Gotland 9, Södermanland 1, Uppland 22, Hälsingland 1, Finland 4. In addition, isolated paintings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the same large region. See list in Wall 1977:56–57, with surrounding text, supplemented *with Danske kalkmalerier. Sengotik 1500–1536*, 1992:60, 106–109, and Lennart Karlsson's database "*Medeltidens bildvärld*" on the Swedish Museum of National Antiquities website. Pictorial report for Uppland in Forsmark 2003.

7 Milk theft among the accusations: Ankarloo 1971:99–100; Wall 1977, passim, e.g. p. 138 on a witch trial with several accused in Boteå 1634–35 which mainly involved milk theft, p. 134 on the accusation being common in the witch trials in

Dalarna and Norrland 1669–72 but less common than in those of the same period in Bohuslän. From Norway, Alver 1971:134 on the seventeenth century. There were even priests who owned many animals that produced too little who cast such accusations, and they could even be issued from the pulpit; see Taussi Sjöberg 1996:127–128, with examples from 1620, 1636.

8 On women who got "too much" and were accused: Ankarloo 1971:47 general, Wall 1977:4, 117, 201 general, and with concrete examples pp. 133–134, 143, and Wall 1978:72, general on how the nineteenth-century belief was especially strong in northern Sweden. On "milk fortune" and the belief in "the limited good," in a village, in connection with milk production see also Östman 2000:211–12.

9 I have previously and more briefly proposed this theory on the connection between envy and skill in dairy management, in Myrdal 1999:316–317.

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Tourism as an Important Weapon against Poverty?
On Female Entrepreneurship in Soweto
By Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl

In January 2008 the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* stated that the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs now confirm that they are working with plans to develop an aid programme to stimulate the development of sustainable tourism in several third world countries. As yet no one wants to specify the budget that is in mind, but according to the newspaper a will has been expressed within the Ministry to donate a "significant amount" over a period of five years. This will be the first time that the Norwegian government has implemented a systematic connection between aid and tourism.

"Tourism is one of our most important weapons against poverty," the Minister of the Environment and International Development, Erik Solheim, says to the paper. He claims that

> This will be a very reasonable use of the Norwegian aid budget, because we see that tourism is a very high-intensive workforce industry. We can contribute to creating a huge number of workplaces through relatively low investments, and this will contribute to removing poverty (*Aftenposten*, 15 January 2008).

For the ladies from the *Soweto Accommodation Association* in South Africa, whom I got to know through the research project "Political Places in Change: A comparative study of Croatia and South Africa",[1] this could possibly be very good news. They have turned their own homes into Bed & Breakfasts, in an area that is considered one of the most visited tourist places in South Africa. The five ladies have been living the stories that today attract crowds of tourists to this famous township, which is often labelled as the cornerstone of the struggle against apartheid. Now they are hoping to gain some income from the hardship in an ongoing struggle for a more prosperous everyday life for themselves and for Soweto.

A Site for Secular Pilgrimage?

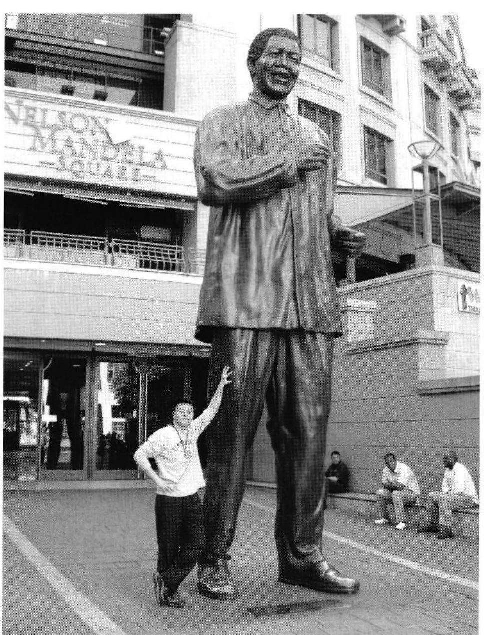
The research project "Political Places in Change" focuses on how significant places that have undergone huge transformations are in different processes of being emptied of previous content and rebuilt as sites of memory, as places of pilgrimage, as building stones for future national identity and as flagships for business development. The main purpose is to examine how places are politicized and depoliticized and how they are filled with stories and monuments in a time when it is claimed that the grand narratives have lost their position. In South Africa there is an increase in the number of places that are turned into different sites of memory. The historian Gary Baines says:

> Since 1994 numerous new sites of memory have been commissioned to remember aspects of South Africa's reconfigured past. These include national, local and community-based public history projects. Certain of these, especially battle sites, memorials and monuments, have sought to promote nation building by emphasizing a shared rather than a conflictual past. Others have celebrated ethnic-nationalist history. Still, others have focused on telling the stories of local communities but have inserted these within the master narrative of struggle history (Baines 2001:9).

The fact that we no longer believe in the grand subjects in history, the proletariat, the party, the west, does not mean that the master narratives have vanished, but rather that they are expressed and established through new forms, says Paul Connerton (1989). According to Baines (2006), the story of Soweto has become "emblematic of the triumphalist grand narrative of the liberation struggle that is the foundation myth of the post apartheid state established by the African National Congress". The symbolic icon of the uprising is Sam Nzima's famous photograph of Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Hector Pieterson, taken shortly after the police opened fire against the students demonstrating in 1976. The picture has been termed as a "flash-frame of memory – those headline-defining visual images of our age that come to anchor the history of events by virtue of their exceptional quality" (Baines 2006).

It is fair to say that Soweto has become a destination for secular pilgrimage or a part of the "struggle tourism circuit" as Baines (2006) chooses to call it. It is estimated that over 200,000 visitors tour the Soweto township each year, and the World Travel and Tourism council expects an annual growth of 4.4 per cent in South Africa's tourism sector over the next ten years (*Al Bawaba*, 5 December 2007).

At the same time that tourism opens up a variety of possibilities for Soweto, there are also mechanisms within the tourist industry that work against the local entrepreneurs living in the township. Concerns have been expressed about the implication the tourist industry might have for a multilayered and dynamic understanding of the history of both Soweto and South Africa. What is a sustainable tourism development in Soweto? What are the ongoing discussions on how to handle the flow of tourists into the townships in ways which ensure that those who actually live there also benefit from the economic effects of the industry? Why is it important to regain ownership of the history that has been lived, which also is a major reason for the contemporary tourists to visit? These are questions that are discussed in this article, which can be read as a contribution to the debate about how tourism has potential to become a major contribution within the field of development assistance policy.



Nelson Mandela on Nelson Mandela Square, Sandton Shopping Centre. Photo: Tieyan Li.

Visiting Soweto from a Safe Distance

The first time I was in Soweto, I believe I travelled as most foreign tourists do. The tour was planned and organized by an international tourist company. We stayed in a Holiday Inn hotel in Sandton, which is considered to be a safe and wealthy part of Johannesburg. The hotel is situated beside a whole block that has been "malled" into a safe spot, where security guards watched the entrances and patrolled the area. As stated in a randomly chosen information brochure from accommodation nearby, this Sandton Shopping Centre "encapsulates a lifestyle that takes good taste to new levels – from designer boutiques to world-class cuisine" (www.shingalanalodge.co.za).

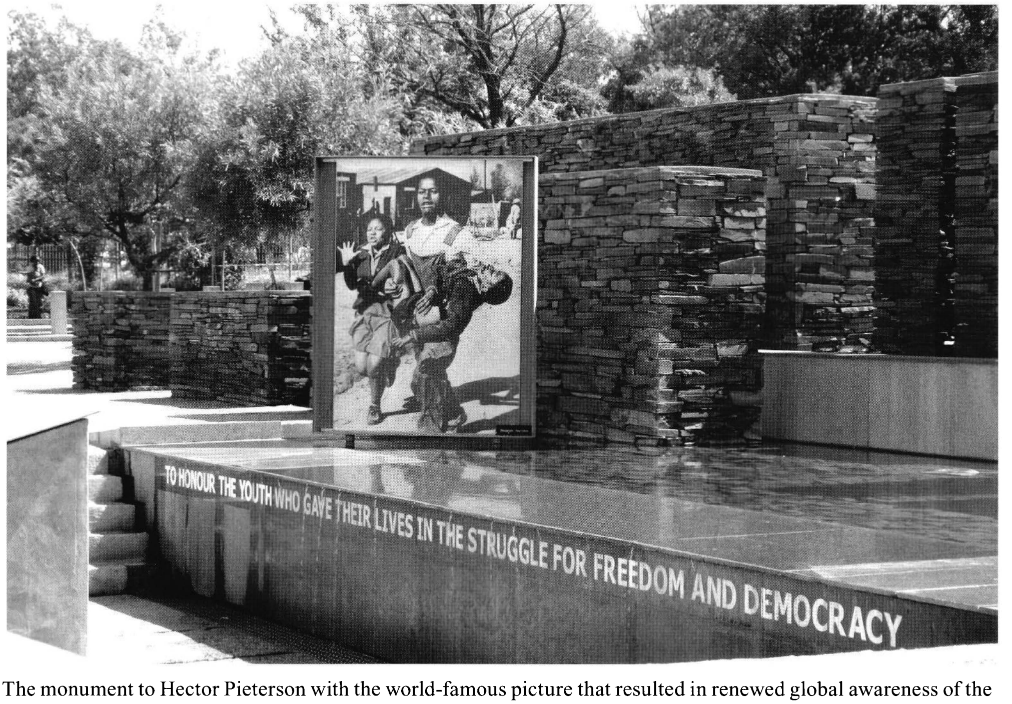
The bus taking us on the actual tour into Soweto picked up a local guide at the gateway. The guide offered an insider's perspective and a local voice in telling the stories of this famous township. The first stop was at the monument to Hector Pieterson with the iconic picture from the Soweto Uprising in 1976. "Language is something that is sensitive to a person", says the guide as he begins to explain how the peaceful demonstration was begun by the students in Soweto against the law turning Afrikaans into the official language in all South African Schools, introduced by the apartheid regime. The kids came from all of Soweto but when they came to the spot we were standing in,

> a dog started barking, a stone was thrown and hell was loose. The police started shooting, we are talking about children at the age of eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen, and they were shot at with sharp bullets. The only thing they had was stones and they tried to fight back. This whole area was a chaos.

In a clever manner the guide managed to explain the monument, the harsh life in the apartheid era, the reconciliation of the post-apartheid period, and also offered a place in the struggle for the Norwegian tourists by highlighting how "the Scandinavian countries played a significant role in the struggle for freedom".

Before we start walking "the long walk of freedom", the route that was used by the students demonstrating, the local guide gives us even more credit by underlining that there are a lot of white South Africans that still haven't been in a black township. "You are here now. Thank you for coming and thank you for helping us back."

I don't know if the other tourists in the group also had a bitter-sweet taste from receiving this rather undeserved recognition, because now the focus was on moving towards the next highlight of the Soweto tour, Vilakazi Street: "Among the world's most famous streets." The Norwegian guide emphasizes the street as "the only street in the world with two Nobel Peace Price winners". First we stop outside the former house of Nelson Mandela, which



The monument to Hector Pieterson with the world-famous picture that resulted in renewed global awareness of the atrocities committed by the apartheid regime. Photo: Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl.

today is a family museum. We only stop on the outside of this museum as well, since "I have a schedule to keep to in the programme and it takes a long time to go inside and we still have to go to the church", the local guide says. Then we walk some fifty more metres to the house of Desmond Tutu. "This house is heavily renovated" the Norwegian guide says, and explains why:

> Before the wall was low and when all the tourists came to watch – particularly the tourist buses with people not daring to exit – they sat in the busses and looked straight in. Particularly they watched Leiah Tutu, who often worked in her kitchen garden. She became fed up with being stared at, and felt like a monkey in a cage, and once she threw out a piece of cloth in pure desperation. This led to huge headlines in the papers.

On our way to the church, we did something of the same ourselves. We drove past the house of Winnie Mandela, which is a rather huge mansion by Sowetan standards, and watched it from the bus window. At the service, we were again thanked for our contribution during the struggle. The whole trip ended with us enjoying a meal at the famous restaurant Wandie's Place, before we returned to Sandton where most of the group spent their "free" afternoon at the secure mall of Sandton Convention Centre.

A day in Soweto offered a physical meeting with a dramatic history that most of the tourists have followed through media reports and pictures throughout several decades, and even managed to place the tourists as important participants in the struggle. Simply the fact that one has entered Soweto is acknowledged as a positive and important contribution in the ongoing struggle towards further and more equal development of the post-apartheid South Africa. What a treat for a group of tourists! So why this slightly sceptical tone of voice towards this way of visiting Soweto?

There are two main respects in which this form of tourist industry is unfortunate for the people living in Soweto, and other similar townships all over South Africa. The first concerns the business aspect of this industry, where it is really only a very small part of the economy from the growing tourism that finds its way to Soweto. The second is the question who gets to tell and direct the stories of the experiences that has been lived by the Sowetans, and that is the main reason for attracting such numbers of tourists.

Both these aspects are today very much in the hands of "outsiders", whether they belong to huge global tourist organizations and different international niche tourist concepts, or they are founded in the national (lack of) support for the Sowetans that are building their tourism enterprises. In this manner one could argue that structures from the apartheid era are still kept alive, and in some ways even reinforced, by a conservative tourist industry.

Fear as a Business Strategy?

When picking up the rental car at Johannesburg International Airport, the white lady turned even paler when reading the address where the car was going to be parked for the next month or so. "In Soweto? Are you really staying there? Why on earth are you doing that?" she asked puzzled, and for a minute I wondered if I either had to return the car or pay more to get it out. She started talking about the one time she had driven through Soweto, at high speed with the doors locked and without stopping at red lights. She had never been back, as it had been the most frightening experience. I tried to explain that in Orlando West in Soweto it seemed safer than a lot of the other suburbs of Johannesburg. I even referred to a portrayal from Dolly Hlophe, who also runs a Bed & Breakfast there, which describes the same:

> The cosy prosperity of Dolly's neighborhood, the fabled Orlando West, is a far cry from images of an angry and seething Soweto that once filled television screens around the world. In many ways the neighborhood seems safer and more normal than my own in Johannesburg's heavily fortified northern suburbs. In Orlando West many houses, like Dolly's, have no security walls and there is not an electric fence in sight. Neighbors greet each other warmly and chastise each other's children for misbehavior (Itano 2004:116).

The white girl behind the desk at the rental company didn't seem convinced, but her black colleague agreed. She lived in Soweto herself, to the white girl's big surprise. They had never talked about that, it turned out.

In the book "*Soweto Inside Out*" (Roberts & Thloloe 2004) which tells several "stories about Africa's famous township", there is also an article describing how Soweto was "literally off the map" in the fifties:

> The street-plans of the white suburbs extended even further to the north, but they left huge blank spaces to the south, between the mine dumps and the railway lines: like early maps of Africa, they were uncharted areas for the whites, terra incognita (Sampson 2004:214).

Even in contemporary South Africa, which is often labelled as the land of miracle and the rainbow nation, not all entrances to Soweto are marked with signs. When driving from Tshwane (previously known as Pretoria) towards Johannesburg, it seems as if every little

The former ANC activist Dolly Hlophe kept the movement alive in Soweto while its leaders were in prison or in exile. Here outside her home where she runs a B&B. "No place in Soweto has change more than Orlando West, the Mecca of township tourism" (Itano: 20041:18). Photo: Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl.

suburb is marked with traffic signs. Soweto, where some two million people live, is still not signposted off from the highway. The tourist industry does nothing to change this perception of Soweto as a dangerous township. On the contrary, one can get the impression that the tourist industry is stimulating this fear. What if people find out that it is actually possible to stay in Soweto, walking in the streets without being attacked, experience the Sowetan vibe at the restaurants and pubs, and learn about Soweto from the ones that have lived the stories that attract so many tourists from all over the world?

"Get off the Bus!" Campaign

Anastacia Makgato, the owner of Thuto's Bed & Breakfast situated thirty metres from Mandela Family Museum, offers an accurate sales argument on her website: "We'll show you Soweto at a pace that 'keeps up with the needs of the group' as we call it. We don't believe in the 'you have 6 minutes here and 17 there because the bus is about to leave', simply because THAT is something we hate ourselves" (www.thuto.com). Others in Soweto express the frustration of the express-tourist flow in sharper voices: "I feel like an animal in a zoo, when they take their pictures through the bus", "Why don't they stay here and talk to us, don't they want to get to know us?" are common reactions from Sowetans commenting on the tourists that hasten through their neighbourhood.

In a conversation with Anastacia, who took the initiative to form the first black B&B association in South Africa together with Dolly Hlophe, Cathy Luthaga and several other ladies from Soweto, we enter this subject of the present tourist pattern in their township. When hearing only some of her story, one can understand the fear of competition that a profit-seeking international tourist industry might feel.

K: *So you were the first black B&B association?*

A: Yes, the association, yes. So I will say thanks to my country for the change they have made. That change has done so that I have something for my kids. I can feed them today. I can manage my house, though I cannot manage to buy new furniture, because this business is going very, very slow. It seems that South African hotels are afraid of us. They think we are going to take guests from them because of the rich history Soweto has. I was a fortunate woman because I am right next to Mr Mandela's house, which is thirty metres from my home. I can say I am the kidney of Soweto, because I am where everything started. That's where I am located. So from 2003 I started getting guests slowly up until now. We can stay six months or three months without a single guest, but I know slowly but surely that one day I will own a hotel. I hope I will succeed to reach my goals. I will name my hotel Reconciliation Hill Hotel, because I want my hotel to be on a hill where the children of the seventy-six riots used the hill stones to attack the police. They didn't have guns, so they were using stones. I wish I could get a sponsor to build that hotel. It is going to give Soweto kids jobs, because I will be in need of security and cleaners and management, you know.

K: *When you talk about this hotel, you don't only talk about it as an entrepreneur or a business, but as a place of learning?*

A: Yes, a place for learning, a place where these kids are going to learn. After that they can explore. They can even go to America, wherever they like, and they will have the experience from working in a hotel: How to manage the hotel, how to make beds, you know a person can get experience and at the same time he will be working.

K: *When you see thirty metres down your street, towards the house of Mr Mandela and the thousand of tourists …*

A: Actually I see that there can be more than fifty buses a day bringing tourists to Mandela's house. Some of the tourists get off the bus for a few minutes. Some of them, they just peep through the window because they have been told that Soweto is not safe. Well, I personally don't agree with them and I hate it. I want people to be free in Soweto. All the guests

I have in my B&B have been going to the restaurant Nambitha at night to have dinner, and they have never been attacked. Soweto is no longer rough. Mr Mandela said to the kids when he was released: "Please, I have been released from jail, let everything stop. Go to school and get educated. You must sit down with a white person and discuss about South Africa. Make South Africa a home for everyone of us. Accept them and let them accept us. Let us be one." Everything just stopped automatically then.

According to Anastacia the tour operators even direct the tourists past the souvenir stands that local Sowetan people have outside both Mandela's home and Hector Pieterson's Museum, by telling them that they should shop elsewhere because in Soweto it is too expensive. In the autumn of 2004, before the tourist season, the newly opened *Soweto Tourism Association* launched a "Get off the bus!" campaign. They wanted to make sure tourists don't just whiz through the township, but get out and meet the people, stay longer and spend money in Soweto. Anastacia, who joined the meeting planning this campaign, argued that "the tourism cake is big enough for all to share" (www.sowetotourism.com).

Once again, the Sowetan ladies reveal a generous attitude of sharing instead of arguing about excluding a tourist industry that might be considered rather exploitive. It would be wise for the international hotels and tour operators to listen, because when the tourists starts figuring out that Soweto is a safe place to stay, it will most probably change the tourism pattern quite dramatically.

A Powerful Story of Soweto

Anastacia goes on to tell how she used to baby-sit for Nelson Mandela's children Zeni and Zindzi. Anastacia was attending school at Orlando West High, and after school she went home to change and have her afternoon meal, before she went to Mandela's house to be with the girls until their mother Winnie came from work. Anastacia was then about 16 years old, while the girls were two and four years old. When Mandela was released from prison, Anastacia was waiting for him:

A: Then when Mandela was released, I went to sit there in the corner. I wanted to be the first person to see Mandela, and Mandela to see me. But it never happened like that, even if we stayed there in the corner for three days and three nights.

K: *Is that true?*

A: Yes, I was right on top of the journalist truck. Then the sun burned me and I was peeling, but I said I was not going home. I told my children to bring me food there, until Mandela arrived. We were all happy, you know. He couldn't see anyone, but I don't know how I can express how it was to be here that day. Everybody wanted to be next to Mandela that day, which of course was impossible. Journalists from all over the world were here. It was a camp waiting for Mandela, so after three days he started visiting us house to house, and what surprised me was that Mandela knew the people here. He asked about so and so, "now, he died", he could remember the people in Orlando West. It was on a Sunday morning, there was a knock at the door. When I opened it was Mr Mandela. I screamed and I jumped at him, I kissed him, I said: "Welcome home, Daddy". When he opened his mouth he said: "You are an old woman, you were a baby when I left here. Now you are old. I am even better compared to you" (*We laugh out loud*). I was huge. I was size 46, I was huge. It was a joke. I offered Mr Mandela a cup of tea, than Mr Mandela started asking me about what was happening here in Orlando West when he had been absent. I had to tell him about the good and the bad. Actually he wanted to know about the football team that was here. I told Mandela the truth about that. It was not a football team; those boys were terrorizing the community.

K: *You are talking about Winnie's boys?*

A: Yes, they were terrorizing the community, of which I was telling the truth. I couldn't tell lies.

K: *So he asked specifically about that?*

A: Yes. So Mr Mandela said to me: "How many kids have you got? How old are they?" I told him. He said: "Please, every parent should talk to his or her children. I am out of prison; we are going to work hand in hand with white people. Please, white people shouldn't be your enemies." He made me aware that if I attacked a white person, it was not that white person specifically who had introduced apartheid. It was his grandfather, or his grand-, grand- … "That person is innocent like me, so let's forget about everything. Let's stop fighting and build the nation and build the country. I want peace." I did tell him that my children were saying this and that and that … I want to be honest: This township, Orlando West, here where Mandela lived, we are living peacefully. Peacefully. There is no crime here. If someone commits a crime here, it is impossible because we got young children, you know, youth that are taking care of this area. They are patrolling and we know that it is safe. So my wish is to see tourists from all over the country coming to South Africa, coming to Soweto, to come and experience our culture and Ubuntu. We have Ubuntu, so really, I wish they should just remove that stigma and come and experience our culture.

Self-Incubating Entrepreneurship in Soweto

When the Norwegian Minister of the Environment and International Development, Erik Solheim, argues that tourism can contribute to removing poverty in an effective manner because it is a high-intensive workforce industry (*Aftenposten*, 15 January 2008), I would argue that equally important is this industry's potential to create small-scale tourism enterprises. It doesn't take much to start one's own tourist business, even if one doesn't have any education or experience, a whole infrastructure or support to develop from, a lot of money to invest in or run an establishment, like these ladies in Soweto who have transformed their own homes into B&B's. It was the international World Summit for Sustainable Development which was held in Johannesburg in 2002 that started the whole idea of entering the tourism industry with their B&B's.

Both Anastacia Makgato and her husband had then been unemployed since 1980. "It was a really difficult time for both of us because we had four kids to educate and maintain, to clothe and to feed." In 1983 Anastasia's husband was badly injured in an attack, which he barely survived. In the worst criminal period during the eighties, she couldn't sleep on the top of her bed. "I would rather sleep on the floor at the side, because the window is big, and when the guns were busy I was afraid that a stray bullet would go through the window and hit me on the bed". Today she is not sure how she managed through those years.

When the World Summit advertised for homes that could provide accommodation for the delegates, Anastacia registered. She wanted to "help my country, and at the same time helping myself to get something to eat", as she puts it. She was given four guests.

After the Summit, when the guests left, my daughter encouraged me to turn this house into a B&B. It was difficult for me to say yes, because I was unemployed and didn't know where to start. Fortunately I started with what I had, and that was my furniture. It was old furniture, but because I looked after it, I started my B&B with it. Even now, I am using this very furniture. So that is why I started my own B&B. After three months I went to the ladies who registered together with me during the World Summit. We sat down, and I said to them: "Please ladies, let's start thinking positively, There was a World Summit that was a success for us. Let's carry on and have B&B's". It was very difficult for them to actually say yes. It seemed almost impossible, because we were never exposed to owning our own business, our own B&B. So it was the first time we sat down and thought about it.

The ladies went to register at the Gauteng Tourism, and they named their association *Soweto Accommodation Association*. They got in touch with *Tourism Enterprise Programme*, which is a company that helps fund entrepreneurs, where they were given free printing of brochures and business cards. Otherwise, they were met with a variety of reactions from the other associations. Some they felt were difficult, like the time when they met with one of the local associations from the more northern parts of Johannesburg. They were told it was an association for whites only, and they felt that these white ladies were clustering together to protect their own B&B's. The *National Accommodation Association of South Africa* turned out to be different, and when affiliating with them Sowetan ladies "started to see the light", as Anastacia puts it. They gave encouragement, passed on information and still function as mentors today. The Sowetan B&B ladies also got help from *SA tourism*, with the support of computers.

But the main tools for developing their businesses come from within the *Soweto Accommodation Association*. By 2004 their association had grown from the originally eight persons to 32. There has also been a split up, where two of them left. The *Soweto Accommodation Association* has developed a range of services to secure their businesses, to develop further knowledge and to encourage others to start. Each month they pay 20 Rand to have resources to meet different needs. If someone has guests who argue about the bill, the associations fund can cover expenses that are not being paid for. "Sometimes there is a workshop somewhere and from the very twenty Rand we hire Cathy's car to go there. Sometimes it is in Pretoria or in Midrand. You know, we don't want to miss anything in connection with hospitality. We want to be advanced in everything we can hear and learn", Anastacia explains. They share guests if they "get a volume" of guests, they tip one another if there is a bargain somewhere, and they lend each others equipment. Anastacia gives some examples:

> I will tell you something that is going to make you laugh; for instance if Cathy gets guests and she doesn't have a heater or fan and I don't have guests, I give her the heater for the guests to be warm until she is able to buy a heater for herself. That is what we are doing … If you have guests and you don't have enough linen, I will take my linen and give it to you. After they have left, you wash it and give it back. We don't want our B&B's to be criticized for bad things. "I slept on bad linen." You get the point? "I was feeling cold at night", or "it was so hot and I didn't have a fan". Such things.

The ladies also function as a knowledge bank and almost as an incubator for other ladies who wonder if they should dare to start B&B's. There are often ladies from the neighbourhood coming to Anastasia's place asking for advice and for her experience and knowledge. "Yes, I don't discourage them because I was never discouraged. I always say: Do it, it will be a success. Don't go and buy new furniture, you just clean your house. Polish your old furniture. You can buy gradually what you need for the B&B." She visits their places to be able to offer specific advice on what it takes to open up their homes for tourists and to further empower them to take this step to becoming entrepreneurs in tourism.

Gradually Improving against the Odds

It is slowly and gradually improving for the Sowetan B&B's. From the viewpoint of the Sowetan neighbourhood, the ladies are about to turn rich. Some of them have experienced what lots of successful people do: envy. There are comments that "it's going too good for you. You were poor and now you are rich. People don't like you as well anymore." Anastacia finds that both terrible and quite unfair. To start a township business based on what you have got, and with barely any resources for further investments, it sometimes feels as if the tourism structures are working against instead of supporting them. It takes quite an entrepreneurial spirit and fighting will to keep up.

A: I do get guests, but I want to be honest, I can hardly buy myself a pair of shoes. When I started this B&B we told one another that we were not going to change our houses and make them look like Sandton Sun. We want people to experience Soweto. To get visit a Soweto home, although we have modernized it. But it should be a Soweto home. If I've only got one bath, I will wash and you will wash inside that bath. We are a family, but the Grading Council of South Africa will not allow us to do this. They want all bedrooms to be suite bedrooms. Now, whatever you can make of the business, you prompt it back into our business again. We didn't have linen, and they want us to have pillow protectors and mattress protectors, a good bed. You get the point? Right now I got money yesterday from those guests that have stayed here. So I am going to buy curtains, because I don't like the curtains in this room. So I want nice curtains. Not long ago I bought blankets, because the last time they were here to grade me, they said my blankets were very nice and very expensive, but they were coloured.

K: *Is it true?*

A: Yes, they don't want a coloured blanket. They want a plain coloured blanket without flowers, without anything. So the ladies from the other B&B's bought them with those colours last year when they heard what they said to me. I only bought them recently. I am going to use them when they come to grade me. I will start using them then. That blanket, one is three hundred Rand, and I had to buy seven.

K: *I think this grading council sounds very ...*

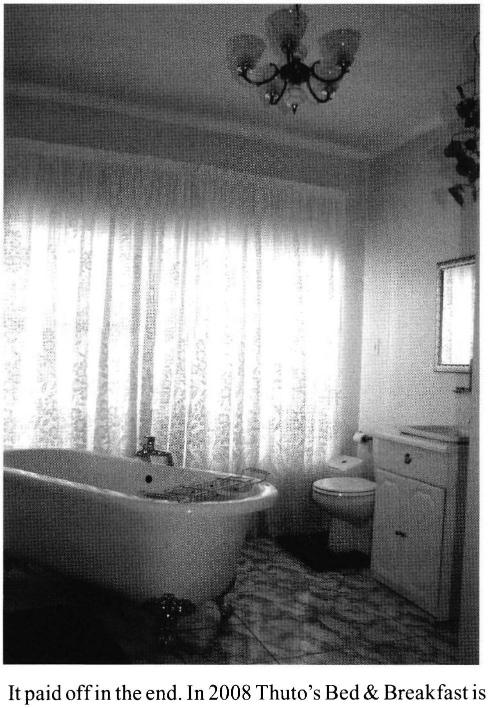
A: Terrible.

K: *Terrible.*

A: And really, we were against it, we were cross. But at the end of the day we said: "What can we do?" Because the CEO himself, he is going to be around. We used to tell him: "Look here, we are from Soweto and you cannot compare Soweto with Sandton or Rosebank. You cannot expect me to get two stars and a B&B in Sandton get two stars. No, we are asking you to grade us with our township". Do you get the point?

K: *I totally agree. But he doesn't understand it?*

A: He said no. We have tried to be stubborn, but he is more stubborn than us.



It paid off in the end. In 2008 Thuto's Bed & Breakfast is the only four-star accommodation in the whole of Soweto with 4 suite bedrooms. "We hosted celebrities from all over the world (But don't worry, there is celebrity treatment for every guest)", they market on their website www.thuto.com. Photo: Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl.

As the first black association for accommodation, the ladies from Soweto also meet obstacles on their way to creating successful businesses that one would have thought were remnants from a long gone past. When the ladies heard that the *Gauteng Combined Accommodation Association* had a deal with Woolworths on getting groceries at a low price, they wanted the same deal for the *Soweto Accommodation Association*. They went to Woolworths presenting themselves with the brochures and business cards, and were told to come back later for a meeting. When they returned there was a new manager, and he had a clear message for them: "Then the gentleman said to us: Unfortunately we only do that for whites. Not for you", Anastacia says.

Some of the big hotels have started to realize the business potential of being closer to Soweto, but again there is an approach that does not acknowledge the specific qualities of this township. International hotel chains have tried to enrol the Sowetan B&B's into their own satellites, by redesigning them with the chain's furniture. Even if such a deal means free furniture and probably more guests sent from the chains, which could really make a difference to tight budgets, the Sowetan ladies refused.

At the meetings within the *Soweto Accommodation Association* discussions on how to get funds for their businesses are often on the agenda. The ladies have heard that the Department of Trade and Industry sponsors people who own businesses and are entrepreneurs, but they find it difficult to get that funding. Both black empowerment and female entrepreneurship are fields of encouragement in the national politics, but the ladies "don't know how, we don't have the knowledge to get the information and to get the application".

Who Should Tell the Stories of Soweto?

One problematic field in the way the tourist industry is currently entering Soweto is, as previously discussed, how much of its economy never touches the township inhabitants, such as restaurant owners, souvenir stands, accommodations, museums or others that would like to be a more significant part of this growing industry. As we have learnt through the experiences of the Soweto Accommodation Association, there are structures within both national and international tourism that make it tough to be a female entrepreneur from Soweto in this field of business. A second point of great concern is how the ongoing process of negotiating the past and creating a new post-apartheid South Africa is influenced by this international tourist industry in terms of what kind of stories are surfacing and who gets to tell them.

"The political changes in the early 1990s did not alter the key marketing features of the South African tourist package" says the historian Leslie Witz (2006:114), and claims that the new recoded South Africa affords even greater opportunities to gaze upon "ancient rituals, traditions of 'old' Africa, wonders of its wildlife, natural beauty and a 'culture as fascinating as it is diverse'". Witz highlights how the emerging township tourism is an example of how the tourist theming of South African society continues to reside in the age of exploration and discovery, very much as it did both in the post-colonial and apartheid era (Witz 2006).

Like the Norwegian minister, the South African minister of tourism and environmental affairs, Mohamed Vali Moosa, also draws on this sector's potential for rapid job creation when he urges the South Africans to develop a culture of welcoming tourists. The South African government's Department of Arts and Culture urges museums to see their primary task as developing products for the international tourist market. This concerns Leslie Witz somewhat:

> Statistics indicating that museums and art galleries are visited by 36 percent of tourists to South Africa must therefore be very good news, potentially providing a lucrative source of income. But what happens to the requirements for museums to alter their static, stereotypical displays when their primary objective is located more and more in developing products for a tourism industry where such images abound and are perpetuated? (Witz 2006: 115).

There are several South Africans who stress the need for understanding and presenting history in pluralistic and dynamic manners. In the volume *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, discussing the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), biographies and oral history, museum, memorials and public memory, which are all highly significant fields of memory, this is underlined:

> It remains a challenge to all who are, in some way, involved in memorializing the past, to keep multiple versions of the past alive, and not to privilege, as has so often been done, a few master narratives that offer a sense of unity at the cost of ignoring the fracture and dissonance (Nuttall & Coetzee 1998:14).

Baines also claims that if public memory is to be more than a dominant mythology, new ways of evoking multiple memories and a plurality of historical voices will have to be found (2001:13). In Baines' (2006) opinion the "ANC government institutionalized memories of the Soweto uprising in its efforts to build a new national identity in South Africa"; he deconstructs the mythic position that Hector Pieterson has acquired and discusses how the ANC government has "sought to fashion a foundation narrative that can be embedded in collective memory".

While the historians and others dealing with questions of public memories, heritage and memorials keep on discussing how museum practices are influenced by political agendas, arguing whether there are new grand narratives from the ANC government that overshadow diversity and plurality, and more than suggesting that there is a pressure towards conformity and nation building, Anastacia Makgato reflects on several of the same themes. She is not critical of Soweto as a grand narrative of struggle, the politics of identity or institutionalized memories of Soweto. On the contrary, she has lived the struggle of Soweto and she firmly believes in the reconciliation strategy. What she is frustrated with is that a majority of the tourists never get past an interpretation of her and Soweto's story in which she doesn't believe. Others have the power to define, design, tell, sell and profit from the stories of Soweto. Is Soweto again being exploited, this time by an ignorant and conservative tourist industry? According to Anastacia, it is:

> Yes, it is exploited, because black people don't have money. Even the tour guide operators, 99 percent of them don't own cars or buses, they are working for white people, on these big buses, you know … They will take a white guy to drive the bus and tell the tourists the history of Soweto. How can he know the history of Soweto, not being a Sowetan man but being a Sandton man? … They don't even allow tourists to go off the buses, to go inside Mandela's house. They just sit inside the bus and peep, they are told through the mic that on the left is Mandela's house and blah, blah, blah, of which is really not right.

Politics of Tourism

The first international branded hotel opened in Soweto on 29 October 2007. Holiday Inn Soweto Freedom Square is a four-star hotel with "an African theme and references to Kliptown's heritage, the avant-garde interior is an eclectic blend of old and new pointing to the modern development and revival of Kliptown" (*Al Bawaba*, 5 December 2007). The Chief Operating Officer of InterContinental Hotels Group for the Middle East and Africa, John Bamsey, said at the opening: "We are honoured to be the first international hotel company to contribute to the development of this thriving and historically important region." The hotel assures that it will be supporting the Soweto community with up to 40 permanent jobs, including the training of young people who will enter the hospitality sector, and it will create "numerous opportunities" through procurement of services from businesses based in Soweto. During the construction of the hotel the Black Economic Empowerment has been followed, meaning that 80 per cent of the workforce came from small, medium and micro enterprises based in Soweto and that US$ 1 million has been paid to local subcontractors and labourers. A trust has also been set up to support local women's groups, churches, youth organizations and the disabled (*Al Bawaba*, 5 December 2007).

In 2008 there is a line on the website of Thuto's B&B in 2008 saying "Adopted by Southern Sun Hotel Group", and I can see from the photos that her furniture has been changed. I am looking forward to visiting again and hearing what this is about. Was she tired of not getting guests and not being able to buy herself new shoes, or did Southern Sun Hotel come up with a better suggestion for how to cooperate? What does she think of this new hotel, will it be good for the locals in Soweto or will it be a tough competitor that doesn't acknowledge that the "tourist cake" should be shared with the Sowetans? Does she still believe in her dream for the future – building her Reconciliation Hill Hotel – or has that dream faded in the encounter with all the deep-structured obstacles?

When the Norwegian ministry starts the process of developing an aid programme for sustainable tourism, I do hope they also seek advice from and listen carefully to the small local entrepreneurs and not only from the huge tourism establishments which can refer to high numbers of staff. I also hope they keep in mind the variety of expressions and memories that is necessary in the heritage industry, while a political firmness and a will to steer are what a conservative tourist industry needs in order to develop sustainable tourism, together with the local communities of which they are a part.

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Notes

1 This is a post-doc project at the University of Bergen. I spent nine months in South Africa in 2003 and 2004, and the material I refer to in this article is from my three stays in Soweto. The first was a day trip with a Norwegian tour operator in February 2004, and then I stayed twice at Thuto's B&B over a period of six weeks. The interview with Anastacia Makgato was conducted at the end of my stay, late June 2004. The project is financed by the Norwegian Research Council.

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The Use and Abuse of Heritage
The Old Bridge in Post-War Mostar
By Dragan Nikolić

From Destruction to World Heritage

The historic town of Mostar, spanning a deep valley of Neretva River, developed in the 15th and 16th century as an Ottoman town and during the Austro-Hungarian period in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mostar has long been known for its Old Bridge, Stari Most, after which it is named. In the 1990 conflict, however, most of the historic town and The Old Bridge, designed by renowned architect, Sinan, were destroyed. The Old Bridge was recently rebuilt and many of the edifices in the Old Town have been restored or rebuilt with the contribution of an international scientific committee established by UNESCO (UNESCO, n.d.).

This article is about The Old Bridge in Mostar, a great 16th century building achievement. The Old Bridge was destroyed by Croatian military and paramilitary forces on 9th November 1993, during the (Croatian – Muslim) interethnic conflict of the 1990s in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Aided by international engagement and donations it was later rebuilt; the inauguration ceremony of The Old Bridge and the Old Town being held on 23rd July 2004. In July 2005 UNESCO proclaimed it as a World Heritage Site. Not surprisingly, it has also become one of BiH's key tourist destinations only a day's trip away from the Adriatic coast. UNESCO defines its symbolic meaning in terms of multiculturalism materialised:

> The Old Bridge area, with its pre-Ottoman, eastern Ottoman, Mediterranean and western European architectural features, is an outstanding example of a multicultural urban settlement. The reconstructed Old Bridge and Old City of Mostar is a symbol of reconciliation, international co-operation and of the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious communities. (…) With the "renaissance" of The Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar – as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds – has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful co-operation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes (ibid.).

The cultural heritage concept is currently experiencing a strong renaissance in both debates and cultural policy – although at the same time it appears to be both conventional and reified and examined from the humanities debate point of view.[1] "This means", points out Orvar Löfgren, "that as ethnologists we are obliged to revert to the concept: where does its current popularity lie and what are the consequences of its use?" (Löfgren 1997:4). The cultural heritage is sometimes described as the antithesis of a degenerative contemporary culture and an oasis that renders an endurance of modern life possible – but this only serves to make an analysis of the phenomenon even more urgent (Svensson 1997:1). In popular terms cultural heritage appears to be something that functions in peaceful and stable European contexts but is highly problematical in countries that are still coping with the effects and consequences of war.

"Monuments are contradictory", argue the authors in their introduction to the book *Minnesmärken – att tolka det förflutna och besvärja framtiden* [Monuments – Interpreting the Past and Conjuring up the Future] (Frykman & Ehn 2007) and emphasise the importance of their active use in current conflicts. The Old Bridge in Mostar is an interesting educational phenomenon in that it illustrates diversity, pain and affliction in the recollections that are manifested. Tamar Ashuri has pointed to the specific memories of war. On the one hand a "common memory" is held by those who remember a particular and personally experienced episode. On the other hand there is a "shared memory" that requires communication – and where film and other media tend to influence its interpretation (Ashuri 2005: 425). Generally speaking it takes a long time for the latter to triumph over the former. In Mostar this has not yet happened. Many different interpretations can still be found here, and memories are still very much alive.

In an earlier study of The Old Bridge in Mostar, historical expert Magnus Rodell maintains that inaugural ceremonies and destruction are fruitful starting points for those interested in the shifting significance of monuments and memorials (Rodell 2007:86). But from an ethnological point of view it is also pertinent to ask what happens in the gap, in everyday life. How does the local population live and cope with the monument? In this context it is not the bridge as a monument and material artefact that is in focus, but the activities and events and the intentions that people assign to it as a thing. This can be ascertained by following daily practices: how monuments acquire meaning in relation to a wide range of events and actors.

This in turn raises pertinent questions, such as to who owns the monument and how is it used today – by whom, how and for what purpose? In looking at the uses of a monument much of the social, political and cultural situation of a particular locale in the aftermath of war becomes evident.

For people living in the town the bridge constitutes a gap as well as a zone of contact. By ways of a comment to UNESCO's definition/inscription, this article adds fieldwork insights to local practices relating to this World Heritage Site. Ethnography sheds light on the dynamics between three different levels in the production of meaning: the local, the national and the international.

The Inauguration

An air of great excitement surrounded the ceremonious inauguration of the restored bridge. Thousands of policemen were in place and security was at its height. It was rumoured that the police patrolled the upstream and downstream sections of the bridge across the River Neretva in an attempt to prevent possible incidents. It was not the evening's principal character – the bridge – that was being protected, however, but the hundreds of important foreign guests and royalty – of which England's Prince Charles was one. It was as if the world's cultural and distinguished elite had gathered to re-establish and restore this mythical part of Europe and rid it of the memory of war. By their very presence they would blow new life into this cultural heritage and wonder.

Interestingly enough, the organisation of the inauguration was stage-managed by the same man who had arranged former President Alija Izetbegovic's funeral. The organisers were well aware that people would be watching the event from around the globe. The instructions were clear: pomp and circumstance *à la balkanica*. The result was a *slet* (a display of traditional and modern dances), a classic concept of grandiose and socially realistic intent. The aim of the two hour performance was to involve as many people as possible with as many cultural expressions and interpretations as possible. The organisers were keen to ensure that the entire range of cultural heritage was on show – not only the narrative and the material, but the free artistic element as well.

The ceremony began with a high-powered speech. Lord Paddy Ashdown, the then High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, announced: "The fact that so many people from around the world have gathered here today to pay tribute to the reconstruction of the bridge says a lot about BiH itself – about social life and how hope triumphs over misfortune... The story of this bridge is not only one of bricks and mortar, of building expertise and majestic architecture. It is a story about this part of Europe; its splendour, civilisation and tragedies". More speeches and songs followed on.

The celebrations on this balmy and inky-black evening with attendant rain clouds hovering above the mountains were concluded by legendary leaps from the bridge. The water was hardly visible below. One after another and with torches in their hands they daringly jumped the 22 metres into the River Neretva. An onlooker took advantage of the opportunity to shout "Allah Akbar". Schoolchildren waved white flags and sang a pre-war pacifist hymn: "Only that war will never happen..." The bridge was then finally illuminated by a gigantic display of fireworks.

Majority of inhabitants of Mostar, Bosnian-Muslims and Bosnian-Croats – two ethnically divided micro-worlds that the bridge was intended to unite, stayed at home watching television, or at the best, flocked on both shores away from the bridge, lacking accreditation for accession. It made one wonder: for whose sake was this entire spectacle intended? Was one supposed to rely on the general enthusiasm displayed in the media to indicate that the development of post-war Mostar was heading in the right direction? Was that what the organisers and initiative takers were also reckoning on? The bridge was a symbol for "multiethnic coexistence, tolerance and cultural development"; a symbol that was capable of uniting people where politicians and countless words of praise had failed.

The New Partition

The town remained divided after the inauguration; this time in a new way. The arrival of busloads of tourists only served to make this more apparent. One group of tourists followed the heels of another while local men sat and played their endless games of *tavla* (backgammon). The air was saturated with guided tours, and Italian, English, Swedish or German groups made a beeline for the souvenir shops. The bridge was the natural climax of the visit. Young men in bathing trunks perched on the top ready for the performance: one getting ready to jump while others collected the fee (25 euro per jump) or waited for their turn to jump. Cameras whir and roll and a hum of expectation runs through the crowd as the leaper vanishes into the blue Neretva to ripples of applause. The stream of tourists thins out as evening approaches and young local residents gather on the shore beneath the bridge to sing and acknowledge that Mostar is theirs and the centre of the universe.

Anyone crossing the bridge could visit a photographic exhibition on the eastern shore illustrating the devastation of full-scale war on the town's cultural heritage. Or, as some members of the paramilitary forces said in relation to Bosnia's cultural heritage in 1993: "everything that serves as a reminder of them must be destroyed!"[2] The war was not only waged against people, who died in the streets, on the bridge, at the border and in trenches, but also against mosques, churches, museums and libraries. The idea was to rob the opponent of everything that indicated continuity, cultural heritage and links to the landscape, town and history. The attacks were successful. Some informants described the events like this:

> The day was peaceful and the sun at its zenith. There was no sound of grenades at all. All of a sudden there was a boom, boom, boom....When we heard that the bridge had been destroyed we could hardly believe our ears. For two years we were hungry, afraid, disillusioned. At that moment I couldn't imagine how such

a thing could happen. Silence reigned in the town for a long time after that. After that the only thing you could hear was crying (Zlaja).

The attack destroyed the bridge, but it almost seemed as though the inhabitants' biography had suddenly been torn to shreds:

You know, you live with someone or something throughout your entire childhood and all of a sudden it no longer exists. It's hard for a Mostarian – just as for any person. The shores were the only things that remained. Bosnia's and Herzegovina's gem just disappeared. To think that anyone could destroy the jewel! What kind of power and hate could do that? (Dida).

The effects of the devastation stretched far beyond the actual town:

As I'm telling you about this my entire body is shuddering. Like a wreck. It was all to do with destroying heart and soul; reducing the town's soul to nothing. When the bridge was obliterated I was in the concentration camp. We heard about it on the radio. They celebrated by firing a volley of grenades over the town (Goca).

The photographic exhibition of Mostar under siege testified in detail to the significance of the cultural heritage attacks. The notorious "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia was preceded and followed by a "cultural cleansing". "Bosnian-Serbs and Bosnian-Croats endeavoured to wipe out all evidence that for centuries Bosnia and Herzegovina had been a place where varying cultures, religions and peoples had lived and worked side by side. In the light of this ambition both things and places became of central importance", writes Magnus Rodell (2007:81). Oddly enough it was the events of 1993, when a hundred-year long multiethnic coexistence was suddenly swept away, that resulted in Mostar hitting the world's headlines. The war ended shortly afterwards – and the bridge was rebuilt. The pain and distress experienced by the local inhabitants didn't have the same impact on the world as the pictures of the bridge's destruction.[3] The future's prospects were much more important than healing the wounds of the past. When it was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2005 it was possible to read about the reconstruction of the bridge as a "renaissance", a rebirth. What did the local population, the bridge hoppers and those making their livings from tourism have to say? How did they become co-actors, and how did they formulate their own experiences?

Don't Forget

The whole idea of a monument is to communicate a specific message – although in practical terms this and the place in which it is situated become impregnated with the inhabitants' own lives. This is where they see themselves as belonging to a society or community, and it is there their identity becomes apparent. At the same time this is where they are controlled and disciplined. In this way monuments exercise a symbolic violence over their surroundings – and open themselves to reinterpretations. This forms the basis of Hannah Arendt's discussion of the *space of appearance*. In both cases it becomes a political place where meanings are constituted (Frykman & Ehn 2007:26f). The Old Bridge in Mostar not only renders different sides of the town's history visible, but also facilitates different interpretations of the destruction.

From the artisans' district, *kujundžiluks,* on the northern side, the view of the bridge is at its most beautiful and pictures taken at twilight the most effective. Here there are also signs that indicate that this is a *World Heritage Site*. These signs were erected in 2005; small plaques with the text *CHwB* (Cultural Heritage

Don't forget: carved into a block of stone at the beginning of the Kujundziluks district.

without Borders) also serve as reminders of international aid contributions.[4]

The ominous words, *DON'T FORGET*, are carved into a massive block of stone. A similar inscription can be found at the "bridge leapers' club" beside the opposite bridge buttress. But what is it that mustn't be forgotten – the evil deed, the suffering? Is it a comment about the attempt to smooth over the immediate past? Rodell writes: "the importance of remembering is naturally central, but the risk with this is that if the reconstructed bridge is too closely associated with the war that led to its destruction, there's the danger that that which is to be conquered is made permanent" (Rodell 2007:84). This is also what struck me when I tracked down the work's creator:

It was in sheer defiance. All the horrors that had been played out here meant that I, in the midst of the war and late in the evening, protected by the snipers, cemented the stone in place. It was an appeal to the heavens! Nobody has ever moved it since. How was I supposed to express my feelings otherwise, if not in this way? No-one who wasn't here would be able to understand what happened. Several of us organised exhibitions on the actual front line. People called me the Minister of Culture. (Laughs) (Eka – a fifty-year-old painter, former member of the "Culture Brigade" and BiH Army).

Rather than forgetting, the artist's intention was to protest against the war itself – the famous *Never more*! A sociologist from Mostar put forward another explanation that was just as established in the town:

For me, don't forget is "pop culture". The people who placed them there, who wrote this, have themselves condemned the artefacts to death. A message on a stone isn't about remembering, it's not a living message, especially if it' written in a foreign language. Forget what? Who is this message for, tourists to photograph? It could just as easily say U2, Simple Minds, The Cult, it's all the same to me (Huss).

The message was supposed to emphasise the importance of not forgetting – but what? The stone with the inscription still lies among the official plaques. The context fills the message with meaning. Today you can also buy postcards with pictures that depict the war, as part of the contemporary tourist industry, and that say "Don't forget".

The originator's "art" doesn't mean that anybody can come and "enrich" this space with their own war-related commemorative expressions. It is Mostar that is the environment and it is The Old Bridge that is the main character: an opening as well as a discipline, like in Hanna Arendt's *space of appearance.*

Forming Memories

The bridge leapers' clubhouse is situated near the bridge buttress close to the medieval tower *Halebija*. A sign bearing the club's name, with an engraved open *bogomils*[5] hand, is a sign of welcome. When the club members occupied this space shortly after the reconstruction they did it to indicate their status as bridge keepers – *mostari* – also in peacetime, and that they were the legitimate successors of the legendary medieval bridge keepers.[6] In actual fact the *mostari* wanted to safeguard the special history of the bridge that extends beyond any question of ethnic or territorial affinity and ownership. Today the club is a world-famous phenomenon and its sponsors include the "Red Bull" sports drink.

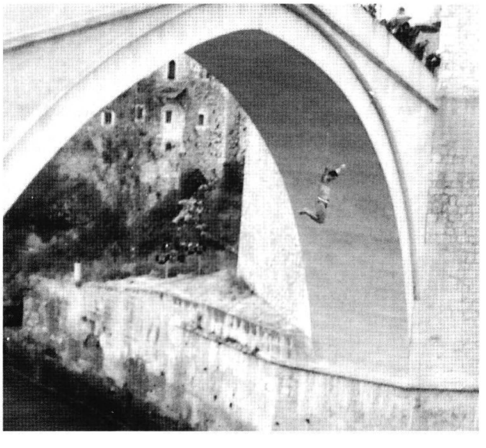
On 9th November, the day the bridge was destroyed, the alternative history becomes increasingly sombre and serious. With regard to the attempt to politicise the bridge's history one of the bridge leapers, Sale, said:

> What do you mean? There's nothing political in what we do. We are an NGO and non-political. In this club we uphold the anti-fascist tradition. How? By not acknowledging war criminals, not discussing politics, by giving every normal person around the world the opportunity to jump from this bridge, by prohibiting all fascists, turbo-folksingers or Wahabists from coming here and singing or making speeches... we ensure that they disappear.[7]

They were engaged in a kind of relic-cult, where the bridge linked them to a past that had a direct connection to the future; to a habitat that was above politics (cf. Kayser Nielsen 2007: 145). But did it do that?

On 9th November 2007, the memorial ceremony was held in the pouring rain. The stage was set, with primary school children clutching lilies[8] in their hands. Residents and club members flocked together and gazed at the river. A man prepared himself for the jump. At a quarter past ten in the morning the sirens began their monotonous whine. The children were anxious and looked questioningly at school personnel. Older people stood in sombre silence. When the noise stopped flowers were thrown from the bridge. A symbolic yet shiveringly cold November leap followed. With the exception of the sirens, this brief ceremony took place in complete silence. It was a bit like Chekhov's famous *psychological pause* that, by its very absence of sound, left a deep impression on the participants. The ceremony had a religious connotation in that it honoured the dead. The new generation that hadn't experienced war were obliged to leave their desks and learn something about the electric atmosphere of the place. It was an audience with history, "a metaphor for the political community whose nature is to be a community of remembrance", to quote the philosopher Sheldon Wolin (1977:97). This *space of appearance* reminded them of a past they couldn't remember. Here differences in age were levelled out and the collective memory institutionalised.

Children from the Bosnian-Muslim side



Details from the memorial ceremony on 9th November 2007.

were present at the memorial ceremony but not those from the other, Bosnian-Croatian part. By now the third ethnic group, Bosnian-Serbs, were hardly visible on the town's map. The war's antagonism of everyday life was still prevalent. Muslim children were encouraged to remember the war, while Catholic Croats were encouraged to forget. The ethno-politics that separated children into different schools also gave them different memories of the same town and the same monument. But it was the conditions that the children themselves had no control over. Here local politics stepped in at a meaning making level. The two politically ethnic organisations in the town functioned in accordance with us/them principles. Bosnian-Muslim politicians emphasised their role as victims, while the Bosnian-Croats scaled down their role in the war.

The silence at the ceremony was broken by journalists taking photographs and switching on tape recorders. The schoolchildren were ushered away and veterans arrived on the scene. People started to shake hands. Almost half of those present seemed to be veterans and several were members of the ethnic parties (with Bosnian-Muslim overtones). They held short and concise speeches in front of the cameras: about the trauma of the war, the destruction of the bridge, the evil deeds of the attackers; they sent condolences to the affected families and repeated messages about everything that shouldn't be forgotten and forgiven. This was "the politics of memory" in full ceremonial swing. It was about using individual memories in an attempt to promote political motives (Sorabji 2006:2).

Aliens Did It!

The bridge leapers – *mostari* – supervised the ceremony and contributed to it with their skills. Their reactions illustrated that a *space of appearance* can never be clear-cut. One of them made a comment that put the entire spectacle into perspective: "I don't give two hoots about that, it's those politicians."

What was this about? The bridge leapers were indeed actively promoting remembrance politics, but with a lot of reservations. The bridge leaper who emerged from the river placed a lily on another monument – a stone made from remains of The Old Bridge that had been retrieved from the River Neretva shortly after the war. But it turned out to be a relatively empty gesture.

After the media crowd had dispersed several of the day's participants gathered in the *mostari* club premises. Coffee was served, cigarette smoke pervaded the room and a BBC documentary about the destruction of the bridge was shown. A day before, at national television, a political debate on the same issue was launched. Included in the programme was the question: Whose fault was it? A well-known Bosnian-Croat politician defended the thesis that it wasn't the Croatian forces that had done it, that the media image was misleading and that it was rather the Bosnian-Muslims themselves who had done it by using dynamite, etc.[9] The feeling of irritation was overwhelming! A couple of war veteran representatives couldn't stomach such a lie, and especially not on the 9th November, the day of the memorial ceremony! It was time for action and an exchange of strategies. Those present quickly agreed that the war veterans should protest via the media. The *mostari* on the other hand, being a "non-political" association, decided to continue to promote the old and good story about extraterrestrial beings! Here irony, or rather the famous black BiH humour, triumphed.

> Have you seen the video archives? The Old Bridge was destroyed on the 8th November. 50–60 tank grenades hit the bridge that day. The job was monstrously completed on the following day. I saw it all with my own eyes. On that day the whole world could testify to the destruction and it was condemned as an act against civilisation. Then, in 1993, parts of Mostar weren't even on the world map. Anybody could come here and stab, rape, capture and put people in concentration camps. Please try to understand me, I'm the product of a mixed marriage and grew up beside the Neretva, where I played the guitar and acted. I was wounded two days before my 19th birthday. The story was created in order to counteract the nonsensical suggestion that we'd mined the bridge ourselves.
>
> It was then that we hit on that idea that extraterrestrial beings must have done it. We made up a story about aliens – and the entire country laughed itself silly. It went like this: aliens landed in the Sahara and, aided by camels, transported explosives to the U-boats. After that they negotiated the Mediterranean, reached the River Neretva and Mostar, where they then mined the bridge (Sale).

An analysis of these cultural events surrounding The Old Bridge in Mostar clearly shows just how multifaceted a monument can be. Destruction is what anthropologist Ashish Chadha called a "dissonant heritage", because it "involves a discordance or lack of agreement and consistency" (Chadha 2006:348, quoted in Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:22). On the other hand, the antagonistic narratives about how and who ravaged the bridge, and what the future might look like after restoration, contain loosely connected if not exactly "dissonant" narratives. The bridge is now used by interest groups at different levels with a wide variety of different intentions. For the international community making a transient visit, the bridge became a pulpit from which high moral principles could be proclaimed without any real contact with the local reality. It was to do with a symbolic value that everyone could unite on: "an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds – has been reinforced and strengthened" as it was expressed by UNESCO.

In terms of local politics, and for the ethnic groups who were still separated, physically as well as mentally, the bridge became a constant reminder of who was the perpetrator and who was the victim. Their interpretation of the bridge was included in a long nationalistic discourse that was deeply rooted in the antagonisms between Croats and Muslims in the still divided Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was also the image that was most visible in the media.

Those people who remember the real war find little comfort in any of the grandiose gestures and raised voices. They lived with their traumas and personal losses, with unemployment and a sense of hopelessness about the future. At a more overarching level it was also they who best represented the feelings that prevailed at that time in BiH society. At the time the fieldwork was undertaken the community was still characterised by the changeover from socialism to a market economy, by indiscriminate privatisations, economic and political corruption and social exclusion. What they needed was more tangible efforts on the part of the international community and national interest groups.

Everything had its context and was unaffected by the other, even though they were physically inscribed in the same place. The bridge and its surroundings had been relieved of both its context and daily function to become a plaything in the hands of politicians and economic interests. The cult that was developed in the political or market tracks became a cult of the dead. Life in Mostar was laid to rest in memories and narratives from the past, instead of being represented in hopes for the future.

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Notes

1 This article is based on my doctoral thesis at the Department of European Ethnology in Lund, with the working title "Towards Reconciliation and Development: Cultural Heritage in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina", financed by SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) since 2007. The material used in the article is based on fieldwork undertaken in 2007 as well as from my previous pilot visit in 2005. Finally, it is important to point out that despite living and being educated in Sweden I am originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the interviews were conducted in the informants' native language and were subsequently translated into Swedish.

2 This is a statement made by one of the members of the Croatian paramilitary forces with reference to the Bosnian-Muslims and the cultural heritage during the war of 1993 in Mostar (see Sells 2002:125; cf. Riedlmayer 1994).

3 A parallel example is the case of Dubrovnik in Croatia. See Povrzanović Frykman 2002.

4 "Cultural Heritage without Borders was formed

in 1995 and is a Swedish organisation that works in the spirit of the 1954 Hague Convention to protect cultural property threatened by war, natural catastrophes, mismanagement, poverty or political and social conflicts" (CHwB, n.d.).

5 *Bogomils* – medieval Bosnian heretics.

6 The story about the bridge keepers – *mostari* – dates from the time before and after The Old Bridge's construction during the 16th century. The bridge keepers filled two functions: an economic function where they levied a toll on those who wanted to cross the bridge and a military formation that defended the bridge's strategic position from enemy attacks. Historian Hivzija Hasandedi (2005:126) writes that *mostari* succeeded in defending the bridge on at least four occasions when the Venetian military carried out raids on the area.

7 The public appearance of popular singers like *Thompson* and *Ceca*, mentioned by my informant, are often associated with Serbian or Croatian nationalism. A well-known phenomenon, also discussed in the Swedish media and especially in connection with Ceca's concert in Malmö in 2007. For further information see Per Ek 2007.

8 The choice of golden lilies is symbolic, both as a symbol on the military flag of the BiH army and today as the emblem of the bridge leapers' club. Without delving too deeply into vexillology and colour symbols, golden lilies are, ironically enough, associated with hate.

9 The Bosnian-Croatian commanding officer in war-torn Mostar, Slobodan Praljak, was sentenced by the Hague Tribunal for war crimes. The Old Bridge in Mostar was destroyed under his command. In spite of this, current day Bosnian-Croatian politicians neglect and relativise this fact. The Hague Convention of 1954 was also updated as a result of the active destruction of cultural heritage monuments in connection with the 1990s war in the Balkans.

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Artefacts as Co-constructed and Socio-material Phenomena

By Hanne Lindegaard

We use it every day. Push the button on the toilet, see the water flow and don't worry any more about where the waste matter is flushed to. The white flush toilet today is such an integral part of our everyday life that we no longer stop to think that the technology could be different. The white flush toilet is not more than 150 years old, and before it there were chamber pots in the bedroom and privies in the back yard. Under cover of darkness, nightmen transported the content of the latrines to the town dumps, where it was sold to local farmers, who used it as fertilizer on their fields. Piped water, toilets, and sewers did not really appear on the agenda in big towns until the 1850s, and after 1900 the white flush toilet became an artefact that appeared over most of the world.

But how did it happen? What processes were set in motion? Who were the leading actors? How did the toilet become flushing and water-based? When did sanitary artefacts take on the colour white? What kind of heterogeneous processes led to that design? What matters were on the political and scientific agenda and how did the professional disciplines network? How come the design is so stabilized today? And is it possible to achieve new innovative design if the socio-material network is obdurate?

To answer these questions the article takes its starting-point in an understanding of innovation that sees the establishment of new designs, new technologies and new institutions not as the consequence of intrinsic and automatic processes, but as the outcome of a seamless interweave of socio-material relations. Technology, materiality and artefacts are research topics that ethnologists traditionally have focused on. Since the 1980s, however, the topics have had a low priority and not until the late 1990s and the establishment of the *Journal of Material Culture* did the topics again appear on the ethnological research agenda (Stoklund 2003).

From a theoretical and methodological standpoint this article studies innovation processes as a complex and heterogeneous unit – a socio-material network – inspired by the interdisciplinary research agenda Science and Technology Studies (STS). The field is a result of connecting the work of sociologists, historians, philosophers and anthropologists studying the processes and outcomes of science and technology. The field studies different technologies, institutions and scientific practices taken for granted in a given period of time, and through empirically detailed study the article shows how these elements come to be established within a concrete historical context. In the STS approach the "social" cannot be separated from the "material"; both emerge as two sides of the socio-technical coin during the co-construction processes of artefacts, institutions, agendas, etc. The sociotechnical is not to be treated merely as a combination of social and technical factors as it is *sui generis* and the unit of analysis is socio-material relations (Callon 1987).[1]

The artefacts are not to be studied as isolated phenomenon but analysed as being linked in a heterogeneous network of relations, where disparity and tension as well as ruptures and simultaneous processes are to be found. In contrast to the linear models used in many innovation studies, the article tries to capture and unfold the heterogeneous fields of tension where design is seen as the outcome of the integration between different actors with different knowledge, perspectives and approaches to problems and solutions.

Normally the white flush toilet is a technology we in the western world take for granted. But the STS analysis open up the "black box" and shows that the design is the result of a complex process in which many different factors may have a part – factors that would normally be classified as being quite different in character: techniques, concepts of sanitation, urban planning, culture, health discussions etc. The water closet is an artefact designed and developed in the period 1850–1900. Characteristic discourses for this period were "health", "hygiene" and urban growth, and the article outlines how the flushing water closet became a focal point for the mediation of these multiple agendas.

The White Flushing Water Closet – The Case of Copenhagen

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Copenhagen, like many other European capitals, had fortifications enclosed within city gates, earthworks and moats. For Copenhagen this limitation meant that the city until the 1850s was unable to expand in area in pace with the growth of its population. The area of the city had remained unchanged since the seventeenth century, while the number of inhabitants had grown steadily since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Agrarian reforms and the freedom of movement granted to peasants resulted in large numbers of people leaving the countryside. At first Copenhagen was able to absorb the immigrant workers from the rural areas, but from 1800 to 1860 the population of Copenhagen increased from 100,000 to 150,000. The solution to the increase in population was to build higher and closer, and the outcome was a city with one of the highest population densities in Europe. All wastewater from households and business enterprises and all rainwater ran out into open gutters, which flowed directly into the moats and the harbour. Water supplies came from water pumps, as running water had not yet been installed in the houses. Human waste was collected in latrine pits in the backyards, which were emptied twice a year. The contents were transported via a city gate to a dump outside the earthworks, and here sold to the local farmers for use as fertilizer (Lindegaard 2001).

In 1801 the Danish physician Rasmus Frankenau had drawn attention to the obligation of the public authorities to make the city healthier. Frankenau had been inspired by the German physician Johan Peter Frank, who in 1779 had published the first of six volumes of a comprehensive work on "State administration of health conditions through a medical police" (Frankenau 1801). Influenced by the doctrines of political philosophers and the theoreticians of police science, Frank and Frankenau had adopted the police concept and begun to apply it to health problems. The medical police was to be responsible for the population's general health conditions, and the physicians were intended to present specific proposal for interventions and legislation. The visions of a rational, centrally coordinated system of public health were formulated on paper by Frank, but their realization left much to be desired at the local level in Copenhagen. As a physician Rasmus Frankenau saw the many disadvantages of urban life and believed that it was the physicians' task to solve the paradox with a medical police, health prevention and information. He described Copenhagen as an "irremovable evil, whose effects we are unable to prevent, but merely mitigate" (Frankenau, 1801:125). According to Frankenau, health regulations and surveillance were to be applied, and evil-smelling enterprises such as sugar refineries, candle factories, tobacco factories, tanneries and slaughterhouses were to be moved from the city. The aim was to clean up the town and remove the sources of disease. He proposed more stringent legislation, surveillance and control along with the introduction of a medical police, measures that were characteristic of the period under the absolute monarchy. Enlightenment, education, scholarship and art were the positive aspects of urban life, aspects that could only be developed in towns. This required measures to be taken by the public authorities, and it was especially the air in the towns that had to be improved. The background to Frankenau's proposals was a new interest in health information that had arisen at the end of the 18th century. Literature and handbooks were published on the harmful effects of the larger towns, and the health of the population became a topical issue.

The new discourse involved both a focus on the health problem and also a recognition that the state of public health was accessible to human influence. "Prevention" became a new field for physicians, whose task had previously been only to cure the sick, not to prevent disease (Mellemgaard 1992). This was important because now the state had the responsibility for the health of the inhabitants and for prevention and identifying specific hygiene measures. The absolute state kept population statistics for administrative and military purposes, and through control, surveillance and the imposition of fines this medical police was to ensure that people cleaned gutters and latrines, since it was the "poisonous air" emanating from them that was considered to be the reason why epidemics could take root. The air in the towns was to be kept clean, and it was easy to register the hazard to health via one's nose and sense of smell. Epidemics occurred as a consequence of pernicious air-borne substances from other parts of the world, which became dangerous when mixed locally with decomposed impurities from animals and humans. They were called "miasmas", and they were thought to occur spontaneously in the most polluted places. They could be combated by eliminating their breeding grounds, such as latrine pits and gutters. Their stench was an indicator, and by using one's nose one could identify the harmful substances. When cholera arrived in Europe in the 1830s and struck most European countries, the political authorities in Denmark set up quarantine and control, and the epidemic did not hit Copenhagen for the time being (Bonderup 1994).

In the 1840s the public debate started in Copenhagen when some Copenhagen newspapers published pieces by citizens complaining about the dirty streets. The Danish physician Emil Hornemann used the opportunity and referred to a thesis on mortality in Denmark mentioning that there was a higher incidence of morbidity and mortality in Copenhagen than in the countryside. A child born on the island of Fyn was likely to live 15 years longer than a child born in Copenhagen. The physician advocated the new specific medical discipline of "Hygiene", with attempts to use the cultured knowledge on sanitary recommendations: "thus civilization itself could remedy the evil it has caused." When the towns could not be abolished, methods had to be found to reduce the "evil" (Hornemann 1847).

In 1845 the Royal Medical Society of Denmark set up a central Hygienic Committee, whose duty was to place hygiene on the public agenda; the inspiration came from the Public Health movement in Britain. Here, following the severe European cholera epidemic in 1830–1837, various measures had been introduced. In 1842 the lawyer Edwin Chadwick had presented the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*, and on the basis of his report the first modern public health agency, the General Board of Health, was founded. Chadwick agitated for effective local practical reforms of a technical nature, and he pleaded that it was a public, not an individual or private concern. Major sewage and water supply projects were to be initiated, and professional engineers were to collaborate with medical administrators (Hamling 1998). From various studies Chadwick argued that there was a close connection between inadequate sanitary installations and the impact on life expectancy; disease and mortality were directly related to urbanization, dirt, poor water supply, waste disposal, etc. Together with the civil engineer John Roe, Chadwick conducted an experiment on the diameter of sewer pipes, which resulted in the "arterial-venous system" for drainage, which maintained the stable water flow that was necessary for the proper transportation of human waste from water closets without causing clogging (Rosen 1974).

Chadwick succeeded not only in placing "Public Health" on the agenda, but also in establishing processes whereby the sanitation technology and the flushing water closets became socio-material solutions designed in a collaboration between physicians and technicians. The earliest type of water closet, the valve closet, had been invented in the 1770s and at the same time Alexander Cumming invented the S-trap. The S-trap was unique because some water was kept in the bottom of the pipe at all times, thus helping to prevent sewer gases from entering the home.[2] This was very important in the nineteenth century when physicians thought that the smell, the miasma, caused the epidemics and illness in the cities.

The Flush Toilet Arrives on the Copenhagen Agenda

In 1844 the water closet and sewage technology came on the agenda in Copenhagen. An engineer, F. C. Kabell, offered on behalf of the Copenhagen City Council to conduct a study of the water supply, sewage system and gas lighting that the city of Hamburg was in the process of establishing. Kabell had visited a number of major European cities, and he declared that the technical progress in London was so advanced that "everything becomes invisible that so often offends the eye and the nose at home" (Kabell 1844:30). He described the new English sanitation as practical and conducive to health, and in addition both invisible and odourless. Copenhagen needed to be cleansed, as in rainy weather the streets were fouled with sludge that was filled with pernicious substances: "We would furthermore find that such substances rot in our gutters and, when they ferment, develop noxious gases that directly attack our organs" (Kabell 1844:6). He pointed out how physicians had established links between dirt, smell, decomposition and the fearful cholera epidemics that had afflicted several European cities in the 1830s. Kabell also compared Copenhagen with other major European cities and asserted that the Danish capital would lag behind, economically, morally, hygienically and culturally, if it failed to remedy its obvious sanitary deficiencies. In Kabell's report we find a good source for demonstrating the linkage of health, aesthetic and economic aspects. Besides its technical details concerning taps, drains and flush toilets, the report also shows how these installations were presented by Kabell as being of extreme importance for the future of Copenhagen. Kabell's report provided support for the issues raised by physicians from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the problems connected with urbanization gradually became the subject of debate. Kabell's report focuses on the same urban problems as Frankenau, but his solutions were quite different from the focus on medical police: instead water, flush toilets and pipes were the socio-material means by which the problems of the filthy, unhealthy, immoral and chaotic city could be tackled (Lindegaard 2001).

In 1849 Kabell's report had the result that the Copenhagen City Council arranged an international water, gas and sewage competition. The Council committee received 18 different proposals from French, British and Danish engineers. A number of the proposals were visionary and untried and required entirely new designs, and for the next eight years possible technical solutions were discussed by politicians, boards and committees. The detailed plans for the establishment of water and gas installations were first adopted, but the sewage part became a key political issue. The discussion especially centred around the question as to whether the sewage system should be constructed in such a way that human waste could be flushed out of the city through the installation of new modern water closets. This required that sewers should discharge into the sea rather than into canals and the harbour, where the excrement would pollute the air of the city. If the sewer pipes were to run out into the sea, this would require more complicated and expensive technical installations with pumps and sewage works, but it meant that the night soil could no longer be sold to farmers as fertilizer (Lindegaard 2001).

The physicians and engineers agreed that it was important to ensure that the night soil ended in the sea. They called the system a "complete" sewage system, which could swill both wastewater and night soil out of the city and into the sea at the same time. It would no longer be necessary for night soil to lie around for months, decomposing and poisoning the air, since "with the new sewer system waste substances would, at the very moment they are formed, be swiftly and entirely transported outside the city's area" (Borgerrepræsentationens Forhandlingsprotokol 1853:30). Speed and flush water were a crucial point, and also that the water trap in the water closets prevented the noxious and harmful gases from polluting the air and making the inhabitants ill.

But the property owners, the tradesmen and a number of the older civil servants in City Hall thought that it was unnecessary, expensive and a waste of manure to include night soil in the sewage system. They argued that the substantial problems connected with the removal of night soil could be solved by replacing the pits with movable barrels. The night soil could be retained as an indispensable source of manure for farmers and as a source of income for urban house owners. Others doubted whether the Copenhagen climate was suited to water-based systems, and finally some people were also opposed to the idea of having other people's sewage pipes laid across their property.

Even though physicians and engineers advocating a city sewage system had a hard political battle to fight, and although a cholera epidemic in 1853 cost 4,700 Copenhageners their lives, the outcome of the first intense discussions of sewers and water closets was that the City Council's proposal for a complete sewage system in 1854 was rejected in parliament. But the City Council, the physicians and the sanitarian engineers did not stop the project. Instead they continued to send technicians to London, invited experts to Copenhagen, tested different types of pipes and pumps, carried out chemical studies of the underground and studied currents and tidal movements. In 1857 a new proposal for a sewage system was put to the vote in parliament and this time adopted by a very narrow majority. The plan for this new sewage system was designed by the new city sanitary engineer, but the discharge pipes ended in the harbour and the installation of water closets was prohibited. This was a system that most engineers and physicians had described as "incomplete", because the night soil for removal was going to be collected in barrels.

From the Copenhagen physicians' point of view the criticism of sanitary conditions in the city had proved fruitless, and for one of them, Emil Hornemann, this was a catastrophe. In his newly established journal "Hygienic Reports and Considerations" from 1856 he initiated a comprehensive polemic both against the opponents of sewage technology in general and against the supporters of the new "incomplete" system. Hornemann referred to the English engineer James Simpson, who had stated during the sewage discussions in 1853 that at least two-thirds of all the city's excrement would end in the canals if a new water supply system were introduced and the installation of flushed water closets prohibited. Hornemann pointed out that more than 128 flush toilets had already been sold in Copenhagen, although it was forbidden to install them, and hence the disadvantages of having running water in homes clearly outweighed the advantages (Lindegaard 2001).

The physicians and engineers regarded a sewage system without the legal link-up with water closets as "incomplete", and they continued to fight for the socio-material solution. In 1858 they arranged a Hygienic Congress in Copenhagen, and they invited more than 500 men to be assembled for five days at the University of Copenhagen. Whereas previously scientists had held congresses only for one another, the idea was now also to invite laymen, politicians, etc. One reason for this was that the physicians needed to enlist support, especially from civil servants and politicians. They therefore invited the men who had voted against many of the hygiene measures over the past 10–15 years. In their introductory speeches the arrangers made explicit reference to the struggle that the physicians had conducted, and pointed out that there were many views as to what hygienic measures should be introduced. They stressed that they had "circulated the invitation to, if I may say so, both the Good and the Evil, both to Supporters and Opponents of the hygiene reforms". Opponents would have the opportunity to present their arguments for continuing to be against the hygienic measures on the premise that confrontation was a good thing, and the congress would give opponents the opportunity to state their views in an open forum. The arrangers sought to initiate the discussion in a democratic fashion and promised to listen to the counter-arguments that were placed before the congress (Den Hygieiniske Congress i Kjøbenhavn 1858).

The minutes of the congress show that the water closet technology and the sewerage systems were discussed and many arguments were presented. One speaker said that it was easy to throw the night soil in the sewer, but "one should also ensure that no one else was harmed by it, and that the most valuable part of Nature was used for benefit". Manure, the cycle in nature and the loss of nutritious substances were important and decisive factors, and he disagreed strongly with those who regarded night soil as merely waste. Another speaker argued that the new urine-separating Marino closets were a solution. This closet separated the solid from the liquid, by allowing only urine to run into the sewage system, while solid excrement was retained as night soil. These arguments provided support for Copenhagen's new "incomplete" solution with its combination of waste-water sewers and the barrel system, and with the prohibition against the flushing toilets.

Other arguments provided support for the "complete" system, and here the arguments were that health and sanitary measures were a matter of life and death. With the establishment of a new and necessary water supply system, it was vital to secure proper disposal of wastewater. If this did not happen, people would illegally install WCs, something that the health police would be powerless to prevent:

> No one could prevent anyone from installing a basin at the height of a chair seat. But what then? As soon as one had a proper water pipe system in a town, one would then get a sewage system afterwards whether one wanted it, no matter how fond one was of manure.[3]

The problem was that the new water supply system in homes made it possible to install flush toilets. He thought that a prohibition was impossible and a health police could not control it. He also emphasized that the congress should not "speak against one of the advances of civilization", and he referred to an English expert who had just stressed the necessity of sewers in connection with the establishment of a new water supply system (Lindegaard 2001).

Nevertheless, in 1860, despite the intense discussions at the Hygienic Congress, the city began the establishment of the planned "incomplete" sewage system, which involved the prohibition of water closets. The night soil was now to be transported out of the city in closed carts, and there was an obligation to use barrels with lids. But in spite of prohibitions and rules, the removal of night soil gave rise to serious problems, and in the 1880s the discussion about the water closets began once again. There was still an ongoing and steady increase in the influx of population to Copenhagen, and in the period 1860–1890 the population almost doubled, rising from approximately 200,000 to 390,000. This increase provided a better tax basis, but also required increased water supplies while producing more wastewater and night soil. From a calculation of the volume of night soil removal in Copenhagen in 1890, it appeared that 24,000 barrels were in daily use, and every night 3,000 of them were transported to the dumps. The chief medical officer of Copenhagen pointed out that there was inadequate control of the cleaning and disinfection of the barrels, and that there were more and more complaints concerning their disgusting state.

Associations and Networking

Parallel to their participation in the political discussions in the City Council, physicians and engineers were concerned to maintain the importance of scientific studies. In 1879 they established two expert groups in the Society for Health Care in Denmark. These groups were to focus on preventive health and hygiene measures, with the ultimate aim of making hygiene an independent discipline and science. The society emphasized that both the Hygienic Congress in 1858 and the journal "Hygienic Reports" had proved that hygiene had many friends, but that now it was necessary to make targeted efforts to spread the message. Legislation was not enough. Scientific studies, the dissemination of findings from abroad and public lectures were a necessity, and the society should initiate chemical and geological studies. In the course of its first year the society acquired more than 400 members. Its goal was to prove that hygiene was not merely a matter of practical measures but also a science. The Professor of Hygiene at the University of Copenhagen, C. G. Gædeken, stressed that when Public Health had been introduced 20 years previously, it had been greeted with enthusiasm and support. However, it lacked a "solid foundation" and "thorough and painstaking scientific studies" so as not to merely build further on the unclear ideas of the past and "on unreliable, half completed experience". He referred to modern theories concerning microscopic parasitic organisms and the German scientist Robert Kock, who in 1883 had isolated and identified, in addition to the tuberculosis bacillus, the bacillus that was the cause of cholera. Scientists were now able identify the specific cause of a given disease, and this made it possible to combat this cause specifically and in isolation. This meant that physicians and engineers had a range of new scientific disciplines to draw on, and they used them in support of their arguments. The professor mentioned that the collaboration between the two professions was strengthened, as it was the physicians who presented the ideas, while it was the technicians who had to find ways and means of meeting their goals. They therefore needed to "support each other's endeavours, well knowing that in themselves they were a half that had to be joined with the other half to make up a whole. The two professions still lacked full support for their projects as sanitary improvements continued to meet "sturdy and compact resistance". He claimed that personal and economic interests were blocking the project, but that in time people would surely have to recognize that the measures would benefit the city, as the number of sick and poor would fall and therefore no longer be an economic burden for the healthy (Gædeken 1884).

Another physician asserted that a new cholera epidemic was on its way to Europe from India and Asia and had now reached northern France after having ravaged southern Europe. Prevention was necessary, and "as the contagious substance in cholera can be transmitted from the sufferer's excretions, it is of great importance that each and everyone should take pains to avoid contact with even the very smallest particles of these excretions" (Engelstad 1884:308). He also referred to Robert Koch, whose studies had shown that cholera bacilli lived in human intestines and from there were transmitted via faeces and polluted water. The inadequate control of waste removal should be improved "so that the contagious substances contained in it could not be spread, thereby transmitting infection". The existing barrel system was particularly dangerous during epidemics, as the night soil in the mobile barrels spread diseases such as cholera, dysentery and typhus around the city. The greatest danger arose in connection with emptying one barrel into another, but also with the dumps, which were growing in both number and size, so now there was a real need for a new and improved system.

In this way the "incomplete" sewage system and the lack of water closets were once more placed by the two professions on the agenda in the 1880s. Again it was discussed whether the existing sewage system should be extended so that the discharge took place further away from the city and whether water closets should then be permitted. As in the 1850s, the discussions were intense, and the different actors were far from agreement as to how Copenhagen's waste problems should be solved. There was, however, a consensus that something should be done (Lindegaard 2001).

In 1893, after lengthy negotiations in parliament in Copenhagen it was decided to adopt a *tout-à-l'égout* solution. This meant that all wastewater from households, faeces from flush toilets, rainwater from the streets, and wastewater from industry were collected via a central underground pipe system and discharged into Oresund. In the years 1897 to

1901 Copenhagen extended the existing sewage system from 1860 with cut-off pipes along the harbour and the canals. Water closets were now permitted, and 4,604 water closets had been installed in Copenhagen by 1901. The work on building the sewers took time, and as there were still 30,000 night soil barrels in use, a modern night soil station was also built. Here the night men deposited the barrels, and farmers could collect the precise quantity of night soil they needed, while a newly established special rail track could transport the night soil to farmers further away. The station was placed next to the sewage pump station, so that unsold night soil could be pumped out into the Sound each day, thus sparing the city the problems that would arise from large, unmanageable and unhealthy deposits of night soil. Even though the night soil station could well be regarded as a compromise between seeing night soil as a resource or as a waste product, the station was only intended as a temporary solution. *Tout-à-l'égout* was the system the city considered to be "complete" and flush toilets were both the end and the means (Lindegaard 2001).

With the discovery of bacteria, night soil was now firmly identified and co-constructed as a health hazard that had to be removed from the city as swiftly as possible and untouched by human hand. Water closets were the means for doing this, and the health problems and the hygiene discourses were inscribed into the design of both the flush toilet and the sewerage system. The concept of "scripts" views design as a process, and the analysis of the inscription phase can show why existing artefacts are constructed in a certain way. "Thus, like a film script, technical objects define a framework of action together with the actors and the space in which they are supposed to act" (Akrich 1992:208). From the mid 1800s the S-trap was a "taken for granted" part of the design of toilets and acted as the socio-technical means to get rid of the unhealthy miasma. But even though the physicians later in the nineteenth century found out that it wasn't the smell but the bacteria that caused the health problems, the S-trap was still part of the design. The "S-trap" was co-constructed with the miasma theory and inscribed in the design. When the physicians in the 1870s realized that it was the bacteria from the faeces – and not just the smell – the town should get rid of, it was important that the water closet bowl was given a smooth surface and that the faeces were able to be transported as quickly as possible out of the city.

The first white water closets made of china were designed in the 1880s, and this white hygienic "script" still dominates the market 100 years later. The white colour of china as a material had been domesticated, as it were, making it very difficult for modern designers to change it.[4] In the "domestication theoretical perspective", cultural meanings play a role in how artefacts are appropriated, objectified, incorporated and converted into everyday life and become an integral part of practice (Lie & Sørensen 1996).

In the process of appropriation the artefact also transforms the normal practice and it is possible to analyse the shift in practical, symbolic and cognitive dimensions. Part of the functionality of the water closet was also the connection to the sewerage system. Even today faeces are flushed by water through some invisible underground pipes and the pipes discharge into a harbour, a river or the sea. The "invisibility" of the sewerage system has domesticated itself as the accepted way of cleansing the town. The hygiene discussions and the fears of epidemics resulted in a system where water became a key actor – in the closets, as a means of transportation in the pipe system, and as the recipient.

New Decentralized Urban Solutions?

In the 1980s the Municipality of Copenhagen initiated a number of urban ecological trials, experimenting with new ways of handling faeces. In these trials they tested urine-separating compost toilets that made it possible to recycle night soil. However, the results were not very successful. The urban ecological facilitators and planners realized that it was not easy to achieve radical innovation and design by using dry solutions. The trials had to struggle against water as a means of transport for faeces, and the fact what were considered to be "complete" health solutions around 1900 were firmly inscribed in the urban flushing systems. The planners were struggling against the co-construction of water as a means of transport for faeces, water as the pure and hygienic cleaning material, and flushing water closets as the "complete" centralized solution. For the inhabitants of major towns accustomed to "complete" systems with white flush toilets, the recycling of one's own fertilizer did not have an immediate appeal. Domestication exists at many levels, and new systems require changes in views, attitudes and habits for both the inhabitants and the professionals. The flush toilet is still today the prevailing urban planning paradigm for professional sanitary engineers. Human excrement is considered as a waste product and the sanitary installations have manifested themselves as the invisible, underground and hygienic infrastructures that all towns take for granted. To break up this obdurate script requires changes in views and routines but also a reorganization of domesticated technologies, institutions, professions in the socio-material network (Lindegaard 2001).

But do the designers of modern water closets still inscribe the "hygiene" discourses into the closet by translating the anti-bacteriology into white china with a smooth surface?[5] Today it is not common to reflect on the colour until we meet a water closet of a different colour or made of different material. The reaction is often that this is "unsanitary". It seems as if the inscription has an impact on the design process. The designers do not often design the sanitary artefacts as water closets and wash-basins in other colours, but put the colours on the wall or in the towels. The domestication of the colour seems so stabilized that there is not much flexibility left.

Concluding Remarks

The present article shows that it is not possible to separate material objects such as sewer technology from the ideas concerning hygiene, health and natural forces that held sway in the nineteenth century. Thus, on the basis of a discursive practice involving public debate and scientific arguments, hygiene as a new branch of science around the year 1900 helped to transform human waste substance from night soil and a potential source of manure into hazardous, bacteria-filled excrement. In this process flush toilets and the *tout-à-l'égout* system became active agents in the transformation of night soil from a fertilizer resource to a waste product, with the sea as its final recipient and the flush toilet as a mediator.

The article shows that there is no well-defined trajectory produced by nature or by an internal technological logic that defines the "script", the "stabilization" or the "domestication" of artefacts and products. It is important to ask questions such as "how", "why" and "when" and analysing both the broader socio-material network and the concrete script. By analysing the heterogeneous networks of an artefact historically it is possible to analyse products or technologies we normally take for granted. The flushing white water closet was co-constructed with the ideas concerning hygiene, bacteriology and urban planning that held sway in the nineteenth century. On the basis of a discursive practice involving public debate, scientific arguments and the building of new institutions and urban planning, the white flushing water closet became part of a stabilized socio-material network that is hard to change today. The "hygiene" and "bacteriology" agenda and discourses are "inscribed" in the sanitation design, and new innovative designs have to interact and break with existing scripts, orderings and habits.

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Notes

1 I build on Michel Callon's (1987) principle of "general symmetry", which outlaws both technical reductionism in which society is explained as an outgrowth of technical development and social reductionism in which the technical is explained as a by-product of the social.
2 Alexander Cummings invented the S-trap in 1775 (a sliding valve), http://www.plumbingsupply.com/pmtoilet.html.
3 Professor. Cand. Polyt. C. G. Hummel at the Hygienic Congress in Copenhagen, July 1858, Report on Meetings and Negotiations. Copenhagen, p. 265.
4 The exception is a short period in the 1970s in the Scandinavian countries when we find light yellow, blue and green sanitation. Those collared sanitation were change in the 1990s, when the white colour again became dominant.
5 Michel Callon (1987) describes the translation processes as: problematisation, interessement, enrolment and mobilisation.

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The Structured House

Dwelling as a Way of Designing Life

By Christina Haldin

Prologue

Building and living in a single-family house can be discussed starting from various theoretical approaches. Based on the building process of one of the couples interviewed it is possible to begin an account of what it means to build a single-family house in today's world.

The couple's building process began at the same time as they were expecting their second child and they started to consider it necessary to have a larger residence than the three roomed flat where they currently lived. Therefore, they decided to take part in a lottery allocating plots of land in a new residential building area to the south of Mariehamn (area A). The woman herself had grown up in a single-family house in Mariehamn, whereas the man had grown up in the Helsinki region, Pargas, and Stockholm and had for most of these years lived in a flat.

The couple obtained their plot of land in the beginning of the summer of 2001 and decided to build. They began by ordering catalogues from different house suppliers and finally decided on a Finnish element house of wood from Kannustalo. The foundation dimensions for the house were regulated for the residential building area and therefore the couple had to comply with these regulations and this meant that the square metre requirements of the foundations were limited. As a result of this, the couple decided to build a two-story house to maximise the building's size. The couple also made a certain number of changes to the architectural plans, particularly as regards certain solutions to the design and the type of roof. The sauna, for example, they chose to place on the upper floor and to change the roof from a mansard to a side gabled roof. The ideas for how the house should look came both from various brochures and magazines on houses, and from friends and acquaintances that had recently built themselves. In March 2002, the house arrived as a packet. The couple decided not to participate in the construction themselves and hired a builder to coordinate the building process. The house was ready to move into in December 2002. The garden and the garage were completed later. As regards the planning of the garden, the couple engaged a professional gardener. The total area of the house is approximately 180 square metres and consists on the ground floor of an entrance hall, a kitchen, a dinning room, a living room, an office, a back entrance, and a small toilet. On the upper floor, there are three bedrooms, a TV-room and a bathroom with a bath and a sauna. On the ground floor, there is also a glassed in veranda that faces the garden at the back of the house.

Building and Dwelling

I would like to, in this article, in a theoretically reasoned way illustrate some of those factors that can lie at the basis of today's tendency to build spacious detached houses and at the same time point out some of the significance that is embedded in these houses. Overall, it seems today that we have an increased interest in our homes; something that the present range of home furnishing magazines and television programmes also bear witness to. People seem willing to venture a considerable amount on their homes, partly from an economic point of view but also in the matter of time and energy. Today's emphasis on homes indicates that homes have become more important in their significance and that they have been allotted a symbolic worth through the fact that they have become associated with certain cultural ideals, such as the family and consumption. This development is indicated by, among other things, the fact that the houses of today seem to be becoming more spacious and even more luxurious.

I regard the development towards building spacious homes is also clearly apparent on Åland, which was also one of the main reasons that I chose to situate my study in this locality.[1] Another reason was my close knowledge of the region, as I grew up there. On Åland there is also a strong building tradition of detached and single-family houses (Lindh 1998, 361ff).[2]

The starting point of the study is that a single-family house functions as the framework for family life and a certain kind of life style associated with this type of home. Starting with this assumption, I would like to examine the impetus and cultural currents that form the basis for the house builders' choices when creating their homes in order to see how individuals produce meaning in their space by materialising the vision of their home. Which values are embedded in a single-family house and how are these expressed. The question at issue must keep in mind how a detached house-owner influences and is influenced by different cultural processes and ideas, as well as how much single-family house reflects the individual's life project and lifestyle.

How are cultural processes affected by such things as habitats, generation transfer, bricolage, and how do certain cultural ideals shape living in a family house? The aim is to discuss the structured principles of how a home, in this case a single-family house, is used to materialise and realise certain of societies given ideals and at the same time show through which processes individuals can express themselves through their homes. The word to dwell has two meanings, according to Paul Oliver, that imply partly an activity indicating that one lives at a certain place and also the physical structure that is the expression of living, that is to say the dwelling itself. A house is one of our most permanent possessions, at least from the perspective of its use. In many cultures the family home is passed down from generation to generation, but it can also change owners through a sale, so that it is lived in by others, and is reconstructed and changed to suit different life styles and changes in society. People build in order to reside in a house but they also reside in houses that they build and change with the altered circumstances of their lives (Oliver 1987, 7ff). The way in which we build mirrors our culture. Kirsi Saarikangas writes that it is in our homes that cultural norms and the individual's own everyday life meet. Consequently, it is not only biological needs, such as the climate, and access to material and technology that decides how we design our houses (Saarikangas 1993, 7).

Social and cultural rules seep through the walls into the home. The home, in other words, is not an unambiguous and enclosed private space with a determined significance (Saarikangas 2002, 554). In this article the aim is to investigate how this filtering takes place, by shedding light on the building and residence of a family in a house today.

The ethnologist Magnus Mörck believes that lifestyle contains components of both play and experience that may evoke the post-modern view of humanity as the subject, but simultaneously establishes individuals, as well as the order and structure in their lives, with lifestyle as the means. In certain respects individuals now live more bound by their commitments and the demands of time and place that a lifestyle enforces. "Overstepping boundaries and play is conditioned by a simultaneous increase in order. To create a personal expression demands a discipline that clarifies the individual". Lifestyles are not only playful and structured; they are playful because they are structured, asserts Mörck (Mörck 1998, 250ff).

Single Family Houses – Housing Ideals and Ideology

The single-family house developed during the beginning of the 1900s as an ideal dwelling place even for the broader strata of the population. The development of this ideal must nevertheless be put into relationship with the ideology and the ideals that had a strong influence on society during that time, and with that which is usually called today, the modern project where the middle-class model of living, to a large degree, came to be trendsetting as to how the whole population should live.

The modern house came to represent the home of the nuclear family and was, in this way, a space organised around the mother, the children, and the father. The same principle was followed in the division of the rooms in the house; a kitchen, a living room, bedrooms, a toilet, and a bathroom, and these rooms came to characterise the organisation of the home for all the classes of society. This had earlier not been the case, when the size of the house and the organisation of the rooms varied depending on the social group and area of residence, from small working-class and peasant (country folk) homes to the spacious multi- storied houses of the middle class. The design of the modern home got an altogether more private space, but at the same time also became an object of a much more detailed public discussion and of the conventions of society. In the Nordic countries, the design of the modern home came to be especially associated with an increasing number of house regulations through legislation, recommendations, advice, and common significance. The aim of the architecture of the modern home was to create a classless, democratic dwelling that was possible for everyone to attain, independent of his or her place of origin. The new buildings were also closely linked to the idea of the shaping of a new type of population and a new more equal society (Saarikangas 2002, 553f, 561).

According to Saarikangas, the modern architecture with its emphasis on clean aesthetic lines and spacious organisation can be seen as part of the project to gain control over the individual's everyday life (Saarikangas 2002, 555-557, 561). Bo Lönnqvist describes in the article *Hemmet som ideal. Boendekulturen i 1900-talets Finland,* the disciplining of the Finnish population concerning the home area and how this disciplining came to influence the living culture in Finland during the 1900s by the growth of an ideal home. The rational and hygiene in combination with family life in the home after the working day was an ideal that came to characterise the Finnish living culture during the entire 1900s. The ideal home also aimed at creating a domiciled (home loving) and orderly work population and a permanent home was thought to form the basis for a love for one's native land. In other words, the home was not only a place where family life took place but also a place where Finnish nationalism could express itself. Accordingly, the home became an ideal in itself of a lifestyle with a distinct national quality. The strengthening of the home ideal in the Finnish living culture resulted in the home, during the 1900s, receiving a much greater social value as a central part of what was beginning to develop into a Finnish lifestyle. At the same time, it is important to notice that a similar discussion was taking place in the other Nordic countries. The strengthening of the Finnish home ideal coincided as well with the technological innovations in the domestic market in Finland, as a growing admiration for the European and American lifestyle models. Thus, the home became, through this process during the 1920–1930s in Finland, an object of value, both in economic terms and as a sign of a sound and moral way of life (Lönnqvist 1996, 43ff).

The modern home – and the family ideal had perhaps its principle form of manifestation in the type-planned single-family house. Kirsi Saarikangas writes that the type-planned single-family house was a form of residence intended for normal people and its ideological origin was the modern notion of a universal democratic residence through standardisations that would suit everyone.

The type-planned single-family house came in many ways to embody, to a great extent, that which was considered to constitute the Finnish lifestyle, with its emphasis on the permanent value of a family and work. It was in the architecture of the houses that the dominating idea of an everyday life organised within a frame work of a certain family structure acquired its most concrete expression. Urbanisation led to an expansion of the middle-class and simultaneously with that the nuclear family became the normative model, with the home and family coming to stand in close association with each other and exhibiting strong moral features. The house, the home and the family came, through this process, to be strongly bound together (Saarikangas 1993, 21, 58ff).

In the modern discussions concerning social residential reform, the middle-class detached house, came very early on to constitute an ideal, since it fulfilled the demands for cleanliness, aestheticism, being close to nature and the family, and all these attributes were collected together in a separate building with strict division of the rooms. It was not until the building of single-family homes in post war Finland (1940s) that this type of house first became possible for the working class to obtain. However, by the turn of the century the single-family house was already seen in the suburbs to constitute the ideal residence for the middle and educated classes. The detached houses varied in size and appearance, depending on the echelon of the middle-class to which it belonged (Saarikangas 1993, 70, 182ff). Bo Lönnqvist points out, in his article, that the middle-class culture as a modern ideal for interior design first became manifest and put into effect in the 1950s and 60s (Lönnqvist 1996, 48).

The Single-Family House in Mariehamn

According to Leif Johnson's argument (1985) the single-family house of today is always characterised by some type of detached living style. The house of the interviewees bears much resemblance to those middle-class detached houses that Kirsi Saarikangas describes from the turn of the last century. The couples that I interviewed could even be termed as representatives of the middle class, and practically all had had some form of higher education, and a profession in either the public or private sectors. Only one couple did not have any children. All the couples lived in a house with an outside measurement of approximately 170–200 square metres.

Saarikangas points out that even if the detached houses are not homogenous in appearance, the type of house is still characterised by a similar division of the rooms. The Civil servant's and upper-class detached houses in the beginning of the 1900s usually had two stories and the different spheres of life were separated into the various rooms in the house. Hence the house was divided into spaces reserved for public and social functions and spaces of a more private character where the private family life took place. The ground floor often constituted the rooms that were dedicated to the social life outside of the family and consisted of a living-room (or parlour), a hall, a dining-room, the father's office as well as a kitchen and a pantry. The most private rooms, such as the bedrooms, were on the upper floor and were often grouped around a hall (Saarikangas 1993, 185).

Even if none of those interviewed spoke about it directly, it was absolutely clear by the design and description of their houses that the model had been the middle-class houses of the civil servants from the turn of the last century. All the houses were built on a two storey plan and the interior room division resembled very much the middle-class detached houses of the 1900s with their clear division of a public section reserved for social occasions external to the family and the private part, where the family members themselves spend most of their time. The lower level usually consisted of the kitchen, toilet, dining-room, hall, and scullery, while the upper-level rooms were often the bedrooms, bathroom and general rooms.

The house of couple number 8 differed from this arrangement, and in this house only the couple's own bedroom is on the second floor (upstairs). However, even in this house there is still a clear division between the private and public sections as the children's bedrooms, the office, the general room and bathroom are all at one end of the house and the kitchen and living-room at the other. It was also important for all the couples that each child had its own bedroom and only one couple had chosen not to have a separate living-room for guests and a general/TV-room for the family. It was clear from the interviews that the division of the house into private and public parts had been a conscious decision when the couples described how they had planned the interior rooms of the house.

> The upstairs is also a little more, how shall we say, a private area. It is nice to have a downstairs area that can be kept a little more tidy and organised. So that you do not need to panic when the doorbell rings, as you know that you will normally stay downstairs. It is all the rooms upstairs that we actually really make use of. (Woman, couple 5)

Most of the couples also even admitted that they had chosen to invest more on the downstairs rooms, such as a more expensive choice of material for the floor, wallpaper and furniture. On the other hand, it seemed that among those interviewed there was a certain difference of opinion as to whether the kitchen was designated as a private or public area. Generally, it can be said that there are two different models of how the couples chose to arrange the dining area. Two of the couples (number 1 and 3) chose to have a smaller kitchen and a separate dining-room for those occasions when they had guests. The other couples chose instead to have a larger kitchen where the dining area was used for everyday purposes and for the occasions when there were invited guests. Here one can suspect that there are two different views of the kitchen; one private and one public.

> We knew that we wanted to have a separate dining area, because we like cooking and preparing meals and inviting friends to dine and we wanted to have a separate room, one that was a little more special so that we did not just sit in the kitchen among the pots and pans. (Woman, couple 1)

> And the reason that we chose to have a really big kitchen was so that we could have a kitchen table, a large kitchen table because everyone is in the kitchen so much... and when there are guests you are also in the kitchen standing over the cooker, preparing things and perhaps having a drink or something. (Man, couple 2)

These two remarks show the two different views of the kitchen. The first indicates a view of the kitchen as a space mainly reserved for cooking and a place for meals at which only the family member spend time together. The other comment shows another attitude to the kitchen, that of a social room for the whole family to enjoy together, but also as space for other friends and acquaintances. Household pursuits such as cooking come within the framework of social occasions both with the family and when entertaining company. Magnus Mörck has pointed out that the choice to entertain visitors in the kitchen instead of in a more formal room is a normal way of de-dramatising company and signalling a lack of formal demands to the guest (Mörck 1998, 110).

On the whole, one can see that the ideal that arose during the end of the 1800s and beginning of the 1900s is still a major influence today on the design of the houses of my interviewees. This is indicated not only by the high degree of emphasis on the differentiation of the rooms but also in the question of their views on hygiene and rationality. All the interviewees have admitted that they endeavoured to create a light and airy atmosphere in their houses, through a choice of an open plan-less house, large windows, high ceilings and light interior colours.

> We have planned it so that we have the water down at the bottom of the garden and a sea view, or whatever it can be called, and we have a sort of step design and all the rooms follow the light. So that in all the rooms downstairs there is a view of outside ... and then we wanted stairs leading to an open area on the second level as well. (Woman couple 5)

Here can also be seen the same desire to live a life close to nature that influenced house building in the suburbs during the entire 1900s and which among other things expresses itself in the construction of balconies and verandas as well as the choice of the area. For most of the couples the possibility of having a garden was also an important reason for choosing to build a house and live in this area. Another reason to build in this area was the fact that the local population were in a similar situation to the interviewees themselves, i.e. of the same age group and families with children. According to Karla Werner the plan to have a family and own a house are so related to each other that one can talk about a "fusing of ideals and actions based on the wider circle of generally accepted and strived after life patterns" (Werner 1981, 31). I noticed this in the interviewees' incentives for choosing to build a house. Nearly all mentioned the fact that they had a child or were planning to have children and that this was the most important reason to choose to live in a house.

> But I think that having children is the most important reason for having a house. So that they will have space and be able to invite their friends home to play. I don't know if I would have been as eager if it had just been I and my husband all the time – I could in that case have thought about a large apartment. I don't think I would have had the same need for a house then. That the children can come and go, go out in the garden and play and can have their friends (Woman couple 1)

Even a thread of emphasis on the logic can be found in the interviewees' description of how they want their method of living in the house to develop. Expressions such as "to be functional" and "it should function well for everyday life" often occurred in the interviews. This indicates a certain hint at the desire for economy that was propagated in the beginning of the 1900s, which can seem quite paradoxical with consideration for the large sums of money that several of the couples had invested in the building of their houses, costs that had been up to 250,000 – 300,000 Euros. Karla Werner believes that living in a single-family house is intended for a category of people that have the financial means and want to have a lifestyle that complies with the present dominant cultural ideal. This ideal is being well-behaved, work orientated and complying with the consumer society, as well as having a life with the family and the children (Werner 1981, 9). Werner believes that there is a connection between moving to a house that is privately owned and a desire to have a better life. According to her, material comforts are more or less a comment on a life ideal in today's consumer dominated culture and it is a general cultural phenomenon to choose to show to yourself and to others that your behaviour is as it is expected to be. At the same time, the single-family house expresses individuation, an influence over one's own life conditions, personal success and family happiness (Werner 1981, 18, 31). A single-family house is, in this respect, also an expression of the acceptance of the endeavour to strive after this ideal.

Cultural Patterns and the Individual

At the same time as single-family houses have been put forward as the ideal house they have also been criticised for being a stereotypically designed dwelling that denotes social control and conformity, where private individuals cannot express themselves (Werner 1981, 18f). Kirsi Saarikangas believes, however, that the single-family house is an incongruous building that involves demands on both individuality and universality (Saarikangas 1993, 17). Pekka Junkala places attention in his article *Husets kulturella topografi – om boningshuset som ett materialiserat självporträtt* on the power and control dimensions that are given expression through the various dwelling ideologies that are mirrored in the form of the actual dwelling. Junkala's main point is nevertheless not only to highlight how different ideologies have shaped our dwellings but rather to present people's active measures by studying how standardised meanings shape the material from the individual's aspect within this power and control. His starting point is that the house constitutes both a framework and a resource for the creation of a self-image. He suggests by this that one should see both to what degree the house constitutes a foundation for certain collective traditions, for example, building traditions and dwelling ideologies and to what degree it has been the foundation for the individual's project to produce cultural self-image of themselves. In this manner he wants to stress the fact that at the same time as people are influenced by society, even in their homes, they also want to free themselves from the pressure put on them by the surrounding society (Junkala 2003, 6).

Building and living in a house, to a certain extent, transforms an anonymous place into one's own private area. Michel de Certeau makes a distinction between the concept place and space, where the place is the structure that constitutes an overall power or form of order so as to organise and control the individual that exists within this structure.[3] Cities, supermarkets and schools are examples of places in this sense (Fiske 1992 according to Giles & Middleton 1999, 111).

However, in the places and sometimes in contrast to the places' real purpose, people create their own space by their way of living, activities, customs and usage, that is to say through their everyday practices. A space is also, according to Michel de Certeau a place where we practice some kind of everyday activity. People create the space by the creative use of resources that the place provides (de Certeau 1984, XIIff). Michel de Certeau makes a further division between strategies and tactics where strategies are connected to the concept of the place. Through tactics people create their own space from the place (de Certeau 1984, XVIIIf). In other words tactics are the individuals answer to society's strategies.

The tactics or everyday practices that are used in transforming the places into space Michel de Certeau calls *bricolage* or *the arts of making do*. Bricolage, in this sense, has to do with how people transform places into space, what their everyday practices are and what the significance this has for those that carry them out. This has to do with a certain sort of everyday creativity where people make use of, transform and combine various products and services that are at their disposal, so as to adapt them to their own purposes and interests.

This consumption is, in a way, a form of production, but in this case a silent one that does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through the way it uses the products which are made available by the dominating economic system (de Certeau 1984, XIIff). One can talk about a kind of *cultural* and *social offer* that the individual must in some way relate to. The cultural ideal can be said to be the basis for this offer and the ideal is mirrored, to a certain extent, through the offer. The offer can in this way be both at an assessment level and reflect, among other things, various media, for example interior design magazines, or on a more concrete level of expression such as offers of different products and services that society markets. Something that is characteristic of bricolage according to Tim Dant is that it is not executed with professional knowledge but instead is accomplished with the practical knowledge an individual possesses and with the material that is available. In other words it is a form of "do it yourself". This often involves altering and combining various forms of material so that a new item is produced (Dant 1999, 69). It is possible to combine different ideas of what a home should look like with one's own practical lifestyle demands (Dant 1999, 73).

We constantly adapt our way of living to our life style and the point we are at in our life cycle. Bricolage is in this sense not just a way to change the place into a space but also a part of the dwelling process itself. It is one of the practices that the dwelling does itself. When Tim Dant describes bricolage from the perspective of a dwelling, he often speaks about rented apartments as the place that is transformed through this process. I have nevertheless chosen to consider the whole house-building process as a unique form of tactic that is distinguished by bricolage. In the question of house building it is not a ready made shell that is altered to a container for living as with a rented apartment, but a matter of the shell itself being created by those that build the house and are going to live in the house.

In the house builders' description of their method of setting about the building process there is a similarity to de Certeau's definition of tactics that suggests that type of coincidence and dependence on time and place. The interviewee's spoke about, for example, their obtaining of a house plot using the expression "taking a chance" or the possibility that something would "turn up". The house plots were often allocated through some kind of lottery process because of the high demand, which further indicates that the building process is some form of tactic.

And so this area happened to be in the newspaper and there was going to be a lottery draw for the plots of land and so we registered and we were given a plot. And so we decided, yes, we will build... because we obtained a plot that was so attractive and there were so many that wanted it – so we thought that now we will take the opportunity. And so the house was built. And so we never had the time to look generally for a house because this just turned up and we took the chance. (Woman, couple 1)

The character of the house building as a form of bricolage is expressed through the fact that the building is a combination of various products and services according to the owners own ability and practical knowledge of getting a house built. It is a question of choosing the way in which various products and services or cultural offers should be combined and performed. Some of my interviewees had, for example, chosen to design the house in consultation with an architect or a building firm, while others had chosen to order a house from a catalogue, that is to say, a packet house which was already designed. Even in this latter category there was still often the possibility to make certain changes according to the purchaser's wishes and taste. The degree of participation my interviewee's chose as to the building process itself also varied. Some had chosen to build themselves or work together with a builder that they had engaged, while others chose the role of some kind of building entrepreneur and coordinated the work that was to be done by themselves, even if they did not take part in the actual building. Only one of the couples chose to build a so called key-in-hand house, where the entire house packet was built by a building firm and handed over completely ready to move into, for the house buyer.

That living in a single-family house is an ongoing process was also clear from the interviews as the house-owners spoke about the plans they had for the future of their houses. This was often a matter of the completing the garden, terraces and outer areas to be finished, fences and garages that were to be built, rooms that were to be re-papered and so on. To the question of how it felt to have the house finished, many answered that they did not experience it as the house being ready, as there were still so many things that had to be done. The house-owners seemed to consider this type of living as a form of work and a process that is more extensive in a single-family house than in an apartment. It is, however, also something that at the same time seems to be regarded as an advantage with living in a house and that often becomes something of a hobby. Bricolage is something that distinguishes the private room from the public place and it is the private individual that has control and responsibility for this work, which has its advantages and disadvantages, but which according to the house-owners' statements they still recognise as something basically positive.

Now we have something to do all the time. When we lived in an apartment you (her husband) complained about not having enough to do. We sat on the sofa all the time and thought that it was boring there was never anything to do then, now there is something to do all the time. The grass needs cutting or some room needs cleaning or the windows need washing or... it never ends. (Woman, couple 8)

These tactics in the form of bricolage can, as already mentioned, be seen as the house builders' answer to the ideals and social offers that circulate in the community. The tactics must, however, always take place within the framework of social strategies. It is nevertheless through tactics and bricolage that building and living in a house become individuated. The ethnologist Magnus Mörck discusses the concept of lifestyle starting from various aspects and definitions. He believes that all individuals can be described in terms of lifestyle, i.e. how tastes and preferences are put into practice through visible expressions. Lifestyle leaves its impression on different facets of an individual's way of life, for example on the home, on the amount of consumption and on relationships with company, but simultaneously a lifestyle can also be modified by the class to which we belong as well as age, gender and ethnicity (Mörck 1998, 9, 255).

Lifestyles are firmly rooted in spaciousness and material needs and consequently houses are the places where they find expression. At the same time, it is important Mörck points out, to bear in mind that a house contains considerably more than that which can be seen. The house is not just simply a place where a lifestyle can be expressed symbolically but rather a place for maintenance, handy work and planning of the facade that is gradually presented to other people (Mörck 1998, 116f). In accordance with Mörck I consider the house as a place where lifestyles can be expressed symbolically and aesthetically and even as an intersection between activities where a lifestyle's expression can be planned, stored and practiced. I believe that the house itself can become an expression of a certain lifestyle. A single-family house, as such, symbolises a certain set of values, both at a collective and individual level that can be associated with a certain lifestyle choice. Some lifestyle choices can, however, be more binding and have a greater influence on some parts of life than others. The choice to build and live in a single-family house can be seen as a long term investment in life and in a home. With regard to this question my interviewees, as I have already mentioned, have all financed their houses with large bank loans and this is an important factor for all of them. These loans are paid back normally over a long period of time, which both ties the house-owner to the house and influences the household's economy and consumption and perhaps even the question of their lifestyle. Most of the house-owners stated that they built their house with the intention that it would be a permanent place of residence for them.

> Then if you look further into the future the day will come when it will be a really large house for two people. You can only wish for some things in this life and I think that we have wished for a large house. And because of this we have had to choose to do without other things in order to have a large house. (Man, couple 4)

Mörck thought that some lifestyles and expressions of lifestyles can be associated more with structural phenomenon such as for example social groups. Habitus is Pierre Bourdieu's attempt to insert an explanatory link between social relationships or the structures in society on one side and the private individual's activities on the other. Habitus allows individuals and groups of individuals starting from a certain number of principles to generate ways of acting, thinking, understanding and evaluating as required by the various social contexts. People's habitus produces a similar effect on different life areas such as interior design, clothing, private economy, education, choice of profession, i.e. many of the areas through which we express a certain life style (Broady 1989, 23).

In the matter of choosing to live in a single-family house habitus at least functions as one of the factors that lie behind the choice. All the interviewees had at some time in their formative years lived in a house-owned by their family and their experience of this was often given as a reason that they themselves chose to build a house. Different lifestyles place various amounts of emphasis on the place of residence and what significance it has for the lifestyle in question. With regard to living in a single-family house my understanding is that it is a question of a lifestyle where the house is in many contexts a central part of the lifestyle. The house is important both in order to express the lifestyle and to realise it. The aim here is a view of both the house as an expression of a lifestyle and as a centre for certain uses. I consider, as Mörck suggests, that the structured phenomenon can have different degrees of influence on the various lifestyle choices. I would like to present the concept of how the lifestyle choice to live in a single-family house can be *structural* in character. In some of the house-owners' answers it is sometimes possible to detect a wish to retain or improve the living standard they had experienced with their families during childhood. Some of the house-owners even spoke directly about this as a reason for choosing to live in their own house.

It is almost like a rule someone said to me that to really be happy with your lot in life you should have the same standard of living that you were brought up in or a little better. Even so it is different from person to person – but perhaps when you are little and were used to living in your own home so you make every effort to have the same in your adult life, especially if you have children (Man, couple 3)

The understanding among the interviewees seem to have been that a single-family house is the predominant type of dwelling on Åland (especially for families with children), which means that it had influenced their own attitude to this type of living. The house-owners agreed that living in a single-family house was a general phenomenon on Åland, which had in many cases meant that it was a more or less obvious goal to be aimed for by the interviewees. Many of the house-owners spoke about living in a house as something that, from childhood, they had seen as an obvious thing they would themselves do. The undertaking to move into a house of one's own was based on the wish to assimilate into, in a wider sense, the normal social pattern. Simultaneously, as the lifestyle in relation to the living in a single-family house builds on structural factors, there can also be found an element of the playful experiment in the æsthetic expression of the lifestyle in the home. The interior furnishings of the home are seldom as binding or lasting as the shell of the house, which allows for a more playful approach. The æsthetical expression in interior design in houses, is less binding as regards lifestyle in general and even more interchangeable, which allows for a more experimental approach. Therefore, it is through this expression that the house becomes personal at a symbolic level by the fact that those living in it have the possibility to express their personal tastes and their interests. An example of this can be found in how one couple chose to solve some interior details.

Then we have two structure bearing posts downstairs... and a friend came up with the idea that we should wind a rope round them and that softens them up a little. (Woman, couple 3)

... so we have a rather ship-based theme in the house as I am someone who has been involved with boats and shipping all my life and my wife too. So that those posts give the house a marine feeling. And then I don't know if people think about the stair railing and banister, we thought they should look like a ships railing. (Man, couple 3)

The Course of Life and Its Network

As was stated previously and as even Magnus Mörck points out, a comparison often takes place between the formative years of a person's life and the type of house they provided for their children. Childhood gives individuals a starting point before adult life which gives particular expectations for the future as to the type of house, work and personal relationships. The time when one begins to create a family of one's own can be experienced as the closing of a circle as the individual finds themselves in the same situation as their parents did before, which among other things is distinguished by an endeavour to create a good nurturing environment for their own children. One can create a family environment based on the expectations one has come to regard as worth aiming for from one's own childhood together with the economic capability one has to realise this goal (Mörck 1991, 15).

In the case of the house-owners that were interviewed it seems as if this agrees with their understanding of their present houses. The expansion of the welfare state can be seen as one reason that it has become possible to build larger houses. Women's salaries can also be an influence in this context. Two incomes make it also possible to purchase more extravagant consumer products, even where choices and design of the house are concerned. Higher incomes can be a contributing reason to why today's families have the possibility to build and live in large family houses. Mörck indicates that the house can be a manifestation of the point in the life cycle that an individual finds them self and in this way the various steps in a "house career" can represent part of our lives rituals. The first house that we own often indicates a step into adult life. The process of adjusting together directed towards creating a family is not only a question of the expression of feelings but also a dialogue conducted with the material world. Consumption of certain things can be seen as a type of secular life ritual. The object, in this case the house, has also another type of permanence in contrast to words and actions. The house remains standing even when the family relationships falter. Mörck points out that while divorce has increased the single-family house has been the most common form of residence for families. Symbolically, this can be seen as some form of appeal or insurance. When there is growing uncertainty about the conditions of coexistence the joint house becomes a materialised hope for relationships and family stability. However, at the same time the house looses a great deal of its symbolic worth if relationships breakdown (Mörck 1991, 17).

Obtaining one's own house can at the same time be seen as a manifestation of the family and the height of an individuals "dwelling career". Moving into your own house and creating a family is a decisive step forward. Most of the couples had already had a child before they built a house. For many the increase in the number of children was one of the reasons for choosing to start to build a house just when they did. Several of the interviewees stated that they chose to start building because they were in need of a larger home since another child was on the way. An indication as to when it is time to think about having a family and move to a house is often received from the surroundings. Many of the interviewees also stated that even their parents had seen it as a natural step for them to build a house and had not thought over much about their choice. At the same time it can also be pointed out that several of the house-owners had had friends that had already started building or planned to start building. Even if it is one's own life situation that determines when you obtain a house of your own it also seems as if the decision to build is strengthened by similar choices made by peer groups.

Our membership of a peer group in life gives an indication of some of the expectations that are placed on the private individual, or the couple in this case, which can contribute to the incentive to build a house. Today's house building as mediated via my interviewees is characterised by both post-figurative and co-figurative features, the former being the influence of the previous generation and the latter the influence of the peer group (Mead 1970, 27, 61).

The practices involved in the building of a house and living in that house are characterised by many things, but are very much the result of post-figurative cultural transference. As has been shown all the house-owners had had experience of living in their own house and an important incentive for building themselves had been that they had chosen to pass this experience on to their children. In contrast the design of the house has features of both post-figurations and co-figurations. Several of the house-owners stated that they had been round to friends and acquaintances and looked at how they had designed their houses when they had begun to think about building themselves. In many cases, however, the influence, especially in the question of changes of style, was mediated by various institutions. The mass media is one such institution, but mediation can even occur in the examination of which products and services society offers. The house-owners stated that they had obtained their ideas of how they would like to design their house both from listening to their friends and acquaintances and by reading interior design magazines, browsing through house catalogues, and visiting building exhibitions and so on. Cultural transference via friends as far as the expression of the style is concerned is not a matter of a direct copying of each other's style. Within the framework of what is fashionable there is an expectation of individuation and space for the individual to create their own expression by using bricolage.

> I have ploughed through *Hus och Hem*, yes, probably for about for seven years [...] so I have certainly read them to death, and *Sköna Hem* and similar magazines. From them you can get masses of inspiration (Woman, couple 3)

> ... but then it was so that so many people were building just then and we went round and looked at all the houses. Then perhaps we thought that perhaps we shouldn't build the same sort of house as all the others – I thought that in any case. That we should perhaps build something a little different. (Man, couple 3)

The social network has nevertheless not only been trendsetting with regard to when the building of the house should take place but also as to which stylistic expression the design of the house should have. The house-owners also stated that they designed their houses with consideration for how their social circle of friends would visualise themselves in the house. From the interviewees it appeared that the social company that stretches beyond one's own family had also been an important factor in the planning and the solutions to the planning of the house. This did not just concern the division of the rooms as already mentioned, such as the general purpose room and the living room (best room) but also in the matter of the whole house as such. The significance of a single-family house is not only in the understanding of it as a place where family life takes place. The house is also a central arena for social networks. The house-owners stated that they chose to plan their houses so that it was easy to invite guests. This was also concerned large social gatherings where relations and friends got together.

> I have also thought a lot about this, I remember very well that I also said yes to this that when we had guests [...] that I wanted to be able to set the table for many people and have a long table for guests. I did not want to be limited when it came to inviting

guests. Not to have to say – no we can not have it at our house because we do not have the room [...] It was very important. (Woman, couple 8)

Many of the house-owners also chose to include a space for guests that would want to stay overnight. The house's social function, in many cases, not only stretched to a space for small or large dinner parties or coffee evenings but to larger functions. Many of the interviewees stated that they had relatives or student friends that lived some distance away and they would like to have the possibility of inviting them to stay when they came for a visit. Therefore, it is in other words not just close family that find a place in the house but there needs to be room for relations and friends to gather.

The Structural and Structuring House

In the previous text some of the structural and structuring factors that influence the building of and the living in a single-family house were put forward, as well as how individuals treat and use these factors in the design of the house. The social offer, habitus and the social network have been pointed out as some of the factors which seep in through the walls of the house – to use the expression of Kirsi Saarikangas. In the case of a single-family house I should say that these structures do not just *seep* into the house but are *built into* the house. The tactics, are situation accentuated and dependent on the social structure, but that does not mean that they should not be directed at a specific goal and that the private individual should not act according to a certain personal life strategy, where the social structure is made use of to realise that goal. The life strategy goals are expedited through the tactics and expressed as bricolage. Personal significance is created in the individual's interaction with these structures.

When the house-owners described what their house represented to them the word *home* was the one that was used most. Another expression was the quality of life, security and freedom. Freedom was expressed in the interview as the ability of the interviewees to "decide for themselves" and "do what they wanted" in their own house. Another sense of freedom was the fact that they did not need to take into consideration their neighbours, in the same way as when they lived in an apartment. Security was described in terms of "having something of your own" and as owning a house, with the knowledge that they have a firm point in life and that they could decide themselves how long they wanted to live in it. Several also stated that they experienced the house as representing themselves, their family, how they were as people and how they wanted to live.

It is our home. And it is here that the children will grow up with this as their home. So in that way it represents something that it is our family that lives here. (Woman, couple 7)

A dwelling as a lifestyle involves an element of both a structural character and a playful expression. According to my understanding the symbolic expression *in* the dwelling are more playful experiments, while the dwelling *as* a symbolic expression for a life style are of a more lasting and binding nature. The symbolic values of freedom, security and the quality of life are charged with is also a simultaneous collective value that the house-owners seem to understand is realised just by living in a single-family house. The dwelling does not function either as only an expression for a lifestyle but also as an arena where life takes place. A single-family house is not only built up from a structural phenomenon but is also a structuring framework for family life and a centre for activities that coordinate the family members. The houses' significance as a place of security and freedom for its owners lies in these facts. Freedom and playfulness can have their expression because there is a structured framework that the house constitutes.

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Notes

1 I have interviewed eight couples from Åland between the ages of 30–45 years that have built houses during the first few years of 2000s. The houses, in other words, have not been occupied for more than six years. Some of those interviewed can be described as representing the middle class and have some form of higher education. The majority were teachers by profession. They all had experience of living in a single-family house from their childhood.

2 The couples I have interviewed I will henceforth refer to as numbers according to the order in which they were interviewed (couple 1, 2, 3... etc. see appendix 1). The three residential areas are referred to as A, B and C. The interviewees' houses are divided into the residential areas so that couple 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 live in area A, couple 4 and 7 in area B and couple 8 in area C. The residential areas A and B are situated to the south of Mariehamn and area C just north of Mariehamn in Jomala municipality.

3 Most theorists have chosen to define the concept place and room in a converse way in comparison to de Certeau, so that the space is the larger structure and the place is the private space that the individual creates. Because I have used de Certeau's line of thinking more often, I therefore use his division and definition of the concept.

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When Poetry Takes Place

On Olav H. Hauge, Literature, and Festival

By Connie Reksten

On the last page of the newspaper *Bergens Tidende* in September 2002 we see a picture of an elderly man.[1] He is wearing a sweater over a blue-checked flannel shirt. The brown velvet trousers are very worn. He is holding his hands folded on his lap. Looking heavy and tired, he sits on a chopping block in the midst of a pile of wood. The picture is framed by dark green fields and apple trees that have neither flowers nor leaves. The caption reads: "Time for apples and poetry." And then: "This weekend it is time once again for Ulvik Poetry Festival – the Olav H. Hauge Days – held in Ulvik in Hardanger every other year" (*Bergens Tidende*, 20 September 2002). Poetry has become an occasion for a festival, as has the poet Olav H. Hauge (1908–1994). At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of festivals, and in the number of subjects that have given rise to festivals. There are now around 30,000 regular festivals in Europe. Under the heading "The number of Norwegian festivals is soaring" the chairman of Norway Festivals, Øyvind Pedersen, said in 2004: "No one knows for sure how many festivals there are in Norway. But there are at any rate more festivals than there are municipalities."[2] The rest of Scandinavia and Europe are witnessing a similar growth. But how should we understand today's festivalization – which Norwegian newspapers tend to describe as a *festival boom*. Could it be that the establishment of new festivals, with all the backing and interest shown, is to be understood against the background of a renewed interest in place?

Festival, Festivalization, Festival Boom

In the last few years the festival phenomenon has become a striking feature of European artistic and cultural life. There is a festival for almost everything. On the music front there are festivals for all styles from jazz to blues, rock, and chamber music. There are protest festivals, media- and celebrity-oriented festivals, and various lifestyle festivals. At the same time, festivals of poetry and literature have expanded. As the field of literature has attracted greater attention – interviews with authors in newspapers and magazines, new prizes, literature programmes on television, and a focus on promising young authors – the sphere of poetry and literature has been popularized. The question therefore is whether we can understand festivals as expressions of a general popularization of the field of art and culture, or could it be that the festivals also open for other cultural interpretations? In the article "Festivals, Spatiality and the New Europe" (2003) the ethnologist Kjell Hansen claims that one of the most striking features of the festival is that it *takes place*. The festival enlarges a place and gives it a high profile. According to Hansen, a festival can therefore be understood as an extraordinary event that manifests the ordinary, bringing out distinctive local qualities (Hansen 2003:20). I want to examine another feature of the festival. From the etymology and connotations of the word *festival* we can understand it to involve feasting, festivity, pleasure, and entertainment. At the same time as the festival makes a place and its distinctive character visible, it also means a break in everyday routines. As an extraordinary event, a festival will therefore have its own rhythm and stand out with its own special dynamic. It happens outside time, but also outside space. It gives a feeling of being in the right place at the right time, which makes the body and the senses present in a new and different way than in drowsy day-to-day existence. It makes it possible for the place to open itself in an intimate and familiar way. The festival becomes a place where anything can happen. Today's festival boom can thus be understood as an equally large-scale production of cultural identity. It is primarily shaped in action, during the festival and in the place – in connection and in contact with the material and sensuous quality of the things, the place, and the surrounding landscape. The interest in establishing a festival, as well as going there to take part in it, can therefore be understood in terms of cultural identity, created on the basis of the collective experience of the concrete place and materiality. Some places will thus always seem better suited for festivals than others. For a festival does not take place just anywhere, in some random spot. It is held at a consciously selected place, and simultaneously it is just selected places that become festival venues. This was also the case for the Ulvik Poetry Festival and the Olav H. Hauge Days. The event was held in a very special place, in the home, the house, and the orchard of the dead poet Olav H. Hauge, at the place called Rossvoll in Hauge's native district of Ulvik in Hardanger, in Western Norway. Through the Ulvik Poetry Festival, then, Hauge's home once again became a place of pilgrimage.

Pop Lyrics, Literary Wonder Boys, and Wannabees

People today are more than willing to make the trip to Rossvoll on the occasion of the festival. Yet even before this, the farm of Rossvoll, deep in Hardanger Fjord, Western Norway, was a well-known literary landmark. This was especially true for poetry lovers and people with literary ambitions throughout the 1960s and 1970s. They loved going to Ulvik. Perhaps just for a weekend, a day, an evening, or for a brief chat with the author and poet himself. Most of those who visited Hauge were in the circle of people connected to the Norwegian literary magazine *Profil*, with authors like Jan Erik Vold, Dag Solstad, Einar Økland, Tor Obrestad, Noel Cobb, and Espen Haavardsholm. They all built their literary career on the year 1966, when they created the literary magazine *Profil*. Hauge was later incorporated in this circle. Here he found others with a similar orientation and, not least of all, with the same literary interests as himself. These people had the same reading experiences, the same literary ambitions, and the same frame of references as Hauge. They were thus rather different from the locals in the Ulvik district. In his biography of Hauge, Knut Olav Åmås suggests quite forcefully that this was what made Hauge into the charismatic personality that he later became. The picture that Åmås paints of Olav H. Hauge in the biography *Mitt liv var draum* ("My Life Was a Dream", 2004), is therefore of a social loner, who, by entering into a new social community, had his own literary hunger and poetic appetite satisfied. In *Profil*, Hauge came into his own. When this happened he was approaching the age of 60, and it was as a 60-year-old that he made his breakthrough to become the literary wonder boy of the *Profil* circle. Hauge's like-minded fellows, in contrast, were young, besides which they were urban and politically radical. Strangely, Hauge was regarded as being to the right of the young ones: "Hauge is younger than those who are as old as he in literary Norway, he is contemporary with the Profilists themselves – and simultaneously he has an immediate attachment to the generation before him, he is a link to names like Kristofer Uppdal" (ibid.:281).

When Hauge was elevated as the literary figurehead of the *Profil* circle, it was not a case of being given the status of chieftain because he was older. It was a matter of lifestyle. The picture that gradually became established as the author's distinctive image was one of "apples and poetry", of the fruit grower, and of Olav H. Hauge as a wise man. Among the young generation of Norwegian authors in the sixties and seventies he was made into a reference. He became a person that others fondly cited, visited, and told others that they had visited. Hauge acquired the status of "a 'pop lyricist' – at any rate in the sense of a cult writer for young people. And he will soon be popular among the people too" (ibid.:375).

Olav H. Hauge, like many other authors, was "discovered". His discovery was described in the book *Under Hauges ord* ("Under Hauge's Words", 1996) by Jan Erik Vold. Here Vold highlights Hauge's poetry, his translations of other poets, and his public career as a poet. Vold lovingly describes the intimate correspondence between himself and Hauge. The book also contains a series of pictures. They are black and white, and all of them show a tall, unassuming, slightly embarrassed man. Under the chapter heading "Can One See the Invisible?" Vold introduces the pictures as follows:

> Olav H. Hauge was a handsome man, who wrote his letters in a beautiful hand. He looked after his orchard carefully, stacked the fruit in crates covered with tarpaulin, put his clogs on the steps before he went in for the evening. In the bookshelves the books stood side by side, from floor to ceiling, in several rooms. When he spoke, it could happen that he strayed far, with his thoughts and counter-thoughts, balancing ideas back and forth, but suddenly he looked at you and said: "You know." As if to see that you were there, that what he had said had reached you, that he was not talking to himself. As if to say: "Or what do you think?" (Vold 1996:177).

Most of the pictures in the series indeed show a handsome man, but perhaps above all a serious man – on a garden bench, in front of an apple tree, or standing gazing out over the landscape, the mountains, and the Ulvik district. In addition there is a "photo session" in which Hauge is excited, intense, engaged in conversation with different author colleagues. But also the picture of when Jan Erik Vold is visiting, standing beside the wise oracle himself, described by Vold as the man with "The Sayings of the High One":

> Hauge's talk thus resembles *Hávamál* – "The Sayings of the High One". And the theme of *Hávamál*, as we remember, is the low things, the rules for everyday life, giving heat to the man who has journeyed over the mountains and is chilled to the knee. Here the difference between high and low ceases to exist – common sense and good manners are neither high nor low, but necessary. And why all these words to introduce a section of photographs of the poet Hauge and his surroundings? Is it possible to conjure up pictures of "The High One" that speaks in *Hávamál*? Do we understand Hauge's poetry better by observing his body, his gestures, his gaze? Can one see the invisible? (Vold 1996:178 f.).

Jan Erik Vold's attempt to conjure up the invisible involves letting the divinity concealed behind skin, pores, and movements reveal itself with the aid of wide-angle lenses, zooms, and a simple snapshot. Vold may seem primarily to be trying to portray Hauge as a god. But not just any god. "Fire is needful for someone who's come in and who's chilled to the knee; food and clothing are necessary for the man who's journeyed over the mountains." Vold refers here to the proverbial language of Odin, the most powerful of all the gods in Norse mythology. He thus equates Olav H. Hauge with Odin. Hauge is made divine, holy, a saint. As a wonder boy and figurehead, Hauge is becoming a literary icon in a Norwegian context.

The different photo sessions that Jan Erik Vold had with Hauge in the book *Under Hauges ord* (1996:179) can be understood as iconization. We tend to think of icons as religious portrayals of holy people and saints. But they can also be sacred pictures and pictures *about* sanctity. The values that are iconized will therefore be invisible, but nevertheless stand out as powerful cultural statements. Icons are always materialized holiness, taking the form of visible body, skin, and hair and/or as concrete objects, environments, and special types of landscape. The sanctification of Olav H. Hauge therefore takes place through the depiction of special objects – such as knitted sweaters, worn velvet trousers, chopping blocks, apple trees, and sloping West Norwegian terrain. In other words, the material culture is an important foundation for the iconization of Hauge: both the material culture we see through Vold's photographs and the world of experience of which Hauge is part. The icons and the iconized become powerful pictures. Pictures are saturated with things that say something about the time in which they were taken. It was by being a poetic embodiment of the most prominent cultural ideals of the 1960s and 1970 that Olav H. Hauge was iconized. Icons can therefore be understood as depictions that primarily reflect current core cultural values.

Hauge fulfils what the literary scholar Jørgen Sejersted has called "the New Norwegian cultural code", the ideal of the down-to-earth, self-taught, restrained, unassuming person who grows up in autonomy and authenticity with Norwegian nature (Sejersted 2000:114). As core values they also connoted the ideal of the farmer and the West Norwegian all-rounder and small farmer (Richardson 2000; Reksten Kapstad 1996). By being portrayed as "the gardener who cultivates master verse" (Åmås 2004), Hauge was portrayed throughout the 1960s as a narrative and a myth as well as being an icon.

When the young radicals in the sixties and seventies came on pilgrimage to the Rossvoll farm, it was as intellectual and literary wannabees. They turned the trip and the visit to the orchard, the house, and Hauge's home into a photo shoot and derived substance for their own burgeoning literary interests. Most of the young visitors to Hauge in the sixties and seventies then went on to write about the trip and the meeting with Hauge. In an article with a title meaning "Literary Criticism as Pastoral Poetry: The Reception of Olav H. Hauge" (2000) Sejersted presents an interesting survey of many of these accounts. This leads him to wonder about who they actually met as they walked among all the apple trees:

> This little guided tour among the apple trees, does it mean that one meets "nothing more than a farmer from the west country?" Or it is more natural to read this as a theatrical self-presentation of something authentic? And what about the next urban intellectual that wants to come to Hauge, how does Hauge want to be able to encounter the new guest after having been portrayed in this way? How, one may wonder, can OHH receive anyone at all after having been nailed fast in such descriptions? (Sejersted 2000:111).

The meetings between Hauge and the young literary enthusiasts in the orchard at Rossvoll are analysed by Sejersted as a type of cultural encounter and identity production. It takes shape as a powerful and reciprocal stereotyping – with the "urban intellectuals" on one hand and "nothing more than a farmer from the west country" on the other. The accounts written by the young radicals in the sixties and seventies of their meeting with Olav H. Hauge are thus revealed as romanticization and unbridled mixtures of "biography and peasant romanticism", descriptions that Sejersted finds "scarcely bearable" (Sejersted 2000:112). It is high time someone started to read Hauge's lyrics and poetry with a different mental picture than that of a wise man in a west-country idyll (*Bergens Tidende*, 18 March 2000).

For decades Olav H. Hauge has been distilled through post-war cultural filters. He stands today as the poetic incarnation of the most prominent cultural ideals of the 1960s and 1970s. It is therefore perhaps no longer surprising that Hauge has become the occasion for a festival and the farm of Rossvoll an official item and place on the biennial festival programme. Olav H. Hauge has quite simply gone from being literature to culture. He has been transformed from poetry into personality, from literature to body and place. When people today pour into Ulvik Poetry Festival, there is a great deal to suggest that they take part specifically to produce once again the pictures that the *Profil* circle created of Hauge in the 1960s and 1970s as "The High One". Is Olav H. Hauge still being sanctified thanks to the festival?

Festival Mystique and Literary Culture

Ulvik Poetry Festival in 2002 had a wide-ranging programme, as most festivals do. There was everything from writing courses and book launches to debates about the committed poet. Also on the programme were an "open microphone" session, dancing in the evening, and a concert with the author and west-country surrealist Ragnar Hovland accompanied by violin and saxophone, held in the distinctive youth hall five minutes from the little centre of Ulvik. Another name on the programme was that of the theology professor and politician Inge Lønning – dressed for the occasion in a black gown and white ruff – performing uninhibitedly during the open-air service and reciting Hauge's aphorisms in the yard of the Hjeltnes gardening school, the school where Hauge had been a pupil. In addition, prizes were awarded at the Ulvik Poetry Festival: the Youth Lyric Prize for Hordaland and the Ambolt Prize for good versification. There was also a performance of the commissioned work "Hauge Songs". All these events took place in different parts of the Ulvik district – in everything from the youth hall and culture centre to schools, cafés, and hotels. But it was the programme at Rossvoll, in the home of the poet, that attracted the most attention, in terms of both visitor figures and newspaper coverage. In 2002 this event was sent at peak broadcasting time, at 2 p.m. on Saturday, on the third and last day of the festival. It was advertised as a recitation with the actor Hildegun Riise and music by the cellist Hans Josef Groh. I went there, bringing a video camera and notebook, in what could be called an unclear researcher's role in the borderland between concert goer, fieldworker, and Hauge admirer.

When I take my seat at Rossvoll I see Riise sink her head, turn towards Groh, open the folder she has in her hands, exchange glances with Groh, and then start to read. First from Hauge's diaries. Then from her own collection of poems: "– plukke stjerner med hendene –" ("Picking Stars with the Hands", 1997). She goes on to read in a beautiful deep voice from Hauge's newly published diaries – five volumes in all. She reads texts about his mother, about the willow flute, and verses about Olav H. Hauge's black glasses. Riise's voice becomes serious when she raises her eyes, looks out over the audience, and starts to read:[3]

Black glasses
I have black glasses myself
That's the safest

Hildegun Riise and Hans Josef Groh are positioned in front of the entrance and steps to the dead poet's home. They sit side by side on separate chairs in front of the small red house.

The audience are seated in rows of chairs that fill the farmyard to the limit, all the way down to the little hay barn and the horse paddock. In the back row people are practically among the apple trees at the end of the farmyard. Those who have not found a place to sit just stand. Perhaps there are as many as 100 people. They chuckle after Riise's reading of Hauge's verse about black glasses. Several of them are standing against the wall of the barn, closing their eyes to the mild September sun. Those who are sitting stretch their necks to catch the sun better and to hear Groh's cello and Riise's beautiful voice.

After the recitation and the concert with Groh, people do not leave the yard to go straight to the next event. Instead they spread over the farmyard and start wandering in different directions. Some head for the barn and the paddock. Others walk alone with pensive steps, their hands folded behind their backs. Others walk briskly in groups of two or three, leaning forward slightly and in intimate conversation with the person next to them. It looks as if people enjoy walking in Hauge's orchard. Yet most of them end up behind the house. Here they are keen to look at the view, pointing out Ulvik lying down below and then pointing towards the mountain on the other side of Rossvoll – and towards "Poetland" (sic).

Sooner or later most of the people go in to join a guided tour of the poet's home. So do I. I take up my place in the long queue in front of the little red house where the poet lived.

And so it was finally time for a showing of Olav H. Hauge's house. For those who wanted to, just a quick look. People pour in. Not at once. But afterwards, after having quickly walked round Hauge's house, seen the view, but not least of all met each other, met acquaintances, met home-coming Hardanger people – like Hildegun Riise. They exchange hugs. I stand in the queue (Field note, Rossvoll, 27.09.02).

The buzz of conversation is loud, with laughter and comments flowing freely in this queue. People come towards each other: "Andor! Well, hellooo!" (this and later quotes come from my audio and video recording), and they start chatting: "No, I don't know him!" In the queue it is as if the comments fly in every direction. Spirits are high, with constant cries of "Hiiiii! Gunnlaug! Bless me!" People keep running into someone they know, exchanging hugs. They talk about the concert and also about the festival: "Great atmosphere." And while all this is going on, people in the queue continue to push. There is pressure to get inside to take a look at the home of Olav H. Hauge.

But to get in we have to buy a ticket. The Kolås family, who own and run Hauge's home, are busy to say the least. When I finally get to the top of the queue and it is my turn to pay, I am told to wait on the doorstep until I receive the ticket and my change. It takes time. I wait, while the others go in. At last a member of the Kolås family comes back, smiling, hands me my change together with a little bit of wood and the comment: "As a souvenir!" I suddenly find myself with a nice little piece of wood in my hand, roughly the same size as a matchbox, but just half as thick. It has a blue stamp. I read the name, address and telephone number of the present owners. I look puzzled and get the explanation that it comes from the firewood belonging to Olav H. Hauge. The comment that accompanied the piece of wood starts churning in my head and I suddenly realize: "As a souvenir! My goodness, this wood was probably chopped by Hauge himself. It's from Olav H. Hauge's own wood stack!" The associations follow: "This means that Olav H. Hauge himself has been out in the forest and picked out this tree, used his own strength, his own body, touched the bark I am now holding! This little bit of wood has been in contact with Hauge himself!"

In other words, the little piece of wood I was given "as a souvenir" can be interpreted as something left behind, a relic. Relics are sacred objects. They are understood as expressing something of the life and work of holy individuals, envisaged as part of "the dead person's body (hair, tooth, nails, ashes), possessions (clothes, everyday articles) or things connected with death (cross, urn, coffin) that are the object of an ancestor cult, pilgrimage" (Stefánsson *et al.* 1979/1983).

"So what happened?" asks the ethnologist Eva Reme in the article "Exhibition and Experience of Cultural Identity: The Case of Bergen – European City of Culture" (2002), referring to her own experiences during Bergen's year as cultural capital in 2000. One of the events brought together a large number of veteran ships and steamboats, and this was where she came across a steamboat from her childhood. It was an emotional meeting, and Reme abstracts her experiences by asking "What happened?" and also by asking "When do such things happen?":

> This occurs when we transform the expression of a place into personal impressions so that the place not only becomes a part of our lives but also takes root within us and triggers our personal re-creation of our own selves. This process establishes a "reverberation" between the individual and the place, making us co-poets of our own lives. In this way, the sense of belonging to a place is never forced on us from above – it is a feeling we all help generate (Reme 2002:44).

When these things happen – things that cause agitation and anxiety or joy and childlike pleasure – Reme says it is because impressions from the place are transformed into personal impressions. A feeling that we belong to a place will thus always be a feeling that we ourselves generate, according to Reme.

The anthropologist Michael Taussig talks about "nonvisual imagery". He insists on getting rid of what he calls the "visual tyranny" (Taussig 1993:57). He chooses instead to talk about materiality, about objects, and not least about the ability of things to trigger fantasies and ideas. This capacity to produce "otherness" is something he links to tangibility and contact. What happens, according to Taussig, chiefly concerns the ability we have to place our body there – on the spot and in the picture itself:

> A first step here is to insist on breaking away from the tyranny of the visual notion of image. The Navaho sand-painting is said to cure not by patients' looking at the picture inscribed therein, but by their placing their body in the design itself. Likewise, medicinally triggered visions ministered by healers in the Upper Amazon [...] are surely effective not only because of visual imagery, but also on account of nonvisual imagery conveyed by nausea, sound, smell, and the changing cadence of chanting, not to mention less tangible qualities of presence, atmosphere, and movement. Furthermore, the senses cross over and translate into each other. You feel redness. You see music. The nonvisual imagery may evoke visual means (Taussig 1993:58).

Through studies of Navaho Indians, Taussig shows how the magic becomes effective if one stands in the middle of the sand-painting. By going to the poet's home, taking part in the festival, attending the concert with Riise and Groh, and standing in the queue, this was what I did. I placed my body there, that is to say, on the spot and in the actual cultural picture of Olav H. Hauge that we have been handed for decades – in a sphere of sound, smell, and sensory impressions. The "nonvisual imagery", unlike the "tyranny of the visual", therefore consists of simultaneous and overlapping sensory experiences. According to Taussig, these are operationalized through our being there, touching, entering, holding, or embracing. It was by being there and in contact with the place, and also by holding the piece of wood, that my imagination felt secure – through tactile contact with the material. This opened the door for experiences of a type of "otherness" that acquired a tinge of magic or mystery, and in this case something we could perhaps call religious mysticism, or perhaps rather "festival mysticism" and even "literary mysticism".

"Poetland"

Having entered Olav H. Hauge's home, we are first shown the weaving room, which was added to the house for the poet's partner in the last years of his life, Bodil Cappelen. We then enter a kind of anteroom, lined with books from floor to ceiling, like a little library. People stop moving and the room gets packed. They eagerly scan the bookshelves and the titles of works by the dead poet. In the next room and in the living room they become even more enthusiastic, pointing all the time – towards the writing desk by the wall, out of the window towards the big apple tree – and observing that this was the desk, there was the painting by the Norwegian painter Nicolai Astrup (1881–1928): "In one room stands the table where the poet sat and wrote. On the wall behind it hangs the Astrup picture about which he wrote a poem. He was given the picture as a present and wrote the poem as an expression of his gratitude, Stein Olav tells us" (*Bergens Tidende*, 15 June 2003).

The article in the local west-country paper *Bergens Tidende* about Rossvoll and the Hauge home covers a whole page, richly illustrated. One of the pictures shows Stein Olav – now one of the owners of the home of Olav H. Hauge and a relative of the late poet. He is standing in a dark room in front of a window, looking down into a book. The white curtains gently filter the light entering the dark room. Against this light, Stein Olav cuts a slim and beautiful silhouette. I cannot rid my mind of the thought that this is a picture of Hauge; the caption reads: "Many memories". The green picture that fills half a page of the article is a scenic view of the poet's landscape, with the caption: "'Poetland' – here we see the mountain and the fjord and the river beyond the fjord. Olav H. Hauge wrote about all this, says Arne Skjerven, who guides visitors around the poet's garden" (ibid.).

When people attended the festival it was to see the poems and experience the literature. They came to see what Hauge had written. They went to Ulvik to see the road where the poet took his evening walks, the orchard, the barn, the cookhouse, the cat, the horse, the view, the desk, the library, the books, and so on. When the paper *Bergens Tidende* summed up the Ulvik Poetry Festival in 2002, it was with the heading "With poetry in the paws" and the following poem as an introduction to the article:

> The cat
> is sitting in the yard
> when you come.
> Talk a bit with the cat.
> He is the most sensitive one on the farm.
>
> Olav H. Hauge's poem suited very well when we came to the farm of Rossvoll in Ulvik. But it [is] Stein Olav Kolås who runs the lovely Rossvoll farm where the poet Olav H. Hauge lived his whole life, and the cat meets us and gives us a good welcome. Vakande the horse grazes around one of the barns. Stein Olav receives us and keeps the stove well stoked, for many guests will come this weekend when the Ulvik Poetry Festival is on. Many people want to get into the Rossvoll farm to see and experience the place where the poet from Ulvik spent all his days (*Bergens Tidende*, 22 September 2002).

Just like most of the newspaper articles from Rossvoll and the Hauge home, this one too is richly illustrated, this time with a picture of a living cat in black and white, to illustrate the poem "The Cat", as well as the Rossvoll farm. This is perhaps Hauge's most famous poem, passed down through generations of Norwegian readers. According to the journalist, the poem was very appropriate when he came to Rossvoll for the Ulvik Poetry Festival. In the encounter with the home of the dead poet we thus see how the journalist read a perfectly ordinary cat as poetry. He read the poem into the place. Place becomes poetry. And this was what happened during the Ulvik Poetry Festival. The place was poeticized. Literature and poetry were anchored in concrete materiality, in the landscape and the surrounding area, fixed in buildings, in living animals and special persons. It is therefore not a matter of understanding literature at a distance, but of turning fairytale into concrete place:

> Whereas the world of the fairytales had previously been experienced from a certain distance, by hearing them read aloud, through the pictures and letters in a book, through living pictures on the cinema or television screen, or through acting on a stage, all these forms were encountered in the fixed location of the theme park. In the theme park the fairytale can be found in a concrete place. In a landscape (Mathiesen Hjemdahl 2002:83).

Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl (2002) has studied the way in which books by children's authors like Tove Jansson, Astrid Lindgren, and Thorbjørn Egner become materialized objects, landscapes and things in the theme parks. We see in the same way how Olav H. Hauge's poems take place at Rossvoll. Here and during the Ulvik Poetry Festival this place was made into *Diktarlandet* or "Poetland".

When we go to a festival, the place is sensitized. The sensory impressions that create recognition and resonance mean that our contact with the place is intimate. The site of the festival therefore tends to have a direct, immediate, and sensory effect. A crucial aspect of the festival is that it gives us the possibility to take possession of the place:

> Perhaps it is simply so that festivals give us an opportunity to appropriate the place? The appropriation that is present in the establishment of direct, immediate, sensory relations to the world that makes up the place. Or rather that the appropriation implies creating a feeling for the place in which our recognition is made up of the sensory impressions that festivals offer? (Hansen 2003:29).

No Idyll

Myths have been told, written, and spun about Hauge. The myths have mostly concerned the fruit grower, the west-country farmer, and the wise man in the western idyll – and what it is like to stroll among the apple trees in Hauge's orchard. But Hauge hated gardening: "He was never able to reconcile himself with his choice of the gardening profession; it was one of the greatest tragedies in his life. He never said anything positive about having an orchard, as Åmås points out" (*Morgenbladet*, 20–26 August 2004). The editor Knut Olav Åmås, in his biography of Olav H. Hauge, is clear on this point: The idyll was bunk! The poet who was so loved by the people scorned the people: "He could call ordinary people 'rabble' and 'idiots', and one spring day in 1938 he even did the Nazi salute to a group of German marines on the quay in Ulvik" (ibid.). But Åmås quickly adds: "We should probably not read too much into that particular episode. But it cannot be concealed that there is in him a streak of elitism and aristocratic contempt for the common people" (ibid.). Åmås made this statement to the Norwegian weekly paper *Morgenbladet* in connection with the publication of the first biography of Olav H. Hauge in autumn 2004. Like a number of newspapers in the country, it carried a major review of the biography. The new picture that was painted with the aid of Norway's biggest newspapers was therefore quite simply: "No idyll" (ibid.).

In academia the biography as a genre has not been considered completely acceptable, perhaps primarily because it has been viewed as a (co-)producer of myths. But what Åmås does is not to create myths in his biography; on the contrary. He debunks them. He punctures the myths about Hauge: "Knut Olav Åmås's new biography demolishes the myths about Olav H. Hauge as the harmonious wise man in the orchard in Hardanger" (ibid.). And with this academic approach we come straight back to academia. In 2005 Åmås obtained the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Bergen for his biography *Mitt liv var draum: Ein biografi om Olav H. Hauge* (2004). Did it happen as Åmås's fellow journalists at the book launch claim – that he is becoming the myth that he himself wants to kill? The biography "My Life Was a Dream" makes some culture journalists, as in the Norwegian financial newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv*, ask themselves: "How many of the guests will read the 'methodologically debating' work by Åmås? Would an option be to send a copy to selected intellectual workers? Fortunately not" (*Dagens Næringsliv*, 21–22 August 2004). The book and the content of the biography attracted a surprising amount of attention in the Norwegian press, besides which the actual press conference was reported and commented on. Could it be that Olav H. Hauge is once again coming into use as a cult figure, but in 2004 in a somewhat different way than in the 1960s? For what everyone at the press conference at Theatercaféen to launch the biography of Hauge expected to happen was that: "The actor Lasse Kolsrud read some Hauge poems, and the pale and serious Knut Olav Åmås talked slowly and at length in his monotonous voice. No one dared to eat. Everyone waited for Åmås to finish. So this could begin" (ibid.). The poetry, the author, and the biography of Hauge also serve as convertible capital today. When the Norwegian cultural elite are gathered for the press conference and the release of the first biography of Hauge, it is so that they can hear and see each other, but perhaps also in order to examine the biographer himself more closely.

The myth of Hauge that Åmås punctures does not seem to have escaped the myth-debunker himself. We see how Åmås is interpreted as heavy and scholarly, and as a wise man and west-country man among Norwegian journalists, but also as a taciturn personality worthy of Olav H. Hauge. Åmås uses this myth himself. Through the Norwegian daily paper *Verdens Gang* we learn that Åmås went directly from New York to Ulvik and the house and home of Hauge. He sat down at the poet's desk, in his study. The biographer was never as happy as he was on the night before 1 June 2004:

> I finished the book at Hauge's desk, in his study with his library around me. I wanted to be in his physical setting and his atmosphere. On the night before 1 June I was finished. I have never been so glad and happy as then (*Verdens Gang*, 19 August 2004).

He cannot stop himself… The desire for "physical imitations" and "nonvisual imagery" (Taussig 1993) is too great. He has to go there – and he does. He visits the concrete place and things with which the place is filled. He sits at the poet's desk. He seeks out the material things and places his body in the sphere of sounds, smells, and overlapping, simultaneous sensory impressions. Åmås lets objects and materiality join in when he is about to put the finishing touches to the first biography of Olav H. Hauge. Åmås derives energy from the myth he paradoxically want to explode and eradicate in favour of the intellectual project of dispelling the myth and magic surrounding Hauge. To finish the book about Hauge he thus uses the same magic that he repudiates.

It is in an attempt to write a "scholarly biography" and to avoid endorsing the mythologization of the subject that all this leaks out! That is to say, all these other things – the place and the meaning of things, and what *Verdens Gang* accurately describes as "atmosphere" and the "physical setting", the desk, the books, the library – all this leaks out and disappears, and it is not included in the biography. The magic of the materiality instead seems to have been made into small subsidiary narratives, told as "sideline stories" away from the authorized book reviews, often in the portrait interview. The magic of materiality does not seem to be counted as being particularly important for the book. Yet paradoxically, it looks as if it is this dimension that creates the demand for biographies as a genre. For there was not so much to get out of Hauge's life: "At first glance it may seem as if it was a read life and therefore not much of a really lived life. 'It is necessary to write, it is not necessary to live,' wrote Olav H. Hauge" (Åmås 2004:15). Hauge did not travel far, he did not have great adventures, and there were few women in his life. What is and was important about Hauge was primarily "the atmosphere", "the physical setting" and his sanctification. When the first biography of Olav H. Hauge was on the programme for the next festival in 2004, the attendance figures were a sharp contrast to the event with Riise and Groh two years earlier. Perhaps this was not what people had come to find out about: deconstruction, demystification, and exposure. They came to hear Groh's deep cello and Riise's warm voice embracing Hauge's poems, to circulate among the magic, to wander round the farmyard, the orchard, and the poet's home. They wanted to feel the glow and the warmth of "literary mysticism" and literary culture, to enjoy the myths and the beatification of Olav H. Hauge.

When Literature Takes Place

We can attend festivals in order to see and experience, as was the case with the Ulvik Poetry Festival. We can therefore understand festivals as something we apprehend and sense, giving us the opportunity to take possession of the place and incorporate it as part of ourselves. This makes it possible to understand place as action. By taking place, the festival primarily becomes an experience, something that happens.

This is a position and an approach to place that has been rather overlooked in recent trends in the social sciences and humanities. We have seen, among other things, how a new generation of humanists and literary scholars have mainly been irritated when literary scholars, writers, cultural personalities, and the like have gone on pilgrimage to Rossvoll and the home of Olav H. Hauge. The place has become an irritant which does not quite fit into the scholarly analysis. If it should nevertheless appear, it is viewed as an unpleasant analytical entity, an unmanageable object of study, obstructing a clear literary view and rendering it more difficult to gain insight into the literature and the poems themselves.

It nevertheless seems that there is, especially among today's young scholars in the humanities, a widespread analytical approach which makes it possible to utilize place as an object of study. This involves remaking and rewriting place as literature. In other words, place is put into the framework of a literary discourse. This approach is evident when

Sejersted (2000) analyses the "travelogues" written by the emerging young writers of the sixties and seventies about their visits to Rossvoll and "Poetland". He shows how this was a journey into a literary idyll. Naturally, it was peopled by mythological beings, biblical figures, and shepherds, as befits an oracle. When framed by the literary discourse, Ulvik therefore becomes a very special place:

> Here Ulvik is recreated as the *locus amoenus* of pastoral poetry, to which the shepherds can withdraw in true contemplation and conversation. Here they can also find an oracle. When the young radical authors in the 1960s and 1970s came to see OHH, they entered this mixture of fiction and experience. And they wrote about it; in one article after the other they combined mythology, biography, and poetry into general syntheses (Sejersted 2000:110).

As we see, the meaning of place in an interpretative framework like this is governed by overall literary syntheses, leitmotifs, ideas and general ideologies. Sejersted is not alone in such interpretations. To a large extent, place and localization have been interpreted in recent decades against the background of ideas and ideology rather than on the basis of experience, if place has been an object of study at all and considered as a cultural and literary phenomenon (Reksten Kapstad 2002).[4] In other words, it has been more common to study place in terms of what it represents rather than what it has been used for. It has been studied as text rather than action: "It seems as if belonging to place has been taken as a matter of ideology [by ethnologists] rather than of practice, as if being judged by what it stands for instead of what it is used for" (Frykman 2003:171).

Deconstruction and the debunking of myths have become important signals of scholarly health among today's intellectuals (Reksten Kapstad 1999). Displaying myths, fictions, ideologies and currents in the history of ideas has therefore been regarded in the last few decades as a scholarly guarantee that what is studied is man-made cultural constructions. In the paradigmatic renunciation of positivism to embrace constructionism, this has perhaps been necessary. Yet parts of constructionism have been criticized for appearing like a genre of myth exposure in academia (Richardson 1994).

But, as we have seen, there are trends in constructionism which may be worth pursuing, and which neither let place lie fallow nor turn it into literary narrative or reveal it to be a myth, but rather seize on place as an object of study for its materiality and as a sensory object. These lines of approach are in the direction of an action-theory interpretative framework and phenomenology. In the act of interpretation, action and experience are therefore given primacy above ideological and narrative cargo (Reksten Kapstad 2001; Frykman & Gilje 2003).[5] By going beyond the text, and in this case literary writing, as the only acceptable source, action theory thus allows other cultural entities to become legitimate interpretative frameworks. These have traditionally been regarded as factors lying "outside" literature, poetry, and the individual artwork, such as body, personality, materiality, and place. They appear to be stuck to the literature, but are themselves neither poetry nor literature. They are instead what seems to be left over when autonomous interpretations have said goodbye and the literary scholars have taken what belongs to them. But as we have seen, they seep out, vibrant with meaning. Indeed, just like place. Like the Rossvoll farm and Hauge's desk. This is materiality, one of the most important raw materials for the production of today's cultural identity.

Existential Updating

In the book *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization* (2001) Roxann Prazniak and Arif Dirlik talk about "place-based identity" (Prazniak & Dirlik 2001:3). This means a type of cultural identity that is not based on what an individual actor's baggage contains in terms of gender, class, race, and ethnicity or other forms of "classical" identity markers, but instead based on the ability of a person to acquire a place – directly, immediately, and through the senses. The question "where am I?" can easily bring up the question "who am I?" and especially the questions: "why am I here?" and "what am I doing here?!" When people today demand place, it is primarily because they demand identity; they crave transcendence (Frykman 2002).

In cultural sciences and identity studies it is claimed that there has been an analytical turn in the study of cultural identity, in the direction of place. According to Jonas Frykman, this turn is above all empirically motivated. Cultural identity today is therefore no longer shaped as an answer to the problems that modernity has to tackle. Unlike modern identity projects, which used class, age, gender, ethnicity, and race as building blocks, place contains the flexibility that people want today. The twentieth-century attention to "politics of identities" is giving way to the twenty-first-century "politics of place" (Frykman 2001). The important thing is no longer what you have in your baggage when you come; what means something is your ability to be open to what is already there, to the place, and not least to all your ability to assimilate what the place has to offer of immediate feelings, experiences, and emotionality.

Today's new orientations in identity studies are therefore about the ability that people have to extract the meaning and "soul" from a place, and the individual's competence when it comes to using a place for what it is worth. When we go to a festival, we therefore do not need to have a particular mission, know everything there is to know about the artist, or have prior knowledge of the history of the band, or – and in the case of the Ulvik Poetry Festival – have read all of Hauge's poems. When a festival is held, it gives access to cultural expressions and makes them accessible to all those who take part and are interested, if it is only to be in the company of like-minded people, to enjoy food, drink, travel and to have a good time; the rest is just padding (Bjørkås 2004). The festival as a phenomenon seems to abolish and level out differences rather than making distinctions. It is not so important whether you are a man or a woman, yellow or white, young or old, a carpenter or an academic.

By establishing the Ulvik Poetry Festival it was thus possible for other people than urban poets whose heyday was in the 1960s to take part in the cult of Olav H. Hauge. By festivalizing Hauge it suddenly became possible for others than "city intellectuals" to make the trip to Ulvik to stroll among the apple trees "in Olav H. Hauge's garden" (*Bergens Tidende*, 15 June 2003). In other words, those who neither had any knowledge of literature nor could boast a detailed familiarity with contemporary literary debate were able to become a part of Hauge's intimate sphere of books, barns, and apple trees. The festival gave access. It allowed unassuming participation, and what we may call "unpretentious identity production", without needing to belong to a particular class or professional group, and without gender, age, or ethnic identity serving as the sole entry ticket.

Within the framework of the festival as a phenomenon, then, it seems as if there is a built-in democratizing element. By opening for what can be described as unpretentious identity production, the festival becomes a *democratizing forum*, which makes festivals capable of highlighting one of the celebrated values in our times, cultural diversity (Friedman 1999; Reksten Kapstad 2001; Bjørkås 2004).

The festival allows a diversity of participants. Today's festival boom is therefore an "existential updating" as well as an upgrading as regards manoeuvring in relation to a contemporary set of values. By taking part in a festival we are converted from modern to late- and postmodern persons with a desire to produce immediate emotions and experiences (Featherstone 1991). The festivals scattered round the map of Norway and the rest of Europe can therefore be understood as central transformer stations for all those who want to undergo conversion to belong to the late- and postmodern elite. It is perhaps not so strange that there is increasing talk of festivals and that more and more people feel a virtual obligation to attend a festival.

New Poetic Places

We need no longer be surprised that the person Olav H. Hauge, both his personality and his body, has become central in much of the reading and reception of his poetry. Nor should we be amazed that such emphasis has been placed on descriptions of the trip to visit the poet's home in Ulvik – or for that matter that Olav H. Hauge has become a festival. The Ulvik Poetry Festival made it possible to experience a special atmosphere, an immediate and particularly intense experience for visitors. At Rossvoll – in the home, the house, and the orchard of Hauge – they were therefore able to savour what we can call "literary culture" and "poetic culture", but also a distinctive form of "literary mysticism". The field of literature thus seems to be well suited for a Featherstonian "aesthetic hallucination of experience". But for this to happen, the literature must take place, the books must become places and the poems things. And this happens. The growth of new poetic places has become a striking feature of our times. The West Norwegian poet Olav H. Hauge is not the only author who has become a festival today. The festivalization of literature has become a noticeable characteristic of society. Yet this anchorage of literature in festivals, places, and materiality may seem difficult to understand against the background of literary scholarship, where the disciplines appear to move in a theoretical sphere where literature is interpreted as text. But if we understand literature as action, as something that people do and experience, then it immediately becomes possible also to study literature as festival.

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Notes

1 This page is called "Bergen pulse", listing the various events and activities in and around Bergen within a particular time frame.
2 *Under Dusken: Studentavisa i Trondheim*, (http://www.underdusken.no), accessed 20 July 2005.
3 I took down the verse during Riise's recitation of it at the Ulvik Poetry Festival in 2002, so there may be slight differences from the authorized edition. Riise has subsequently toured with the same programme, but with new jazz accompaniment. These concerts have been reviewed under the heading "Olav Haugen blues" (http://www.bt.no/bergenspuls/konsert/article352019), accessed 20 July 2005.
4 The pendulum has swung. In the course of the last few years the study of place has shown an

increasing interest in place as *experience*. A number of research projects at the intersection of the humanities and social sciences are working on an experience-based understanding of place. One example can be found in Hilde Danielsen (2006).

5 We can also talk about the action-theory perspective as *post-constructionism*. See Järvinen 1996; Kayser Nielsen 1997; Reksten Kapstad 2001; Frykman & Gilje 2003.

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Marianne Gullestad 1946–2008

Cultural studies suffered a heavy loss, when Marianne Gullestad passed away on the 10th of March 2008. As one of our foremost Europeanists she has left behind a scholarship that few others can match, in spite of her untimely death.

Marianne was not only one of our most prominent researchers, through her finely tuned qualitative analyses and lucid interpretations of ourselves and our contemporary society, but she also represented a public voice. She presented her research results in a way that engaged a broad public, and she participated in countless radio and TV programs on various social issues.

This does not mean that her views have always been applauded by the public and by her colleagues. Quite often the opposite has been the case. Within social anthropology she was a pioneer as a field-worker in her own culture. To study "one's own tribe" was not common among Norwegian social anthropologists in the 1970s and 80s, and Marianne was one of the few from that camp who tried to strike bridges to European ethnology. Decades of systematic observations in her own country enabled her to show how our own practices, mentalities and values, which we conceive of as 'natural', are culturally based. These insights, which she followed up with strong commitment and often critical assessments, were not always acclaimed by the public. Her *Kitchen Table Society* (1984), by now a classic, provoked many feminists of the day, as Marianne was not treating the repression of women and gendered power relations as such, but rather the difficulty of combining gender equality and love in everyday life. In 2002 she triggered an intense public debate on immigration, discrimination and racial thinking, through her book *Det norske sett med nye øyne* (Norwegianness seen in a different light). By turning the focus away from the immigrants – the 'Others', to 'Us' – the majority population and especially the intellectual elites and their stereotypes, she provoked another storm.

Her last book, *Picturing Pity* (2007), is a fine analysis of missionaries' photography. It represents an important contribution to the study of orientalism, postcolonialism and recent Norwegian history. The subtitle of the Norwegian version is (in translation) A contribution to Norwegian self-perception. This formulation might have been a motto for her position as author at large. She authored some 15 books and innumerable articles in international journals as well as in the daily press.

Marianne's hallmark was intellectual independence. But she was independent in more than one sense. I once offered to promote her candidacy for a professorship at our faculty, a possibility that most researchers would have jumped at. Marianne politely but gracefully declined the offer; prestigious university titles were not what she was striving for. She wanted freedom from institutional constraints. And an independent researcher she was, far more than most of us.

Bjarne Rogan, Oslo

Pekka Hakamies, Professor in Turku

Pekka Hakamies (b. 1953) defended his doctoral dissertation on the influence of Russian proverbs on the Karelian and Finnish proverb heritage in 1987. He was appointed Docent in Joensuu in 1994 and Helsinki in 2000, has been Acting Professor of Folkloristics in both Joensuu and Helsinki and spent many years as a researcher at the Karelian Institute in Joensuu. On being appointed Professor of Folkloristics at the University of Turku in 2006 he also became the Director of the Kalevala Institute operating under the aegis of that university.

While a student of Matti Kuusi at the University of Helsinki, Pekka Hakamies was influenced by literary folkloristics, and he began his career with research into proverbs and Kalevalaic poetry. Like many other Helsinki students, he became aware of the multiple manifestations of folklore as an occasional worker at the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. He also studied Russian at the University of Leningrad in 1976 and 1979 alongside his studies at the University of Helsinki and passed the exam qualifying him to work as an authorised translator from Russian into Finnish in 1983. Pekka Hakamies is in fact rare among Finnish researchers in his command of Russian and his ability to conduct fieldwork in Russia.

As a scholar, Pekka Hakamies is on the one hand a researcher at home amid archive materials yet on the other an experienced interviewer in the field. His thorough familiarity with archive materials is evident from his articles and his numerous studies of ancient poetry and its usage. This expertise will stand him in good stead as Director of the Kalevala Institute. Of scientific significance is his article "The Cognitive Viewpoint in Proverb Studies" (L. Tarkka, ed., Dynamics of Tradition, *SF Folkloristica* 2003). Hakamies regards himself as an empiricist who enjoys working with concrete materials and discovering something of interest in them. His field research materials have indeed faced him with entirely new questions, for during his numerous visits to the Karelian Republic he has, for example, come up against such issues as the modernisation process in the Karelian village – a topic he has covered in his articles. In 2001–2003 he worked with a research team from St. Petersburg in the part of Karelia that once belonged to Finland. By means of interviews they sought to find out what, after the Second World War, Soviet citizens felt about moving into houses vacated by Finns and what images they formed of the Finns and Finland. The leading publication on this subject is "Moving in the USSR: Western anomalies and Northern wilderness" (*SF Historica*) edited by Pekka Hakamies. The subject of folklore and identity has been addressed by Hakamies in, for example, "The Role of Folklore in Maintaining Identity among a Karelian Group in Eastern Finland" (*ARV* 1997) and "Soviet Settlers in a Strange Territory: Experiences and Narratives from the Former Finnish Karelia" (M. Hurd, ed., *Borderline Identities* 2006).

Pekka Hakamies is familiar to the international community both from his articles (published not only in Finland but also in Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, the United States and Sweden) and for the part he has played at the Folklore Fellows' Summer School. He is a member of the editorial board of the "Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies" and of the board of the Russian and East European Research Society.

The importance of cooperation between subjects and departments is one of the items stressed by Pekka Hakamies in his new post as Professor. He also wishes to continue the traditional partnership with Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University. Since the students have difficulty crossing the language border, the teachers hold joint lectures and postgraduate seminars for students at both Turku University and Åbo Akademi. One of the challenges of contemporary folkloristics is, in Hakamies's opinion, deciding how the subject can preserve its relevance in society and at the same time its own identity.

Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Turku

Magnus Berg, Professor in Linköping

Magnus Berg took his Ph.D. in European Ethnology from the University of Gothenburg in 1995. He has taught at several universities, besides Gothenburg, University West at Vänersborg and Umeå University where he had a post as research fellow between 1996 and 1999. Since 2003 he has been teaching at the University of Linköping, Campus Norrköping, at the Department of Social and Welfare Studies, where he was made professor in 2007.

His thesis on "Selda's second wedding" (*Seldas andra bröllop: Berättelser om hur det är: turkiska andragenerationsinvandrare, identitet, etnicitet, modernitet, etnologi*) was a study of young second-generation Turkish immigrants in Sweden and their identity work. Here Berg's interest in youth culture was merged with questions of ethnicity. This interest in ethnicity was to be developed in a number of different ways. One was a project on images of the Orient in popular culture, looking at representations of the East in mass media, above all film and fiction. It resulted in a number of articles and also a book on "Popular Orientalism", published in 1998. The theme was carried further in a new project on the ways in which the Orient was appropriated and made visible in Scandinavian everyday culture. In a collection of papers on confrontations with the Orient in Sweden and Norway (*Där hemma, här borta: Möten med Orienten i Sverige och Norge*) Berg contributed a study of Swedish belly dancers.

Berg's interest in postcolonial issues took him to Namibia, where he collected material for his 2003 book on racism, multiculturalism and nationalism. (*Förlåta men inte glömma: Röster om rasism, nationalism och det mångkulturella samhället i Namibia. Och i Sverige.*)

Berg's next book from 2006 was a discussion of the neoliberal turn in Swedish politics and society in recent decades. Written together with Fredrik Sunnemark, it used life history material to analyse the ways in which political shifts are experienced in everyday life (*Politikens riktning och livets gång: Erfarenheter och förståelser av systemskiftet i svensk politik*).

Berg's research career thus spans many fields. Starting with an interest in youth culture and urban lifestyles, it moved on to issues of ethnicity and postcolonialism. The interest in a life history approach unites many of these fields and also has influenced his style of writing. There is a vivid presence of individual voices and experiences in his texts, which also are characterized by a very personal and engaging style of writing. Berg is a refreshingly independent voice in Swedish ethnology, and both an engaged and innovative discussant of methods and theories as well as the politics of research.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

Lynn Åkesson, Professor in Lund

Lynn Åkesson has spent most of her career in the Department of Ethnology in Lund. She is one of the skilled scholars who have found new perspectives for ethnology and extended contacts far beyond the ordinary spheres. When she was appointed professor in 2007, it was in recognition of her important contributions to the renewal of ethnology and the dissemination of its findings.

Lynn Åkesson was born in 1951 and took her doctorate in 1991 with a dissertation entitled *De ovanligas betydelse.* It was about originals and outsiders in rural society. Her interest in deviation, the unwanted and superfluous, has followed her in a series of projects and publications, although the classical rural setting has given way to modern society. Together with Susanne Lundin, she tackled issues of body and identity and the troublesome dividing line between life and death; the book *Mellan levande och döda* from 1997 was a result of that. The ritual handling of death remained a theme of her research. Many publications, both learned and popular, have issued from her well-used laptop.

In several major projects she has collaborated with medics, biologists, and natural scientists on biotechnology, gene technology, and transplants. Here she has shown the importance of applying the perspective of everyday culture to the dramatic changes entailed by the new biotechnologies. An international vision is a natural part of this, resulting in a rich collection of projects and publications along with colleagues in other countries.

In recent years the cultural significance of material overabundance, of rubbish, has come as a natural continuation of Lynn Åkesson's focus on what we separate and discard. In several projects and publications she has tackled the broader question of how one can simultaneously handle affluence and sustainability. Once again her research has led to interdisciplinary cooperation.

Her scholarly publications reveal a social commitment, a desire to highlight what is swept under the carpet, tabooed, and irritating. Her knowledge is consequently in demand in the media, not least because she writes with such assured style. Her commitment has also extended to administrative tasks, in the department, the faculty, and the university management; here, as in her research, she has always been able to enjoy the confidence of others.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

Helene Brembeck, Professor in Gothenburg

Helene Brembeck, born in 1952, was promoted in November 2007 to professor of ethnology at the University of Gothenburg, which has been her academic base all along. After a BA in psychology and a preschool teacher qualification she took a Ph.D. in ethnology in 1992 and was appointed docent in 1999. In 1994 she became university lecturer in the Department of Ethnology. Since 2002 she has been research leader at the national Centre for Consumer Science, CFK, School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg.

The subject of Brembeck's doctoral thesis *Efter Spock: Uppfostringsmönster idag* (1992, After Spock. Childrearing Patterns Today) reflects her background as a preschool teacher and her ethnological focus on childhood and family studies. She approaches this theme from another angle in her book *Inte bara mamma. En etnologisk studie av unga kvinnors syn på moderskap, barn och familj* (1998, Not Only Mother: An Ethnological Study of Motherhood, Children and Family). It is no exaggeration to say that Brembeck has long been one of the leading childhood researchers in Nordic ethnology. She is co-ordinator of NordBarn, a research network for the studies of Nordic conceptions of childhood.

As research leader at CFK Helene Brembeck has continued her engagement in childhood studies, focusing on a variety of new aspects in the light of different topical theories. At the same time she has also extended her field of research to include food and health studies, both generally and with regard to different age groups. She has continued collaborating with Nordic researchers and has also moved into wider international circles, both through conferences and international publishing. In spite of different administrative tasks and other commitments, she has always managed to be strongly focused on her research. She has been very successful in getting grants for several research projects, where she has involved both colleagues and doctoral students. Her list of publications is extensive and a few examples of her most recent work will have to suffice here. Her latest published monograph is *Hem till McDonald's* (2007, Home to McDonald's). She is one of the editors of *Little Monsters: (De)Coupling Assemblages of Consumption* (2007), *Beyond the Competent Child: Exploring Childhoods in the Nordic Welfare Societies* (2004) and *Elusive Consumption* (2004).

Through her research and its results, not least at the Centre for Consumer Science, Helene Brembeck has contributed towards creating new interdisciplinary arenas of great importance for ethnology and ethnologists and also for society as a whole.

Birgitta Skarin Frykman, Gothenburg

New Dissertations

Diagnosing and Disciplining

Jutta Ahlbeck-Rehn, Diagnosticering och disciplinering. Medicinsk diskurs och kvinnligt vansinne på Själö hospital 1889–1944. Åbo University Press, Åbo 2006. 391 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-765-302-6.

■ A locked women's room – that is how the sociologist Jutta Ahlbeck-Rehn begins by describing the institution, Själö Asylum, that is the subject of her dissertation, the title of which means "Diagnosing and Disciplining: Medical Discourse and Female Insanity at Själö Asylum 1889–1944".

The institution was founded in 1619 as a lepers' colony, located on the island of Själö in Nagu archipelago, between the Finnish mainland and Åland. In 1755 it was converted into Finland's first state mental hospital. In 1840 it was turned into an institution for individuals whose state "does not allow any hope of improvement" (p. 19). In 1889 it became an asylum for women only. The men were transferred to the newly built Kexholm hospital on the mainland. The year 1889 is also the starting point of Ahlbeck-Rehn's study, which ends in 1944, when the last woman was discharged from the institution.

This asylum was for both "mentally defective" and "mentally ill" patients. What they had in common was that psychiatry saw no hope of any cure. The asylum had little or no therapeutic ambitions. The Lappviken asylum outside Helsinki opened in 1841, as the optimistic and therapeutic hospital of Finnish psychiatry.

Many already had experience of institutions when they arrived at Själö, particularly from Lappviken. The majority of the women sent to Själö were young and unmarried. Most of them came from the countryside and over a third belonged to the landless class. Ahlbeck-Rehn says that Själö ended up functioning as a place of storage for poor, single women. Their illness was registered as being due to anything from physical to moral causes.

Of the 192 inmates at Själö, 25 were "criminal patients". The author relates a couple of poignant stories about vagrancy and infanticide, as well as grief, misfortune, and devastated lives. These stories are close to the asylum's own sources. It is here I think that the study works best, partly because it stays close to the sources and their individual character, partly because the author writes with an empathy that breaks through the psychiatric perspective and gives the reader a sense of being near the women's fates. This is beyond the purpose of the dissertation, but it is nevertheless there.

Ahlbeck-Rehn points out the link between discipline, body, and diagnosis and how the female body's specific organs and functions became the objects of psychiatric descriptions and examinations. Above all, menstruation was a function that attracted the doctors' interest. What could it reveal about the woman under investigation? Ahlbeck-Rehn says that the bleeding is never mentioned in the medical texts without a link to the woman's mind. When psychiatry thought that it could see a connection between the patient's bleeding body and her unpredictable mood, it portrayed the body as dangerous. The sexualization of abnormality, according to the author, was a central part of the justification for isolating the inmates. If weak nerves and melancholy were the preserve of the bourgeois woman, the working-class woman represented unbridled and dangerous sexuality. Unmarried deviant women were immoral. Sexuality was not infrequently problematized in terms of a woman's mobility: women who were released from the family and the local community, who showed themselves in public without any palpable bonds to family, husband, or children. Married women, on the other hand, were often described as violent and aggressive, which was obviously a deviation from the maternal role and called for care. Ahlbeck-Rehn emphasizes the working woman as an ideal against which to understand the deviant woman. From a class perspective an acting-out middle-class woman was viewed as a problem in the same way as the passive working-class woman. An unmarried, idle, good-for-nothing, vagrant woman was eroticized and thus made dangerous.

But does all this mean that, as Ahlbeck-Rehn writes, "being branded as sick was an easier alternative for women" (p. 331)? No, hardly. Or if one wants to be cautious: It remains to be seen.

Psychiatry was and is not a masculine project directed against women. To the extent than one can talk about a direction, it is rather about social deviants, both men and women. There were of course locked men's rooms too. In most Swedish mental hospitals they looked exactly like the women's rooms. The difference was that they were in the half of the institution intended for men. Yet another difference was that male mental illness was partly perceived as being different from female illness. It is this comparison that I find interesting and that I think the author misses, as does, for example, the American literary scholar Elaine Showalter. Ahlbeck-Rehn makes comparisons between women from a class perspective. This is well-found and generates good knowledge. But since the main category for the study seems to be women, I can't really understand why the comparison with male madness is not found relevant in the study. Of course, the study concerns a women's institution, but Ahlbeck-Rehn's express interest ranges further than the actual asylum, to definitions and constructions of female madness. The question is how far one can get in such a study without comparing comparable male phenomena.

If the 19th century created the mad woman (p. 56) then it is not going too far to say that the same century created a male counterpart. When Elaine Showalter says that madness was symbolically a female disease, even when it affected a man, this is in my eyes a construction that closes rather than opens the potential for historical analysis. The history of psychiatry certainly has descriptions of states associated with women, but there are also states associated with men. In this sense psychiatry can be understood as something that confirms and develops contemporary perspectives on gender. It is not a one-gender activity. There are at least two genders involved.

Ahlbeck-Rehn works in the research tradition of discourse analysis. Discourses generate knowledge about their object, in this case mental illness and deviant individuals. Power and knowledge are combined in discourse. From a feminist perspective, the author says that gender is a mobile and unstable category. She also writes that gender, in her study, is an "analytical and historical category with the aid of which I study the meanings of madness" (p. 25). But this is not the case. Ahlbeck-Rehn studies *female* gender and *female* madness. That is not the same thing as studying madness and gender in general.

It might seem as if I am highly critical of this dissertation, but I am not. The above critique is justified because I believe that it is aimed at a scientific problem that raises an important point of principle and therefore deserves to be discussed. Jutta Ahlbeck-Rehn has written a very good dissertation. Her study, is close to the sources and succeeds very well in combining them with the discourse analysis and the feminist approach. She uses both these angles very successfully, not least of all to show how wide open the asylum was to society's perceptions of what women and deviation are, what happens when the concepts of woman and deviation coincide in one and the same individual, and what measures society has waiting for these people.

Lars-Eric Jönsson, Lund

Children's Clothes in the People's Home

Viveka Berggren Torell, Folkhemmets barnkläder. Diskurser om det klädda barnet under 1920–1950-talen. Arkipelag förlag, Gothenburg 2007. 240 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-72-1.

■ With the Ph.D. dissertation *Folkhemmets barnkläder* the ethnologist Viveka Berggren Torell has brought together her many years of research on Swedish children's clothes in the 20th century. The result is a dissertation that concentrates on how meanings of children's clothes were constructed in the period 1920–1950, during the build-up of the Swedish welfare state, the People's Home (*folkhemmet*).

Through six chapters the reader is brought into the universe of children's clothes (although chapter 1 is devoted solely to an account of theory and method), which is regarded as a meeting place and a battleground for the state, the market, and more general movements of the time, in relation to the question of what children's clothes should look like and how they should be chosen. The interest in children's clothes during the early People's Home shows how the Swedish state in the years around the Second World War wished to instil its political and ideological visions in its citizens in all spheres of everyday life. And children's clothes were a central tool for the state to teach its citizens from an early age how to dress for equality, freedom, and modern everyday life in the classless society that was the goal. Domestic science research and the clothing industry were two instruments in this endeavour. First the researchers surveyed the use and care of children's clothes through time-and-motion studies, questionnaires, and the like. Their work then served as a basis for educational material intended to correct the existing way of life in the direction of the state's desired goal. The simultaneous growth of the clothing industry, and thus the mass production of children's clothes at reasonable prices, was a boon in the eyes of the state. With industrially produced clothes, more people were able to afford the same clothes, in theory, and differences between people became less a question of different visual appearance. The practice of state and industry alike seemed to be coordinated to a large extent.

It is thought-provoking that this was the case, particularly in the light of today's discussions about how people dress in public. In Denmark the clothes that young people wear to school are being discussed in relation to decency – for instance, whether it should be permitted for girls to show bare stomachs, or for boys to wear their trousers low, so that only their underpants hide what is supposed to be covered. At the same time, there is also debate about whether religiously dictated clothing should be accepted in the public space, in school, and at the workplace. In both cases the state has reservations about imposing any form of dress directive. Considerations of diversity seem to obstruct this. During the construction of the People's Home in Sweden there was no talk of any such considerations. The overall political goal was to achieve equality.

The analytical perspective in the dissertation comes from the critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough. By discourse Berggren Torell means a "statement complex" (*påståendekomplex*) or as Fairclough has put it: "particular ways of representing part of the world", which includes both ways of talking about and practising perceptions of the world. That Fairclough in addition has a dialectic view of the interaction between discourse and materiality is construed by Berggren Torell to refer to the way people do things in concrete practice. A central analytical concept in the dissertation is thus *materialization*. Discourses are materialized and thus a "statement complex" is transferred to the physical world. At the same time, material occurrences can also exist in non-discursive form and can then be brought into the discourse and thus help to establish it. Discourse and materiality are thus understood as jointly constituting reality.

With this exposition of Fairclough's critical discourse theory, Berggren Torell has chosen an analytical position close to a popular research discourse in Nordic ethnology which can be summed up under the heading *new material culture studies*. A great deal of the theoretical inspiration here comes from theories of material culture connected to anthropological studies of consumption, including the English anthropologist Daniel Miller's dialectic theory of material culture which revolves around the concept of objectification. Inspiration can also come from the more radical research position originating in scientific laboratory studies and known under the name a*ctor-network theory*, where discourse and materiality are recognized as always being interwoven in what can be called *socio-materiality*.

The actual analysis in the dissertation begins with the story of little Sten and his mother (chapter 2). Sten is being dressed to go out for a walk. Berggren Torell tells how Sten's mother has put out the clothes so that the dressing scene can be quick and efficient. The reader learns how Sten first has his knitted cardigan put on, the indoor shoes are taken off and outdoor shoes put on, and last of all Sten is given his cap. The narrative also includes small details of how Sten's socks are damp when he takes off his indoor shoes, that Sten begins to cry and protest as he is being dressed. This gives a sense of recognition and presence, at least for any readers who knows what it is like to have children aged 1–2.

The story serves as a prologue to the subsequent narrative about how the Swedish welfare state viewed children in the post-war years, as something that demanded resources. The reader is left in no doubt. It took 20 minutes to dress Sten. It makes sense that the young Swedish welfare state took an interest in regulating, guiding, and teaching (especially) women in this field. Here the state could get deep into everyday routines and teach people a modern way of life, particularly, as the author points out, the ideal housewife. An organization called *Aktiv Hushållning* (Active Housekeeping) is held up as a crucial state instrument in the sphere of children's clothes, with the dual aim of spreading the state's visions and amassing knowledge about conditions in Swedish homes. Berggren Torell's point is that the idea that children demand resources was a construction of the state, practised through various Taylor-inspired time-and-motion studies of how women handled their children and the accompanying work of washing, ironing, and repairing clothes. In addition, the state assumed the role of communicating knowledge of how to dress well across social and economic dividing lines. Tradition, the way older generation passed on norms and values to the young, was something the state now tried to take over. Through knowledge and rational thinking as a whole, the author shows how the Swedish state aspired to liberate its citizens from tradition as part of the ambition to achieve a modern, equal society. The state even regarded it as its task to inform citizens, about how to act as consumers buying children's clothes, what demands they should make of the clothing industry, so that that part of societal life could also be corrected.

The next chapter continues by examining the post-war view of children's clothes as something demanding resources, as this was expressed beyond the immediate reach of the state, on what Berggren Torell calls the market (the clothing industry and the retail trade). This chapter likewise starts with a story about a buying situation at the Swedish clothing company Algots in Borås. Once again the reader is enticed into the universe of children's clothes, sensing the materiality of clothes in the different situations that are described. This is followed by an analysis of the clothing industry and the reaction of the retail trade to the discourse about the resource-demanding child and how this resulted in advertisements which emphasized that the children's clothes were robust, saving time on repairs, and therefore a sensible buy. The introduction of the zipper to children's clothes was another factor stressed by the industry, as a way to reduce the time it took to dress children. The state and the clothing industry, however, did not always have the same attitudes and values. For example, the Swedish state thought that the clothing industry was too slow in converting its production to make practical and rational children's clothes in the early 1940s. Another example was that the retail trade found some of Aktiv Hushållning's suggestions for good children's clothes far too boring and childish in relation to the fashion of the times, a factor that had an increasing influence on the look of children's clothes in the 1950s.

Chapter 4 also starts with a story. This time it is about how beneficial and healthy it is for children to be active and to have clothes that allow this. This is a discourse that has been heard in Sweden since the 1930s. At that time it had been materialized in special clothes for indoor play. At the end of the 1940s and the start of the 1950s it resulted in the introduction of overalls for children to wear while playing outdoors. Berggren Torell argues that this attitude to children's clothes, when proclaimed by the state, can be seen as an expression of an aspiration to make children into healthy future citizens. The inspiration for children's leisure clothes came to Sweden from the USA. This, however, did not change the fact that the leisure clothes were considered to be Swedish. The industry often advertised that the clothes were Swedish-made and hence of Swedish quality. The clothing industry was anxious to *nationalize* its products. The author claims that this was a way for the industry to make itself visible on its home market and to the consumers, who were now able to choose foreign clothes as a result of the increasing imports.

Having examined the state's and the market's different discourses about children's clothes, chapter 5 goes on to look at fashion. The introductory story here is about Algots' advertising of jeans for children – cowboy fashion. Children in Sweden in the 1950s were constructed by the clothing industry as a special consumer group. The industry began to formulate its advertising so that it directly addressed the children and thus gave them an influence on the clothes bought for them. Berggren Torell shows that the discourse about the consuming child, with codetermination and an interest in fashion, conflicted with the Swedish welfare state's policy on children and children's clothes. In other words, the fashionable child was a problem for the state. Children's clothes, according to the state's experts on children's clothes, had to be modern but not subject to fashion. Fashion and modernity were thus two opposing concepts for these experts. Modern meant timeless. Modern children's clothes were thus clothes with a form and function devised to be universally good. Fashion, on the other hand, meant that looks changed quickly and according to the consumer's immediate wishes, whether the result was appropriate clothing or not.

Finally, chapter 6 discusses the different ideological implications arising from the issue of children's clothes in the age of the People's Home, implications that are emphasized all through the dissertation. One point is that the state's experts were mainly representatives of the middle class. Middle-class women were involved, for example, in the Children's Clothes Committee that was part of the Aktiv Hushållning organization, and in most cases they were married to salaried employees. The ideology of equality in the People's Home was quite clearly a middle-class ideology, but as the author points out, it is difficult to conduct an analysis of the significance of class differences because the issue of class is absent from the source material that she has used. She also emphasizes the subject positions produced by the discourses about children's clothes as regards mother and child. The child was viewed by the state as an innocent creature whose best interests had to be ensured. The clothing industry, on the other hand, was more interested in the idea of independent children who ought to be able to decide what clothes they wanted to wear. The state tended to portray the mother as a responsible, rational woman acting on behalf of the innocent child. In this connection Berggren Torell has a very interesting observation that the focus on the active child, and on less time-consuming children's clothes provided by the clothing industry, nevertheless did not lead immediately to increased women's liberation. New educational views of upbringing, introduced by psychoanalysts and behaviourists, urged mothers to use their "extra" time to get involved in the development of the child, to be close to the child and stimulate play by constantly starting new activities.

As in her previous research, Berggren Torell convincingly demonstrates in this dissertation that she is able to handle a large and varied body of source material and also to experiment with methods. She draws on such diverse sources as research reports, politically motivated educational material, political writings, commercial advertising, museum objects, and reminiscing interviews. Berggren Torell's experiments this time take place within the actual dissertation genre. Earlier, in the research report *För stass och stoj: Barnkläder på 1900-talet utifrån mormors minnen och museers material* (2003), the experiment consisted in using children as co-researchers in the study of historical evidence about children's clothes. In the dissertation it is the form of presentation that is challenged in her way of combining facts and analyses with fiction. All the stories that open the four chapters of empirical analysis are thus Berggren Torell's own – highly qualified – inventions. They could be called *faction* stories, based on factual source material but reshaped as part of a fictitious, imagined universe. Just like the style of *evocative writing*, the device functions as an introductory text in which the problem considered in the chapter is rewritten as a simple, vivid situation that is easy for the reader to follow. And it works well.

This makes me regret the fact that Berggren Torell – who dares to experiment, who is driven by a passion for children's clothes, and has a great knowledge and feel for the materiality of children's clothes – has not been more daring in her choice of analytical perspective. It would have been refreshing if she had taken a step beyond Fairclough's discourse analysis. She ought to have tackled the challenge of experimenting with more recent theories of material culture, where there is a greater symmetry between the discourse and the significance of the materiality for the constitution of reality. But perhaps we may expect more research on children's clothes, or clothes in general, from Berggren Torell? If so, I look forward to studies where her inquisitiveness and zeal for experimental research will also concern the analytical perspective and thus new outlooks on a topic that is crucial for our understanding of everyday life in our society: how children and people in general dress, and the convictions on which their mode of dress is based.

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Horses and People in Harness Racing

Sara Berglund, Vägen till vinnarcirkeln. Travhästen och dess människor mellan sport och spel. Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2006. 224 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 10: 91-7844-726-7.

■ The capital of Norway has two famous royal statues: King Carl Johan sits mounted on his horse in front of the castle in Oslo, and King Olav stands on his skis at the gateway to Nordmarka with his faithful poodle. Whereas the horse was the means for the Swedes' territorial expansion, the Norwegians have had to content themselves with the symbolic conquest of nature using their own physical capacity. This gives us historical clues. Sweden with its population of about 9 million has some 300,000 horses, whereas the corresponding figures for Norway are 4.5 million people and 50,000 horses. In other words there are three times as many horses per inhabitant in Sweden as in Norway.

That the horse represents a field of great cultural significance in Sweden is evident from the ethnologist Sara Berglund's doctoral dissertation on trotting horses and the people around them. The study revolves around the horse, and the many different actors' doings. The cultural field surrounding trotters includes trainers, breeders, grooms, owners, and drivers, and their different roles and positions are analysed from a number of angles, while the topic is put in a broad historical and societal context. The title, meaning "The Way to the Winner's Circle", speaks of the shared focus, of the goal and the way there, and of a programme packed with cultural processes.

Berglund proceeds from the fact that the imprinting of the horse has both a cultural and a biological component, and that changed living conditions create new relations between humans and horses. The horse is an object of cultural processes, as a result of which the horse is continuously being *made*. Berglund specifies that she uses this word to denote two different but closely related things: Firstly, the "making" comprises a social dimension with ideas about the horse and what can be expected of it. Secondly, the "making" refers to people's more or less active participation in the physical shaping of the animal. This takes place through systematic breeding intended to reproduce certain physical qualities, and through systematic training to change the horse in the desired direction. The cultural and social field surrounding the many aspects of "making" the horse is what the dissertation primarily explores and analyses.

To be able to investigate this, Berglund argues for the use of a broad range of empirical angles, such as participant observation, interviews, and questionnaires. In addition to these three groups of sources which Berglund herself has created, she uses literature about harness racing and equestrian sports, internal publications from the business, and media such as newspapers, television, and the Internet.

The historical background to the growth of harness racing in Sweden is considered in a chapter entitled "Means to Other Goals". This describes the upheavals that have changed Sweden from a peasant society to an industrial society, with the focus on the significance of the horse in the 19th century. While the upper classes were sceptical about traditional horse keeping, and complained that the peasants let their mares be covered by the nearest stallion, the peasants were concerned with the ability of the horses to do their job. It was claimed that the peasants totally lacked a strategy for breeding, and that this was due to ignorance and lack of love for the animals. Berglund shows how this rhetoric also had a patriotic perspective: competence and systematism in horse breeding were a national concern because growth and development were dependent on a well-functioning stock of horses. This was emphasized with reference to model countries like England, France, and Austria. Negative comparison could also be effective when people could point to even poorer genetic raw material than in Sweden, such as "the laxity of the Danish horse".

The solution that was recommended was "refinement" through systematic breeding. Further breeding was to be done from already refined stock, and suitable horses of other breeds were to be imported and crossed with Swedish mares. The transfer of desirable traits to coming generations of horses required systematic selection, and the preferred solution for this was racing. This achieved two things; it tested the horses and it provided engagement and entertainment. It built on traditions from peasant society when races had been held with horse and sled. Yet unlike the traditional celebration of strength and endurance, the sport that emerged towards the end of the 19th century promoted ideals of explosive speed.

Harness racing was not encouraged to create trotters, but to build up horses that performed well in working life. It was envisaged that harness racing could become superfluous as horses became less relevant to society, Berglund writes. In "Sport at Stake", she shows why the opposite happened. In the period 1880–1930 harness racing developed parallel to the evolution of other sport, and Berglund sums up the central tendencies with reference to some important cultural processes: *Organization* concerns the emergence of a national harness racing association, and the place of this organization in the work of breeding the modern trotter. *Medialization* started with the establishment of the *Kalender för svensk travsport*, which first appeared in 1892. *Quantification* primarily concerned the measurement of time, which made it possible to compare different achievements and moreover created a fascination for the figures themselves. *Standardization* is related to the same factors but also includes the length of the tracks and the races. *Rationalization* concerns the establishment of fixed rules for races, principles for training, etc., in the search for comparable and better performances.

Professional harness racing is characterized by a great many specialized actors, such as trainers, breeders, grooms, owners, drivers, farriers, and vets. Contestants and spectators have been increasingly separated, with the opportunity to develop spectator roles and supporter cultures.

In "With the Horse in the Centre" Berglund deals with today's differentiated harness racing culture, in which the aim is to develop the horse so that it achieves the best possible results in races. The trainer has a key role in the process whereby the horse is shaped into a competition animal. The task primarily involves building up muscles and fitness, and making the horse used to the racing situation, but it includes much more than this. Owning horses gives special opportunities. Harness racing is part of the experience industry, and being a horse owner gives attractive access to life behind the scenes. Here the trainer has a central role as the owners' own guide to the experience, she writes. By giving personal service to the owner, the trainer builds up intimate relations of loyalty and reciprocity. This is analysed as a type of binding exchange of gifts and contributes to lasting relations between horse owners and trainers.

Part ownership of a horse, by contrast, is impersonal in character. Here the Internet has an important function. On the horses' websites the part-owners can keep informed about the horses without putting too much pressure on the trainers with phone calls and visits. Berglund writes that lack of personal contact means that horse and trainer exist as a kind of representation, made up of the website's photographs, race results, and trainer's reports.

Different competences and qualities are required by the people involved in the trotter's immediate circle. The most intimate relationship to the animals is that of the grooms. The study shows that some people view the work as a lifestyle and regard the contact with the horses as more important than the social life outside harness racing. Berglund points out that it is not just humans that shape the trotter through their practices and relations; the opposite process also takes place, as the animals, through their properties and performances, affect the people around them.

"Creation Stories" is about what results from pure biology and not just conditioning and training. The author shows that several different biologically dominated practices are part of the broad culture-creating activities surrounding the trotter. The starting point was a significant local genetic variation, but artificial insemination has meant that an increasingly limited breeding stock is the basis for today's trotters. In this respect trotters have also become a part of homogenization as a result of globalization, Berglund writes. The degree of inbreeding, that is, how often the same ancestor appears in the pedigree, has increased sharply since the 1970s. Stallions that win big races become especially popular, and their sperm can serve hundred of mares every year.

With the aid of modern technology, the homogenization of trotters resulting from transported sperm can be taken much further. In Berglund's questionnaire the opposition to cloning and embryo transfer is almost unanimous: it is unnatural, unethical, and makes for unfair competition in that it benefits those with the most resources.

The next chapter presents several examples of how people culturalize the world of animals. Based on the prestigious *Elitauktionen*, she establishes a concrete foundation for analysing the significance of family relations and blood ties. The mare stands for the birth of the individual trotter, and for the close and immediate relationship to the offspring. The role of the stallion is to serve as the main figure when the origin of the breed is described. Shrouded in the mythology of breeding, the choice of semen for the covering of a mare becomes something of an esoteric task.

In "Measuring the Immeasurable" Berglund analyses the challenges that the actors in harness racing face when reading an animal's potential capacity on the basis of its physiognomy and personality. This is crucial for breeders, trainers, or owners in search of future elite horses. But even if the link between a horse's external appearance and its capacity in future races is not very predictable, this does not mean that the people involved are at a loss. But the definitions and ideals are based on definitions and oppositions that exist in the head of the beholder, and not in the horses as individuals.

Berglund travels in time from the point where the dissertation begins. She ascertains that harness racing, despite the major changes it has undergone, satisfies important needs for a large number of people. Not least of all, it is a dream factory for people in different positions, from those who are involved in the everyday life of the horses, to the spectators who fill in their betting coupons at the racetrack.

The Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth writes in his book *Manifestasjon og Prosess* about the dominant mantra in cultural studies, which is that people's reality is culturally constructed. Barth is not terribly impressed by this relatively banal fact; on the contrary, he sees a permanent need to explore empirically to what extent the cultural reality displays patterns and order, and the sources from which such patterns arise. This is precisely what Sara Berglund does, and it has resulted in a fascinating study. As I read the dissertation, harness racing does not stand out as a uniform and ordered sport, but by insisting on ambiguity and ongoing processes, she does not present a closed universe. Through her study of a relatively narrow subculture she arrives at a picture of lines of development and contemporary culture that is applicable far beyond the immediate context. The practitioners of harness racing constitute a microsociety, a small part reflecting the larger whole.

In addition to her academic training, Berglund benefits from her personal competence as a "horse girl". The people who look after the horses in harness racing are mostly women, while the positions with the highest status and the largest economic rewards, such as trainers and drivers, are predominantly men. It is thus a field in which the division of responsibility follows classical gender roles, but this asymmetry is not problematized to speak of. Instead the reader is made aware of the power that comes with administering the horse's emotional life, from the position as the horse's intimate friend. It is hard not to see this as a problematic reflection of the proximity to this role, for even if a girl looking after a horse feels that she has a very significant function in relation to the animal, this does not neutralize a structural asymmetry.

The above problem seems to arise from Berglund's past as a horse girl, while the other, and perhaps most striking, blank spot in the dissertation has to do with the picture of harness racing as clean and unblemished. Is this really the case? In Norway we have had a series of scandals in harness racing, involving doping and other cheating, not to mention dubious economic projects pursued by people in the game. Is harness racing really so untarnished? Does it have an unquestioned good reputation, or is the author undercommunicating something here? As a fieldworker one is drawn into the informants' spheres, and there can be issues that are tricky to bring up. But wholly avoiding delicate matters is not the way to go.

Despite some objections connected to the author's closeness to her topic, it is this closeness and the ability to communicate it that lifts the dissertation. Berglund has delivered a highly readable work, free of excess theoretical baggage and parentheses. Theory and theoreticians are brought in where they are relevant, where they can illuminate and substantiate the author's arguments and analyses. Theoretical perspectives and points are borne up by the empirical evidence, by the way in which it is organized. Berglund's considerable insight into the topic is powered by genuine commitment, which captures the attention of the reader. The text is balanced and personal, without strong emotions, but with rich descriptions and a lively, varied language that is in harmony with the subject. The language trots along nicely, without any tendencies to break into a gallop.

Olav Christensen, Oslo

In the Name of Humanity

Agnes Ers, I mänsklighetens namn. En etnologisk studie av ett svenskt biståndsprojekt i Rumänien. Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2006. 225 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7844-723-7.

■ Having read the blurb on this book one immediately wants to start reading it. The background to the book is the situation in Romanian children's homes that was exposed after the fall of socialism in 1989. What we saw was inhuman and had to be replaced by something human. It is a humanitarian project in this spirit that is the topic of this book, namely, a Swedish-organized assistance project in Romania ten years after the change of system, but the ethnological gaze is sharpened to arrive at a far more complex picture of what is human and inhuman.

"In the Name of Humanity" is the title of this doctoral dissertation by Agnes Ers. It focuses on a home for 20 disabled children aged 3–6. Behind the centre is a Swedish relief organization Hjälpa (Help), which wants to use the project to establish a model for work with disabled children in Romania. Hjälpa has developed the centre from the very foundation, building up the physical framework, selecting the children to be given places in the centre, training 21 Romanian children's nurses, and so on. It was reading documents about Romania and about Hjälpa's assistance projects in that country that first led Ers on to the track that is the subject of this book. It was clear to her that the help was not given unconditionally; it was intended to *humanize* not only the disabled children but also the Romanians who were employed by the project and the whole Romanian society and population. It is this idea of humanization and its implicit opposite, the inhuman Romanian society, that Ers is concerned with. At the same time, the Swedish development assistance project is inscribed in a much larger context, namely, Europe. With inspiration from Stuart Hall, Ers considers the relationship to Romania as a post-colonial one, whereby Romania is constituted as "the other" in relation to both Sweden and Western Europe. It is this post-colonial othering of Romania as inhuman that, according to Ers, legitimizes the interventions by Swedish and other NGO projects in Romania since the fall of socialism. Her real interest is thus not the Swedish project in Romania, but development assistance as an example of a European activity that is typical of our times. It is an activity that Ers describes as "the transition paradigm", a paradigm in which the West and its modern liberal and humanistic perception of the individual is prescribed as the norm for what other societies – through the interventions – are supposed to be working towards. It is this paradigm that Ers has undertaken to deconstruct.

The book is divided into seven chapters and ends with a detailed summary. If you are just slightly curious about Ers's work, you can content yourself with reading this. But if you are more inquisitive to see how Ers works her way into this complex field and analyses it, you have to read the whole book. The structure is the classical one for books in this genre.

In the first chapter we are presented with the problem and the theoretical and methodological approach used to tackle it. The theoretical tradition that serves as the main foundation is inspired by Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclau, and Chantal Mouffe. It is against this background that Ers thematizes the outlook on humanity that is conveyed and the power that is exercised in development assistance, and simultaneously investigates this as something created in a social and cultural context. The point of the deconstruction is not to dismiss the current definition of what is human, but to show that what has achieved hegemony is not a universal phenomenon but a particular one, which has attained universal status through power relations. It is therefore power and its forms that interests Ers. The most central concepts for the analysis of these relations are subject, power, and hegemony. It is a post-structuralist understanding of these concepts, in which the subject is decentred and created in acknowledging and exclusive power relations, that serves as the foundation for the analysis of the hegemonic project of humanizing Romania and the Romanian people. Power is likewise conceptualized and studied as decentred; as something that is exercised through relations of power and counter-power. The study of power therefore consists of studies of relations between different positions. To grasp why the counter-power is almost absent, Ers brings in Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

The empirical material on which the analysis is based was collected by Ers over a period of one year. She spent a total of five months in Romania, where she primarily did participant observation and accompanying observation on the assistance project. She followed three school classes, went on home visits, took part in meetings where the work was discussed and planned, and she has interviewed both Romanian and Swedish participants in the project. Moreover, she went to the National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images in Stockholm to study reports about Romania from Swedish television in the years 1990 to 2001.

In the second chapter of the book, "The Discovery of the Children's Homes", Ers explores the foundation for the legitimacy of the Swedish assistance project. She analyses television broadcasts about Romanian children's homes and shows how a distance was established between the modern Europe and the backward Romania by describing what went on in the Romanian children's homes as medieval. Ers then goes on to show how not just the children's homes and their staff but the whole of Romanian society were constructed as inhuman. The broadcasts explained that the staff of the homes lacked resources and competence, and also gave the idea that the people of Romania let this inhuman treatment happen and therefore were inhuman themselves. It was this all-embracing construction of a dehumanized Romania that led to the assistance projects, which were intended to humanize the children, to train and thereby humanize the Romanian staff, and to help Romanian society on its way to humanization. Romania is constructed as a country and a people in need of help. And for Ers, Hjälpa is a typical example of the help that was instigated within this discourse, not just by Swedes but also by other NGOs and local authorities.

In chapter 3 Ers focuses on the work with the children in the home. With examples from her field notes, she shows how the work is designed in the form of activities that are perceived as belonging to normality. The children go to school, practice writing the letters of the alphabet and the days of the week, learn to wash their hands, eat their packed lunches, and so on. Ers analyses the activities as a disciplining process intended to normalize the children by putting them in situations that are defined as normal. This is a project that makes the teachers doubtful, because their successes are so few, but it does not shake the fundamental understanding that these children are also humans and therefore deserve human treatment. At the same time, this understanding points away from the child and towards the child carer, who not only treats the child as a human being but also regards herself as more human than before. But the organization of the children's schooling and the many observations and registrations that the staff constantly make of the children also had the crucial function of making the children visible as a part of society and connecting the work done by Hjälpa with the development of a more human society. This helps to construct a picture of Romania as a society whose development was obstructed by the former socialist system, but which is now on the way from a pre-modern to a modern society. But Ers also interprets the project as a staging of the modern humanistic outlook on people and the ideal of progress, thus establishing a strict stereotyping of the differences between Romania and modern Europe.

In the next chapter Ers looks more closely at the Romanian staff in Hjälpa. She shows here how the nurses' self-aware behaviour with the children as people did not just come automatically. In the choice of children's nurses the crucial thing was that they had not worked with children under the socialist system. Through their one-year training course and in their day-to-day work, they always has a concrete model –the Swedish leader, Barbro – for how to work with the children. It was in this work that Hjälpa's basic humanistic outlook and perception of the child's authentic self emerged and was communicated. For Hjälpa, then, the training was not just a matter of ensuring that the children received the proper care, but also an endeavour to teach the Romanian staff to identify with and practise the correct outlook on people. Another crucial aspect of this process is the conversations and the practice whereby Sweden and the West are constituted as being good or correct in relation to the underdeveloped Romanian society. Through analyses with particular focus on the female Romanian staff she demonstrates how what is said and what is heard is embedded in an overall hegemony process, which subordinates the Romanian staff to the Swedish/Western ideal and simultaneously liberates them from what is traditionally Romanian. The forms of identity through which work is done for Hjälpa are thus produced as a result of the forms of power that are enacted through this work.

In chapter 5 Ers examines the relations of power and counter-power that are established not just between the Romanian staff and other Romanians, but also among the staff of Hjälpa. In the conversations among the staff, the differences emerge through the silence that some Romanian employees displayed about the ideals of human rights proclaimed by Hjälpa. This silence is interpreted by Hjälpa as passivity, but Ers analyses it as a counter-power and a result of the submission that this unequal power of Swedish and Romanian staff has established. The power relations allow no scope for the ideals to be problematized or contradicted, but they can be challenged by means of silence. In this chapter Ers further shows how the ideas of humanity are linked to ideas about the citizen's rights and duties. She thus grasps yet another dimension of the assistance work, not just as subjectivizing but as something that simultaneously demands something in return.

This relation of quid pro quo is elaborated in chapter 6, where Ers uses Marcel Mauss's concept of the gift to analyse how the return gift is of crucial significance for who is given help in the first place. The families brought in here all have different problems for which they seek help, but the criteria for allocating or refusing help turn out not to follow any assessment of whether the people need help, but whether they deserve it. Those in deserving need correspond to the concepts of rights and obligations that are attached to the citizen. A citizen who does something to help his own problem is categorized as deserving assistance, whereas a citizen who waits passively for someone else to solve his problem is not in deserving need. Help is thus not unconditional but depends on whether those who ask for help seem to deserve it.

In chapter 7 the author briefly sums up the points she has made. This is followed by summaries in both Swedish and English and a bibliography assembling the many works that Ers has used along the way for inspiration and perspectives.

Ers is able to tie together the many threads that she spins throughout the dissertation, but I lack a little critical reflection on whether it is really possible to combine Foucault, Laclau, Mauss, Bourdieu, and many more in one and the same analysis. Connecting these perspectives, if anything, seems to give rise to a number of methodological challenges. In her analyses Ers operates at many different levels of society, and is able to show with a sure hand how the day-to-day teaching of the disabled children can be regarded not only as an act of help for a society in crisis, but also as a powerful and highly disciplining process. She shows us how this disciplining is possible through the production of stereotypes about the humane European/Swedish society, which precisely by virtue of its outlook on humanity and its knowledge is able to help the inhuman and backward Romania and its people to become human. It is this transformation, misrepresentation, and suppression of Romanian society in the name of the liberal European outlook on

humanity that remains as the dominant impression of the book. It is simultaneously a book which, with its many small but relevant references to other writers, shows that it is not just in the Romanian assistance projects that power can be exercised in such forms. All in all one can say that Ers, with her book, inscribes herself in a highly topical and dominant research field, in which the focus is on the disciplining processes of welfare states and NGOs. In her work with the field it is thus possible for Ers to draw on many sources of inspiration from Swedish research, but in Denmark too there is widespread interest in this critical institutional analysis, with Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen and Kaspar Villadsen as two central figures. What makes the book particularly interesting is that the disciplining here is not aimed at Sweden's own citizens but the citizens of another European country which at this time was still aspiring to admission into the EU community. This gives reason to ask critical questions about the role of NGOs in European state construction. Moreover, the book is readable because it is able to show the links between movements on the local, state and European levels.
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Iranian Diasporic Narratives of Sexuality

Fataneh Farahani, Diasporic Narratives of Sexuality: Identity Formation among Iranian-Swedish Women in Sweden. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm 2007. 326 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-85445-62-2.

■ I began this thesis just after reading a travel article in the Guardian newspaper written by Tony Wheeler (2007), head of the Lonely Planet travel guides. He was recalling his travels in Iran, in particular Tehran, and how much he enjoyed his time there. He tells one story of how when he was waiting to cross a busy road a scooter went past with a man driving and a woman in full hejab on the back. Just as he was perusing the strange visibility to a Westerner of scooting with hejab, the contradictions and links between the modern and the traditional, the woman winked at him. He was stopped in his tracks; a position he says he felt constantly during his experience in Iran. Just when he thought he knew what was going on around him, something came into view that challenged his interpretation. It is this unsettling complexity that is presented by Fataneh Farahani's thesis. It maps the incredibly intricate ways that Iranian women narrate their lives in Sweden through discourses of sexuality – really heterosexuality – telling stories of creativity, inventiveness and nuance, with levels of complexity that make it difficult to do justice to its subtlety.

Overall, this is a beautifully written, very thorough thesis with a strong literature review and a wide range of utilized theoretical sources which displays great sensitivity to and with the words of the women who are interviewed. I was not at all surprised when I found out that Fataneh Farahani is also a poet: many sentences capture the mood of Iranian regulation and Swedish normativity in ways that are rare in scholarly writing.

Providing a fine example of the technique of situated knowledge and the display of reflexivity in research, the author is aware of her own location and aware of the limits of the techniques deployed, although it led me to ask for whom was the thesis written? In defense Fataneh said for the women, to give voice to a subaltern experience. Yet is it possible to 'give voice': how, where and for whom? Does describing the discourse used to explain the experience of living just reproduce the discourse? Or does it instead give an academic space to voices rarely heard within Swedish academia? The thesis also displays a strong awareness of its own translation issues, particularly the difficulty in finding a single direct translation for the word sex or sexuality in the Persian vocabulary. The thesis is also situated within a traditional Swedish discipline – Ethnology – a discipline challenged by the issues in the thesis, of the diasporic impact of peoples who reshape what was previously thought of as national culture.

The thesis begins with *The Hidden Face of Eve* – Nawal El Saadawi (1980) – a powerful book, for which the author was imprisoned, that tells the story of the power of religious interpretation. It's a book that has stayed powerfully with me since reading it, many years ago; a book that enables an understanding of the power of religion when institutionalized and divorced from its spiritual foundations, a book about how men vie for and legitimate political power by claiming religious authority. The thesis, like Saadawi, points to the significance of story telling for both inheriting and being positioned by power struggles in the interests of others and oppression, but also learning techniques of resistance. The thesis uses literary sources well to point to the forms of alternative knowledge used in a highly publicly regulated religious-state society.

The thesis shows how Iran produces its own normativity which is radically different from the West, and not explainable by theorists of Western sexuality. So when women move nations, and it's a study of the re-location of Iranian women to Sweden, they carry with them understandings that come up against other national/local understandings – they move not just their bodies but also the knowledge they inherited from one powerful normativity and re-shape it in new conditions: a new normativity, a diasporic sexuality. But this is not an easy inhabitation, especially after years of habitation, and it is this uncomfortable but creative dislocation that the thesis explores.

The research was based on ten in-depth interviews with first generation Iranian immigrant women living in Sweden, all but one woman was aged between 38 and 51, who had lived in Sweden between eleven and eighteen years. All left after the 1979 revolution. Only one is in the same relationship that she was in when she came to Sweden. Six had divorced at least once. All but two had paid work in Sweden. All the participants defined themselves as respectable women, negotiating both Iranian and Swedish moral codes. Two were political activitists and all had contact with political activists at some point in their lives in Iran.

The interviewees and the author come from a contradictory historical context in which women were forced to unveil (1935) and re-veil less than 50 years later (1983). The first was a radical attempt to modernize and has left a complicated legacy whereby unveiling is associated with modernity. In the re-veiling it was western-toxification that impelled the re-covering; a resistance movement against western imperialism. As with many political struggles, or state crisis, women's bodies become the site of the inscription of the moral power struggle made visible. Yet Iranian women were not passive in the re-shaping of their corporeal visibility: the 1979 Khomeini ruling outlawing women judges led to a five day long demonstration beginning on International Women's Day. Others have documented women's political resistance in detail.

The veil (or bodily display/cover) became in Iran a temporal contradiction: not just the symbol of modernity, but also of contestation to racism and imperialism. Being the visible corporeal bearers of wider geo-political struggles led Fataneh's respondents to desire a secular society where religion was a private matter rather than political authority, and where they were not the marked carriers of the stakes in a patriarchal struggle for state power, into which their family and partners were recruited, with various incitements and punishments.

So we learn from the thesis how they deal with being the repositories of fantasies of power, how they cope with the intimate regulation of their bodies and how they creatively speak the dilemmas of being a regulated subject that also has value and desire. The discourses of sexuality are examined to show how the women negotiate these positionings and how their discourse changes as they move across national spaces where the conditions of possibility for speaking changes, yet where they become subject to a different regulation, the Orientalist gaze.

Fataneh Farahani notes the Swedish media obsession with the murder of Fadime Sahindal in 2002 and how this has shaped public perceptions in Sweden of the 'East' as the site of tradition, misogyny and atavism, and how this inscription is also read on the women's bodies: bodies subject to so many powerful assumptions. The thesis carefully locates this incident to show how cross-national understandings feed the 'civilising mission' of the east/west trope, where women's bodies become the site of measurement of the lack or quantity of civility and modernity, and how different bodily inscriptions and speaking positions are shaped by these historically powerful imperial tropes.

Foucault is one of the main theoretical voices shaping the thesis, yet only used for his work on sexuality, and not for his Iranian analysis (Foucault's biographers describe his fascination with Iran, documented in his fifteen articles on the country). Fataneh Farahani points to Foucault's total lack of attention to and understanding of Iranian women. As many Western feminists have already noted, gender was not his strong point. Yet one useful point taken from Foucault and developed throughout the thesis is how repression and regulation produces an obsession with an object that is always a deflection, a supplement, a fantasy of power.

The focus of the thesis is on sexuality as it is seen – via Foucault – as one of the central organizing principles of modern and Western identity formation. But also an identity formation organized *out of presence* by the Iranian government after the 1979 revolution. The inability to speak of women's independent sexuality (not just as the repository of men's desire) is presented as just as important as the Western obsession with speaking sexuality as a source of self. This movement, from surreptitious speaking to sexuality as *the* source of the self produces difficulties and discomforts for the research respondents. Yet it made me wonder why the state was so absent from the thesis yet so present as a present and absent structuring force: violence by the state, violence by men, condoned and legitimated by the state is an ever presence in the women's lives.

So we begin with an analysis of Iran, where regulation generates affects that give shape to how women's bodies can be seen, interpreted and move: shame is considered a key criteria to social acceptance, where female beauty is based on muteness and immobility and where innocence and silence express dignity. And where gender difference in desire is made publicly stark through the *hejleh* – a mourning public monument to young men who have not had sex before death, with the divine promise of numerous untouched virgins in paradise. We learn that sex is public and important for young men but must be hidden in women. As Fataneh notes: 'despite that fact that women's bodies are the object of enormous erotic investment, the indifference to women's sexual needs in paradise is not far removed from the lack of concern about women's desires in general in the earthly world'.

Yet there is a total obsession with the power of women's bodies, and as the thesis shows women know this, and some know what to do with it. I did think the thesis manifestly tells us lots about masculinity, male insecurity and the workings of gendered power. Legitimated masculine power is the structuring absence of the entire thesis.

For instance, we have the paradoxical Iranian Islamic state interpretation of women's sexuality – autonomous whilst also dangerous and seductive. As Fataneh Farahani notes, orthodoxy and eroticism are positioned hierarchically in relation to men's power. *Fitna* – is a term that describes women as provokers of sexual disorder, which could be *fantasy turned into law.* I was fascinated by the representation of men in Iran as so out of control with their desire as to be powerless; distracted and controlled by the very sexual power of women. It is a contradictory legitimation that positions them as 'almost' powerless in order that they can claim power; like a 'victim' position, what Lauren Berlant (in *Transformations* 2000) once described as 'absolute power', for the non-victim who claims victim-hood has no responsibility for its actions.

This understanding of sexuality also reminded me of Valerie Walkerdine's psychoanalytic take on femininity as fantasy. Femininity was for Walkerdine, produced through men's fantasy, enshrined in the symbolic, and habitually performed because there was no alternative. When her critique was written (in *Oxford Review of Education* 1992) many of us thought that femininity was a bad patriarchal trap, but now we've seen that in the West the performance of femininity often has little bearing on symbolic power and masculine expectation; instead femininity may be an inventive and creative way of dealing with power, an ambivalent response rather than straightforward social reproduction.

The thesis establishes *key tropes*: virginity, honour, modesty, and veiling (which organize the chapter formation), alongside *key moments*: the wedding night, first sexual experiences, and *key movements*: migration.

The women use sexuality as a trope to talk about changes in their lives, desires, bodies and maturity, but rarely speak of sexuality as practice or identity so the thesis poses an interesting diversion/direction in terms of how sexuality is known in a space where it is difficult (often illegal or punishable) to articulate directly.

The thesis presents pretending as performative: everything is not what it seem, suggesting that if we keep pretending we may be able to use the pretence for the creation of our own space and desires. This tactic could be regarded an empty gesture to power that enables power to be repeated and legitimated as if it works. But does power work if people have become so creative at not doing what it asks? At gesturing to power. Do the women's pretend performances change anything, prepare the ground for future changes, for instance, or is it just 'bare survival' in difficult conditions? This query haunts me throughout the thesis.

And not only does everything not appear to be what it seems, everything appears to be paradoxical. The thesis provides a great sense of an underground culture in Iran, where things happen that everybody knows about, but nobody says anything because speaking can be punishable: 'turning a blind eye', i.e. pretending that they 'know nothing' develops into a significant response to power in the thesis – who sees and who knows (and can therefore be punished for knowing – means many tactics of seeing and knowing are required to disguise what one knows and can tell), a paradox which must present problems for research within the country, or for those who are used to speaking furtively or through displacement.

And now I will consider some of the research in more detail.

The description of 'compulsory virginity' provides one of the best examples of surreptitious speaking, of stories that show how to evade regulation fully. We have the invention of 'temporary marriage', a social contract for a situation where as long as there is a formal engagement and some family consent, sexual contact is allowed. We also have – my favourite – 'renewable virginity', complete with renewable hymens (hymenoplasty), or strategies to 'prove' virginity on the wedding night, including blood capsules to spill on the white wedding sheet. 'Pretending' to do these things, argues Fataneh Farahani, is the performative dimension to sexuality and gender: pretending to be (through doing) that which one is expected to be, whilst doing something else entirely is the way in which constraint sustains performativity. This is almost a reversal of Western theories of performativity based on an unconscious iteration of the habits of heteronormativity. Instead these Iranian women develop inventive tactics (and Fataneh uses de Certeau's (1988) distinction in *The Practice of Everyday Life* between strategies and tactics) to consciously perform to expectations, whilst creatively doing many other things. 'Renewable virginity' is presented as 'bargaining with patriarchy', a tactic that leaves the system intact. Or does it? Does it bring the possibility of being different into view, offering a perspective of a different life, a different way of living?

What is interesting is how in such a regulated society some doctors are willing to perform 'renewable virginity techniques', for as Fataneh Farahani points out, a range of different reasons. Not only are the women being creative with constraints, so are those who can either profit from the creativity or politically support the challenge to the regulation of women's sexuality.

In Iran tradition has it that women have to be 'tamed and transformed' on their wedding night. Fataneh shows how there is also great literature on the 'event' for instance in *The Thousand and One Nights*, where the central female character, Shahrzad, exemplifies women who work to rescue themselves using subjugation to tame and transform the King; a protester who constantly feels the shadow of death. Shahrzad uses hesitation to generate uncertainties in the King in the hope that she will not be killed. These inherited tactics are used by the sexually experienced who have to 'pretend' not to be. Again, inventiveness generates creative responses. The women distinguish between 'real' and 'complete' sex, taking their definitions from traditional patriarchy based on male penis-vagina penetration. This gives them a great deal of scope for many other sexual activities (possibly many more than heterosexual women in the West who are located in the traditional discourses of penetrative definitions of sex). And some mothers support them in their 'pretend' activities – turning a 'blind eye' and not hearing about what they do.

Yet this incredibly visual description of pretence also made me wonder about the methodology. Is it possible to describe the hidden nature of so much interaction through the interview method? Does speaking public discourse just reproduce public discourses? This makes me think that an enormous amount of cultural knowledge has been brought to bear in the interpretation. Were the interviews necessary? Did they limit the range of topics covered? Do they operate as a form of authenticating that which is already known? Could other methodological sources (e.g. film, literature) capture the tactics and performances just as well? When alternative knowledge forms are used in the thesis they seem to capture more complexity.

Yet there is a also a horrific downside to this not knowing, when one of Fataneh's respondents, Katty, is raped and traumatized by 'pretend sex' i.e. an anal rape that she is unable to speak or do anything about it for years. The men also collude in the 'pretend' game so that they cannot be trapped into marrying or accused of rape. And emergency wards operate with a saying 'a bride has arrived' in full knowledge of the repeated injuries on wedding nights. Pretence is a creative tactic but can also be folded back into institutionalized power structures.

The women of the research remember the experience of their wedding night in great detail. It becomes a ritualistic event for organizing their lives chronologically into a before and after. Their stories reveal how they think about their bodies, located in a discursive movement between shame and shyness. Fataneh Farahani demonstrates how shy refers to a constraint, something that stops one behaving in public and shame is used to display the struggle the participant has with existing social norms. Shame enables another respondent, Simin, for instance, to move through different Iranian social spaces (which to me sound similar to the Catholic use of guilt – enabling whilst constraining, abdicating responsibility whilst doing).

In retrospect the women of the research suggest that the primary issue for dealing with the wedding night was the lack of information available on what to expect. One of their major re-assessments of Iran, following a move to Sweden, was bemoaning the absence of any institutionalized sex education in Iran. They have an idealized image about what liberal Swedish sex education would contain. Their fantasy is that it would be open and not punitative, yet as Don Kulick's (in *GLQ* 2005) research has demonstrated, this may not be the case. Swedish sex education just operates with different regulative normativities premised on definitions of 'good sex' (natural, non-pornographic, non-object based) and good relationships (couples, not multiples, meaningful not anonymous). Yet as a great deal of queer theory has shown these moral binaries are just as regulatory as those described by Foucault, hence also why I think the thesis describes heterosexuality in its specific discursive productions, rather than sexuality more generally.

A substantive chapter in the thesis provides an incredible description and analysis of the complexities of the debates surrounding the veil and whose interests these debates serve. There are no positions outside the discourse of the veil – women just squiggle in between them. This chapter uses a beautiful example, taken from Iranian lawyer Mehrangiz Kar, of how the fashion mannequins in shop windows in Iran were slowly transformed by men with legal and religious authority *and* guns into just a pair of hollow and dead eyes, bearing, she argues, little similarity to the chastity and modesty that the Islamic republic had hoped to achieve.

The chapter also explores the many different interpretations within Islam that are given to the veil, all tightly connected to men's property rights in Iran. Primarily the veil is examined as an instance of disciplinary power, with one of its main functions as the display of respectability, especially among upper class women. The veil displays that women are protected by a man, a manifestation of chastity and modesty to garner respect and honour. Modesty is central to both men and women in Muslim thought – men are expected to 'guard their eyes': women are seen as powerfully seductive to be guarded against. It is a society in which looking is dangerous, where looking-away enables things to happen.

Yet the Islamic positioning of women as powerfully and actively seductive is, as Fataneh points out, radically different from the Orientalist gaze that positioned the women as passive, *only* as the object of white male fantasy. And the colonizers only thought the veil an issue when it interfered with agricultural productivity. Typical.

Fataneh uses Milani's (*Veils and Words* 1992) metaphor, who describes the veil as a 'portable wall' that women are forced to carry, through discourse and time, but also the spatial apartheid in the city itself, enabling women to be both visible and invisible. Visibility, as Fataneh is aware, does not always or necessarily equate with power. Yet wearing the veil is an attempt by women to demand respect. And some women argue that it protects them from the male gaze: all responses are contingent and Fataneh asks why are all Western debates about the veil located at whether women themselves feel subordinated or not (it's a bit like 'is lap-dancing a form of liberation?' question). As she notes feelings come to equal agency as if a measure of power.

And as with other forms of pretending, an enormous amount of behavior occurs *under* the hejab. Moreover, sexual harassment did not decrease when women's bodies were covered, rather the fetishism increased, as Foucault would have predicted.

Just as Pia Laskar (2005) in *Ett bidrag till heterosexualitetens historia* has shown in relation to Western sexuality, the Iranian women's body stands as property within the institution of the family. All people in Iran have to marry. Yet they do so for very different reasons, often just to leave home, but also for political reasons, or to punish their family. Two of the women who talked to Fataneh were postal brides ordered by Iranian men already living in Sweden who wanted traditional wives. But a structural problem was already built in to the exchange: the women who were willing to come and live in Sweden were looking for transformation.

In opposition to marital regulation the women were obsessed with narratives of 'first love' which represented romance and freedom. And love (or lack) was used as the reason for their failed marriages. Here their discourses appear similar to the Swedish national discourses on 'good sex': all relationships must be meaningful and loving. I wondered where their love-bounded fantasies come from. Is romance a furtive discourse in Iran or is it a reinterpretation from Sweden? As Mary Evans (2002) notes in *Love*, in the West romantic love has repeatedly been used to negotiate the relationship between state and capital, to re-shape property relations, or promulgate the myth of free will. Only one woman interviewed can deal with the meaninglessness of sex (most associate one night stands as Swedish and immoral). But we need to remember that these are women who are middle-class and define themselves as respectable.

Not surprisingly there were a high number of divorced women in the study, itself not an entirely straight-forward matter. Fataneh Farahani shows how few men initiate divorce in Iran due to their religio-judicial obligation to pay the marriage settlement, which can be a large amount. So they make life unbearable for the women so she will leave without demanding the money. But women cannot have other relationships if they are still officially married. This can lead to women being obligated for some time. One woman had been waiting for a divorce since 1998 and feared developing any new relationships in case she lost her children. To deal with the dissatisfaction they experience, and the difficulties of instituting change, many women develop tactics such as the 'the art of abstaining from everything whilst playing on the promise of giving', which I suspect is not just Iranian.

The diasporic movement as we would expect generates many issues. The women assess themselves continually in comparison to Swedish women: 'a Swedish woman would never do that' becomes a measure to achieve, but change may not be easily achievable, or recognised. On arrival in Sweden these highly educated, qualified middle-class women are de-skilled and de-valued: they have to come to terms with unemployment, non-acceptance of their qualifications and/or skills and another rendering of themselves as value-less.

Their stories about movement are full of emotional confusion. For instance, when they arrived in Sweden they were most impressed by two people kissing in public. Yet their previous experience continually generates reflections and comparisons which continue to haunt them. One respondent, Mehri, continually measures herself as lacking and unable to perform Swedish normativity (although this is certainly not a problem for all the women).

The thesis also demonstrates the longevity and sedimentation of power as it works on bodies: when another respondent, Farideh, wears a swimsuit she feels constant conflict, describing the 'feelings and tendencies still inside me'. Farideh was also unconsciously fixing her non-existent veil for a long period of time after she first moved here, a powerful account of the workings of the power of bodily habitus.

What we have is a past that continues to reappear, tactics that habituate the body, spaces where value cannot be seen or recognized: gains and losses but rarely comfortable inhabitation. Fataneh Farahani describes this as hybridity, but I wonder if such a neutral term can capture the tension, struggle, contradictions, difficulty and pain that these women describe.

One of my main issues with the thesis was the catholic (small c) use of so many theories, which for me have very different and incompatible epistemological basis: for instance, the use of Gramsci with Foucault, who have entirely different understandings of power. Or the insistence on discourse and post-structuralism with concepts of agency? Does consciousness matter if we are produced through discourse? There is a lot of movement in the thesis between the conscious and unconscious subject, i.e. repetition is not performed by the subject, it is what makes the subject, and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject (as in the theories of performativity). Fataneh defended this critique well, arguing that each theory was used to describe different facets of the complex processes she was describing.

And the processes are complex: we have stories of profound creativity, clever performances, almost manipulation, violence, fear and wounding. These ten women's lives are lived in complexity and this is what the thesis brilliantly shows: that life is never totally resistant or totally oppressive; mechanisms are found to make life bearable. None of these women are living 'bare life' in the Agamben (*Homo Sacer* 1998) sense. Rather, what they are trying to do is deal with movement, between cultures that sediment on bodies, leaving their residue behind. They understand that movement doesn't necessarily mean progress, and that the West is not necessarily modern. It is coming to terms with these major difficulties that the thesis documents, carefully and subtly through discourses of heterosexuality which speak for so much else.

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City Conversion

Joakim Forsemalm, Bodies, Bricks and Black Boxes: power practices in city conversion. Digressive Produktion, Gothenburg 2007. 184 pp. Ill. Swedish summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-975353-2-X.

■ This book investigates 'the relations between city planning and people' in the 'power practices in processes of city conversion' in two contrasted areas of Gothenburg, historically a major port and manufacturing city. On the one hand, many enjoy Långgatorna as it is, wanting to prevent major change. But whilst few like present Östra Kvillebäcken, satisfactorily transforming it is very difficult.

The 'bodies', 'bricks' and 'black boxes' of the title derive from Forsemalm's enthusiastic adoption of Actor-Network Theory [ANT] as his frame of reference. ANT stresses the causal powers of non-human especially material factors, insists that humans 'cannot do it on their own', and that agency is an effect of relations between contributing human and non-human elements. It is non-deterministic, leaving futures open. ANT embraces ontological uniformity – bricks, bodies etc. are all of a piece, thereby guarding against sentimental humanism though at the price of obscuring the significant differences in the way in which human actors and non-human factors contribute to outcomes. It foregrounds relations and processes – 'there are no beings only becomings'. The properties of anything are momentary effects of positions in networks – which tends to compress historical attention onto the ongoing present of unfolding network relations. Yet despite this post-structuralist posture, ANT does allow for relative fixity with the concept of 'black boxes' – routinised or taken-for-granted configurations whose status and power have been made relatively durable by 'work'. Finally, power is 'produced by networks... doesn't exist in certain locations but is performed through actions' rather than being 'possessed by individuals.' To see power as an amalgamation of little powers which might occasionally be configured to make something potent, discourages fatalism but also carries the danger of encouraging wishful-thinking about real, durable power differentials.

Methodologically, Forsemalm says ANT encourages beginning in the middle, staying with the details and following wherever the action leads (all standard ethnographic practice). Thus he conducts interviews, organises focus-groups, attends and contributes to planning meetings and follows the media coverage. However, he mostly sticks to the public domain, not following the action behind the 'closed doors' where some activists felt 'secret associations of financial and political actors' made city conversion deals. I'd love to know how Gothenburg conversion was discussed in the big property and development companies' board rooms and Forsemalm to discuss how his lack of access might affect his research. How does ANT deal with secrecy?

Forsemalm calls Långgatorna a 'one of a kind place' for Gothenburg. But it is not unique in Western cities in being an old-established, historically left-wing, working-class area of mixed residencies, workshops, retail and entertainment outlets, that is now attractive because of its low rents and lively character, to 'alternative', 'creative' individuals as a place of work or residence. Today many also like its buildings of different heights and types, a legacy of its largely unplanned development and escape from the comprehensive renewal schemes some other areas experienced after World War Two. Långgatorna is thus already experiencing some 'conversion' and Forsemalm shows how the 'alternative' shop-keepers try to encourage similarly-orientated individuals to occupy further premises when they become available. Patterns of property ownership are not fully explained, but we learn some owners favour the 'alternative' activity and transformation. How many of the area's traditional working-class residents remain and what they think is unclear.

Besides this creeping transformation, potentially more dramatic changes threaten. Långgatorna's original character relates to its proximity to Gothenburg's dockside and the river's southern waterfront. Changes in transport infrastructure contribute to the latter's opening up for improving redevelopment. This, Långgatorna's new uses, and its nearness to the city centre – also south of the river, now make the area a target for up-market redevelopment. Luxury flats go up on its periphery and one Långgatorna land-owner wants to replace a one storey wooden structure with 'large-scale residential buildings'. An earlier planning application to extend a building had triggered realisation of the out-of-datedness of the major planning documents for the area, leading to the main focus of Forsemalm's research in Långgatorna – the consultation processes to define a new 'Detailed Development Plan' and the associated public debate about the area's future. These revealed and reinforced the extent of support for leaving the area broadly as it is. The planners like its mixed character, recognising that their earlier stress on functional separation produced dead urban spaces, and that vibrant city environments attract the kind of businesses and workers the new knowledge economy seeks. A buzzy Långgatorna improves Gothenburg as a whole. A group of educated, cultural and media workers based nearby exemplify this attraction, becoming an anti-conversion pressure group. The existing small businesses don't want any redevelopments which would raise rents and threaten their viability. They come to realise that disreputable elements keep rents low, thus rejecting a scheme to increase pedestrian and reduce parking space. This would threaten the porn-shops' customer-base, significant because while such shops remain, major retail chains won't enter the district and raise rents. When the research ends, Långgatorna is not entirely safe from conversion pressure. The new Detailed Development Plan is uncompleted, but the positive evaluation of the present area of mixed buildings and uses appears 'black-boxed'. Assembling enough resources to get wholesale, radical renewal off the ground would now be very difficult.

Östra Kvillebäcken lies north of the river and further from central Gothenburg. The current size and composition of its residential population is unclear, but we learn it too is a low-rent, mixed-use area with workshops, car repair outfits, scrap yard and some retailing. The latter include second hand shops, budget retailers and representatives of large-scale timber dealing and home maintenance chains – different from the 'cool' independent record shops, bohemian clothes boutiques and outlets for independent creative producers, establishing themselves in Långgatorna. An unspecified proportion of buildings are used as offices or ethnic clubs. Supplementing Forsemalm's brief reference with a development website reveals land and property belongs to a multiplicity of small owners plus two big companies, one operating throughout Scandinavia. We are told the municipality 'owns nothing but roads and pavements' although elsewhere parkland it owns is mentioned. If Långgatorna's built environment is now 'black boxed' as attractive, the opposite is true for Östra Kvillebäcken. Uncertainty over its future encourages owners to offer short-term rental contracts and tenants not to care for properties. Many buildings are poorly maintained and interspersed with vacant lots left by demolition. Soil and noise pollution from past industrial uses and present traffic are problems in some parts. Östra Kvillebäcken is not easily framed as 'cool' or [as someone put it] 'ruin-romantic'. Unlike Långgatorna, it does not attract preservation orders, walk/talk tours as a place of interest, or singers celebrating its rough 'edginess'. Instead the press calls it a potential 'Gaza strip' and condemns its lawlessness.

Over the years, planning initiative has followed initiative in an attempt to improve the area, each offering different suggestions as to what [offices?, houses? mixed uses?] to aim for where, and how closely to tie proposals to [changing] plans for adjacent areas. During the research, the 2002 plan suggested a new road using the municipally-owned park land, partly to make other areas more attractive to developers by reducing their traffic pollution. Assorted conflicts put this on hold. The area was then enrolled in an EU-funded Waterfront Research Project entailing more 'visioning' consultations. Lastly a new 'saviour' – the municipal company Älvstranden Utveckling, previously involved in the successful redevelopment of the Northern dockside area for housing and IT business uses, was enlisted to help. As Forsemalm stops writing, ÄU initiates yet more consultation. As I write, its website mentions plans to initiate 1,600 accommodation units in Östra Kvillebäcken. At least one development company reports its intended participation.

Why is it so difficult to end Östra Kvillebäcken's 'permanent provisionality'? Perhaps it's harder to force change than prevent it happening. It's a one-step process to rally support around preservation but a two-step venture to create demand for change, then a workable vision of the direction it should take. Moreover, most planning systems provide means for preventing change [preservation orders, change of use prohibitions] but can't *force* private companies to undertake development work. Östra Kvillebäcken's redevelopment partly foundered on the difficulty of getting interested parties to agree on any given scheme. Some wanted total redevelopment which the small businesses feared would raise their rents; attitudes to the new road varied according to actors' particular circumstances. Östra Kvillebäcken doesn't yet seem to attract to external developers because of shortage of suitable alternatives elsewhere in Gothenburg. For both external developers and internal owners, development risks seemed too high. No-one wanted to 'jump first' in a situation of multiple uncertainties. Would building be profitable, given land pollution issues and lack of clarity about infrastructural funding? Who would buy or rent the first new buildings in an area with so few positives to build on, and so poor a reputation? Forsemalm doesn't discuss who controlled the city council, but its current policy that 'city conversion projects should not burden [its]... budget with one single crown of taxpayers' money', is neo-liberal, raising the (unasked) question of whether more public funding, perhaps to pay for decontamination and infrastructure, or as tax breaks, might have ended the deadlock. It's interesting that in Norra Älvstranden, the old docklands which *have* been redeveloped, the municipality became a major landowner and drove things forward through a public/private partnership involving its own development company. As indicated, the latter's recent involvement with Östra Kvillebäcken *may* now be having an effect.

In conclusion: whether Forsemalm really needed to go overboard for ANT is arguable. Recognising urban complexity and the constraining and enabling effect of material factors, which he makes so much of, does not depend on it. Maybe it would have been better to have spent less time expounding ANT and more relating the findings to the now very extensive, and international literature on city conversion and particularly 'creatives'-led gentrification. Nonetheless, those who can cope with the peculiarities produced by ANT terminology in combination with an exuberant use of metaphor and shaky proof-reading will be rewarded with a useful and interesting, if not gap-free analysis of urban change.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Mother's Day and Halloween

Gillis Herlitz, Mors dag och Halloween. Festseder i förändring. Etnolore 31. Skrifter från Etnologiska avdelningen, Uppsala universitet. Uppsala 2007. 259 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-506-1922-5.

■ In the last decades of the 20th century, two new occasions, Valentine's Day and Halloween, became established as a permanent part of the Nordic festive calendar. The sudden triumph of these new customs gave scholars of tradition an opportunity for a systematic observation of the course of innovation. They have not been slow to highlight the phenomenon in the form of research reports and statements in the media, statements which have sometimes, especially as regards Halloween, taken on an unusually engaged tone considering they come from neutral humanists.

When Gillis Herlitz in his doctoral dissertation deals with the innovation of Halloween, he compares it with a celebration that was likewise a novelty in the European festive year a century ago: Mother's Day. Herlitz's aim is to describe the two customs and analyse how it was possible to introduce these particular celebrations at the points in time when this happened. Few customs are as different in character from each other as the family-centred Mother's Day and the outward-looking, carnivalesque Halloween. Both customs have nevertheless found their advocates and spread to other cultures where they have become rooted. Herlitz examines these celebrations in the Swedish guise. Their common denominator is the country of origin, the USA, from where Mother's Day was introduced to the Swedish festive calendar back in 1919, while Halloween arrived in the latter part of the 20th century.

Herlitz embarks on an ambitious investigation of many aspects concerning the introduction of these alien elements in the festive year. A number of questions are raised. How come Mother's Day, a seemingly unfashionable event, is still celebrated today? Why did Halloween make such an impact in Scandinavia at the end of the 20th century? What does the opposition to alien new customs tell us about the society to which they are introduced? How are festive customs related to society? The old explanations as to why feasts are celebrated – for a change, for community, to mark boundaries, and to give a sense of continuity – are insufficient when we look for an answer to why foreign innovations come in, and (sometimes against all the odds) survive in the new festive environment, and are even given a distinctive character here.

Gillis Herlitz starts from the concept of Zeitgeist (spirit of the age), a term he himself admits is "risky" and difficult to describe scientifically. He nevertheless stresses the usefulness of the concept as an instrument capturing the mood of a society which cannot be simply described in any other way. Herlitz says that he is endeavouring to concentrate his description of the Zeitgeist on two questions that he regards as important: for Mother's Day it is the outlook on motherhood as a part of the population issue, and for Halloween the discussion about consumerism and the rapidly growing experience industry. A problem throughout the dissertation, however, is that in practice he does not limit his analysis in any way, but is instead tempted to bring in all the loose ends, thoughts, and unusual examples that he has come across in the course of his research. Sometimes it is easy to imagine that one can hear the author thinking aloud and letting the associations flow freely. The text lacks stringency and focus.

As source material Herlitz uses articles and advertisements in the press, questionnaires, interviews, and his own observations. In addition he has high-flying, but often superficial descriptions of historical contexts, the aim of which is clearly to describe the Zeitgeist from as many angles as possible.

He begins by discussing the history of the two customs and then describes the form they take in Sweden. The background to Mother's Day is related in detail, with everything from the American woman whose idea it was, the teacher Anna Jarvis, and other older festive customs such as the British Mothering Sunday. The Swedish history of the feast starts with a thorough presentation of the initiator, Cecilia Bååth-Holmberg (1857–1920). We then have a cascading description of all the upheavals that occurred during her lifetime, how industrialization and urbanization, population growth, scientific progress, literature, popular entertainment, political party formation, and emigration all left their traces in the Zeitgeist.

In Herlitz's summary of what led to the introduction of Mother's Day in Sweden in 1919, however, he underlines the decisive factors: the view of the mother as the unifying symbol for the family in its capacity as the basic brick in the construction of the nation, Americanization as a model, and the person who introduced the custom, Cecilia Bååth-Holmberg.

Introducing a custom is one matter, but the regular celebration of a new red-letter day is another. As Herlitz notes, Mother's Day is a feast that has "sneaked through the decades in a way that is sometimes unnoticed". Focusing on four periods, he examines the establishment of the custom with different source material as a basis: articles in the press, advertisements, and other written material. Herlitz notes a culmination in the celebration of Mother's Day 1945–65, followed by a decline and the hint of a renascence in the period 1980–2000.

A rather peripheral part in the discussion is played by the responses to the questionnaire that Herlitz himself distributed to schools and other archives' questionnaires on the topic. The relatively small material resulting from these surveys suggests that the role of the school in observing this day is no longer central, while the respondents in many cases testify that the mother receives special attention in the home on the day.

Herlitz also considers how the idea of Mother's Day was shaped when it spread to other countries in Europe. His curt comments on the celebration of the day in Finland can be supplemented with the ethnologist Sirpa Karjalainen's description of what is the most official and family-centred day in the Finnish festive calendar. Here the arena for the celebration is the home and the president's annual awarding of medals to deserving mothers, a media-covered tradition with its background in the rewarding of mothers during the Finnish wars. The aspect of change is visible here in the fact that today not only mothers with a large number of children are rewarded but also single mothers, foster parents, and even men who have done outstanding work in fostering.

For Herlitz's other study object, Halloween, we are also given a thorough summary of the origin of the custom and the form it has taken through the ages. All Saints' Day is also treated in detail. The chapter about Halloween in Europe seems to have been put together at random, giving a patchy view of the spread of the custom in today's Europe.

Halloween has been studied by Swedish ethnologists before. Agneta Lilja, in a study of Valentine's Day and Halloween (1998), observed that the establishment of Halloween in the Nordic countries was concentrated in the 1990s, when the economic interests behind the custom, the suppliers of masquerade articles, managed to establish the necessary product range and the media began to present the new feast. Jonas Frykman has analysed the custom as a reflection of today's increasingly infantilized festive year.

Gillis Herlitz's ambition to illuminate the tradition from every conceivable angle leads to chaos and repetition. The analysis jumps in time and place, from flashbacks to the harvest feasts of peasant society to interview-based descriptions of how Halloween is celebrated today, alternating with Edmund Leach's theories of masking and Fredrik Barth's ideas about ethnic identity. In addition, he cites observations about the disorder of feasts, their pedagogical function, and the entertainment potential, to mention just a few aspects in the flood of details. There is a great deal that is good and relevant here, but the reasoning is simply too wide-ranging and above all too unstructured.

All the schools to which Herlitz sent his questionnaire about Halloween are in the municipality of Uppsala. Yet this restriction to one small region is not adequately stressed in the text, and it is also dubious since the newspaper material he uses and the radio stations he contacted are scattered all over Sweden.

So what is the sum of these detailed descriptions of the two feasts? In his conclusion Herlitz returns to his original assumption: a festive custom ought to be able to tell us something about the time and the Zeitgeist in which it occurs, in the same way as it should be possible, conversely, with a knowledge of the Zeitgeist, to deduce what type of festive customs can be considered worthy of acceptance, attention, or dismissal. This kind of certainty was displayed in the analysis by the Finland-Swedish ethnologist Mary-Ann Elfving when she systematically proved, in one of the first articles about Valentine's Day and Halloween in the Nordic countries (1981), that Halloween would never be introduced in Finland – a conclusion that has been totally overturned since Finland underwent a Halloween boom like that in Sweden.

In Finland the success of Halloween is also considered in the light of the old Finnish folk tradition of a harvest feast, Kekri, which through time ended up coinciding with All Saints' Day. The effective transformation of a dark ancient custom into a modern celebration, supported by the business world, has already happened in the Anglo-Saxon countries. It is evidently more attractive to take over "the tradition package of Halloween" than to revive already forgotten indigenous customs.

It may be noted that Mary-Ann Elfving simultaneously expressed her conviction that Valentine's Day could successfully be introduced at Nordic latitudes. In this she was right – with the reservation that this day, at least in Finland, has taken on the character of a day of friendship observed chiefly by women, and it likewise has its arena in school and among young people. As regards Valentine's Day, then, the custom was adapted to the prevailing festive culture before it could be established.

In the final chapter Herlitz brings in further new discussions about nostalgia and the fondness for traditions and ritualization in the future. On the final straight he thus introduces new explanatory models. In the end he resigns himself and draws the conclusion that it is not possible to set up a simple mathematical template against which to understand festive customs and Zeitgeist. He believes that, at best, one can see certain features in the Zeitgeist that are important: here again he mentions the outlook on motherhood as regards Mother's Day, and consumerism and the growing interest in experiences in connection with Halloween. Despite all his attempts at proof, all Herlitz is able to do is to conclude that it would scarcely be possible to introduce Mother's Day today, and that Halloween in its present form could hardly have been introduced to Sweden as it was in 1919.

Festive innovations offer the ethnologist a unique opportunity to follow the life of a custom in a new culture right from the start. Gillis Herlitz has tackled this task with great enthusiasm. It is important to constantly follow the trail of the customs, and here the media provide a rich source of knowledge about the course of innovation and illuminate the Zeitgeist, if you want to call it that. As the subtitle of Herlitz's dissertation suggests, it is a matter of "festive customs in change".

In his introduction Herlitz mentions the interesting question of the roles of mass media and the school as the driving forces behind new festive customs, but also the way they act as brakes when it comes to the introduction of new customs. These aspects offer a great deal of work for future research. When the introductory phase of the innovations has been analysed, it is time to examine their continued life as established parts of a traditional festive year. A fascinating element of this is the international aspect. What form is given to new festive concepts in different countries? Even in neighbouring countries like Finland and Sweden one can see differences in the celebration of the new feast days. Finally, we may note that, in an age when random information is available in huge quantities on the Internet, one cannot overemphasize the importance of personal research contacts, and this includes the study of festive customs. Against a background of correct data about the form of customs in neighbouring countries, for example, the relationship between one's own country's celebrations and the Zeitgeist can be seen in clearer perspective.

Carola Ekrem, Helsingfors

The Aesthetics of Tradition

Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius, Traditionens estetik. Spelet mellan inhemsk och internationell hemslöjd. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2007. 264 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7331-095-6.

■ "As a Handicraft Movement person I say:

'Never in my life am I going to work with acrylic materials or acrylic yarn or anything like that.'

'But, what damned prejudice is that? Do you want to stop the creative process, blah blah blah.'

Because there are those who say:

'Why don't you use synthetic fabrics, appealing shiny materials and sequins and beads and the kind of things they like?'

And then I say:

'No, I can't, since that's not what I am doing in this course. That's not my kind of business'" (pp. 145–146).

It is the leader of a handicraft project who is reasoning with herself here. The year is 2001, the place is an open-air museum somewhere in Central Sweden, and the aim of the project is to promote the integration of immigrant women through a course in Swedish language and craft. The dialogue was recorded by Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius during her fieldwork and is reproduced in the dissertation that she successfully defended in November 2007 at the Department of Ethnology at Stockholm University.

The dialogue articulates one of the main conflicts between the Swedish aesthetic tradition and immigrant crafts which she has made the subject of her dissertation: The *tradition* and the *aesthetics* of Hyltén-Cavallius' title are those of the Handicraft Movement, and the dissertation studies the various inclusive, and especially exclusive, strategies of this organization when confronted with immigrant crafts.

But the dialogue shows another thing as well: the monopoly of the Handicraft Movement with a capital *H* also seems to comprehend the right to appear as an articulate actor, whereas handicrafts with a small *h* are deprived of that right: While the representatives of the Handicraft Movement are called on to speak, one after another, throughout the dissertation, the persons behind the international handicrafts remain an indefinite and inarticulate "they". In her investigation of the interplay between domestic and international handicrafts, Hyltén-Cavallius never takes the trouble to interview immigrants about their work and views, and quotes them only exceptionally. Herself an employee of a "Multicultural Centre" in Stockholm, she studies the interplay from the Swedish side only. That puts her in danger of reproducing the asymmetrical relation between domestic and international that she intends to denounce in her dissertation.

Much has been written in Swedish about the Swedish Handicraft Movement, but by following the movement in its interplay with international handicraft, Hyltén-Cavallius does bring forth some of the less noticed premises that govern the powerful Swedish organization. It is those premises that lead to the project leader's censorship and self-censorship as expressed in the above quotation. She has a keen and quiet critical eye for the play that takes place, and succeeds in rendering it in a lucid and credible way. The concrete situations that she describes, more than analyses, visualize various aspects of the interplay between the domestic and foreign aesthetics. The situations, sometimes apparently insignificant, sometimes more complex, are well chosen and exploited. They are taken from contemporary Sweden, but also form the history of the Handicraft Movement. A series of situations are taken from the American organization *Daughters of the American Revolution* as well, an "idealistic patriotic women's organization" founded in the early 1900s, which according to Hyltén-Cavallius reveals certain similarities to the Swedish Handicraft Movement. At no point, however, does she venture on a more thorough discussion of the underlying causes of the clash between the different aesthetics. This dissertation contains no sociology, no social anthropology, no economics, and thus reveals the limits of ethnology.

"I intend to show," writes Hyltén-Cavallius, "that in the Handicraft Movement, aesthetics is the movement's core activity" (25). But "Aesthetics may function as a tool of oppression, hostility and segregation" (215). And in fact, it soon becomes clear that the author considers the aesthetics of tradition as the product of a bureaucratic logic which she repeatedly denounces. With reference to Don Handelman, Hyltén-Cavallius goes on to say: "With this intimate link between aesthetics, a bureaucratic logic and a bureaucratic organization, I will show the structural functioning of h(H)andicraft, and especially its structuring function" (28). A structuring function here implies the exercise of authority and control, the establishment of a hierarchical taxonomy, i.e. an asymmetrical power relation between actors in a network, or between different networks. Inspired by Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory, Hyltén-Cavallius intends to replace the subject–object dichotomy by networks consisting not only of people but also objects and other kinds of materiality, all of which are seen as actors that exert power. "By focusing attention on how actors (human and non-human) establish connections in the present as well as the past, it becomes possible to illustrate those processes that create asymmetries, i.e. how power is created and maintained" (229). The aesthetics of tradition is one such process, performed by various Swedish actors; the immigrants, however, since they are not seen as actors, nor as creators of networks, appear in this respect wholly powerless. There certainly is an asymmetry between the two groups, but the perspective Hyltén-Cavallius applies only strengthens "the picture of the immigrant woman as isolated, ignorant, psychologically unstable and inferior" that she sharply criticizes on another occasion (56).

"It is in the objects, in the materializations that it is possible to study and understand the making of aesthetic distinction" (24), says the author in her Introduction, but when one passes from subjects to materialities or materializations, when actors are anonymized and determined through their positions alone, it becomes difficult to study and understand the *intentions behind* the making of distinction, the *interests* that are at stake in this power game.

For which conflict of interests is this after all? In chapter 3, "Quality and Authenticity", Hyltén-Cavallius studies the premises which the Handicraft Movement has defined for its activities, most clearly in a document from 1972 *Concerning Quality*. Here, the quality of a handicraft product, its being "good craft" or not, is determined in terms of a particular *material*, *technique*, *function*, and *aesthetics* (82). These are the motives to exclude the acrylic materials and sequins debated in the introductory dialogue. And precisely because the aesthetic premises of the Handicraft Movement are so distinctly formulated, and also the more ideological basis on which these premises have rested from the foundation of the movement, i.e. the protection and preservation of domestic handicraft traditions against the menace of impetuous modernization and mechanization, one may ask what justifies the criticism of the organization when it rejects synthetic materials out of loyalty to its own premises.

Against this background, it may seem surprising that the Handicraft Movement has in fact made quite some efforts to acknowledge and accommodate foreign aesthetics and products, partly to "enrich" the Swedish crafts with the immigrants' "rich cultural traditions," partly to preserve and develop the foreign traditions in Sweden for the sake of cultural pluralism. In chapter 2, "Outside Tradition", some of these efforts are described, for instance Gunnel Hazelius-Berg's initiative which led to the creation in 1986 of a first permanent post of Handicraft Consultant for Immigrant Handicrafts (54ff) and the subsequent recognition of such crafts by the organization.

In "Inside Tradition", Hyltén-Cavallius depicts the bureaucratization of the Handicraft Movement. She explains parts of its reticence to acknowledge immigrant aesthetics with a taxonomy that is unable to encompass the foreign since it is based on domestic localities only. So what is really surprising is the importance the author seems to attach to the inclusion of the international craft in the Handicraft Movement, as if institutionalization were the most adequate answer to the challenges of a multicultural society. In "Traditions' Struggle for Superiority", Hyltén-Cavallius focuses likewise on the "parade logic" and "the power struggle between actors" during the International Rural Costumes Day which was organized as part of Skansen's "Multicultural Weekend" in 2003. Here, it almost seems that a more or less prominent *place* in the parade granted to the immigrant costumes by the organizing committee, or its acceptance or rejection of certain materials on the craftwork market, is taken as a criterion of more or less successful integration. But can one attach such significance to the recognition of immigrant crafts by the very same bureaucratic logic which is dismissed for its oppressive and exclusive mechanisms? Why not rather seek out the immigrant cultures outside the institutions, in forums where they can express themselves on their own terms, and perhaps meet with Swedish folk culture far from the Handicraft Movement?

What originally distinguishes handicraft (with a small *h*), and what keeps a tradition *alive*, is that it is *not* institutionalized, that its aesthetic is *not* governed by academic standards, that the production is not governed *centrally* but undertaken *locally*. The very institutionalization of domestic Swedish handicraft (with a small *h*) as the Swedish Handicraft Movement (with a capital *H*) left it to the bureaucracy to define the material, technical, functional and aesthetic quality criteria, and thereby deprived the non-professional artisans and craftsmen of much of their aesthetic and commercial initiative. If the Handicraft Movement is thus responsible for the stagnation of the Swedish handicraft aesthetic, what advantage would a manifold and unpredictable international handicraft gain from its insertion in the official handicraft aesthetics, in the parades, in the commercial apparatus?

Behind the "Aesthetics of Tradition" in the dissertation's title stands the bureaucratic logic of the Handicraft Movement, and behind *the interplay between domestic and international handicraft* we should see the oppression by a majority culture of different minority cultures. The dissertation gives a good account of the symptoms of this power struggle, but makes but a very vague diagnosis: The author's theoretical framework, or the use she makes of it, seems too insufficient. The actors are reduced to positions in a network, and the network to a self-assertive bureaucracy. With the frequent passive voices in her dissertation, such as "It is [...] in these negotiations and conflicts about what is a good craft, that a specific handicraft-aesthetics *has been formulated*" (121) and "Tradition is that process in which aesthetic forms *are negotiated and materialized*" (229), the author certainly avoids identifying a semantic subject, but they do not help to understand which forces govern the historical process and which bodies might be able or entitled to carry out the changes she calls for: "What is required is not only a new definition of handicrafts, but also a new way to evaluate cultural expressions" (86). The "bureaucratic logic" is indeed a vague diagnosis, but there is no mention at all of a remedy or therapy. Hyltén-Cavallius is herself professionally active in a "Multicultural Centre", but while she criticizes the efforts made by others to promote integration, she never expounds her own visions of a more satisfying interplay between domestic and international handicrafts. In her investigation, she remains the external observer, and in spite of a frequent but implicit criticism she does not define her own standpoint and only exceptionally gives a personal view of the problems she observes.

One such personal view, however, may be perceived in a remark that the author repeats twice as a kind of conclusion: "The vitalization and enrichment that the Handicraft Movement has spoken about since immigrant/international handicraft first became an issue during the 1970s has not implied that the forms have blended and a new craft has emerged. Domestic handicraft has rather become a still stronger category" (217 & 226). And she adds: "Other handicraft traditions have thus made up the constitutive outsides of the domestic handicraft." In our days, when it has become politically incorrect to link identities and cultural traditions, and more correct to call for cultural blends, it is of course a problem if the domestic and the "other", instead of merging into hybrid forms, turn out to strengthen each other in their mutual differences. But perhaps, after all, identities and differences are not necessarily shortcomings, but encouraging signs of vitality and richness?

Mikkel B. Tin, Telemark

Pilgrimage to Auschwitz

Kyrre Kverndokk, Pilegrim, turist og elev: Norske skoleturer til døds- og konsentrasjonsleirer. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 403. Tema Kultur och samhälle. Linköpings Universitet, Institutionen för studier av samhällsutveckling och kultur, 2007. 294 pp. English abstract. Diss. ISBN 978-91-85895-97-7.

■ "Pilgrim, Tourist, and Pupil" is a dissertation about school trips to former concentration camps on the continent. The travellers are pupils in the final class of Norwegian compulsory school, while the trips are arranged by a foundation called "White Buses to Auschwitz". The aim of the trips is to get these young people to learn something from history. What they are supposed to learn is that the Holocaust represents the extreme of human evil, and that they themselves have a personal responsibility for preventing what happened in the camps from ever happening again. More specifically, they are supposed to learn how to identify the forces that can threaten democracy and be on their guard against prejudices and attitudes which do not accept that all people are of equal value.

Kverndokk's dissertation analyses these trips as examples of the creation of a collective memory. More specifically, he views this activity as a continuous process of negotiation, a discourse about the past and its implications, where different voices make themselves heard and get different degrees of response and confirmation. As the most general theoretical perspective of the study he presents Bakhtin's dialogism, especially highlighting two aspects: that all utterances bear traces of previous utterances and also expectations of future responses, and that in every conversation situation there is not just a speaker/author and an addressee but also a third party, a more abstract superaddressee, whose expected response can also be traced in what is said. Dialogism also includes a focus on genre, which Kverndokk defines as a meaning-bearing form for an utterance. This is highly relevant in the context, because the travel project and the ways of processing and presenting the results of the trip bring up the use of many different genres, and because the choice of a correct genre for every individual message is a crucial competence that the pupils have to acquire in the course of the project. Another interesting detail in the dialogism perspective is the phenomenon of monologization, that is, that authoritarian voices can take command over others and force them into agreement. This too proves to be relevant, to say the least, in the context studied here.

The dissertation is also a ritual study. Here Kverndokk draws upon Connerton's theories of commemoration rites and Turner's theories of passage rites. These perspectives are appropriate in this study because the trips undoubtedly have elements of commemorative ritual, and because the project as a whole can be understood as a rite of passage, where the pupils are taken out of their everyday lives to undergo a potential upheaval and be transformed into a different kind of person from what they were before the trip.

The journeys to the concentration camps are preceded by preparations and preliminary work of various kinds, and are followed up after the homecoming by analyses, reports, and presentations in different forms. They are arranged by independent companies but are implemented in close contact with school work, with the participation of both teachers and parents. The first two empirical chapters of the dissertation present what Kverndokk calls the memory-discursive preconditions for the trips as a project. Here he gives an account of the background to the trips and the arrangers' motive forces, the different variants of journey, the matter that the trips are intended to communicate, and the pedagogical methods that are used. The most central method is the pupils' confrontation with a "time witness", who is a person who has survived the camp; his or her body is a relic of the time that is to be brought to life, and whose presence in the project is a kind of ultimate guarantee of the authority of the story that is told. By meeting a time witness face to face and listening to his or her story, the pupils become witnesses in their own turn and shoulder the responsibility for passing on the experiences of the time witnesses to the future. Almost all the time witnesses working for the organization White Buses to Auschwitz are former Norwegian political prisoners. Jewish survivors are very rare among the witnesses. This means that the prisoner's narrative (a distinct genre) that the pupils hear is a Norwegian narrative, firmly rooted in the overall Norwegian narrative of the war and the occupation. At the same time, through its link to the camps, it becomes a part of the universal narrative of the Holocaust. A central feature of this narrative is the journey – between Norway and the camps, between different camps, and from the camps home to the security of Norway. It is this journey that the pupils symbolically re-enact, in compressed form.

The trips can vary somewhat as regards the destination and the organization. The variant that is in greatest demand is the one that goes to Poland and Germany, first visiting Auschwitz and Kraków and then going on to Berlin, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück. It takes just over a week, transport is by bus, and besides the visits to the camps there are also stays in and around Kraków and in Berlin. Sights and entertainment are included in the programme, as well as free time in the cities, in a deliberate endeavour to show the pupils expressions not only of human evil but also of goodness and beauty. Kverndokk localizes the trips in the general category of battlefield tourism (which means visiting places associated with war and death), but he also shows how each individual trip integrates three different kinds of travel genre: the pilgrimage, the tourist journey, and the school excursion. In this context he also introduces scripts as one of the main concepts in the dissertation. By script he means a standardized model for a course of events, a kind of pattern for what will happen and how. The pupils learn of this through presentations by people who have previously made the trip, and also through the arrangers' advertising and programme. It is worth noting that the script does not just describe what is to happen and in what order, but also includes expectations of how the pupils should react to what happens and how they should relate to it.

The next three chapters follow a school class from Oslo in the travel project they pursued from autumn 2004 to January 2005. The chapters are structured according to the three phases of the passage rite: separation, isolation, and reincorporation. The first thus examines what the pupils do in the preparation phase, the second follows them on the actual journey, and the third analyses their written reporting and other presentations of their experiences when they are home again. The chapter that analyses the actual trip is the longest in the dissertation. Here the author concentrates on the three travel genres that he previously identified and discusses both how the pupils relate to each genre and how they manoeuvre in the field of tension between them. The camps, which are visited during a total two of the eight days of the trip, are of course the places that are most clearly associated with the pilgrimage, and the discussion of what happens there also takes up most room in the chapter. The other two travel genres, tourism and the school excursion, similarly have their main arenas. You are a tourist when you have free time in

Kraków and Berlin or visit the salt mines in Poland, and you are on a school excursion particularly when in the bus, which is a kind of familiar haven where one can relax, getting away from the surroundings and the emotional challenges of the camps. Kverndokk's analysis simultaneously aims to show how the dimensions are intertwined and how a central aspect of the pupils' test of maturity is that they themselves take responsibility for understanding when they can act each part: when they can be tourists or irresponsible school pupils and when they are supposed to be serious pilgrims. Chapter 6, finally, contains a brief appendix about the three pupils in the class who did not go on the trip. Their absence has been explained by their teacher, the reason being that they are Muslims. The author reflects here on how the journeys can confirm exclusion and reinforce boundaries at home, which is of course thought-provoking in view of their explicit aim of counteracting prejudices and promoting respect for the equal value of all people.

When the author examines the pupils' reports and presentations after returning home, he finds that they correspond well to the exemplary reactions and formulations that have been held up as models in the course of the project. One of the presentations he studies in detail is the pupils' written reports. These have five obligatory parts. A couple of these can, ideally, contain reflections on all three aspects of the trip, while the three main texts that are of essay character are expected to concentrate on experiences and reflections to do with the camps and the pilgrimage. An interesting note in this context is that some of the pupils paste tickets, coins, and amusing photographs from the trip in the empty spaces between these texts, in a way reminiscent of another composite genre that plays a role in their lives, the school diary (a kind of combination of a calendar and a souvenir album). In one way this can seem as if the pupils themselves take command over these spaces and use them to act out in a way that is not really encouraged in this context. At the same time, however, the actual sorting (the fact that these elements are found just here and that the experiences to which they refer are not allowed to penetrate the three serious essays) is yet another sign that the pupils live up to the demands made of them. In this chapter we also return to a fascinating exception which the author introduced us to back in chapter 6: Hilde (pseudonym), who says after the trip in an interview with Kverndokk that the visit to Auschwitz was "dead boring". She breaches many norms in this context, and she is the only exception in the text who protests against the uniformity of monologization. It should be noted that the effect of this is that she is not taken quite seriously, and her comments and reflections are not among those admitted to the most formalized highlights when the project is to be presented after the homecoming.

The main lines of the analysis are summed up in a relatively short conclusion. The author underlines here that the trips contribute to making the Holocaust into something that is bound to a place, and that this place is far away from Norway. The evil is thereby located far away from the pupils' own everyday life at home. He likewise notes that the trips stage a universalist Holocaust narrative through an ethnic Norwegian perspective – but that this will probably change as the time witnesses die out. The fact that the Jewish tragedy is already getting more space is clear from the study Kverndokk has now conducted. Other categories of prisoner, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Roma, handicapped people and homosexuals, are still left out completely from the version of the Holocaust understanding that the trips depict.

The dissertation is well written and engaging on both an academic and an existential level. It is based a large, rich, and varied body of source material, of which good use is made in the analysis. The theoretical base is well composed, yet simultaneously so rich in perspectives and concepts that the text may arouse some questions about how different concepts and figures of thought stand in relation to each other (an example is the relationship between the discourse and the dialogue perspective, another is the relationship between script and tradition, a third is the relation between tradition complex and memory discourse). Also interesting is the tension between the author's interest in the acting subject (for him dialogism naturally implies an interest of this kind) and his analytical prioritization of the discursive practices within which the subject can act. One could perceive this as two irreconcilable stances. But the combination can also be viewed as a justified challenge to the programmatic dismissal of the subject, which sometimes tends to go along with the perspective of discourse analysis, and a reminder that the use of the term subject need not imply any expectation of a particular degree of freedom of action or creativity.

My main impression of the analysis, very briefly, is that the script in the studied activity is so strict that the pupils cannot actually say or do anything but what is expected of them if they want to be taken seriously. One thought that occurred to me during the reading is whether the author's way of demarcating and designing the study may have contributed to this uniformity in the results, or, to put it more drastically, whether the author is caught in the same script as the pupils he studies. The demarcation of the study coincides with the travel project's own framework, and what is examined most intensively is the most clearly prescribed and the most formal ritual activities, that is, the genres and situations that are singled out as particularly important in the construction of the project. It is hardly surprising that this is not where we find the deviant protests. A corresponding investigation of situations and communications in the intervals, for instance conversations in the pupils' homes, informal interaction in the schoolyard, or the preparations for the ceremonial presentations after the homecoming, could possibly have given slightly different results.

This reflection, however, should not obscure the fact that the situations and genres to which Kverndokk has devoted most interest *could* have been less strictly steered than was the case. The project could have been constructed differently, with greater flexibility. The force of the conformity is a finding that emerges from the empirical study, within its set limits, and it is well substantiated in the text. And the academic reader who longs for deviations and cracks when the uniformity gets too strong (I was one such reader) should perhaps also stop to reflect on his or her own expectations and motivations.

The aim of the dissertation is not to evaluate the studied activity. However, in view of the fact that these journeys, as the author writes, have had an overwhelmingly favourable response and are greatly respected by the Norwegian public sphere, it could be important to articulate more clearly the critical reflections to which a detailed examination gives rise. For example, there could be more discussion of the observation that some pupils on the bus on the way home from the camps could make fun of immigrants (as if the message about equal human value had not really sunk in), or a slightly more detailed comment on the fact that the trips place the evil far away from the pupils' own everyday life at home (and thereby undercommunicate the insight that we all have a capacity to become henchmen of evil). But this is a type of additional discussion that can be conducted in future articles. I wish this dissertation a long life, and many readers.

Barbro Blehr, Stockholm

The Ambivalence of Gender

Karin S. Lindelöf, Om vi nu skall bli som Europa. Könsskapande och normalitet bland unga kvinnor i transitionens Polen. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2006. 240 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7061-024-0.

■ During spring 2005 I received a T-shirt from my friend and colleague in Warsaw with the text: "Jestem lesbijką" – I am lesbian. It was a nice T-shirt; however I was a bit puzzled. What exactly did it intend to express? Later I realized that my T-shirt apparently was part of a large post-pope event: Pope John Paul II had died only a few months earlier, and in the midst of the massive mourning among the Polish people, a young group of Warsaw citizens made a critical campaign in order to also commemorate the conservatism of the Pope. Once a symbol of resistance against state socialism, the pope had become part of a symbolic establishment that was now to be resisted, especially concerning questions of women's rights, abortion, and homosexuality (Ewa Klekot 2007). One should bear in mind that gay-parades were prohibited in Warsaw in 2005. Thus a T-shirt saying "I am lesbian" has a different connotation when worn in Warsaw than in Copenhagen or Stockholm, demonstrating that the Polish fight for women's rights, equality between the sexes, and different sexualities is a specific and complex one.

The complexity of gender relations in Poland today is what Karin S. Lindelöf's doctoral dissertation is about. All through the text the complexity is presented and analysed as a pronounced ambivalence among the informants concerning gender and femininity, tradition and modernity.

Lindelöf bases her study on in-depth interviews with seven young Polish women, mainly from the Department of Scandinavian Studies, Gdańsk University, which enabled them to communicate in "Scandinavian" or English. The seven women all live in large cities in Poland and belong to the well-educated Polish middle class. The material was generated by 6 months of fieldwork during 2001 in the Tri-City area of Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia and also includes published sources (lifestyle magazines, brochures, newspapers etc.), as well as observations, field notes, a few interviews with relatives and/or persons connected to the women, and some active feminists. Furthermore, Lindelöf includes 13 essays from the Department of Scandinavian Studies, Gdańsk University, in her analyses.

Lindelöf defended her dissertation at the Institute of Ethnology, Religion and Gender Studies, University of Stockholm, but the study is also part of the framework of the research school *Baltic and East European Graduate School* (BEEGS), Södertörn University College. The emphasis, however, is rather on the cultural construction of gender from an ethnological angle, than on Central and Eastern European aspects in general. As a consequence, there are no comparisons with other countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

The choice of Poland as focus of the study is, however, justified. Poland's complex position between tradition and modernity in the transition process of the last few decades contributes to making the problem field of Lindelöf's book extremely interesting. The modes of gender orderings found in Poland have been and are still influenced by two contradictory, but coexisting principles. On the one hand, the Catholic Church speaks for the beauty of the *complementary* contribution of each of the sexes. The Church has a strong impact on Polish national identity, celebrating the Virgin Mary as the ideal Woman and Mother, and not allowing abortion or premarital sexual relations. On the other hand, the state socialist ideology before 1989 stressed the importance of the *equalization* of gender roles. Thus, two strong positions, each the total opposite of one another, today influence Polish transitional society. Within the transition process, gender plays a peculiar role. As Lindelöf states, following the anthropologists S. Gal and G. Kligman: "orderings of gender are more tenacious than political regimes" (p. 14, my transl.).

The dissertation contains seven chapters, an epilogue and a preface, as well as a summary and a list of sources and literature. The first chapter, "Poland – European Tradition and Modernity", introduces the study and presents the theoretical premises, empirical material and methodological reflections. Theoretically, the study places itself in a poststructuralist framework, with a special focus on gender and sexuality studies. Also, Lindelöf declares herself as a feminist. Lindelöf's aim is to expose discourses surrounding the cultural constitution of gender among the young women selected for the study. Inspired by Laclau and Mouffe, she wishes to shed light on how articulatory practices are created, reproduced and questioned in the constitution of femininity by and among the young women (p. 13). According to Lindelöf, articulation as an analytical concept is crucial, because it stresses all social phenomena as discursive, hence excluding the possibility of non-discursive phenomena (p. 23). In this respect, Lindelöf also takes into account the poststructuralist feminist Judith Butler's theoretical premise that gender is constructed by the processes of doing and not only by saying (note 11).

Chapter 2, "Stereotypes: Femininity and Feminism", analyses the 13 essays written on the subject: "Being a woman in Poland and Sweden – a comparison" or "Why I am (not) a feminist" (note 34). This material shows a strong ambivalence between what are considered to be traditional and modern aspects of gender stereotypes, family life, education, working life etc. On the one hand independence and equality among men and women are regarded as crucial and on the other, strong, heterosexual norms of family life and femininity are articulated.

Chapter 3, "Courtesy: Gallantry and Fear" analyses an apparently typical Polish phenomenon: men opening doors for women. Lindelöf shows how this practice is embodied in a complex "discursive system" (p. 87) including the reflexive ways the young women handle it, and how it co-creates gender categories and thereby reinforces the heterosexual matrix (Butler). Although several of the young women appreciate male courtesy, it is also connected to the ambivalence between femininity and equality or independence. The analysis also points to the other side of the male chivalry, namely fear. Inherent in the discourse of courtesy is (a female) fear of being raped or violated, and the need for (male) protection (p. 94).

Chapter 4, "Courtesy: Love and Sexuality", deals with questions of contraception, abortion and homosexuality, prostitution, pornography and femininity. The constant navigation between tradition and modernity among the women is striking. In this chapter, we also learn that the title of Lindelöf's dissertation, "If we are to become like Europe", refers to a conversation with one of the young women about sex shops, prostitution and pornography. This particular girl associates progress and "Europeanness" with free porn, and her reasoning is that if Poland is to develop into a Western society it has to be "competitive" on all levels, also with regard to pornography (p. 120).

Chapter 5, "Not Feminist But Equal", shows an interesting tendency among the young women: that they are generally for gender equality, but against feminism (p. 154). Feminism is associated with state socialism, and therefore with the "old" Poland. Lindelöf sums up three contradictory but coexisting arguments articulated in her material: that gender equality is already a fact in Poland, that the Polish women have a privileged feminine (or rather feminized) position and that gender equality cannot be a top priority on the political agenda compared to all the other areas where Poland has to develop in order to be able to match the West. The seven young women can be described as ambitious, independent and self-confident, aiming at gender equality; however, they also wish to keep the special feminine position of Polish women and the male courtesy, i.e. gender relations based on complementarities.

Chapter 6, "A Normal Life: Family and Work", discusses the future from the perspective of the young women. The themes in focus are equality in daily life, motherhood, freedom, independence and happiness. The women question the balance between working life and family life, and between the role as a housewife and as a professional woman. Within these discourses, a certain ideal type of "the considerate man" (pp. 200ff) is also constituted. He is able to grasp both traditional masculine practices (courtesy) and modern ones (equality). The myth of the self-sacrificing mother, symbolically linked to Virgin Mary (p. 183) seems to be quite present in the ambivalent perspectives on motherhood among the young women. This is parallel to an idealization of material independence and freedom to choose one's own arrangements regarding work and career.

The last chapter, "If We Are to Become like Europe", discusses how the transition discourse has a hegemonic position and thus a high impact on the young women in their constant navigation between tradition and modernity struggling to become part of (Western) European "normality". These identity formations are embedded in processes of democratization, the transitions of the market, EU membership, Catholicism etc. They embody the attempt to practice a femininity that balances between the poles of courtesy–equality, East–West, old–new etc., summed up in what Lindelöf characterizes as a transition femininity (p. 209). The effect of the "constitutive outside" is distinct in the way the women distance themselves from other (rural, less educated, less European) Poles, which Lindelöf calls "European Orientalism" (*europaorientalism*, p. 209). The interesting side effect of these polarizations is how the young women practise femininity somewhere in between the poles, thus creating new variations of femininity in a European Poland. The concepts of variations and intersectional identities are finally suggested as useful terms for further studies of the constitution of identities in transitional processes in Central and Eastern Europe.

Lindelöf's dissertation has great relevance for ethnological research on cultural processes as well as for the general understanding of recent developments in contemporary Europe. The study presents a wide knowledge of literature in the field; with some authors more in focus than others (notably Wolanik-Boström 2005). In her analysis of European Orientalism Lindelöf is close to studies made by, among others, the sociologist Michał Buchowski and his concept 'nesting orientalism'. Also, the Polish *Matka Polka* related to gender issues has been analysed in several studies by social and cultural anthropologists such as Frances Pine and Agnieszka Koscianska.

Lindelöf is inspired by poststructuralist and feminist approaches and also explicitly states several times that she herself is a feminist. It would have been interesting if a discussion of the analytical implications of being a feminist had been further elaborated (e.g. p. 39).

The poststructuralist inspiration underlying the type of discourse analysis that is used means that the young women act as articulations of discourses rather than peculiar individuals each embodying or embracing their own life-world. This is part of Lindelöf's strategy (p. 40) and she suggests that a general de-personification is a problematic side effect, especially from an ethical perspective. It would have been relevant if Lindelöf had also discussed the analytical implications of the de-personification approach.

Lindelöf has a wide range of material, including written and published sources. A further explication of how this part of the material is used would have given more transparency. It is difficult to see that lifestyle magazines and newspapers are really included in the analysis (p. 168). How the Catholic Church is analysed also momentarily becomes blurred. When Lindelöf refers to the "traditional discourse of the church" (p. 132) it is unclear which sources she is using and on what basis she presents that knowledge.

As the "Epilogue", based on a short re-visit to Gdańsk in 2005, sums up, the transitional discourse in Poland is still a hegemonic one. Within the dissertation, the transitional discourse acts simultaneously as a result and a premise for the analyses (p. 36). Consequently the transition discourse also becomes to some extent hegemonic within the dissertation itself. The discourse runs in advance as an underlying structuring principle behind the different articulations that are analysed, and what precisely it might consist of is presented in a more indirect manner.

These remarks, however, do not affect the overall judgement that Lindelöf's dissertation is an important and well-written contribution to a growing field of ethnological studies of cultural processes in Central and Eastern Europe.

Marie Sandberg, Copenhagen

Finns in Sweden – The Effect of Time

Mirjaliisa Lukkarinen Kvist, Tiden har haft sin gång. Hem och tillhörighet bland sverigefinnar i Mälardalen. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 372. Institutionen för samhälls- och välfärdsstudier. Tema Äldre och Åldrande, Linköping 2006. 278 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85643-94-7.

■ This book is about Finns who moved from Haapajärvi in Finland to settle in the same part of Sweden, the Mälaren valley, several decades ago. Crucial questions for Lukkarinen Kvist concern how these people identify themselves today. Do they still feel like Finns, or have they become acclimatized in Swedish society, so that they feel more in common with their new home than with the old one? The focus is thus on how identity is created, maintained, and changed in the different phases of a lifetime.

By setting up a Finnish heritage association in Sweden, as a subsidiary to a similar association in the old home district, a common foundation of interest was established. This association keeps contacts with the old home alive, and identity becomes synonymous with belonging, bonds, and social relations. The old is interwoven with the new, Finnishness with Swedishness. Lukkarinen Kvist asks how a sense of *we* arises and how this sense results in the formation of an association. She believes that identities are shaped by various social processes which actively belong with identity creation. This identity is, of course, something that is established, shaped, and changed in integration with other individuals and groups, and it is a process that goes on all through life. The author has an interesting discussion of group identities. To be able to create a sense of *we*, people have to work for a common project and a common goal. Group members can feel that they belong to the group, even if they have differing ideas as to what it means to be a group member. For the identity and cohesion of the group it is important to have a shared memory. This becomes a platform from which the group members can find understanding among themselves and to hold the group together. This memory is not static; it is constantly subject to interpretation, reconstruction, selection etc. Nor is there just *one* memory. We all carry different memories – individual and collective.

The starting point of the study is what people remember and tell today, now that they are approaching pension age. The author gets them to look back at the time when they moved to Sweden and tell of the difficulties that existed then, how these were tackled with a go-ahead spirit and some stubbornness. When the heritage association was founded there were 200 members, but with the years the number of members has fallen to 100. The "life-course perspective" on the historical circumstances that they have experienced has affected events later in life. The decision to move to Sweden was grounded in a historical context, the conditions that existed in Finnish society compared to what was on offer in Sweden, where there were jobs and a nation that had enjoyed peace for a long time.

Using the concept of diaspora, the author puts the focus on the Finns in the Mälaren valley and their experience of belonging. How do they view the old homeland and returning there, and how do they view their current domicile in Sweden? She says that people who move to another country can be part of a chain reaction. Identity either lands somewhere – people return to their roots – or disappears through assimilation and homogenization. But one can also remain in contact with one's old homeland without having any plans to return.

Lukkarinen Kvist shows how the Finns in the Mälaren valley keep in touch with the old home district through their heritage association. They thereby continue to identify with the old home. Ties of kinship and friendship continue to exist in the Mälaren valley as well. The heritage association allows the expression of community between people with a shared background. The old home is given a meaning, a unifying link of great significance for how life will turn out in Sweden.

Depending on what stage of life one is in, however, relations with the old home in Finland and the new home in Sweden have changed. As long as the parents in Finland were alive, the family gathered there in the holidays. Now that they are dead, the people no longer feel at home there. Contacts are confined to a visit to the graves. Interest is instead focused on their own children and grandchildren. Moreover, the old home district has also changed, making it harder for them to feel really at home there; a growing sense of alienation is caused by the strangers now living there.

The author comes to the conclusion that the Finns in Eskilstuna now identify themselves as locals and feel that they belong to Eskilstuna. The Swedes of Eskilstuna no longer regard them as immigrants but as *Eskilstuna people with a Finnish background.* When the Finns have become a part of Eskilstuna and are no longer questioned, this results in a positive self-image among these Finns in Sweden. This local identification and belonging is possible because they gain a hearing for their views instead of being confronted. Through experience the Finns here have learned to cooperate and negotiate with the majority population. In addition, the Finns today are classified as a national minority in Sweden. In other places there can be minorities who do not feel that they are wholly accepted by the members of the majority society. In this study the author can find no trace of this diaspora feature.

Through time, as people retire from work, they find that their contacts with Swedes have decreased. They prefer to meet people who speak the same language and have the same background. Being able to talk one's native language, to find the right words and to engage in witty repartee gives a sense of rest. They do not have to explain all the time: for example, if they talk about *Finnish* Midsummer then other people understand the full meaning without explanations.

Lukkarinen Kvist sums up her study thus: the new home, which they used to leave in connection with their holidays, has through time become a natural part of the life of these Finns in Sweden. Now that they themselves are the last link in the family, the life course has changed. This in turn is significant for the place. There has been a kind of reorientation in life. The old home declines in significance – although not entirely – when there are no longer so many relations left. Parallel to this, the significance of the new home is strengthened as a consequence of the family ties and social relations developed there.

The result of the study may seem obvious. It is natural that identity changes in the course of life, especially for people who left their homeland so long ago. A crucial factor here is the heritage association founded by these Finns in their new country. This provides an extended umbilical cord to the old home district, giving a secure group community for the members in the Mälaren valley, and is thus of great assistance and support for integration in the new home in Sweden.

Anyone concerned with matters of long-term identity and integration will find several interesting angles in this study, as well as a glimmer of hope that many issues which may seem insoluble at the moment can be resolved with the passage of time.

Rauni Janser, Ystad

Young Muslim Women in Sweden

Pia Karlsson Minganti, Muslima. Islamisk väckelse och unga muslimska kvinnors förhandlingar om genus i det samtida Sverige. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2007. 336 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7331-099-4.

■ The title of Pia Karlsson Minganti's dissertation, *Muslima,* is a clear enough indication of what the reader can expect from this book. Several of the words in the subtitle, meaning "Islamic Revival and Young Muslim Women's Negotiations of Gender in Contemporary Sweden", are saturated with meaning, clarifying the author's theoretical stance and choice of empirical material.

That we are in today's Sweden is obvious from the very first page of the dissertation, as is the fact that this is a work of ethnology and culture studies, with people and human action in the foreground. It feels important to stress that point since this reviewer, who acted as examiner for the dissertation, represents comparative religion, a discipline where human agency has all too often been neglected in favour of a desire to paint a historical background, to discuss terminology, or to focus on major processes and changes. Pia Karlsson Minganti's dissertation invites a genuinely interdisciplinary discussion.

The study is based on interviews with nine main informants, and the dissertation is essentially structured according to the theme of the young women's conversations together and in dialogue with the author. The material was collected during five years of solid fieldwork, 1998–2002, when the nine main informants were aged 18–25. They are described as "active believers" and had links to each other through various Muslim youth activities on the national level. There were no formal ties or friendships between the informants, who came from different towns and areas in Sweden, and as a result they stand out in the dissertation as definite individuals concealed behind the pseudonyms used by the author. They are of mixed ethnic background but they all came to Sweden as refugees in their childhood. This experience (and their position of "refugee" in Swedish society), along with their involvement in Muslim revival and youth organizations, is the common denominator. We therefore meet "the girls", as the author calls them throughout the dissertation, between the individual and the collective.

The introductory chapter states the theoretical point of departure and simultaneously presents the empirical material, which reflects the actual working process. The analysis proceeds from several methods and theories. At bottom there is a combination of gender and postcolonial theory which seizes on the fact that these young Muslim women in the diaspora are in a minority situation in several respects. Yet it is agency, participation, and negotiation that are the themes that the author identifies in her material. By emphasizing that the girls are practising Muslims, she underlines how they have undergone crises of various kinds, drawn the consequences of them, and experienced a religious change. But this is not a study in psychology or of conventional life-stories; the active stance in favour of Islam and the desire to become involved in Muslim youth organizations is regarded in the dissertation essentially as a social positioning and an active choice that inexorably leads to collisions between gender orders, power structures, expectations, and exhortations.

Throughout the dissertation there is a well-considered self-reflective discussion about voices, preferential right of interpretation, and ethical issues. The young women live in the tension between the family's traditionalism, the purism of revivalist Islam, and the explicit and implicit demands for Swedishness in the majority society. This puts them in a vulnerable position of which they are fully aware, irrespective of which visible or invisible strategies they choose. Being the main person in an academic dissertation can of course make the individual even more vulnerable. The author's far-reaching anonymization of the informants is therefore wholly understandable from an ethical and moral point of view, but it means that vital elements in the analysis remain incomplete. The study maintains a consistent – and well rendered – narrative tone with many long quotations from the informants. Through this method the author sticks close to the empirical evidence, but for the individuals we get to know well, such as "Noor" or "Latifa", we lack crucial information about their ethnic background, their everyday environment (school, education), and the social spaces in which they move. This makes it difficult for the reader to understand where the negotiations really take place, in social and spatial terms. This is particularly striking when one of their common denominators is national organizations working publicly and presenting their activities on the Internet. Moreover, there is nothing about the broader context of the informants, such as the local community (the difference between being a Muslim in a big city and in a small town), the welfare state of Sweden (with its specific ideology of education and equality), or the world as a whole in an age of globalization. Several of the informants visit their homelands or families in the diaspora in other countries. There is only a hint of this in the study, and the transnational aspects of the young women's lives remain vague.

The author has brought us close to nine individuals in Swedish society, and her empirical method shows up the people and the humanity behind categories and stereotypes. The dissertation displays the complexity and contradictions in the young women's life-worlds, and by proceeding from gender orders and power structures we see that their shortcomings, their disappointments, or, in certain situations, their passivity are not victimizing, but symptoms of the structures and discourses that shape and steer people and that are parried by their own will power and initiative.

Muslima is in every sense a readable dissertation. The presentation is fluid and vivid, the book is well thought out and consistent, and it deserves to be read far beyond the expected audience.

Catharina Raudvere, Copenhagen

Textile Interpretations

Anneli Palmsköld, Textila tolkningar. Om hängkläden, drättar, lister och takdukar. Nordiska museets handlingar 133. Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2007. 268 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7108-519-1.

■ "Are textile museum objects dead?" Anneli Palmsköld asks in this dissertation. If this *were* the case, they are at least not dead any more. Palmsköld came along and disturbed the peace of the grave, raised them to life and started examining them in detail. She has undertaken to study the life history of a collection of decorative interior textiles, from the moment they entered the world between the hands of the women who sat at the loom, through the particularly active phase of life they spent in the museum in an intensive research network with the museum pioneers, until they were embalmed in acid-free paper and put to rest in cardboard boxes in the museum stores.

Textile objects in museums were at once works of art and everyday objects; they represented advanced craft knowledge and could moreover be used as a source for understanding processes of diffusion and evolution. The author wonders how it happened that the textiles, together with other household objects, from having been a constituent element in the practice of museums of cultural history, moved out to the periphery, where only a few specialists were able to ask questions about them. The scientific project disappeared, but the textiles did not. This allows for the possibility of getting them to speak again. Palmsköld writes about this process: "The textiles have been the hub, and questions concerning production, use, and interpretations have been the concepts around which the study has revolved" (p. 12).

The dissertation proceeds from a collection of interior textiles – hanging cloths, wall hangings, edgings, and roof hangings – from the County Museum in Halmstad. They were products of domestic industry in the 18th and 19th centuries and were used at Christmas to decorate the interior of the ceilingless cottages known as *ryggåsstugor*. At the end of the 19th century they were much sought after by museums, which competed to collect them.

In the dissertation the life story of these peasant textiles is told backwards: from museum collection to use and production. It starts with the dead textiles in museum stores and follows them back in time; first their use and then their creation. The textiles have spent the last phase of their lives as museum artefacts and changed status from living to dead – from key artefacts, as active players in a flourishing research field, to dead objects, mostly a source of bother. But then along came Palmsköld with new research glasses and raise them from the dead – she breathed life into them with new questions. A great deal of interesting reflections have resulted from this, and even for someone who does not know much about textiles, the dissertation gives a fascinating insight into the world of textiles.

Since the life history of the textiles spans 200 years, this means that the history of their interpretation falls into several phases. Their primary use was for decorating the home, their secondary use was as antiques in avant-garde homes at the end of the 19th century, when modern details were combined with old textiles, or as museum artefacts in reconstructed interiors and at open-air museums, and finally as models to be taught as ideological handicraft by folk high schools.

In each phase the past is different from the present in which the textiles are used and given meaning. More and more filters are added, and these are all in place at the moment where we are today, when the textiles are attracting renewed interest, partly because of what has been called "the material turn". Textiles have ended up playing a special role in this turn, which in many ways is a self-examination process on the part of culture studies after the linguistic turn, when the searchlight was pointed at the meanings ascribed by people rather than the physical existence of the objects. I view this dissertation as part of this turn.

The first part of the dissertation considers how the category of peasant textiles was constructed and applied. This was a research field that was interested in techniques, forms, and materials as a topic in itself, but also as a contribution to the discussion at the time about materially based cultural boundaries and channels of diffusion. Collecting activities thus reproduced and materialized the idea of folk textiles as a distinctive category.

The dissertation gives insight into the process whereby the museums' textile collections were built up by the three museum disciplines of ethnology, art history, and archaeology, with their respective study of peasant textiles, the aesthetic and fashion textiles of the upper class, and textiles in churches and graves. The collections came into existence in a process where the research field called "folk textiles" emerged. The analysis clearly shows how *conceptions* and *representations* of the ceilingless cottage developed together.

Later folk housing and material culture became an extinct category. If one wants to ask other questions of the textiles than those which they had been collected to illuminate, one must go back to the objects themselves, Palmsköld argues. Through her physical contact with the things, the researcher can pay special attention to details and wholes and then put them in a broader cultural context. The close-up study of the objects themselves gives opportunities to ask new questions about *how the textiles were made*. It is not enough merely to describe how textile was woven; Palmsköld also wants to analyse the actual activity: "What does it mean to weave, to perform an act of weaving?" (p. 14). The fact that the author asks that question testifies to a new and different way of tackling the topic. Textiles are not viewed as cultural *products,* but as a *practice* interwoven with meaning, including the meaning of gender in relation to the weaving process.

By following the material life of the textiles in the form of production and use over time, she gains access to several different empirical spaces. How they were produced and used in purely technical terms – the weaving and hanging techniques of the time, the changes that occurred when they were selected by the museum pioneers and then sorted, classified, and handled in the museum.

The primary use of the textiles can only be approached through their secondary use. Since it is not possible to go direct to the source to observe and interview, the author has to study the use through the museum practice that took an interest in them and collected them, but without the context of use being made explicit, as it was something else that interested researchers at that time. The primary use is filtered through the secondary present. Palmsköld nevertheless manages to find sources which can supplement the objects in the form of questionnaires, drawings, topographical descriptions, and comments recorded in connection with the collection.

It is difficult, however, to extract knowledge out of the texts about people's experiences of their home adorned in festive garb. The analysis is therefore dependent on qualified assumptions and the ability of the researcher to imagine what it might have looked like. In the chapter about the decoration of the interior the language of the dissertation also becomes more tentative: "perhaps one could say...", "I can imagine that...", but this is probably what we should expect when it is a matter of interpretations.

In a long chapter Palmsköld embarks on an interpretation of the textiles. By thoroughly studying them with her prior knowledge and what she has learned from the other scattered sources, she arrives at more exciting interpretations. She notes, for example, that weaving with linen makes it possible to express oneself through weaving techniques to arrive at a fabric that reflects light in the best possible way, rather than by playing with colours. We also learn a lot from traces of use in the form of bleaching, fat from cooking at the open hearth, mistakes and crooked edges, marking with names, folds caused when the textiles had to be adapted to fit around beams in the room and the holes by which they were hung. It is also thought-provoking when she considers how it was possible to create symmetrical patterns on the long lengths of fabric when the textile was rolled up as it was being made.

For a phenomenologist the intention is to conduct an empirical analysis of meaning structures in people's social life-world. "What then is the meaning of the textiles?" the author asks (p. 96). One interpretation she reaches is that, by clothing the living room with textiles people created a holy space or materialized the transformation of profane time to sacred time. The textile-clad room thus materializes the spiritual and practical sides of existence – the room is a representation of a microcosm (p. 145). Another fascinating reflection is whether textiles carry an idea that is, so to speak, their meaning. With inspiration from Plant Armstrong, Palmsköld writes that the objects present the world, rather than the world being represented through the objects. One answer is that textiles are metaphors for the human ability to cultivate nature. Another answer is that their meaning is the ability to make use of material. Their meaning should thus be understood in terms of desirable qualities such as sheen, whiteness, a thin and even thread. The third answer is that the textiles present the ability and skill to live in the world. Their meaning or cultural idea is thus what people can achieve using their capabilities and competence. The *meaning* of the textiles in a more semiotic sense can thus be said to be the competent and hard-working person.

These are interesting interpretations, but it can be slightly difficult for the reader to ascertain whether the argument is that textiles as material objects have a universal meaning concerning the human capability to reshape nature as culture, or whether the textiles should rather be seen as external expressions of internal structuring cultural ideas. In other words, the dissertation leads to the question whether the *meaning* of textiles is the same in all cultures at all times or if it is culture-specific. Are the ideas universal or cultural?

All in all, this dissertation is a solid demonstration of what it means to investigate empirical materiality. Palmsköld not only claims but also shows that the textiles themselves give new knowledge and generate new questions. It is not only language that gives knowledge about the past; through action people have left material impressions behind them. The objects carry information about practical activity and about habits and routines that must have been incorporated in the ancestors' bodies and movements.

What at first sight resembles a classical ethnological topic is more than that, first and foremost because of the methodological approach, proceeding from the objects themselves. The author uses the things themselves as a source on a par with written and visual sources. Their function, their design, their sensuous structure and their meaning are regarded as being equally important. The phenomenological principle that people's experiences with objects are not primarily intellectual and linguistic is maintained in this study. It is of course extremely important to get close to human experience in historical material. One way to attempt this is to consider the communicative properties of the things. Communication is much more than text, Palmsköld writes, but is it not just a confirmation of the linguistic turn that the textiles are regarded as tools for communication?

The dissertation nevertheless has a solid phenomenological inspiration. Using phenomenology as a method means starting with the objects themselves – the textiles, as they appear to the researcher. Yet she also says that the objects are not the goal of the analysis, it is the people, so the choice to start with the objects is a means to understand people (p. 32). The aim is to arrive at an understanding of the individuals who produced and used the textiles (p. 58). The dissertation does not completely achieve this, however. We learn a lot about textiles as materiality, but we do not really get close to the people who produced and used them.

The general theoretical question that is considered more or less explicitly in the dissertation is whether objects may be said to have *agency,* in that they urge action. They tie people together and have a physical influence on us, make us act and have a real effect on the world. People's movements in space and bodily gestures are steered by the material objects in space, Palmsköld argues (with Baudrillard). In this connection it could have been interesting if the she had developed the idea that the textiles were actors in the constitution of the idea that Swedishness is locally situated in what is distinctive for each place (p. 39).

Another matter that could have been elaborated on is the statement that, by focusing on the handling of objects as they are produced, reproduced, and consumed, the human being is brought into the analysis as body or physical existence. The relationship of textile production to the body is an interesting field, but apart from the fact that lengths are based on parts of the body, such as feet and inches (thumbs), and that the different coarseness of the yarn can be seen as part of the body-related standardization of textile production, the body remains almost absent from the dissertation.

This is despite the oft repeated mantra that, because experiences of things are emotional and corporeal, the study of things should also be that. In the descriptions the author aims for a phenomenological focus on the researcher's – and hence other people's – encounter with objects, but the reader cannot help thinking that that phenomenological approach was chosen because there were not so many written sources. Palmsköld herself writes that she started by looking for interpretations of things in the form of texts, as in Michel Foucault's famous work *The Order of Things.* This approach has also given some insight into the ways in which the textiles have been classified and named on the catalogue cards. Unfortunately, however, the sources mostly consisted of facts and pictures rather than richly worded descriptions. What was left was the textiles themselves and the museum practice that produced them as objects of knowledge.

This museum practice is a natural fulcrum in the dissertation, but without making the reader fully aware of the huge significance and the key role played by textiles in Swedish museum practice. It could have given even greater insight if Palmsköld had also attempted an empathetic phenomenological analysis of the museum space, as she does of the empirical space where the textiles were produced and used. What drove museum workers in those days? We may well wonder about that today, for example, when we see the carefully photographed selvages with different braiding pasted on small cards (pp. 90–91). This gives me almost the same feeling as when I see pictures of collections of conches and mussels from the time of the Enlightenment. So different and yet so similar. It was not so long ago that the textiles were collected, but we still do not thoroughly understand the scientific world-view in which this multitude of selvages and braids had meaning. It could have been exciting to see an attempt at this.

It must be said that this is not a dissertation on museum history. Palmsköld makes a determined and admirable effort to regard the textiles as textiles and not just as objects in museum *history* that can only be used to gain insight into museum practice and the history of museums and collecting. The question nevertheless remains whether it is possible to use the textile collections for something other than museum history. It is not possible, for example, to say anything about textile production in Halland in the 18th and 19th centuries on the basis of the museum textiles, Palmsköld writes, because the textiles that were produced for sale were not interesting or appealing to the museum founders. It was not everyday textiles but the outstanding festive textiles they were interested in. There is therefore a great deal of work in looking for ways to make older museum artefacts interesting for research. The collections are not the answers to today's burning issues, unlike the museum practice which characterized the phase when the museums were being built up, when they had no collections, but had only started collecting. The collections were part of a research process and not the starting point for research. The practice of creating order was a way to gain new insight, not the result of insight.

These and many other questions are raised by this dissertation. That is a great quality which goes together with the fact that it is not traditional but a kind of hybrid, which I mean in a truly positive sense. It is at once a local study, cultural history, material cultural analysis, and a museological study. It combines texts and objects, interpretations and descriptions, actors and technologies, time and place. I hope that there will be many more dissertations like this, and I hope that many more museum collections will become actors in new networks of cultural scholars.
Lene Otto, Copenhagen

Visiting Reality in Photography

Anja Petersen, På visit i verkligheten. Fotografi och kön i slutet av 1800-talet. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2007. 184 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. 978-91-7139-795-9.

■ With the book "Visiting Reality", Anja Petersen inscribes herself in an interdisciplinary research field where photographs are not reduced to historical illustrations; on the contrary, they stand out as objects that constitute and create reality. This is a book that focuses on how 19th century portrait photography helped to shape different categories and perceptions of femininity. Through feminist and constructionist theories, Petersen analyses different groups of female portraits as they were shaped in the 19th century. The pictures in question are photographic visiting cards, portraits preserved in the records of a mental hospital, and those in the archives of the prison and the police force. The book ends with a chapter where two Norwegian female photographers confront the established genre of visiting cards. The aim of the book is to analyse the significance of the photographs in "making the woman".

The first chapter, also entitled "Visiting Reality", opens with Mrs Anna Stenbeck, who had her portrait taken in the studio of the photographer Oscar Olsen in Österborg some time in the 1890s. Mrs Stenbeck poses full-length, resting her hands on the back of the photographer's chair, and behind her hangs a backdrop where one can discern flowers and colonnades. The portrait reflects the obsession of the period with details, with what was perceived as being objective and true to life. The same picture also serves as an introduction to a survey of the development of the genre.

The focus of the chapter is nevertheless on the composition of the portraits. The pictures should not be perceived as natural wholes, but are constructed through a series of details. These are revealed when Petersen crops the pictures, highlighting details, enlarging them, and presenting them as separate pictures. Things that might otherwise seem trivial are thereby transformed into meaningful elements, and the portraits are thus given a number of new dimensions. Gazes, hands, hats, jewellery, handkerchiefs, costume decoration, props, etc., are made visible, giving insight into how the photographs were constructed as regards ideologies, gender, and class structures. The woman's gaze, for example, is mostly directed towards something diffuse outside the picture, while her hands are in a resting position, either clasped on the lap, placed on the back of a chair, or holding a bag and handkerchief. This is how photographs portray the passive woman who belongs in the intimate bourgeois sphere. Yet she is not wholly passive; her back is straight and her gaze is firm; the photograph shows how important it was that women were capable of self-control and self-understanding. 19th century bourgeois women are passive and active at the same time. The visiting cards became extremely popular, with a large circulation and following a more or less firmly established pattern. They can thus be regarded as quotations which, in their repetitive way, not only reflect the established feminine ideal of the time, but also helped to construct what the category of woman was supposed to contain. Visiting reality also means shaping reality.

The next chapter, "Photographic Anamneses", begins with the portrait of Mathilda Sofia Bengtsdotter. Mathilda smiles charmingly, but her crooked teeth, her short-cut hair, her dirty clothes, and the brick wall that is the backdrop to the picture, more than hint that this is not a traditional visiting card. The picture comes from Göteborg Mental Hospital, where it was placed in the case records to document the patient's condition. In the scientific thought of the day, the patient's appearance could be viewed as an objective registration of the patient's mind. In contrast to the bourgeois portraits, the patient photographs are therefore not retouched. This is a full-face portrait in which wrinkles, scars, gaze, and so on are interpreted as indications of the nature of the disease. Mental symptoms were visualized through their physical expression.

Petersen also shows how contemporary theories regarded mental illnesses as gender-specific. The French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot used photography to reveal how hysteria and eroticism were phenomena with particular relevance for women with mental disorders. Ideas like these are difficult to identify in the pictures from Göteborg Hospital. These portraits, on the other hand, seem to undercommunicate the specifically female quality that was emphasized in the visiting cards. The hospital clothes are heavy and miserable, few of the patients smile, and their gaze is mostly sad. But the pictures resemble each other, and Petersen claims that photographs used as instruments of diagnosis and registration made it possible to portray the mad woman as a type, in the anthropological manner. But this characteristic mainly concerns only women from the lower classes. Bourgeois women were able to wear attractive and private clothes, and their poses conform closely to the established norms of visiting cards. The class perspective was thus to be crucial for the form given to scientific and diagnostic portraits.

The chapter "The Coercive Portrait – Prison and Police Photographs" deals with photographs stored in prison and police archives. The portraits that Petersen has dug out are powerful pictures, not least because of all the poor and sad gazes that meet our eyes. These are faces that represent danger, immorality, destructiveness – everything that the bourgeoisie and the emerging middle class was not.

In this chapter Petersen presents a police and prison system that was under development, with new methods for identification being tested. Ideas about correspondences between physiology and psychology were still important, racial studies, phrenology, and anthropometric systems made the pictures into tools for classifying and portraying the female criminal type. This meant that a full-face portrait was no longer sufficient; special distinguishing marks also required pictures in profile. This was when mirrors came into use; the punished persons had to be observed and registered both from the front and from the side. The pictures became increasingly standardized, just as the persons became increasingly typologized.

Petersen is also concerned with how the actual presentation of the female criminal type changes over time. In the first rogues galleries the portraits of women and men were placed side by side. The collective character was emphasized; only the name and the nature of the crime distinguish the individuals from each other. Later on, this mixture of the sexes seemed threatening, as the boundary between the categories of man and woman became too diffuse. The result was that women would be photographed to a greater extent in their own private clothes. Petersen regards this as an expression of masking, a way to conceal the masculinity or what did not fit into the category of woman. In the police archives of prostitutes this is particularly clear because the portraits here are very similar to those on the visiting cards of the bourgeoisie. Instead it became important to emphasize the extravagance in dress and ornamentation. This extravagance seemed like a visual marker distinguishing the moral from the immoral, the working class from the bourgeoisie.

In the chapter "Photographic Pastiches" the main actors are the Norwegian photographers Marie Høeg and Boletta Berg both in front of and behind the camera. From their picture collection Petersen has taken self-portraits where the photographers pose in men's clothes and in situations that can be associated with men. This can be interpreted and discussed from several different angles. These include, e.g., humour and playing with conventions and masks, or carnivalesque fun in which roles and social orders are turned topsy-turvy. Concepts like androgyny and cross-dressing are also relevant when the focus is on the ability of the photographs to formulate gender. The pictures can be understood as a representation of non-man and non-woman at one and the same time. The imitations thus reveal established structures and stereotypes associated both with the set patterns of the visiting cards and with the traditional gender categories of the time. Høeg and Berg challenged the bourgeoisie's hegemonic culture; with the aid of creative thinking and imagination, they also questioned established and essentialized gender identities. Their pictures can therefore be regarded as a reflexive practice that used the bourgeois visiting-card portraits both to assert and to contest the dominant culture and the self-images it allowed.

Petersen thinks that Høeg and Berg's inverted pictures can be viewed as an artistic resistance strategy, and she compares their portraits with Cindy Sherman's photographs. Her pictures are also about using established pictorial structures to expose conventions about gender and identity. A possible objection is that this comparison is too particular in that we are dealing with two different eras, perhaps also different genres. Yet when they are assessed in relation to each other, it is possible to reveal how fragile and vulnerable the construction and understanding of identity is – both then and now.

The dissertation has an original and distinctive structure. The different chapters start with a photograph of a named person associated with a specific situation and a specific place. These pictures stand by themselves, without captions, and thus tie the theoretical analyses to a concrete and person-related background. The photographs create both curiosity and expectations about the different chapters.

It could perhaps be objected that the different types of portraits that Petersen presents do not belong to the same genre. Yet Petersen is able to show how the photographs can be interpreted in relation to the bourgeois visiting card. By opening with this group of pictures and closing with what can be understood as a revolt against the same pictures, both the book and the pictures take on a processual character.

The link between text and pictures is also special. The pictures are provided with long captions that contain analyses, problems, and the author's own interpretations and opinions. This is deliberately done in order to create space for "approaches of pictorial ethnography, as well as deconstructions and analyses, but also for more searching texts". Petersen thus wants to create stories that are both different from and deeper that the main text. This functions well most of the time. The reader is forced to stop and dwell on the pictures. The photographs get the attention they demand, and simultaneously a dialogue is established between the observer and the photograph, and between the reader and the author. The latter is a dialogue with both good and bad sides. Petersen manages to activate the reader's critical and perhaps suspicious gaze. How well do the author's interpretations of the pictures agree with the observer's own observations? Perhaps this is a deliberate method by which Petersen tries not just to add nuance and depth to her own analyses, but also to involve and challenge the reader. Yet the result is somewhat problematic. Although the book has a good structure, the long captions make it complicated to follow the reasoning and the analyses. Readers have to relate to pictures, interpretative captions, and an analytical main text all at the same time. Because there are also few cross-references in the text to the pictures, the reader has to choose when and where to look at the pictures and their captions. In addition, the book has long footnotes which are important for the context of the pictures and for the author's constructions of meaning. There are thus many threads to follow and criss-crossing discussions to keep track of. At times I find this rather irritating, especially when the captions also have references to footnotes. The result is that narratives and interpretations have a tendency to drown each other; this is a pity, because Petersen has many fine and insightful observations connected to the individual portraits which do not always get the attention they deserve.

The author is concerned both with the use of the pictures and with what one can see in them. Among other things, she points out how representatives of the medical profession and the prison system regarded the pictures in terms of what they themselves were on the lookout for. They saw what they wanted to see. In a more general sense this is something we all do, even Anja Petersen. Her gaze is that of a feminist and constructionist which reveals how the photographs, through their normative form, became a tool for formulating class and gender. She thus demonstrates that the pictures are neither "innocent" nor an objective reflection of reality. They are rather tools with the power to shape reality.

Despite this, I am left with a feeling that many aspects of the pictures are still invisible or undercommunicated. This applies to such a simple matter as the function of the bourgeois visiting cards as aesthetic and material objects. Petersen herself includes a photograph of a page from an album, but she omits to consider the use of the pictures to create biographical narratives in which family and friends appear in different periods in life. In such contexts the pictures are not just formal portraits, but pictures associated with love and intimacy – key words for bourgeois women at the turn of the century.

Power and powerlessness are not just important concepts; through strong pictures and sharp analyses these terms are visualized and made concrete. But perhaps it is precisely because this perspective is so dominant that the passivity of the photographed persons is so visible. Perhaps too visible. For many people it was uncommon and frightening to let themselves be portrayed. Nevertheless, is it possible that the aesthetic aspect of the pictures can say something about both the photographer and the subject, and perhaps the sad looks and grimaces can also be interpreted as a strategy of self-defence. The dialogue between the different parties in the photographic practice would have made the interpretations and analyses in the main text more lucid. Because the book is geared to the creation of gender, it is interesting that in this period in Sweden and Norway there were over 250 women who chose a professional career as photographers. This is a circumstance that ought to say something about the shaping and perception of taking photographs and letting oneself be photographed.

Also absent are the more technical aspects of the photographic process. The second half of the 19th century was a period when photography underwent major changes as regards the complexity and the cost of taking pictures. Not only was this a time when photographers had different motivations and qualifications for their work, but also the different institutions for a long time had different practices in relation to portrait photography, which was related to expenses and technical procedures for which it took time before the norms were firmly established. The visiting-card format was the most reasonable, and retouching to improve the quality of the pictures was often a matter of course in bourgeois pictures, whereas it would have been too costly in pictures intended for police and prison archives.

It is of course not difficult in retrospect to point out what could have been relevant to include, just as Petersen's bold analyses could have been more convincing if greater space had been allowed for the more prosaic elements. These objections concern the dominance of the feminist and constructionist perspective and how this renders other aspects of the pictures invisible. Despite this, the dissertation is both interesting and exciting. Through text and pictures it highlights photography as a power-related and class-specific medium with the capacity to shape both femininity and reality.

Eva Reme, Bergen

Modernity, Tradition, and Cultural Boundaries

Lars Olov Sjöström, Modernitet i det traditionella – kulturbyggen och gränser inom ett nordsvenskt område. Kulturens frontlinjer. Skrifter från forskningsprogrammet Kulturgräns norr nr 55. Umeå 2007. 359 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-88466-67-9.

■ Cultural boundaries are nothing new in ethnology. For many ethnologists, as for myself, they no doubt evoke Sigurd Erixon's book *Svenska kulturgränser och kulturprovinser* from 1945. Today creativity and development have been elevated into ideals. But how much novelty can a person and a society cope with and accept, when it comes to concrete innovations and new-fangled modes of thought?

In the introduction to his dissertation, Lars Olov Sjöström observes that the modern cannot exist without the traditional, and vice versa (p. 36). The stable, place-bound, continuous *tradition,* the ideal type of which is the non-modern peasant, for whom everything goes on as before, is displaced by a radically different, mobile *modernity,* the ideal type of which is the innovative individual in an urban setting. When one of these lifestyles becomes the norm, the other becomes a problem. Densely settled areas are secure in their culture, but sparsely populated rural areas stand for marginalization and insecurity. For the authorities, these rural areas become a problem. They are difficult to supervise, and it is often impossible to follow urban norms for purely geographical reasons. Those who survive in a traditional environment must have the strength to choose. Which innovations can be accepted, made useful, and adapted to everyday life? Which innovations give only status? Status objects and status-geared life-modes require neighbours, someone to compare oneself with. Functional innovations are their own justification.

The aim of the study is to analyse how modernization affects and is affected by local cultures and identities. The study covers a period of over 150 years since the mid-19th century. Sjöström defines the concept of modernity as: (1) the present – as opposed to the past;

(2) the new – as opposed to the old; (3) the transient – as opposed to the eternal or permanent.

Sjöström's most important analytical tools – the concepts of "basic and variable modernity" – are borrowed from the historian of ideas Sven-Eric Liedman. Sjöström's view is that basic and variable modernity correspond to hard and soft enlightenment. Basic and variable modernity are alternative concepts, and in the relationship between them it is not only the base of modernization that determines the content of variable modernity. There can also be influence in the opposite direction, when people – through their own choices or political decisions – affect the fundamental conditions for basic modernity. The causality can be regarded as reciprocal (p. 47).

The dissertation also deals with culture-building and boundaries. The author observes that the concept of boundary is ambiguous. He chiefly studies "social and mental boundaries" as they are experienced, expressed, and manifested in relations between different groups in society. The social and mental boundaries can be expressed in different ways as geographical identification areas in relations between *us* and *them*. The concept of boundary dynamics is one of his analytical tools, and when it comes to social culture, cultural boundaries are in large measure subjective. One of Sjöström's aims is to capture the dynamics in boundary drawing, to describe the powers behind both changes and resistance, and the struggle between different outlooks and structural conditions that create new social and cultural boundaries.

The cover picture is eloquent. About two thirds of the picture shows a horse pulling a sleigh loaded with logs on a winter road somewhere in the coniferous forests of Northern Europe. For an urban researcher with a historical orientation, the sawmill industry in the latter part of the 19th century is the first thing that comes to mind. But the buildings in the background suggest that it is the 20th century. The horse has hames and harness. The fact that the logs on the sleigh are tied down with chains and that the reins have been thrown in the snow on the road raises doubts as to whether this really is a traditional horse driver. On the last third of the picture we see that the driver is a modern person. His winter boots and clothes are colourful, factory-made items. The mobile phone into which he is speaking dates the picture to around 2000. In one single picture the author has managed to capture something from the different periods that he considers in his research, while simultaneously giving the reader a practical example of what the book is about: Modernity in the traditional.

In its structure the book resembles the kind of dissertation consisting of a collection of articles, although without the usual introduction and conclusion to tie it all together. It contains four sections dealing with cultural novelties in different periods. These sections can be regarded as separate studies. Here the author ought to have chosen to produce either a collection or a monograph. Instead the book is a little bit of both. The fact that each section has its own introduction and conclusion, moreover, leads to tedious repetition which lessens the scholarly stringency of the dissertation. A better planned, uniform structure and a heavier chapter summing up the whole book would have benefited the whole.

As regards the body of the text, the book has a classical structure reminiscent of a Gauss curve. The introduction occupies just over a tenth of the total number of pages and the conclusion is slightly shorter. After the meticulous care in the presentation of the aim and the theoretical angle for each empirical section, one is surprised in chapter five to find only a number of extremely short paragraphs resembling newspaper texts, with sub-headings like "Changing Bread Culture", "Fish as Tradition", "Meat with Old and New Symbolic Values", "Desserts as Innovation" etc. It would surely have been beneficial to discuss innovations, symbolic values, etc. in one place, with examples of different dishes.

The language flows nicely, but the elaborately worded headings are often unnecessarily heavy, with dashes followed by an explanation. The author has included both alternatives, for example, on p. 296 "The Significance of the Individual in the Collective – Wedding Functionaries" with the sub-heading "The Party Cook – The Most Important Functionary". Since the text about the work of this cook takes up a total of three and a half pages, it feels excessive that the section is further divided up with three sub-headings.

The first of the separate studies, entitled "The Cyberparish", is about the way high-school pupils use the Internet. Does the global Internet replace earlier geographically demarcated forms of community, or has it been integrated in the local community? As expected, Sjöström arrives at the answer: both. The interesting thing is his description of *how* the Internet has been adapted to the local community. This chapter inspires new questions and ideas for research. What interests me most is the temporal aspect, the short distance in time between decision and action. In pre-industrial society it was natural to wait, but every innovation in communication technology has shortened the waiting time. Sjöström shows that decisions are taken at very short notice with the aid of mobile telephone or e-mail. This must also have consequences in everyday life, but the author does not discuss that possibility.

The next point in time the author looks at is the 1930s. The newspaper *Norra Västerbotten* is chosen here to reflect how cultural changes are received in this part of Sweden. The chapter deals with communication on the local level in the form of bus transport and the telephone, and changes in forms of entertainment. The author also looks elsewhere, at modernization projects in Hitler's Germany, the Soviet Union, and the modern USA. Sjöström describes the 1930s in the Skellefteå area as "the second phase of industrial expansion". Basic modernity was founded on improved mining and technological development. Variable modernity included the idea of the welfare state ("the people's home"), improved housing, hygiene, understanding between different groups in society, technical aids in working life and the home, national education and public health. The author focuses on the car and the telephone, which both caught on in the 1930s. The car became a symbol of freedom and mobility, creating new conditions for social culture. Roads in the county were expanded and motor traffic encroached on the incomes and job opportunities of the foremen and forestry workers. Motoring organizations were developed quickly and provoked great interest by arranging motor corteges and races.

The telephone enabled synchronous dialogue between two parties without geographical limits. A flexible new form of communication thus arose. In 1895 Skellefteå was the town with the highest density of telephones in Sweden, with just over 7 per 100 inhabitants. Merchants, doctors, and midwives had telephones. Telephoning was adapted to the local culture.

The innovations in entertainment consisted of dance bands and cinemas. Events were advertised in the newspapers. Workers had the leisure and the money to enjoy themselves. Amusements and leisure were influenced by the basic modernity factors such as technical innovations (film, gramophone, radio, cars) and economic and demographic changes. There is a striking amount of variable modernity. It is expressed with alternative interpretations and values and with political, ethical, cultural, and religious arguments. The novelties were combated by the state church, school, some of the free churches, and associations and groups with conservative interests. The church countered by founding youth clubs and organizing camps etc. The sports movements and the new associations fought in favour of the innovations. The sports movement was an example of modernization from below. Modernity both created and changed social and mental boundaries.

The next chapter takes the reader back to the mid-19th century to see how urban development brought modernity and created social and mental boundaries, and how these changed through time. The setting is the town of Skellefteå and the period runs from the foundation of the town up to 1910. The bourgeoisie represented modernization. A modern mentality emerged. It concentrated on the individual, with ideas about freedom and equality, espousing the idea of progress in a concrete form, and focusing on individuals' distinctive features, personality, and inner life. The author exemplifies by comparing the patterns of parties and meals among the bourgeoisie of Skellefteå and the peasants in the surrounding countryside. As expected, Sjöström concludes that the peasants' feasts emphasized the collective aspects (the farm and the family) and followed the cyclic perception of time with calendar feasts, while the bourgeois parties were individually oriented according to a linear perception of time. Birthdays and anniversaries were highlighted. A prominent boundary marker is the unrest that arose between the townspeople and the peasants during the years of crop failure and famine in the 1860s. One result was that some bourgeois families were evacuated from the town.

In the last empirical chapter, "The Modernization of Feasts in Västerbotten", festive food and meals are selected as indicators of modernization during a period of almost 100 years, from 1940 backwards, and deals with weddings and funeral feasts. The various elements and functionaries of the wedding feast are described and analysed in detail, while only a few pages are devoted to funeral feasts at the end of the chapter. The cultural environment is mainly rural, but the bourgeois lifestyle is used for comparison. The chapter is based on a rich corpus of regional and local archival material.

An interesting observation by the author is that a feast was supposed to be *hedersamt*, meaning that it increased or confirmed the family's honour or respect. This can be understood as a reason why people included novelties on the menu. Sjöström borrows Bourdieu's idea of symbolic capital and notes that certain elements of the meal had great symbolic value, for example, the pretzels and the drinks. Social and mental boundaries were communicated more distinctly in bourgeois settings. The author also cites the Finnish anthropologist Matti Sarmela and his view of feasts as spectacles to manifest social culture. The festive rituals with toasts and speeches, imported foods, and the French names of the dishes reinforced the prevailing ranking scale and further elevated the position of the host family. When sumptuous feasts became outmoded in the 1930s, the amount of food was reduced first in bourgeois circles. Basic and variable modernity serve both to eradicate and to establish boundaries in social culture.

The book is easy to read and rich in information about the local communities it describes. In terms of theory it is firmly rooted in Swedish ethnology. This type of knowledge generation reinforces the identity of the people in the studied areas and highlights special features that both confirm and supplement the local tradition. The author himself is a living example of how one *can* retain one's local identity despite professional work and various changes in life.
Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, Åbo

Conditions for World Heritage

Jan Turtinen, Världsarvets villkor. Intressen, förhandlingar och bruk i internationell politik. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm 2006. 220 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85445-41-X.

■ Why are the Great Barrier Reef, the new city of Brasilia from 1956, and the Norwegian stave church of Urnes on the World Heritage List? Jan Turtinen considers such questions and discusses the topic in his Ph.D. dissertation, which has now appeared in book form.

The World Heritage Convention was adopted in 1972. The aim of the convention was and is to identify and preserve humanity's shared natural and cultural heritage. It is therefore important to inform about and draw attention to the world heritage, which is the purpose of the list of World Heritage sites.

Generally speaking, the convention is harmonious, with clear visions and aims. Fortunately, Turtinen does not get stuck on the surface, with the 851 fascinating places on the list; instead he digs deeper into the many processes and informal activities surrounding the convention. According to the author, the world heritage is an arena for political, economic, international, national, regional, and local interests. This statement will probably not come as a shock to most readers. But there is not much well-documented material that analyses the political life around the World Heritage so thoroughly.

Turtinen illustrates his point throughout the book. At the committee meeting in Cairns, for example, a World Heritage site in Australia, Kakadu National Park, was the subject of obvious conflicts of interest. The Australian government had decided to extract uranium in the national park, and because of this decision the site ought to have been transferred to a list of world heritage in danger, in the opinion of environmental organizations and the affected Aborigines. There were stakeholders with opposing positions, both national and international. After long discussions at the committee meeting, a working party was set up. This decided that the national park should remain on the World Heritage List, but the members were concerned about the development of the site and recommended continued good dialogue between the parties. The media had intensive coverage of these events, which aroused considerable attention.

Another case that is described in detail is the nomination process for the Swedish cultural landscape of Southern Öland. There were many stakeholders involved in the process, and many angles on the nomination. Farmers were worried about the future conditions for the development of agriculture, while local politicians saw it as the only hope to save a marginal area. In 2000 Southern Öland was inscribed on the list, and a new bridge to the world was established for Öland, whereby local identity was simultaneously reinforced in a global perspective.

The examples are based on Turtinen's extensive fieldwork, which is the great strength of the book. Turtinen gets behind the diplomatic procedures, which he describes with the sociologist Erving Goffman's term "frontstage." This is where the complex bureaucratic procedures take place as the "World Heritage elite" manages to reach agreement and shape World Heritage policy. But there is also the "backstage" influence, as interest organizations, member states, or World Heritage Centre staff create world heritage based on their own motives.

There are today well over 200 international organizations dealing with international politics. These organizations' global problem fields cross all borders, and include human rights, education, health, the environment, and the natural and cultural heritage. A total of 184 states have ratified the World Heritage Convention, undertaking to assume responsibility for our common heritage. One precondition for this collaboration, according to Turtinen, is that it is part of a global holistic perception, in which the crucial thing is to establish joint organization and bureaucracy. The procedures help to create world heritage.

Turtinen writes that he has chosen to aim for breadth rather than depth. In this he has undoubtedly succeeded. At times it can be difficult to maintain an overall view, but the final result is the desired picture of the World Heritage List as a highly complex and composite phenomenon. This is a book with a critical attitude to the construction of world heritage. It deserves international readers, and therefore it is paradoxical that it is published in Swedish, especially since we are living in an age that has been described by the geographer David Lowenthal as a "heritage crusade".

In 2007 the German Foreign Ministry and the UNESCO Commission issued a statement about UNESCO's role. They wrote that the success of the World Heritage List is being threatened by the increasing politicization. They therefore called for clear definitions and transparent decision-making processes. This statement bears out Turtinen's point. The success of the World Heritage Convention is not only based on good morality. It is due to the fact that states, organizations, and individuals can use the convention for their own gain. The book shows that international cooperation about the world heritage, like other international cooperation, is an arena for political interests. The Great Barrier Reef, Brasilia, and Urnes stave church are on the list as a result of these conditions.
Bobo Charlotte Krabbe, Copenhagen

Small Stories of Finnish Information Society through an Ethnographic Lens

Sari Tuuva-Hongisto, Tilattuja tarinoita: etnografinen tutkimus pohjoiskarjalaisesta tietoyhteiskunnasta (Requested stories – an ethnographic study of the North Karelian information society). Joensuun yliopiston humanistisia julkaisuja n:o 47, Joensuu 2007. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-952-458-982-6.

■ Both studies of information society and the domestication of (media and information and communication) technology have strong traditions in the Nordic countries. Sari Tuuva-Hongisto's doctoral dissertation in folklore studies, *Requested stories – an ethnographic study of the North Karelian information society* continues both traditions while also developing ethnographic methodology for and in social and cultural studies of technology. The book investigates the creation and experiences of local information society through interviews with experts and participants of the projects "Learning Upper Karelia" and "Citizenship, Gender and Information Society" in Eastern Finland. The former of these was an official "success story" replicated also elsewhere in the country, whereas the latter – an ICT course targeted at women – was something of the opposite. The study bases on 125 interviews with 62 informants made in 1998–2004, even if this volume of material is not visible in the text as such. As Tuuva-Hongisto points out, she is interested in "small stories" (p. 23–24) rather than broad overviews. More specifically, she is interested in the small stories told by local women on their uses of ICT and the meanings of the information society. In addition to a long introductory chapter, these small stories are developed and unraveled in five articles published in the course of the 2000s.

The articles provide different thematic and analytical insights into the research material (in terms of gender, expertise, location and ICT in everyday life). They also make evident and chart the scholarly journey that Tuuva-Hongisto has made while preparing her study. In terms of the research project, the journey has resulted in the development of "requested stories" as the central conceptual framework. On the level of information society, it has resulted in the depletion of enthusiasm: as information technology has become increasingly mundane and ICT "domesticated", the hype and international attention related to North Karelian initiatives in the late 1990s has ceased and there seems less interest towards setting up or reporting on various development projects.

Requested Stories uses articulation as its central theoretical and methodological framework. Through articulation, it analyses the connections between information technology, gender, locality, nationality/nationalism, information society projects and everyday life, the ways in which these interlink and come to signify. Tuuva-Hongisto locates her study in social and cultural studies of technology: this ethnographic study of information society addresses technology broadly as textualities (in the sense of changing meanings and interpretations).

On the one hand, *Requested Stories* investigates the experiences of local information society project participants, the negotiation of meanings occurring in the projects and their relations to the strategies and national rhetoric of information society agendas. On the other hand, the study addresses the conditions of information society discourse, local projects and the stories told by the informants. Doing so, *Requested Stories* provides analytical insights into information society discourses and development projects of the last decade while simultaneously reflecting on its own conditions.

As an interdisciplinary study, *Requested Stories* stands at the crossroads of ethnography, cultural studies of technology, studies of information society, gender and technology. While the scope of the study is admirable, Tuuva-Hongisto comes across as surprisingly timid when marking out her own position and theoretical stance. For example, she mainly makes use of other scholars' overviews, critiques and categorizations when addressing previous research and contextualizing her work in relation to it. Due to this, her own points of critique are not necessarily evident – and neither does she exemplify her own stance vis-à-vis the debates covered (e.g. p. 28, 34–35). All this results in certain vagueness. While the strengths of the study lie in the reflexive analysis of "small stories" and their more institutional frameworks, its weaknesses lie in the lack of in-depth theoretical engagement – be this with studies of gender and technology, studies of domestication or interpretations of technology as textualities.

Article dissertations include repetition by default in their theoretical and methodological overviews as well as in their reviews of previous research. *Requested Stories*, however, includes an exceptional degree of repetition also in the discussion of the research material. Especially one key informant, "Oili", gains specific centrality through being present in all the five articles, one of which focuses specifically on the interviews conducted with her. Some citations from Oili's interviews are repeated as many as three times in the course of the book. "Small stories" enable interesting insights into the everyday meanings of the information society, as opposed to discourses and studies emphasizing statistics and quantitative data. There could have, however, been many more of these little stories included in the analysis, given the diversity and sheer volume of the available interview material. There is a danger that the focus on the five female informants hides from view the multiplicity of perspectives and experiences otherwise enabled by the research material.

Ethnographic research is presented in the book as a dynamic process and negotiation in the course of which both interviewees and interviewers learn their roles, shape their positions, experiment with common languages and produce possibilities of new knowledge. Reflexivity concerning the different frameworks of the interviews forms the central story that cuts through the individual articles. This strand of discussion, in which the context sensitivity, process nature and reflexivity of ethnographic research are explicitly present, is both highly interesting and important. Nevertheless, the epistemological reflections concerning ethnography and cultural studies on the production, nature and conditions of knowledge remain highly general and they are presented as statements rather than questions to be explored. The matter-of-fact style of presentation draws attention away from crucial issues concerning the agency of both the researcher and her informants, their conditions as well as the kinds of dialogues that take place between them. I could not but miss an advisement on the conditions of knowledge of exactly this book and the different articles included in it. For example, how have the different research projects that Tuuva-Hongisto has participated in since the late 1990s shaped the course of research and the articulation of the research questions?

Requested Stories is a reflective and critical study on the construction of local information society, relationships between local and national information society development projects, gender, experiences of information society, domestication and meaning making related to information technology, as well as the conditions and possibilities of ethnographic knowledge. Sari Tuuva-Hongisto's doctoral dissertation both produces new knowledge on local information society project and analyses critically the preconditions of information society discourse. As such it is a much welcome contribution to Nordic cultural studies of technology.

Susanna Paasonen, Helsinki

Book Reviews

Norwegian Food Culture

Den kultiverte maten. En bok om norsk mat, kultur och matkultur. Virginie Amilien & Erling Krogh (eds.). Fagboksforlaget, Bergen 2007. 259 pp. ISBN 978-82-450-0571-4.

■ Theoretical debate about food culture is rather rare in the Scandinavian countries. Virginie Amilien (cultural researcher) & Erling Krogh (social anthropologist) have vitalized these questions and edited texts and perspectives from a group of Norwegian food culture researchers who met at a seminar in Ås outside Oslo in April 2005. This important book is unfortunately not provided with an English summary.

The texts are structured in four sections: (1) Food culture in a historic perspective; (2) Food culture in a socio-cultural perspective; (3) Food culture in the discursive arena; (4) Food culture in a political frame. In each section two to three authors discuss food from the respective angle. The editors write that "food culture is a set of values in continuous change and known to the members of society, and used by the individual for identity purposes" (Amilien, p. 22). Amilien points out that food culture is both values and experiences and these are attached to the aura of foodstuffs, to recipes and dishes for communication.

The different authors' contributions are highly varied, as the editors remark (p. 36), in terms of theory and chosen topics. Variety can be an elegant approach to explore a sparsely investigated field. However, it can also send the subject into a theoretical Diaspora.

The food researcher Unni Kjærnes writes in a preface that the debate about food in Norway has traditionally been focused on nutrition, health and regional policy making, and that the book's cultural perspective is new. In the first section Eric Bortzmeyer (medieval historian) points out how British table etiquette was picked up from the different European courts and how the Norwegian noble elite was forced to act in accordance with these new manners. Here cultural behaviour is chosen and selected for a particular political aim. Wenche Frølich (nutritionist) writes about the importance of bread, with the focus on the cultural artefacts (bread, oats, ovens and ancient anecdotes), but not in relation to a selective cultural process. Helle Margrete Meltzer (bio-scientist) discusses food culture from a historic and contemporary health perspective. This text too has a focus on artefacts (vitamins, nutrition and food safety). Annechen Bahr Bugge (sociologist) has chosen a specific food product, minced meat, and made a sharp analysis of how it changes value in relation to its shape (from low-status McDonald's hamburgers to high-ranking home-made meatballs). This text sheds light on how values are encapsulated in the food product's shape while the value of the ingredients is not always important. Gun Ross (anthropological nutritionist) and Margareta Wandel (nutritionist) present an interview study with men in three different professions, revealing that the daily routine with regular, filling meals is fundamental to male food culture. Virginie Amilien remarks that the importance of tradition in contemporary food culture is more often linked to the tradition concerning the ingredients than to traditional knowledge and values. Eldbjørg Fossgard (ethnologist) concludes that the meal experience has become an individual project, related to the concept of quality of life. Egil Petter Stræte (agricultural economist) highlights how additional values (e.g. an organic origin) have made food culture into a question of lifestyle and ethical values. Eivind Jacobsen (sociologist) concludes that to fully understand the present-day Norwegian food culture it is vital to include a century of policymaking and agricultural protectionism, since the producers (and politicians) have only shown a minor interest in Norwegians' needs, wishes and taste preferences. Thor Øivind Jensen (consumer research) sketches a new consumer role, "the food consumer citizen", a citizen who is active and reflective but also possesses precise knowledge when searching for the best offer on the market. Erling Krogh concludes that food culture is transferred from history but adapted and created in a contemporary process. The book finishes with a polemic epilogue by an organic farmer and one of the driving forces in the Norwegian Alliance for Food, Health and Environment, Helge Christie, who attacks the WTO (World Trade Organization) for being a threat to Norwegian small farmers and the Norwegian food culture. The contribution falls out of the frame of the book but it might have worked at the seminar. It emphasizes that the contemporary food culture debate is a battlefield of values and questions about the purity of food.

The focus of the books is split in two contradictory directions: A new cultural value-added perspective and an older theoretical idea where the cultural artefacts or objects are of major interest and not the people who

choose, reflect on and sometimes reject the artefacts due to their cultural value or cultural relations. A problem with this perspective today is that it often repeats myths and that food culture is a question of objects, e.g. that food cultures spread like prairie fires ("the west Asian farming system was spread to Europe", Frølich, p. 58). Or that dishes and food products travel on their own (e.g. "when the potato came at the beginning of the 19th century", Meltzer, p. 75). This decorative or fictional writing style overshadows such a simple fact as that culture is manmade and is carried (by people). It also overshadows the fact that cultures are values, choices and the result of reflective thinking among individuals. I would like to finish in an appreciative way, since the book points at new perspectives, with a quote from Amilien (p. 33): "Food culture arises and is changed in a meeting situation between people and their mutual effect on each other." Yes, food culture is all about humans!
Richard Tellström, Grythyttan

Home to McDonald's

Helene Brembeck, Hem till McDonald's. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2007. 189 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-058-1.

■ In the old days people ate either at home or out. In both cases they ate indoors. Either in their own kitchen or the dining room – or in a restaurant. Only "The Man on the Grating" ate outdoors, and he did not get bird food. This changed after the Second World War, when hot-dog stands became popular. In some cases these were motor-powered, and one could see the hot-dog man driving off in them late at night. Eating out began to take on a new meaning. People did not necessarily go to an expensive restaurant if they wanted to eat out, instead just grabbing "one grilled with everything". It was not easy for those who ate at the hot-dog stands. They always stood turned away as they ate, bending over the hot dogs as if to conceal the fact that they had fallen to this: "aha, you're out of meat today too..." It was as if they were ashamed and wanted to hide their vices.

The start of the 1970s saw the coming of the pizzeria; eating out was no longer synonymous with style, special occasions, and expensive habits – or shameful hot-dog stands. Pizzas didn't cost an arm and a leg, and the service was rather informal. In a pizzeria in Trondhjem in 1974 I was informed by the waiter, who was Swedish, that "they've imported me to do the talking". In the meantime McDonald's had also reached Sweden. This took place in 1973 and contributed to further democratization and levelling, with local globalization – glocalization – as a consequence. McDonald's has always adapted to suit the circumstances, so that the local here, as in most other places, has proved stronger than the global. On the other hand, it is not part of the accepted repertoire of clichés to declare that we live in a local age. The old grocery was also very local; it was either on the corner of some small street or on the main street in the station towns. In other words, exactly where there now is either a Seven Eleven or some other kiosk with "coffee to go" for ten kroner. But McDonald's did bring something new: the big windows. You could be watched as you ate. You enjoyed your food and enjoyed other people seeing that you enjoyed it. Dining became a public spectacle. Exactly like a pavement café in Paris, right? Just not quite as fashionable.

This is the subject of a splendid book by Helene Brembeck, with an apt title meaning "Home to McDonald's". It is one of the better books in the long sequence now written about the relationship between the global and the local, and about how we learn, through the routinization of everyday life, to handle the global. The topic of the book is thus the encounter between a global corporation and a local context. In this connection the author correctly points out that the Swedish consumer does not swallow McDonald's whole. On the contrary, there is an effort – on the part of both the consumers and McDonald's – to let the hamburger chain become a part of everyday Swedish life, so that this encounter will be as free of friction as possible. It is a valid historiographical point that Brembeck also gets an opportunity here to distance herself from the rather crude perception that McDonald's and other commercial actors are trying to take over people's lives. Instead she shows, through a number of field studies, that although McDonald's has influenced and changed everyday Sweden life, the company has had to show consideration for Swedish values and ways of thinking.

A central place in the book is occupied by Bruno Latour's ideas about networks and labile condensations. This is an interesting approach, and it is indirectly visible in the book that the network theories are weak in their treatment of boundary drawing and epistemological problematization of universality – but they are strong tools when it comes to the analysis of exchange, interaction, and cultural transfer. We are nevertheless left with one major question: do networks have no boundaries? All in all one may wonder how necessary it is to bring in these theories. Brembeck is such a well-read and capable ethnologist that she can do it herself. This is shown by her use of field observations and interviews, with a necklace of good analyses on both micro and macro levels. There is also a multitude of entertaining examples. Perhaps the most amusing is the study of children's parties at McDonald's, where the kids forget about the strictly planned programme and follow their own inclinations with play and mischief. The analyses seem to have been performed with a considerable amount of tongue in cheek, but the cultural analysis hits the target accurately. Here as elsewhere in the book we see that McDonald's has been Swedified, and that it is necessary to consider local preferences and their fluctuations and counter-currents. On the other hand, the author also avoids the trap of believing that Swedishness is subversive and all-controlling. Instead, as she points out, what we find is cultural pragmatism and realpolitik. Although McDonald's shows consideration for local conditions, so that a Big Mac is smaller in Sweden than in the USA, Swedish children and adults are trained to become familiar with the subjectivities of the consumer society, resulting in reciprocal transformations with no clear winners or losers, as Brembeck says in the closing chapter.

This book is one of the best that has been written in a long time about modern food culture and the conditions for globalization in a mutable world. It is definitely on a level with the otherwise so dominant English-language research in the field, to which too much importance is often attached simply because it is written in English. We should not let ourselves be impressed by that. That much is evident from this piece of research, which displays both creative originality and solid craftsmanship.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

The Modern Danish City

Den moderne by. Danske bystudier 3. Søren Bitsch Christensen (ed.) Aarhus universitetsforlag, Aarhus 2006. 402 pp. Ill. English Summaries. ISBN 87-7934-151-9.

■ *Den moderne by* ("The Modern City") is the third part of a series of Danish urban studies published by the Danish Centre for Urban History at Aarhus University. Two works have previously appeared in the series, one about the medieval town (2004) and one about the classical market town (2005). The editor of all three volumes is Søren Bitsch Christensen.

This book presents the Danish towns and their history in the period 1840–2000. It has an interdisciplinary approach. Among the authors of the twelve articles there are historians, geographers, ethnologists, and one art historian. The book has a very pleasing design. It is richly illustrated, partly in colour, with diagrams, tables, maps, plans, reproductions of posters, and numerous photographs. Despite the accessible appearance, the book has a decidedly scholarly orientation; each article is accompanied by an English summary and extensive notes and references. The articles were originally written for seminars at the Danish Centre for Urban History at Aarhus University, on two main themes: urbanism/town life and town system/urbanization.

The first and by far the longest article is by the editor of the book, the historian Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen. The article is a survey of the development of Danish towns in the period 1840–2000. The first part describes and analyses the development of the Danish urban structure against the background of other research and theories about systems of central places. It is striking that there is such a dominance for Copenhagen, but the reason is that the city was once the capital of a much larger kingdom which also comprised Norway, parts of northern Germany and southern Sweden. The time up to 1960 is regarded by the authors as a continuous phase in urban development. There was vigorous urban growth in Denmark then. The urban structure changed as industry developed and communications were expanded. After 1960 the picture changed: increased commuting to work, new systems of communications and traffic, the decreasing significance of agriculture, and tighter control of urban development through planning. The time after 1960 is illuminated by the authors' demonstration of the growth of knowledge regions, the significance of urban identities and the marketing of towns. The second part of the article deals with Danish town life or urbanism. This gives interesting glimpses into Danish theoretical and empirical research in a number of different fields. Various examples are cited to illustrate how towns have changed over the years, for instance the great increase from the 1870s to the 1920s in the number of buildings where people could meet and where the new urban population tried to find answers to the challenges of the time. Today urban life is as attractive as it has ever been. A modern café culture, extensive urban renewal, and the revitalization of city centres have given new life to Danish towns.

The historian Jan Toftgaard Jensen devotes a captivating article to town monuments in the period 1850–1920. A stage in the bourgeoisie's disciplining of the underclass was to influence them by providing the cityscape with great art, beautiful green areas, and reminders of the nation's history. The author shows how a large number of monuments to national heroes and important people were raised in the towns of Denmark. An amusing detail is that the monument to the man who defeated the Swedes, the naval hero Niels Juel, was inscribed with texts in the spirit of Scandinavianism so that it would not seem anti-Swedish. With the monument movement the bourgeoisie tried to set its ideological stamp on the urban space. After the turn of the century, other groups in society had an opportunity to create monuments reflecting other ideologies.

The now rather unknown town planner Charles Ambt is the subject of an article by the historian Ulla Tofte. As municipal engineer in Copenhagen, Ambt made considerable achievements in modernizing the city through new plans for Østerbro and other districts, and through a new sewer system in which all the sewage from the city was pumped into the Øresund – probably without any treatment, although this is not stated. Ambt's urban planning was influenced by German models, chiefly Joseph Stübben's *Der Städtebau* from 1890, which advocated a system with diagonal streets, concave streets, triangular plazas and roundabouts.

In the next article the historian Merete Bøge Pedersen writes about prostitution in provincial towns in the 19th century, with special reference to the statutory regulation introduced in 1874. According to this, the towns could impose special rules for the work of prostitutes, requiring medical examinations and the like. This had varying effects in the towns, as the author describes. The Prostitution Act was repealed in 1906.

The "battle arenas" of the labour movement are described by the historian Knud Knudsen. He describes the working-class neighbourhoods in the city, the labour movement's meeting places, the demonstrations and the labour conflicts in the big Danish towns. The movement's buildings were often described as "the fortress" or "the camp", which shows the spirit of conflict that prevailed at this time. The importance of the banners is emphasized by the author. It was not until 1900 that it was permitted to carry banners in the May Day demonstration in Copenhagen.

The art historian Anne-Louise Sommer describes the design of cemeteries with three examples from Greater Copenhagen from different times. She reveals the early foreign influences of cemeteries in Paris (Père Lachaise) and Hamburg (Friedhof Ohlsdorf) and how the ideals of town planning, secularization, and attitudes to death affected the design. In the newest of the cemeteries described, Lyngby Parkkirkegaard, the cemetery was disguised as a park, thus expressing the rather ambivalent post-war relationship to death.

Copenhagen Town Hall is the topic of the ethnologist Naomi Hainau Pinholt's article, which is also the result of a study conducted by Copenhagen City Museum. People were interviewed to obtain a picture of life in the town hall and how it has changed up to today. We gain insight into the hierarchical division of the workplace, where the pay was low but employment was secure. The new market conditions now mean that being service-minded and able to adjust has become more important than loyalty and dedication to duty.

The local historian Mette Ladugaard Thøgersen writes about what she calls "rural towns", the communities built up in the Danish countryside in the period 1860–1960. They were mostly station towns along the new railways. The article, which will be elaborated into her doctoral dissertation, describes a comprehensive study of these communities on Fyn. A survey shows the existence of 70 "rural towns". Few of them have more than a thousand inhabitants. A precise definition has been drawn up, along with a typology and a description of the communities. It remains to be ascertained whether the results are relevant for the rest of Denmark, although some comparisons have already been made.

From the rural towns on Fyn we move to suburbia in the article by the ethnologist Peter Dragsbo, a detailed history of Danish suburbs. These arose in the early 19th century as the entrance roads to towns were lined with housing for workers and day labourers. The first real suburbs were bourgeois residential areas influenced by the ideals of romanticism. Until the start of the 20th century the suburbs were shaped by sharp class boundaries. Afterwards development was different, partly influenced by international models. Dragsbo describes the workers' building societies as being inspired by the idea of the garden city, the public utility housing companies, the allotment garden movement, and the new neighbourhoods with small houses. For a Swedish reader it is interesting to learn of the housing types that do not exist in Sweden – areas with detached multi-dwelling buildings from as early as around 1920, clear predecessors of functionalism, and the big "workers' fortresses", a parallel to Vienna's enclosed housing blocks. Development after the war seems to have been very much the same as in Sweden.

Another survey on a decidedly macro level is the article by the geographer Bue Nielsen about Danish towns 1960–2000. He describes the urban structure on the basis of statistics on population and growth, commuting, the different functions and regional ties of towns, and the increasingly important international dependence. It is interesting to read the four different future scenarios that the planning authority in Denmark has presented for the country's towns. Two of the alternatives are geared to strengthening the country internationally, either through a concentration on the Copenhagen/Malmö region or through a chain of big towns running through Jutland, from Ålborg to the German border.

The historian Mikkel Thelle's article about the planning of Copenhagen's suburbs along the Køge Bay combines macro and micro perspectives in an interesting and fruitful way. Thelle begins by describing the overall planning of Copenhagen with the so-called "finger plan" from 1947. This became an international model and served as a basis for later planning. The built-up fingers were separated by green areas. With concrete examples, Thelle illustrates the consequences of the expansion for the original population and those who moved in, showing how a Danish garden city grew up and the quick tempo and optimism of the sixties propelled large-scale construction projects. Thelle's study contains some justified criticism which seems to me to be relevant for Sweden as well.

The geographer Hans Thor Andersen has written an important article about the development of towns since 1960, based on urban policies and various legal regulations. The most interesting part of the article, in my view, is the description of the transformation of central Copenhagen. Andersen shows here how different political outlooks, economic circumstances, and citizens' opinions interacted to ensure that the clearance of central Copenhagen took such a gentle course. The majority of the older environments were preserved. The open conflicts around 1980 in connection with the planned clearance of Nørrebro were something of a turning point in the outlook on older buildings. For a Swedish reader it is striking and simultaneously saddening that the renewal of Copenhagen was so different and so much better than in Stockholm. An expansive economy and an ambition for large-scale solutions in Stockholm led to the destruction of much of the city centre in the 1950s and 1960s. The reconstruction of Stockholm came earlier than the renewal of Copenhagen. In Stockholm the battle of the elms in Kungsträdgården in 1971 turned the tide towards more prudent urban construction.

This book is accessible, rich, and pleasing in many ways. The beautiful and lavish design enhances the readability. The book is not a coherent description of modern Danish towns, but a heterogeneous collection of articles written from very different viewpoints. Each author has been allowed to write about his or her specialist field and is thus able to communicate important new knowledge. Perhaps it is this arrangement that makes the book so stimulating to read. Also contributing to this is the varied and often surprising perspectives on towns and urban life, for example, the work of a town planner, the monument movement, and the cemeteries. A great merit of the book is that it gives interesting insight into different spheres of Danish urban studies, with many notes and references for those who want to learn more. An interdisciplinary work like *Den moderne by*, naturally, cannot cover all aspects of the city. A complete account would not have fitted between the covers. There is undoubtedly material for yet another book. I could mention some things that it would have been interesting to see. There is no study of modern large-scale multi-family dwellings, even though suburbia is described in two chapters. Nor is much space devoted to the multicultural society. The transformation of disused harbours and industrial areas, Danish architecture, the new city life and alternative oppositional movements are other topics that might have deserved separate chapters.

To sum up, this is an interesting and valuable book. It has been highly rewarding to read and has taught me a great deal about Denmark.

Ulf Stahre, Gothenburg

Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area

Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area. Terry Gunnell (ed.) Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Uppsala 2007. 840 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-85352-70-8.

■ *Masks und Mumming in the Nordic Area* is a voluminous book, consisting of 25 articles written by 23 scholars from the fields of drama, folkloristics, cultural studies and ethnology.

The editor of the book, Terry Gunnell, gives the background to the project: "There has been a long-standing widespread misunderstanding that traditional masks and mumming traditions belong to the south and the 'primitive', and that the cold and 'rationalistic' Protestant countries of the north had no form of theatre until comparatively recent times. Another misconception is that all cultural expressions in this area were adopted from countries to the south."

According to Gunnell, this false idea in the countries outside Scandinavia is a result of the fact that most works on this topic are written in Nordic languages. It is therefore most gratifying that Gunnell and Carsten Bregenhøj (who together with Terry Gunnell was the leader of the original project 1999–2002) have gathered their colleagues and brought about this book. Geographically the traditions deal not only with the Nordic countries (Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark) but also with Orkney, Shetland and Estonia. That means that the book treats mumming traditions in societies with very different cultural backgrounds: from Greenland with a population belonging to Inuit groups, to the orthodox Karelia in eastern Finland, today partly belonging to Russia.

The book consists of two main parts. The first part (434 pages) contains national surveys where the main point lies in origins, development and the mumming traditions of older times. The seven articles are good introductions to mumming traditions in the Nordic area. The articles all have the same structure, which helps the reader to see similarities and differences from both historical and geographical viewpoints. The long historical perspective is good but gives often rise to inexact expressions as "in old times".

All the articles in the first part of the book have long quotations (all also in native languages) from manuscripts, interviews or recordings. This is a good thing because it gives readers an opportunity to immerse themselves in the tradition. However, sometimes, as in Ülo Tedre's survey of Estonian mumming traditions, details could have been omitted to make it easier to gain a general view.

The second part, divided into five sections, deal with more specific aspects. Case studies are described and analysed in detail and thematic problems are treated. This part of the book shows most clearly that disguise belong not only to theatre or to situations where there is a strict dividing line between "artists" and "audiences". Also in modern society, mumming has a role to play in both the ritual year and the life cycle.

Mumming traditions are often supposed to be very old. However, the book shows that mumming activities can be even more common and more popular today than in the past, in Iceland e.g. Mumming is not one tradition with one meaning. Dressing up in masks and making oneself look funny, or beyond recognition, is involved with all aspects of social life. Mumming can be a question of blessing, magic, threat, begging, public assistance, charity, intrigues, amusement, demonstration of power, manifestation of opinions, theatre, children's games, spreading joy, and clownery, expressions of frustrations or of sexuality.

It is not possible here to comment on every article. Still I want to congratulate the authors of two articles, namely the first and the last. In his Introduction Terry Gunnell gives a short but excellent survey of the whole spectrum of mumming, disguise, drama and improvisation. On the other hand, Paul Smith, using empirical material, shows the complex relations between different actors when organizing mumming activities. Artists, researchers, children, adults, commercial life, teachers, people interested in folk traditions, theatre groups, entrepreneurs, writers, media personnel, producers of works of popular culture, event organizers etc., all of them have their own opinion of the tradition and realize it in their own way, alone or together with others. The writer shows that the line between *revitalization* and *living tradition* is most unclear.

I have always been interested in drama and in my professional life I have also dealt with mumming traditions. The book has given me a lot of "aha-feelings" concerning historical time, geographical space and contemporary functions of mumming. It certainly would have been nice if the photographs from recent times had been printed in colour that would give more information and make the book more attractive. As it is now, it gives a rather boring impression. Nevertheless, this book is definitely worth reading.

Anne Bergman, Helsingfors

Family Life in Rural Denmark

Bodil K. Hansen, Familie- og arbejdsliv på landet ca. 1870–1900. En undersøgelse af ægteskabsdannelse, familieforøgelse og arbejdsliv med særlig henblik på ændringerne i kvindernes arbejde. Landbohistorisk Selskab, Auning 2006. 368 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7526-202-9.

■ In many respects there is a great deal of work behind this book on "Family Life and Working Life in the Countryside c. 1870–1900". Bodil K. Hansen has not only analysed a huge amount of source material, she has also concluded a project that was dormant for many years because of illness. For anyone who has been away from the job for a long time, it is not always easy to resume an old project when the working capacity returns, and it is therefore pleasing that the author has now also compiled and published all the material that she collected and analysed.

In the introduction Hansen states that the main purpose of the book is to study the transformation from a preindustrial to a modern farming society – how and why rural life changed during the period 1870–1900 – in order to get behind the stereotyped notions that are often found. The study builds, above all, on material from three geographical areas (unfortunately there is no map showing where exactly in Denmark they are). It focuses on the family, which Hansen justifies in that this makes women more visible, and on freeholders as a family type, since these families, according to the author, set the tone in the countryside.

The book is arranged thematically. Hansen writes about marriage, family formation, and children; about the household, farm structure, and women's work in the rural family; about the relationship between master and servants. Two chapters are devoted to milk production, with the emphasis on the growth of farm dairies and later cooperative dairies.

Hansen has used an extensive and varied corpus of source material: censuses, parish registers, local newspapers, farmers' magazines, association minutes, jubilee publications, maintenance contracts, memoirs, police reports, court records, and a great many contemporary publications. She has also gone through letter collections, diaries, and poetry albums. The latter material is above all connected to folk high schools, which were to play an important role in rural cultural life in late 19th century Denmark, representing new, bourgeois-influenced patterns of life. At the start of the 1870s there were 52 folk high schools in Denmark. Twenty years later the number had risen to 75, with 3,000–4,000 pupils. One out of four young people in the countryside went to folk high school, which gives us some idea of the folk high school as a cultural and ideological force.

The extensive source material makes the book exciting. It gives us pictures of the many events of life, and insight into both public and private. The letters in particular convey intimacy and concrete glimpses of everyday life and thoughts. We also follow several personal destinies. But the multitude of sources sometimes becomes a weakness. I lack a lengthy discussion of the individual sources used by the author, their strengths and weaknesses, what they can contribute, and how they relate to each other.

There are not so many references to new Nordic and other foreign research, even though both the period and the topic covered by Hansen are a large research field, but the probable explanation is that the project lay dormant for many years.

Two chapters are devoted to family forms and family life. Hansen tackles a number of questions: betrothal, marriage, arranged marriages, relations between older and younger family members, premarital sex, the folk high schools and sexual morality, pregnancy, childbirth, childlessness, and infant mortality. Hansen endeavours to cover as much as possible and also has her large source material to draw on. There is a great deal that is of interest, and she finds changes, but the text is rather too detailed. Certain digressions, such as the section on how children were taught about the birds and the bees, feel somewhat unnecessary. They are just more examples of something already considered, but perhaps Hansen hopes that it is something that others can later pick up.

The source material reveals in a very concrete way how illness and death set their stamp on late 19th century families. Many children grew up with stepmothers or stepfathers, they lost siblings and acquired new half-siblings. Age differences could be very large. Hansen regards quick remarriage after a death as showing that the running of a farm was entirely dependent on having two adults, a man and a woman.

According to Hansen, extended families played an important part at the start of her period. Here her data differs from other Danish research, which has used census information to show that there were not so many extended families. Hansen claims, however, that one must look at which age groups and which social groups contained different family types. She argues that the extended family is a phase that many people experienced, but that it was not a permanent state. (A comparable example from our own time that partly supports this could be single parents. In Sweden researchers have shown that many enter a new relationship after a couple of years.) Looking after an older generation, one's own relatives or other persons, was for many young people the only possible way to establish a household of their own. Towards the end of the 19th century the number of extended families fell. Hansen believes that the growth of credit institutes and opportunities to borrow money meant that the young could live in lone families, and she interprets this as one of the most concrete examples of how the transition from self-sufficiency to a market-steered society intervened and changed the ideology and composition of the household. Another possible way to view it is that people could now choose to a greater extent whom they wanted to live with and how. An interesting detail is that the extended families at the start of the period were far from always based on different generations. Instead they often consisted of older siblings. Hansen's interpretation of this is that the sibling who took over the farm had pledged to look after unmarried older siblings. But it is also clear that extended families or extended households as Hansen also calls them, are a field that requires more research.

The family ideology conveyed through the folk high schools contributed to a more negative view of premarital liaisons, according to Hansen. Another consequence, she says, is that fewer children were handed over to foster-care, for example, to childless relatives, since the responsibility for children was held up as one of a woman's most important tasks. But there are also other factors that were probably significant, such as a changed outlook on children and improved economic opportunities.

Hansen's study provides many examples showing that the family is a mutable concept and that family life is both a public concern and private practice. Legislation is significant, as are economic circumstances and prevailing norms and values, but also people's own choices. Family matters on a more general level, however, are also present in all the chapters of the book through the discussion carried on about women's opportunities and gender relations.

Milk production was traditionally a woman's responsibility, both for those who worked on their own farms and for those employed on large estates. In Denmark in the 1830s there was organized training for women. They could serve as apprentices for two years on big farms selected by the Agricultural Society. As pupils they received bed and board, but they were subject to the servants' statute. Application forms for these courses, one of all the types of source material analysed by Hansen, show that many of the women viewed the course as a way to secure their future. A dairymaid had great respect and responsibility, and was fairly well paid. Many dairymaids also allowed themselves to be photographed with the implements belonging to their work, which indicates that the job enjoyed high status.

In the second half of the 19th century, however, there was a dramatic transformation of dairy operations. From having been a sphere of female competence it became a male preserve; it also changed from domestic to industrial production. A great deal of space is devoted to this transformation, and this is also the most interesting and exciting part of the book. It is also a sphere where Hansen has great knowledge. In two chapters filling a total of 100 pages we follow the emergence of farm dairies and the transition to cooperative dairies, and how mechanized and scientifically based production gave a new starting point for interpreting the gender of dairy work.

Hansen shows how the change took place: how scientific technology, economic cycles, ideas about gender and cultural interpretations contributed in different ways to shaping a new order. Different kinds of training for women and men were a part of this. The industrialization process reinforced a tendency to ideologize a distinctive femininity, according to which there was no room for strong women with an independent place in production. The men took over as leaders.

Did the reinterpretation encounter resistance? This important question is not really analysed by Hansen. For Sweden, Lena Sommestad has shown that there was regional variation. The reinterpretation happened fastest where agriculture was of least importance. Sommestad's dissertation *Från mejerska till mejerist: En studie av mejeriyrkets maskuliniseringsgprocess* (1992) is mentioned in a note, but there are no comparisons or references to her study, which is a pity. Perhaps it is because in the 1980s, before Sommestad's dissertation came, Hansen had already studied the change in the diary profession and also published articles about it. It is nevertheless likely that Sommestad's in-depth study could have added some aspects, especially since the change in Sweden, according to her, took place as a result of cultural influence from German and Danish dairying.

Familie- og arbejdsliv på landet touches on many questions and builds on extensive analysis of sources, but it sometimes overwhelms the reader with all the details. The many tables, 43 in all, are not always reader-friendly. Perhaps they should have been placed in an appendix, with bar charts instead in the text so that the relationships in the data would be more obvious to the reader. The book contains many photographs and the captions are often informative, telling us about the people we see.

The book would have gained from a stricter disposition. It would have been fascinating, for example, to have a more profound discussion of the significance of agricultural exhibitions for women's position and opportunities. Hansen mentions both general agricultural shows and special dairy shows, but in different chapters. This is nevertheless an interesting publication in many ways, and it can no doubt inspire new research in various fields.
Ingrid Söderlind, Stockholm

Beyond Stereotypes of Immigration Policy

Bortom stereotyperna? Invandrare och integration i Danmark och Sverige. Ulf Hedetoft, Bo Petersson & Lina Sturfelt (eds.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2006. 415 pp. ISBN 91-7061-026-6.

■ We should never forget that there are no ready-made political or scientific answers to the question of how a multicultural society should be understood and organized. On the other hand, there are plenty of claims – mostly political but sometimes also scientific – by people who think they have the answers. This is a crucial difference, and it is the most important reason why the claims look so different. No one *knows* what should be done to achieve an unknown goal, but many believe – with greater or lesser conviction and based on different ideologies – that they know.

So great is the possible range of variation that two neighbouring countries with similar historical experiences, like Sweden and Denmark, can differ considerably. The dissimilarities between the countries have attracted much attention for almost ten years; after the election success of the right-wing populist Danish People's Party in 1998 and even more so since 2001 when the Liberals and the Conservatives formed a government with parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party, with a highly restrictive policy on refugees and immigration on its programme. The differences have been squeezed into stereotyped forms of understanding – "the naive Sweden versus the realistic Denmark", modern Swedish rationality versus boorish Danish cryptofascism. Sweden: a rhetorically adorned pluralism launched from above without much consideration for how the citizens experience ethnic complexity in their everyday lives; a project that has lost much of its energy through lack of success; a Potemkin village, a hollow and dilapidated façade. Denmark: deliberate populism and unabashed patriotism playing on moods of parochialism, xenophobia, and national self-conceit.

It is stereotypes like these that this collection of essays seeks to study and problematize. The title means "Beyond the Stereotypes? Immigrants and Integration in Denmark and Sweden". The book was published in 2006 and one supposes that the articles were written before the Swedish election the same year. Otherwise the unexpected success of the Swedish Democrats, the right-wing populist party described by one Swedish debater as "restrictive on immigration", would have left its mark on several of the articles, especially since the success of that party shows that there is not so much difference now between Sweden and Denmark.

This is an excellent book. Chiefly from the angles of political science, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, and political philosophy, it presents a rich body of knowledge about integration issues and immigration policy as rhetoric and practice in the two countries, and it provides ample space for general discussion of the problems and paradoxes of pluralism, nationalism, and multiculturalism. The general discussions are rarely in agreement, and that is good, since it requires the reader to stay alert while moving through questions to which no one really knows the answer. As for the knowledge conveyed, there is possibly more for Swedes who want to understand Denmark than for Danes who want to understand Sweden, and that is not so good.

As a collection the book is also an unusually well accomplished project. Without repeating each other, the articles – which are without exception of good quality – give a concerted picture of the topic. Concerted but not in unison. For the scientific cross-lighting triumphs here; there are many changes of perspective but the focus is the same. Altogether this gives a concentrated but complex picture.

The articles can be divided into two main categories. Those at the start of the book are mainly oriented to theory and principle, discussing the multicultural society with the emphasis on its Swedish and Danish manifestations. The articles that follow are a collection of concrete detailed studies of specific aspects of the general theme. They are based on careful and critical analyses of data constellations from quantitative studies, of qualitative interviews, of laws and other texts from public authorities, of parliamentary debates.

It would be impossible and downright misleading to single out any of these articles. It is instead the pattern they form together that should be emphasized as one of the merits of the book. Yet the individual articles contain well-founded and well-digested knowledge which ought to be of great interest for anyone who wants to become engaged in the specific topics. It is therefore worth summing up the topics considered.

We can read here about the geographical spread of refugee reception in Denmark (Anna Piil Damm), remigration policies in Denmark and Sweden (Christina Johansson), Somali immigrants' integration strategies in a Denmark that demands individual responsibility (Tina Kallehave), gender-related generation conflicts among "immigrant families" in Sweden (Mehrdad Darvishpour), transnational movements among Muslims in Denmark (Søren Chr. Lassen & Kate Østergaard), Swedish and Danish integration policies (Martin Bak Jørgensen), the view of dual citizenship in Denmark and Sweden (Lærke Klitgaard Holm), political participation among immigrants in Denmark (Lise Togeby). (As is evident from the above, there are slightly more examples from Denmark.)

The five articles with a more general discussion naturally stick close to political issues, and in some cases we can clearly hear the authors' committed stance on these. This is the case, for example, when Erik Berggren considers the Danish policy on immigration and integration since the change of government in 2001. Even Swedish readers who think that they are reasonably aware of Danish political developments will be astounded as Berggren, with a sharp eye and a matter-of-fact tone, lists the most important changes: the severe restrictions on couples consisting of a Dane and a non-Dane who want to settle in Denmark, the limitations of the right of asylum, "the introduction contract" with a language test, introductory courses, the requirement to submit a written asseveration of respect for "society's fundamental values", and the condition that a person must accept a job offer or else suffer a reduction or termination of financial support. The aim of these policies, to reduce the number of immigrants and asylum seekers, has been more than achieved.

Most of the innovations have been supported by the Social Democrats, and of course also by the Danish People's Party, who urge even more far-reaching changes. The party sees itself as a representative of a classless Danishness, repressed and restrained by the "arbiters of taste" (*smagsdomere*) that monitor political correctness. When resistance to the Danish People's Party is formulated – in very mild terms – the party tries in different ways to intimidate its opponents into silence.

Behind all this, in Berggren's opinion, there is a "logic of power in movement" and this is like nothing less than fascism. But this identification is made only after the concept is given a broader and milder meaning than usual, in the light of modern fascism studies. "Fascism" is then a variant of what some people would call "right-wing populism". Through this choice of terminology, Berggren of courses sharpens his political and polemical point, but it is another matter whether the content of the Danish policy is thereby changed.

A slightly more inquiring tone is adopted by Per Mouritsen when he examines the concept of citizenship in contemporary political discussion in Denmark. As in many Western European countries, Mouritsen says, citizenship in Denmark is increasingly understood in civic-political terms, and the nation is viewed as a community that shares certain universal, liberal values such as equality, freedom, and democracy. But the presence of non-Danes, above all of Muslim background, tends to nationalize and culturalize this universality. A driving force in this process is the suspicion that non-Danes are less able to appreciate the universal values properly. (It should be noted that different statistical studies suggest that the Danes are one of the peoples in Europe who find it most difficult to accept "obvious cultural diversity".) People on the political right can handle this conflict relatively easily: by rooting the universal values in a rediscovered Christian secular Danish culture. Commentators with a different political stance instead have to face a landscape of tricky contradictions and ambivalence.

In two articles by anthropologists, one by Aje Carlbom and one by Jonathan Friedman and Kajsa Ekholm Friedman, the opposition is directed against what seems like a multiculturalist establishment. Carlbom looks at a circumstance that the establishment, in his opinion, prefers to push aside: in Sweden there is a political Islamistic tendency that, without wishing to use violence or other militant methods, seeks to Islamize a constitutionally secular nation, primarily by "re-Islamizing" people of Muslim background. In the public political debate, Carlbom says, this tendency is not placed in the category of "Islamism" or "political Islam". These designations are instead reserved for Muslims who advocate violence. This makes it possible to regard "moderate and conservative" Islamists as politically neutral and perhaps even fundamentally secularized. A great deal of the article is devoted to the documentation of this political Islam in Sweden and the Rosengård area of Malmö that Carlbom knows very well as a result of lengthy field studies. He does so in full awareness that what he is doing is often publicly branded as Islamophobia.

Jonathan Friedman and Kajsa Ekholm Friedman's article, full of ideas and well grounded in theory, discusses the position of the nation state in a globalized world and the changes in identity questions that can ultimately be attributed to globalization. One of its effects is that "the West" has been weakened economically as a consequence of a decentralization of global capital flows (besides which, one could add, the nation states have been weakened, both economically and politically, as a direct consequence of the astonishing expansion of deregulated global finance markets).

The large contemporary migration flows are thus taking place in a context of relative economic decline which does not, according to the authors, favour modern pro-development perceptions of identity that reject "traditions and culturally specific identities". On the contrary, such periods are characterized by the way minorities and majorities rally round the supposed security of their traditional and ethnically separate identities. But that process is not general. The political elites of Western societies do not follow the pattern. What dominates there is instead an identification with cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism.

These two articles thus describe a chasm between an elite advocating multiculturalism and a majority population who have several reasons to be sceptical and negative about multiculturalism. This is a well-substantiated idea which must be taken seriously, and the success of the Swedish Democrats makes it sound even more reasonable. It is unfortunate, however, that the articles are not free of resentful digs against political correctness. This is clearest when Friedman and Ekholm Friedman devote disproportionate space to a critique of some (admittedly odd) statements by Masoud Kamali, chairman of the Swedish government inquiry into integration policy.

The critique of multiculturalism in these two articles is wisely countered by Hans Ingvar Roth. In his well-formulated discussion he dwells above all on the abstract principles that can serve as a foundation for a multiculturalist stance. It is convincing and gives pause for thought. On the other hand, the article does not say much about the much more down-to-earth and acute political chasm between a multiculturalist ideology and what ought to be its mass base. There is no real challenge to the argument by Carlbom and Friedman/Ekholm Friedman, namely, that there are comprehensible reasons (but this of course does not automatically mean politically acceptable ones) why many people also reject the "weak" multiculturalism advocated by Roth.

As will be obvious, this is not a book in which the authors are in agreement about the overall issues. And this is a good thing, because there are no clear-cut answers as to how multiculturalism should be understood and organized. On the other hand, there are people who *think* they have the answers. Anything that makes life difficult for them is for the better. That is a conclusion that follows from this useful book.

Magnus Berg, Norrköping

Ethnological View on Youth Cultures and Youth Work Research

Keinut, filmit, kerhot ja tatsat. Etnologinen katse nuorisokulttuuriin. Nuorisotyön perinteen tallentaminen projekti/Nuoperi. (Swings, films, clubs and tattoos. An ethnologic approach to youth culture. Preserving the Tradition of Youth Work project Nuoperi.) Minna Heikkinen (ed.). Turun maakuntamuseon julkaisuja 11. Provincial Museum Publication Series 11. Turku 2006. 191 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-595-111-9.

■ In the Nuoperi project (Preserving the Tradition of Youth Work), material on youth work has been collected since 2002. The purpose of the project has not been only to preserve this material, but also to use it as subject of research. Five students and doctoral students from the discipline of ethnology in Turku University have now written about researching youth and youth work traditions. According to the foreword of Minna Heikkinen, the idea of this publication is to present material donated to the project to the broader audience, as well as the researchers and students.

Timo Virtanen opens the collection with an introduction to ethnological research of youth cultures in Turku University. His article "Swings, engagements and mohawks – An ethnological approach to youth culture research" carries the reader from the 19th century to the 21st century. He shows us that youth cultures are not only a phenomenon of today, but in many cases have their roots deep in the past.

Among others, the Nuoperi project has received 39 substandard films made in the municipal youth work from the end of 1950s to 1980s as donations. Most of the films are from the 1960s and 70s, when making cine films was quite popular in Finland. The majority of films were made by youth leaders. They were very often made as documents of youth activities like camps, trips, and competitions. Films were also often used for other purposes like education, but also as entertainment and amusement. Four of the films have been made by the youths themselves. In her article "Cine films in youth work" Salla Tenkanen takes a closer look at three films, two made by the youth leaders and one made by the youth. The youth and youth leaders apparently have had quite different views about making cine films: youths have wanted to test their abilities in making the film, while adults have seen the cine films as recordings of reality. Tenkanen supposes that fictional narration panders to youth and fits well in youth world.

In her article "A look into the world of diaries – The diaries of Kerttu Varjo 1947–1962" Katri Kivelä presents the diaries of Counsellor of Education Kerttu Varjo. This kind of material can offer interesting possibilities to the researcher. Varjo acted in significant roles in many different areas of Finnish youth work organizations. In her diaries one can find information about practices and conditions of youth work at that time. In spite of that, the diaries shed light on the private life of an unmarried career woman, her work, friendships, and free time.

The history of the youth work of the Finnish Red Cross in Southwest Finland is the subject of Ann-Mari Lehti's delineation "Fifty years of youth work by the Finnish Red Cross". The organisation of the Finnish Red Cross was established in 1877 under the name "Finnish Society for the Care of Sick and Wounded Soldiers", and the name was changed to the Finnish Red Cross in 1919. The youth activities of the Red Cross started in 1954, at first under the name Finnish Red Cross Youth. It was an organisation of youth work, but the name seemed to refer to a youth organisation. To avoid misunderstandings, the name was abandoned in the beginning of the 1960s, and youth work was done within the main organisation.

"House calls, information and discos – youth work offers opportunities for new residents" is the name of Minna Heikkinen's article. She examines the youth work done in the 1950s and 60s among the youngsters moving into town from the countryside, and compares it with the youth work focusing on young immigrants today. Heikkinen uses as her frame of reference Juha Nieminen's "youth work ethos", which consists of five driving forces: respect for the needs of young people, voluntarism, commitment to reinforcing the national identity of young people and bringing larger youth groups into the scope of activities, recognition of the adult right in youth education, and the acceptance of civic groups as educators in youth work. According to Heikkinen, this ethos seems to come true both in orientation and practice of today quite similarly to earlier times. The voluntarism was hardest to see, because the youth work is now quite professional. However, from the youth perspective it is evident, because volunteers are important in everyday work in youth centres, and participating in youth activities is not obligatory. Of course, the conventions of the youth work have changed: in the 1950s and 60s the activities were run from above, sometimes rather authoritatively, while in the 2000s there is the tendency to see the youth as individuals meeting each other.

In the book, the texts are printed both in Finnish and in English. In the articles that works quite well after you learn to read only one side of the page. In the list of references it would perhaps have been clearer to put the headings in both languages and list the references only once.

The book is illustrated with several photographs from ethnological archives and other sources. The photos are interesting and informative. Especially the use of material from films in Tenkanen's article has been a very successful insight.

It might have been interesting to read a short article about the Nuoperi project itself, with a summary description of the collected material. However, these five texts demonstrate well the variety of the ethnological field of youth culture research today.
Merja Leppälahti, Turku

Your Country Needs You!

Tutkijat ja sota. Suomalaisten tutkijoiden kontakteja ja kohtaloita toisen maailmansodan aikana. (Some Finnish researchers' contacts and destinies during the Second World War.) Marjatta Hietala (ed.). Historiallisia tutkimuksia 12. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2006. 485 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-746-791-5.

■ *Researchers and War: Finnish Researchers' Contacts and Destinies during the Second World War* consist of six articles that are all parts of larger research projects. The aim of the project is to find out what the life span, success and appeal of certain research environments, universities and research institutes are like, and also the career and mobility of individual researchers. What happened during the war years? How did the war affect the mobility, research opportunities and research environments of the Finnish scholars? And how did the war alliance with Germany influence the Finns' research contacts? Those are some of the central questions of this project. This is a selection of different viewpoints on Finnish practice of science during the Second World War. By no means is anybody writing about a final and absolute truth, since also the editor implies that there are flaws in the material that allow a whole new point of view. As it is well known, many documents that were regarded as dangerous to their owners ended up in an even safer place than the waste paper bin during the trials about peoples' actions during the wartime and the operation of the control commission.

Mervi Kaarninen addresses clear basic questions in the light of statistic source material in her article *The University at War – Study and Research on the Front and the Home Front.* What was the framework for the wartime operation of institutes of university standing like? What was the work distribution of the different kinds of scientific operators like and what were the novelties that emerged in the field of research then? Did the war cause a break in the scientific work to the extent that has been assumed? There is interesting indirect information in the article for those who are interested in the ethnology of the wartime.

In *A. I. Virtasen huippututkimusyksikkö selvisi sodasta (A. I. Virtanen's Top Unit* Survived the War) Aulikki Litzen reviews the circumstances in which the biochemical research institute of the Nobel Prize winner A. I. Virtanen (1895–1973) functioned during the wartime. The high standard of research did not suffer to any great extent but survived relatively unscathed into a new era. On similar lines is also Timo Vilén with his article *Ragnar Granitin talvisota* (*Ragnar Granit's Winter War)*, which is about this collection's other Nobel Prize winner, the neuro physiologist Ragnar Granit (1900–1991) and his personal choices regarding Finland that was in war. Granit moved to Sweden during the truce. While Finland suffered a lack of nearly everything, Sweden offered real opportunities to the dedicated researcher whose work partly aided the rise of Sweden to a status of "a kind of scientific super power during the 25 years following the war", as the writer himself points out. It seems that in addition to wartime, the time of peace can also function as a locomotive of development.

Sampsa Kaataja writes about the innovations that were hastened by the wartime in his article *Tutkimusta, keksintöjä ja asiantuntemusta sodan varjossa sekä sota-aikana.* (Research, inventions and expertise under the shadow of the war and during the wartime.) Scientists were working at the state-owned aeroplane factory. In a country of Finland's size, there was only little actual production of aeroplanes, which is a field of technology that requires a lot of resources, but research on materials lead to the development of many other territories. Wood processing industry especially enjoyed the results in the form of new plywood applications.

Timo Rui writes in his article *Tiedemiehet sodan jaloissa. Näkökulmia suomalais-virolaisiin tieteellisiin suhteisiin toisen maailmasodan aikana.* (Scientists in the way of war. Viewpoints on Finnish-Estonian scientific relations during the Second World War) about an interesting topic about which it has so far been difficult to find a general presentation, in spite of the fact that the same fateful period has been central in the Estonian literature since the easing of tension in the 1980s. From an ethnologist's point of view the article demonstrates the wide social influence of our ethnologists at the beginning of the 20th century. At least the Foreign Office appointed linguist Lauri Kettunen's actions scouting the moods in Estonia at the beginning of 1940 give new information to the writer of this article.

Rui has solved the complicated and on the whole laborious topic by concentrating on only a few scientists that passed through Finland or ended up there, and leaving the others in a more or less cursory state. Among the central scientific refugees emerge Ants Oras and August Tammekann, through whom Rui attempts to interpret the phenomena of the era. The linguist Ants Oras (1900–1982) worked as a professor in the University of Tartu from 1934 to 1943 and found his scientific surroundings in the US at the University of Florida. An even clearer picture is drawn of the geographer August Tammekann (1894–1959) who moved to Finland with his family during the truce in the summer of 1940. At the end of the war the Tammekanns were forced to move to Sweden only to return to Finland in less than a decade. Tammekann became a professor at the University of Helsinki in 1950. The life of the ethnologist Oskar Loorits is a very interesting detail in the article. He was deported from Tartu, where he had his work to Haapsalu because he was corresponding with Finnish colleagues. A great part of Loorits' correspondence is available to research in the collection of Helmi Helminen, situated in the Finnish National Museum. Helminen worked in Eastern Karelia during the war.

The editor of the book, Marjatta Hietala, writes a many-sided and well justified depiction of the contacts which Finnish researchers had with Germans in her article *Tutkijat ja Saksan suunta* (Researchers and the German Direction) that is based on a wide host of archive material. According to the statistics that Hietala presents it seems that the tether with which the Finnish research was tied to its German master was fairly long, after all. At least in 1941–1944 it seems that there was more science-related travelling to Sweden than to Germany and that only in 1942, the time of the warmest brotherhood in arms, the focal point turns towards Germany. A great part of that activity is explained by the effort made by the German institutions in order to acquire foreign partners. When introducing the partners in collaboration, Hietala does not forget to mention Heinrich Himmler's Ahnenerbe Institute, where the later controversial scientist Yrjö von Grönhagen worked on Finnish connections.

When considering ethnology and linguistics Hietala especially emphasises the active part of the Finno-Ugric Society as the motor of scientific research during the wartime. The scientists who were active in the society at that time were also the same group of people who were the influence behind the research that was started in the Finnish occupation area Eastern Karelia. In her article Hietala also mentions the research programme initiated by the Finno-Ugric Society regarding the study of the nationalities of Finno-Ugric origin in the prisoner of war camps. In my opinion the topic is treated slightly superficially paying attention to official sources, in this case the official records of meetings and the information they yield. This is, however, such a large project that the sources in question alone do not suffice in explaining it. Hietala reports the beginning of the project by writing to some extent erroneously that "there seemed to be enough expertise in Finland to study the Yukagir, Chuvash and Komi languages, but in order to study the Mordvin language the expert Jenö Juhász had to be called to help. This, however, is not the case. Juhász, who was invited from Hungary to Finland, shed light to his arrival in Finland when he lectured to his hosts at the Finno-Ugric Society in May 1942. He told among other things about the difficulties he had faced in his work on a dictionary, started already in the 1920s, and especially about the lack of decent grammars. Professor Lauri Kettunen, a Finnish colleague who had worked in Budapest at the very beginning of the war, had later found a solution to the problem.

Based on her own research Hietala clearly demonstrates how the Finnish scientists were given important expertise-requiring tasks by the highest political levels regarding the Eastern Karelian question and also the German policies in the East. One of these scientists was Paavo Ravila, whose work as an expert of Finno-Ugric tribal nations in a German institute researching questions regarding borders and alien people Hietala has reported very creditably. It was Ravila's job to provide the Germans with accurate maps and descriptions of the Finno-Ugric nations in the occupied areas. Spurred by the German example Ravila proposed to the Foreign Office the founding of a special research institute in regard to Eastern Europe, so that ethnological and linguistic background information, among other things, could be had from the occupied areas to help the decision making of the state. What makes Hietala's contribution especially worthwhile is the fact that Ravila's part in this political eastern connection has not been demonstrated to a greater extent before.

Hietala also makes an attractive detour to the Finnish sauna in the Second World War, during which it became a real hit product. The Director of Health of the Third Reich Leonardo Conti edited among other things the work *Sauna: Ein Weg zur Volksgesundheit,* founded the German Sauna Society funded by the state and ordered the building of special saunas on the frontlines. The smoke soon billowed from them especially in the eastern front. Versatile information was offered for the benefit of the citizens of the Third Reich in the form of illustrated sauna guides drawings and educational films.

From an ethnologist's point of view this collection of articles inevitably raises the question about why it is exactly these topics that have been chosen to depict the mental and physical state of the Finnish scholarly life during the Second World War and why some other central areas of interest have totally been ignored. Contributing to the reader's fragmentary overall picture – an aspect that this work has also earlier been criticised for – is partly explained by the fact that the framework of this project is committed first and foremost to the flow of information, networking and factors attracting each other. The scientific activity around the building of the Greater Finland was so closely connected to ethnology and folklore, as the editor herself also points out, that it would not be appropriate to give it too little weight in a presentation of this kind.

As may be expected, the final answer to the question of the tendency of the Finnish scholarly life during the Second World War can not be found this time, either, nor is it even necessary, since this is a collection of various viewpoints on practising science and on the particular scientists' particular motivation to work. Nevertheless, this collection of articles, "Researchers and War" opens many new vistas and offers fresh source material that will for its own part guide the Finnish study of the Second World War forwards.

Tenho Pimiä, Jyväskylä

A Programme for Culture Studies

Kulturforskning. Bjarne Hodne & Randi Sæbøe (eds.). Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 2003. 324 pp. ISBN 82-15-00396-6.

■ This book presents the results of five years' research in the framework project "Programme for Culture Studies" (1998–2002). One of the general questions was how people relate to symbols, ideas, and actions. Judging by the essays, this is a rather vague common denominator. A great deal of topics have been examined as part of the project, from a variety of theoretical perspectives. For the reader of the book it is difficult to consider the contributions as a whole. This is an obvious feature of a framework project with many participants, but it makes for difficult reading. The book seems more like a catalogue of project presentations than a cohesive collection of articles about culture studies in Norway. Perhaps the compact format of the articles has tricked some of the authors, who list the important literature they have read rather than presenting the results of their own inquiries. It is explicable that there are many empirical objects of study. The book is organized in three themes: Understanding and Interpretation; Encounters and Meaning Formation; Politics and Practice.

It is something of a challenge to try to sum up the content of the book. Nor is it even possible to conduct a critical scrutiny of the framework project since the articles are not the result of the whole project but, at best, summaries or presentations of individual projects. As a reader one can wonder about some of the more or less explicit but shared premises for the participating researchers. For what is culture studies? It is emphasized several times that this research is anti-essentialist and therefore constructionist. This does not seem unreasonable or revolutionary. But what consequences does this have for the researchers' approaches and for the results? And how anti-essentialist is the research that is actually presented?

The concluding article is of good assistance here. Josten Børtnes, Siri Gerrard, Pål Repstad, Ingebjørg Seip, and Aaslaug Vaa comment on the five-year project. They observe that, despite the talk of constructionism, concepts such as gender, class, ethnicity, and nation still exist as a kind of basic essentialist condition for these culture studies. This is a good observation. But is it not necessary to have such basic conditions to be able to do research at all? Where should one stand in order to see? We have to put our feet down somewhere; some concept or perspective must be in place if a study is to be conducted.

Perhaps the commentators' observation can be understood as a general critique of culture researchers, that they take too many central concepts for granted. In some cases I am inclined to agree. Ethnicity and nation in particular are two such basic concepts that some authors use seemingly without reflection.

The commentators moreover draw attention to a political or, as they put it, ethical stance that is not always explicit. In the constructionist perspective there appears to be an acceptance of difference and dissimilarity. In any case the constructionist outlook denaturalizes its object of study, which in turn leads to freedom of action and possible change. This space is occupied in the articles above all by individuals, which at least I usually regard as being fairly uncomplicated. But the commentators argue that this focus on individual agency builds on liberal individualism. Individuality is linked here to diversity and differentness. To be oneself is to be free. It is not wholly surprising that none of the researchers adopts a value-conservative or socialist understanding of society, which would, if anything, entail more of a focus on collective action.

The trickiest word and simultaneously the most central is "culture". It is culture that is supposed to be studied. How, for example, does the concept of culture relate to an anti-essentialist stance? Generally speaking, the concept of culture is slightly elusive in this volume. It is taken for granted but seems to have different meanings and consequences for different authors.

In an unsigned introduction to the first six articles, however, the concept is discussed briefly. It is claimed here that the concept of culture understood as identity is essentialistic. At the same time, it is declared that nature is in opposition to culture, to what is manmade and mutable. This view of culture is supposed to be constructionist. Well, perhaps it is. But we are not given any guidance as to what culture is and how it should be studied. "Culture is not something that is – it is something that is constantly coming into existence." Many of us would probably subscribe to that view. But what consequences does this have for our research? If mobility is the chief property of culture, what are we studying?

I realize, of course, that this review does not do justice to the book. But there is some comfort to be found in the fact that the book does not seem to present a fair picture of the Programme for Culture Studies. To achieve that, I think that a great deal would have been gained if the book had been organized in longer commentaries than the 25 chapters reporting the authors' research.

Lars-Eric Jönsson, Lund

The National Finnish Landscape Imagery

Maunu Häyrynen, Kuvitettu maa – Suomen kansallisen maisemakuvaston rakentuminen (The illustrated country – Construction of the national Finnish landscape imagery.) Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 834. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2005. 220 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-746-304-9.

■ In recent years there has been a growing interest in landscape among the Finnish cultural field. *Kuvitettu maa – Suomen kansallisen maisemakuvaston rakentuminen*, the book by Maunu Häyrynen, Professor of Landscape Studies at the University of Turku, fits well into this phenomenon. The reasons of this sudden interest in landscape can be traced back for example to the constantly increasing globalization, which has raised questions on the roots of the nation and the Finnish identity. The latest examples of this are two almost simultaneously published books about I. K. Inhas's landscape photographs and recent exhibitions in two of the State Art Museums: *A Mirror of Nature. Nordic Landscape Painting 1840–1910* in the Ateneum and *Landscape* in the Kiasma, Helsinki.

The main goal of *Kuvitettu maa* is to examine the construction of the national Finnish landscape imagery. This challenging, complex and vast subject demands versatile skills from its researcher. In this case Häyrynen meets these demands by his multidisciplinary approach, which includes art and culture studies, semiotics, sociology, history and new geography with humanistic approach among others.

In his book, the author unravels the constructed character of the landscape imagery piece by piece. Häyrynen offers basics of the main subject by defining the concept of landscape and theoretical background of landscape studies. These chapters are important for the book as a whole, the style of these chapters, however, varies compared to the rest of the text. The construction of Finnish landscape imagery is especially viewed through a nationalistic frame of reference. In this case, landscape appears as subject, in which ideological implications can be attached when needed. One example of this is linking the Finnish identity to wilderness, which is known as *Kalevala* landscape, through the national Romantic Movement.

The working method of Häyrynen can be seen as a phenomenal analysis because of the main research material being images of national landscapes. In his research Häyrynen is concentrating on this whole imagery, not only on well known actual places which have become national emblems like Koli and Punkaharju: he also brings up anonymous landscapes. These anonymous scenes, with a high angle view on lakes and forests – resembling the landscape of Koli – link up through well known types of landscapes and their genre of depicting the wider national landscape imagery.

Kuvitettu Maa presents national landscape imagery as a complicated, flexible and dynamic entity. The construction of this national landscape imagery has been affected by actual places and landscapes as well as different processes which have created and maintained the Finnish national identity. Its power is based on the fact that "the imagery works as a norm for national and for landscape and respectively to that what is not seen as national or what is not ranked as landscape".

The main research material of *Kuvitettu maa* consists of well known publications which portray Finland and the Finnish landscape. This is a good starting point for the extensive examination of the construction of the national landscape imagery. This long term sampling of publications allows the author to make observations especially on the changes in imagery. The popular character of the presented material also makes it possible to find out about the common opinion on the landscape imagery among the Finnish nation.

Despite the definition of the research task, the research material is in this case still quite broad. Apparently this is the reason why Häyrynen concentrates on the characterization of the different periods of landscape imagery and their ideals, in those chapters that are covering the complete national landscape imagery in Finland. Following this summary the author examines three clearly distinguished case-studies on the past, the countryside and the border land. This decision seems well grounded, considering the vast research material.

In *Kuvitettu maa* the role of the text, which is by no doubt creditable, is most of all support pictures, not vice versa. The national landscape imagery of Finland is in particular constructed in pictures, which constitute our image/s of the Finnishness. In this case the plentiful and high quality picture material brings the reader to contemplate on the relation of his/her own mental images of national landscape imagery, and especially to make observations about the changes in it. The role of the commentary captions is important because they enfold the contents of the book by its pictures.

The interesting fact concerning national landscape imagery is that it doesn't necessarily present itself to everyone in exactly the same way. The interpretation of it depends on temporal and local factors among others. Roughly speaking, there can for example be differences between older and younger or urban and rural recipients. From this point of view, the illustration of the book allows many different personal ways of interpretations and guides every reader to estimate the content and symbolic value of the national landscape imagery. First of all it challenges the reader to think of what is to be seen as Finnish, what is being identified as familiar, and what is being seen as foreign and unfamiliar.

It is true that the whole Finnish landscape imagery from early 19th century on to the beginning of the 21st century would be too broad for one book. It is still surprising that the youngest picture in *Kuvitettu maa* is from the year 1966. It would have been interesting if there were some examples among the research material from the recent forty years, when the stability and coherence of imagery has been put to a greater test because of ever accelerating economical development and the globalization of the society. The Finnish landscape has been changed enormously since 1960s. Knowing this, the changes in landscape imagery and what has possibly been abandoned would clearly indicate the state and power of a national identity. The situation of the 1970s and 80s could have been commented, for example, as an additional case study.

Häyrynen's *Kuvitettu maa*, a book with pleasant looks and elegant lay-out, discusses the construction of the Finnish national landscape imagery quite extensively. Its importance in the field of the Finnish landscape study must not be underestimated.
Antti Vallius, Jyväskylä

Dreams and Fantasies of Popular Culture

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, På drömmarnas marknad. Ikoner, fantasibilder och klichéer i populärkulturen. Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2006. 352 pp. ISBN 91-7844-719-4.

■ Present-day popular culture and mass-media phenomena are highly interesting but largely unstudied areas, although there are exceptions. One of those who has concentrated his research on the diverse expressions of popular culture is Sven-Erik Klinkmann, associate professor of folkloristics in Åbo. With works like *Elvis Presley – Den karnevalistiske kungen* (1998) and *Populära fantasier från Diana till Bayou Country* (2002) he has already made important contributions about the forms and expressions of popular culture.

In this book, "On the Market of Dreams", Klinkmann again focuses on popular culture, its icons, fantasies, and cultural clichés. The book consists of twenty-five texts, the majority of which have previously been published in journals and Swedish-language newspapers in Finland. The content is broad; among other topics, the author examines the television programme with community singing at Skansen, the concept of cult, the accordion, country music, fashion, rockabilly, football, and a large number of celebrities/icons. The selection reflects the author's frames of reference, which are very different from my own. In short, Klinkmann's icons are not mine. This is not to say that his study is beyond my comprehension. On the contrary, the book arouses many thoughts, gives rise to possible interpretations, and demonstrates the significance of popular culture in an increasingly mass-medialized and fragmented age like ours. How we, individually and/or collectively, build up conceptions, how we accept or reject popular icons, fantasies, and clichés is also a theme running through the book.

Two of the essays caught my interest in particular. In "Deceases" Klinkmann discusses late-modern masculinity based on the life and work of Carl Perkins, Johnny Cash, Charles Bronson, Dean Martin, Ray Charles, and Frank Sinatra. The author elegantly shows how masculinity changes, constantly exposed to pressure to adapt to the cultural and social trends of the time. Masculinity, and to an even greater extent the Swedish ordinariness, is also discussed in an essay about the dance-band singer Christer Sjögren. Why is it that the concepts Swedish, ordinary, and masculine are united in the image of Sjögren, Klinkmann asks in the article "Repertoire Singer in the Valley of the Fortunate". Sjögren's virtual embodiment of a (rural) Swedish, sentimental, and vocal ideal is emphasized, "a 1950s Sweden that has never been as Swedish as it was then, at least in the collective conceptual world", as Klinkmann writes. At the same time, Sjögren represents a soft, "cuddly" ideal of masculinity, distinct from, yet compatible with, a more traditional manly ideal.

This is not an easy book to read. The sentences are long and – perhaps because of the many sidetracks in the essays – I sometimes find it difficult to follow Klinkmann's thoughts. In addition to this, the texts are filled with concepts, theoretical discussions, and references to often previously unknown (to me) philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, cultural theorists, media scholars, authors, and especially musicians. The book, which is not one you read from cover to cover, thus demands a great deal of the reader. At the same time, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the majority of the essays are astute and important contributions to the study of popular culture and societal change. In short, the book deserves to be spread among those who are interested in media and popular culture, both inside and outside the academic sphere.

Fredrik Skott, Göteborg

Mapping Family Coordinates

Familjekoordinater. Etnologiska analyser av fritid, släkt och syskonskap. Ole Rud Nielsen, Susanne Lindholm, Christina Haldin, Laura Aalto, Rapport 11. Åbo Akademi, Åbo 2006. 180 pp. Ill. ISBN 952-12-1522-4.

■ "Belonging to a family and a kin is often something taken for granted," writes Anna-Maria Åström in the foreword to this interesting little book. This states the matter in hand. It is a classical ethnological problem, namely, how to analyse the familiar, well-known, and self-evident. The aim, in other words, is to overcome "home-blindness". In this case it concerns relations to the family, children and parents – and siblings. It is praiseworthy that the four Finnish researchers have tackled such a highly relevant, but also rather neglected topic, which surprisingly has been the subject of only a few studies in Nordic ethnology.

More specifically, we have here studies of how people create family solidarity and maintain it, but also investigations of what *family affiliation* means in the different generations, and of the relationship between the members of families where the children are thrown together, that is, where there are different kinds of step-siblings and half-siblings. This means that the authors apply not only a vertical historical view of the family but also bring in the perspectives and theories of family sociology.

We learn both from Ole Rud Nielsen's article about pleasure boating in the Åboland archipelago, and from Laura Aalto's article about how families travel together, that shared tasks and actions are a great help in creating family togetherness. It is thus not just a matter of thinking the family, but also of acquiring a common store of experiences. Family solidarity and belonging is something that takes place. This important point is brilliantly demonstrated in both articles and can be seen as a part of the topographical turn that we have recently been witnessing in the cultural sciences. In that connection it is evident that the spatial dimension has an effect on family relations, and that the physical surroundings and place are of great significance. This is true whether one is holidaying in familiar places such as the waters of the archipelago, or, as in Laura Aalto's article, visiting strange places and seeking to share extraordinary adventures. The crucial thing in both cases is doing something together. Here both the recognizable and the exotic can help to bond families together.

The other crucial point in these two articles is that family solidarity is heightened when people share pursuits that differ from everyday life and the daily routine. The reason for this is not hard to see: people are pulled up and thrown out into the deep water, with the opportunity to observe themselves and their family, that is, to apply a reflexive attitude. It could have been stressed more clearly that this involves a tension in relation to the shared actions, which people surely undertake without thinking closely about them. Rud Nielsen operates with the interesting concept of "reterritorialization" in which this duality seems to exist. His article is long and juggles with a lot of balls at the same time. Greater austerity in language and content would have been warranted. At present the article is overflowing with ideas, chatty, slovenly, and imprecise. On the other hand, it also conveys the smell of the sea and such a sense of freedom that I abandon myself and enjoy it – and remember the times when I myself have sailed with my family in the Finnish archipelago. Ole Rud Nielsen has written a highly Nordic article. Aalto's article is stricter and better structured, but it does not make the same brilliant points as Rud Nielsen's.

Susanne Lindblom's article on family awareness in different phases of life is interesting in that she has asked the informants in her total of ten interviews to draw their family structure on the basis of their inner image of it. The result is a fascinating range of family trees. The most important finding of the article is that the younger informants (aged 10–20) are seemingly most inclined to define their family according to "the blood model", that is, the idea that only persons to whom one is genetically related belong to the "real" family, while the older informants seem to be more open to "the contact model", in which blood ties are not as important as sympathy and interaction with favoured family members. Not surprisingly, the article also shows that the family grows in significance as children and especially grandchildren are added, while others pass away.

The other important theme in the article concerns the relationship between kin (*släkt*) and family (*familj*). Do they coincide or are they different? There is uncertainty among the informants on this point, in that some – especially older people – think that the family, understood as a nuclear family with a father, mother, and children, is too narrow a concept; the grandchildren also belong, so that there is a shift towards the identity of kin and family.

These themes are also relevant for Christina Haldin's article about the difference between "old" nuclear families and "new families", with a seeming tendency for relations with half- and step-siblings to be slightly different from those with full siblings; this applies with reference to matters such as keeping in touch, conflict situations, and relationships to parents. Sibling relations in new families tend to be more negotiable, while sibling relations in "old" families are more binding and more willing to accept conflict. However, it is worth pointing out that this is only a tendency.

As a whole we have here a fine little book which is highly readable, testifying that ethnology in Åbo is pursued in a living research environment that is full of initiative.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Cross-Border Visions and Realities

Rörelser, möten och visioner i tid och rum. Fredrik Nilsson, Hanne Sanders & Ylva Stubbergaard (eds.). Centrum för Danmarksstudier 14. Makadam förlag, Göteborg & Stockholm 2007. 408 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-035-6.

■ The Öresund region has been a common research topic in the last ten years. There are several reasons for this. First of all, of course, the region has a multitude of research questions connected with both the past and the present. There is undoubtedly something for most researchers to tackle, whether it concerns economy, politics, culture, or geography. Secondly, the increased interest is explained by the fact that a great deal of money is pumped into Öresund research of all kinds, chiefly from EU structural funds. Several doctoral dissertations in cultural and social sciences have been produced since the bridge over the sound was opened in 2000. The simplified picture of regions as something given by God, nature, or the global economy has been deconstructed more than once. "As humanists and social scientists have taken an interest in the concept of region, the static interpretation has met with constructionist opposition," as the historian Fredrik Persson rightly observes (p. 321) in his critical chapter on the use of history in the Öresund region. With a title meaning "Movements, Meetings, and Visions in Time and Place", this collection of articles sums up an interdisciplinary research project, *Development of a Cross Border Region,* involving historians, political scientists, and ethnologists.

This sturdy, attractive, and well-edited volume is one of several published by the Centre for the Study of Denmark at Lund University. The enterprising head of the Centre, Hanne Sanders, associate professor of history, is herself a true Öresunder but with a healthy scepticism about simplified transnational reasoning. The historical chapters in the volume are highly readable. This is not to say that the articles by ethnologists and political scientists are less readable, only that some of the arguments in them have been heard before. It may be added that I am a rather difficult reader. After four years' work on a dissertation about the Öresund region, completed in 2004, I was thoroughly tired of all the talk about the bridge and all the academic analyses of regions, and that feeling has stayed with me. In other words, it was a rather reluctant reader that opened this volume. But when I closed the book 400 pages later, I noticed that my reluctance had disappeared and that new horizons had opened. The Öresund region in 2007 has become more of an everyday reality. Denmark is still Denmark and Sweden is Sweden. The political decision-making processes and cultural spheres are still highly national. That few, if any, politicians pursue a cultural or democratic Öresund vision is shown by the political scientist Ylva Stubbergaard in her article, and there is evidently a lack of overall political steering. Despite this, there is an informal constitution that is crucial for the growth of the region. But if no one talks about the Öresund region, there is not much left. The political scientist Magnus Jerneck (p. 244) observes with simple elegance: "The problems arise when the conversation stops."

If I were to level any criticism against the volume, it would be about the length of some of the articles, and that the disposition and the sense of the whole are not entirely clear. But that is what it is like in most edited volumes, especially in interdisciplinary collections. At any rate, I think that this volume would have gained from shorter texts and clearer thematization.

Sanders presents a historical media study of the newspaper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, looking at the years 1895, 1935, 1965, and 2005 to problematize the image of exchange in the Öresund region as something new or growing. The study shows, among other things, that the interest that southern Sweden's biggest daily paper shows in Denmark was perhaps even greater yesterday than today. In the past there was more interest in Danish news than there is now, and there were more advertisements too. The media study also indicates, albeit on a limited empirical basis, that the wave of young Swedes making their pilgrimage over the bridge to work in the Danish service industry is not a new phenomenon, nor is cross-border trade. The only theme that recurs in the media reporting between the years seems to be the Danish royal family, which can hardly be considered to be grounded in a regional cosmopolitan vision of the new economy.

The historians Andreas Olsson and Harald Gustafsson, in their respective articles, proceed from analyses of appeals written by people to authorities in the past to complain or request something. The question these authors ask is how townspeople and peasants identified themselves in these letters after Skåne became a part of Sweden in 1658. They draw several fascinating conclusions. They confirm that national identity was not very important for people around the Öresund in those days, which is perhaps not so surprising. But above all, the analyses show that the chosen identities varied and seem to have depended on the situation. Similar conclusions are drawn by the historian Karl Bergman, who has studied Scanian identity. Gustafsson (p. 111) observes: "The everyday life of 17th century people was shaped by the weather, the harvest, and the fishing, sometimes by the ravages of troops ('our own' as much as the enemy's) and often by uncooperative local lords, and only to a minor extent by the supreme rulers in Copenhagen or Stockholm." This conclusion, based on an explicit socio-cultural perspective, is presumably equally valid for today's people around the Öresund.

We may hope that this volume reaches everyone active in business or public administration around the Öresund, partly because it problematizes some common ideas about the Öresund region in an important way, and partly because it could also be used as a basis for direct measures at different levels. The vision of the Öresund region that was manifested in magnificent and uniform pamphlets in connection with the opening of the bridge in 2000 has little to do with the discussions conducted in this volume. If anything, they show the need to communicate more about the Öresund region, to support cultural projects and continue working a small step at a time. The talk of a homogeneous cosmopolitan Öresund must take into account what the ethnologist Per-Markku Ristilammi writes about in his article – the actual place-bound identities and the great diversity contained within the constructed region. With the support of the human geographer Nigel Thrift, Ristilammi writes of the contrast that exists between the Öresund rhetoric and the slow, place-bound subjects who live their lives in different neighbourhoods of Malmö and Copenhagen. Similar arguments, based on a fascinating study of Öresund yachters, are put forward by the ethnologist Markus Idvall in the last article of the book. Globalization and border regionalization are all very well, and the slogan of the Öresund region, *The Human Capital*, certainly sounds elegant, but the truth is probably closer to the rather more pragmatic expression *Every business is local.*
Jesper Falkheimer, Helsingborg

Finnish Studies on Children's Tradition

Leikkikentiltä. Lastenperinteen tutkimuksia 2000-luvulta. (From the Playgrounds. Studies of Children's Tradition from the 2000s.) Helena Saarikoski (ed.) Tietolipas 208. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2005. 365 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-746-671-4.

■ In this collection of articles edited by Helena Saarikoski, contemporary children's tradition is examined in a versatile manner and with emphasis on a child-centred perspective. The work is a well-grounded address since childhood and its aspects have not been at the centre of folkloristic research as such. During the last few decades, childhood and children's games have moved from the margins and become more visible. However, those rare scholars of childhood and especially games, who previously dealt with these unfashionable and non-serious matters, have now paved the way for contemporary researchers.

Leikkikentiltä (From the Playgrounds) consists of fourteen articles, which together with an introductory section are divided into five segments according to theme. The chapters 'Childhood Spaces Remembered' (Muisteltuja lapsuuden tiloja), 'Games of the Imagination' (Mielikuvituksen leikit), 'Girlish Pastimes' (Tyttömäisiä haarastuksia), 'From the Music Playschool to the Comfort Disco' (Vauvamuskarista Hellyys-diskoon), as well as 'Written Narratives of Childhood Spaces' (Kirjoittaen kerrottuja lapsuuden tiloja) guide the reader on a journey into the world of childhood and play. Ten of the writers are folklorists, while one is a musicologist. The folkloristic study of children's traditions is thus emphasised throughout the work. The influence of women's studies and the gendered perspective is also strongly emphasised in many of the articles.

This work is an interesting opening in current issues concerning cultural and folkloristic studies. Play has been generally conceptualised and defined in various contexts. Children's play has been interpreted for example as action that aims at something other than play itself. Helena Saarikoski emphasises that the 'interpretative level of social history is cultural' (p.13) and further on in the work that 'play is examined as an autonomous expression of culture rather than as something with an object in mind'. The aim is also to maintain a distance to therapeutic and pedagogic meanings and the view that play is linked to the trials and hardships of life. In this examination and interpretation of play, the meanings and senses that the children themselves attach to their games are emphasised. It is of course also possible to view the trials, hardships and setbacks of life as part of culture and therefore cultural. This can be reflected in the world of children's games in various ways. Elina Makkonen's article on the childhood remembrances of those who spent their childhoods in the factory communities of eastern Karelia seems to support how the trials, hardships and setbacks of life define and colour the content of childhood and play, within a network of cultural and societal power relations. Likewise, in Kari Huuskonen's article, emphasis is also placed on the experientiality of an 'unusual' childhood. His article is based on the recollections of an informant who was both pupil and teacher at a school for the blind.

The questions posed by the book's editor, as to whether one can give a voice to the children under study or whether research itself is listening to an already existent voice, are important as regards all research on children. Elina Makkonen's and Merja Leppälahti's articles on the two Finnish pioneers of research in the field of children's tradition and play, Leea Virtanen (1935–2002) and Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio (1901–1951), are a good foundation for a discussion on the manifestation and importance of child-centredness. The inclusion of both articles in the introductory section is a necessary reminder that current researchers have their precursors. According to Elina Makkonen this view of child-centredness is mainly linked to the 'new childhood research' that began in the field of sociology and emphasised the self-agency of children as comparable to adults rather than subordinate to them. She defines Leea Virtanen's approach to research as child-centred, which in a way, it is. The writer's interpretation that Virtanen's studies which included 'the discourse of a lost tradition' (p. 27) have contributed to the fact that folkloristic research of children's traditions has not received its fair share of attention within other disciplines just does not hold water in my opinion. Leea Virtanen has been expressly the Finnish researcher of children's tradition that up until now has been visible on the pages of studies from other branches of scholarship.

In addition to child-centredness, the presence of the scholar's voice is also a characteristic feature of the articles, as it should be in contemporary research. However, as a reader one ponders how one should approach the use of the different voices under evaluation in a scientific text. When the informant and narrator is characterised as 'enchanting' (p. 54) or the various features of the phenomenon under study are described as 'delightful' (pp. 53, 106, 115 and 123) the opposite also springs to mind. The researcher of culture and tradition cannot avoid situations, in which the narrator is unapproachable or when things that one does not agree with crop up in interviews. The problem of the researcher's role vis-à-vis too dangerous play situations that Reeli Karimäki brings up in her article is also worth pondering. Personally, she says that she drops her neutral stance in such situations and intervenes in the children's games.

During the last two decades consideration of ethical issues of research and the responsibility of the researcher have become increasingly emphasised. These questions are important in *From the Playgrounds* namely because most of the articles are based on material produced by children, which the adult researchers try to understand to the best of their ability. In this sense, the articles are partly successful. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj analyses the tradition of children's riddles in a versatile manner. She is also very matter-of-fact when coming to grips with the patently racist, sexually coloured and catastrophe-borne tradition of jokes that circulates among children. These are also part of our cultural life. 'The evil joke tradition' (p. 310) can be compared to many forbidden games in which children defy the prohibitions set by adults and in a sense contradict them. As the writer states, this is not a new phenomenon as such, but rather a tradition among the adults and children of the older agrarian community that is also apparent among contemporary children. These kinds of transgressive expressions by children were not even inquired about in the past.

The ethics of a good researcher are also apparent in writing that respects the experientiality of children. Ulla Lipponen's article that examines hospital role-playing games and employs 'the perspective of women's studies moderately' is a success (p. 20). The writer has captured the self-agency of children's games and the seriousness with which the children approach their games. You can sense the children's engagement with their roles while reading the article. However, the children are not entirely able to shake off the traditional gender roles of their culture. That which started as a nurturing game merged into an amalgam of the feminine hospital game and a masculine game of catch (cops and robbers) after a few weeks, and became markedly more masculine in terms of plot and realisation.

The children's own experiences and engagement are also incorporated in the other articles. In Anna Anttila's article on the disco culture of youths, comprehension of the experiences of children is enhanced by the writer's own remembrances. Helena Saarikoski's musings on the narrativity of girl's Spice Girls games and Carola Ekrem's article on the writings of Finno-Swedish children in the chat columns of youth magazines also demonstrate insightful understanding of children's experiences.

An interesting parallel to the nurturing behaviour featured in the hospital game is revealed in Karoliina Ojanen's article, which examines the construction of girlhood among 17–18-year-old stable girls. According to the writer, stable girl culture can be interpreted as countercultural, but at the same time as something that reinforces the heterosexuality of the dominant culture. Nurturing behaviour is used as an instrument of power against boys, who the girls feel do not exhibit the same desire to nurture as females. Conceptions concerning womanhood are questioned in stable girl culture. In a way, the girls free themselves from their usual everyday roles by appearing, for instance, without makeup and in unfeminine clothing. The writer alludes to an agrarian culture in which the maintenance of horses belonged to the male sphere. This was actually the case, although women were not completely forbidden to handle horses. When circumstances dictated, the division of labour had to be flexible. It is usually more permissible for women to cross traditional gender boundaries. It is also worth pondering why modern girls are more interested in dealing with horses than boys are, or why, on the other hand, almost all harness drivers are male.

Merja Leppälahti deals with role-playing games in her article. The role players are guided by ready-made rules and role models, although it has to be said that both role-playing board games and live role-playing games require a degree of imaginative empathy. Taru Leppänen analyses the sexuality and gender bias of children's music through lyrics, different modes of performance, as well as speech by the mothers of 0–6-year-old children. She sees it as important to abandon the myth of innocence that is attached to childhood, as only after this is it possible 'to know what music does to children and what it makes of them' (p. 250).

From the Playgrounds is a diverse and interesting compendium of children's experiences and to an extent also the experiences of youth. The emphasis is placed on the folkloristic perspective in this work. Perhaps more parallels and analogies with other studies of culture and tradition could have been foregrounded, given that childhood and especially games as research subjects are situated on the boundaries of various scientific disciplines. I felt there was a slight need for some historical background in a few instances, even though most of the articles focussed on contemporary phenomena. Peeks beyond our own era could have added more depth to the interpretations. A dismantling of the conceptions and images attached to children's tradition has been consciously sought in the articles featured in this work. The writers have been able to produce clear, readable and fresh writing. After reading this work, I am convinced that children's culture is illuminated best by listening to children and by understanding their world to the best of one's ability.

Pirjo Korkiakangas, Jyväskylä

Seeing the Museum

Föremål för forskning. Trettio forskare om det kulturhistoriska museimaterialets möjligheter. Birgitta Svensson (ed.). Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2005. 216 pp. Ill. ISBN 91- 7108-501-7.

■ In the spring of 2006 an interesting object was dropped into my letterbox, a book in a serious dark binding. The front cover was adorned with glass tubes containing ears of different kinds of grain. The object was called a fascicle and it represents research. But what aroused my interest was the exhortation *Se museet*, "See the museum", in red letters in the top right-hand corner. This immediately reminded me of *Se människan*, "See the person" or "Ecce homo". Three volumes have been published by the Nordiska Museet in the series "See the museum". The first concerns play and fantasy as a teaching method, the second is about questionnaires and the joy of storytelling, and the third deals with museum research. The material is the fruit of two museum seminars, and the book contains 30 scholars' views of the potential of the collections in the museums of cultural history. The aim, stated clearly on the cover, is to bring universities and museums closer together.

At the start of the 20th century the serious museums of cultural history, such as the Nordiska Museet, the national museums, and other museums with scholarly leadership in the different Scandinavian countries had close contacts with the universities and their research. It was not uncommon for a young MA to become a museum director, take a doctorate, and retire as a professor. The museums had the character of teaching collections and research material. The exhibitions were a way to present new knowledge to the general public, and the yearbooks allowed theorists to follow the museum's research and documentation work. Unfortunately, the concept of exhibition has through time become virtually synonymous with museum, and the powers that be often perceive the museums as part of the culture industry.

In the scholarly sphere the museums began to be regarded as media and expressions of the picture of society demanded by those in power. Benedict

Anderson, for example, has pointed out that this role was assigned to the museums. Research was left to the universities. I am hardly the only museum employee who has been told by the decision makers that museums do not need research grants. In museological terms, museums, archives, and libraries are thought of as a society's memory. Most Western states have a national archive, a national library, and a national museum. In the most recent Finnish museum act there is no mention of research as one of the museum's tasks.

In the museum work of recent years, which is far too geared to providing education and experiences, it has not been difficult to find interpretations that do not stand up to critical scholarly scrutiny. This applies to the material, the presentations, and the demonstration methods. To borrow ecclesiastical terms, one could talk of high-church preaching based on theological sources and a low-church or sectarian view that emphasizes emotions, experiences, etc. When the latter goes too far, there is usually talk about going back to the sources, and this would not hurt in today's museum world. Constant interaction between universities and museums leads to an alert, source-critical way of looking at people and their world. It is therefore pleasing for a museum worker to receive this book.

In the introduction the editor, Birgitta Svensson, points out three important aspects of museum-specific research: choice of topic, primary material, and the museums' broad interface with the general public. Linking existing collections to newly collected material creates continuity and gives unique opportunities to study things in a long temporal perspective. The documentation done by museums also helps to generate knowledge. The museums' diverse contacts with the general public generate questions from which new research problems arise. The communication of research findings through publications, exhibitions, events, and other media is an important part of the museums' role in society, as Svensson says.

The book is structured in three sections. First come articles about research material that is seldom associated with museums. Several of the authors discuss how the term "cultural history" was created, used, and changed. In this section the director of the Nordiska Museet, Christina Mattsson, presents the folksongs recorded by Artur Hazelius. That kings and their horses belong to the visible parts of cultural history is obvious when one strolls through the capitals of Europe, so it is pleasing that the topic chosen by Tine Damsholt is "The Name of the Horse".

When Maria Sjöberg asks, "Why is Cultural History Peaceful"? it surprises me as an old ethnologist and I can only note that times have changed. For my generation it was taken for granted that History, political history, was the history of kings and war heroes. It dealt with who ruled what and which wars had led to that situation. The essence of folklife studies was to understand how people had managed to adapt and survive despite the harshness and hostility of nature and despite the actions of kings and rulers. With the aid of a gender-history perspective, Sjöberg has found women on the battlefields as well.

In Finland the realization that women were also present in the field is woven into Runeberg's poem about Lotta Svärd. The old second lieutenant, the narrator of *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, remembers Lotta Svärd as a decent old woman: "She earned a bit of ridicule, but honour even more so", says Runeberg diplomatically. The poem tells of how Lotta was a rosy young maiden in the time of Gustav III. She married the soldier Svärd, who brought his wife along to the field when he was called up. The edition that I read in school (1933) had illustrations by Albert Edelfelt, and one picture showed Svärd marching to the battlefield in step with his Lotta. The picture expresses energy and courage. One could easily believe that they were setting out to harvest the corn. Perhaps someone should study the cultural content of the expression "in the field" to see what it meant in different periods.

Scholars in Finland in recent years have shown an interest in the history of the women's auxiliaries in the country's latest wars. The women's defence corps was called after Lotta, and their identity was rooted in the image of the soldier's brave wife selling drinks in a tent beside the battlefield in the war of 1808–1809. There are also stories about how unemployed and unsupported people of both sexes joined the Red troops during the Finnish Civil War in 1918. The informants say that it was a way to provide for themselves.

The first section of the book ends with two articles to do with nature. Problems with "objects that grow" are highly relevant in the context of open air museums, and the ability to "read" the surrounding nature becomes increasingly necessary as museums acquire more responsibility for cultural heritage management. I read Ulrich Lange's article "Meritoriously Performed by Miss Knutsson" with great interest. The significance of agricultural research for today's welfare is rarely considered in connection with cultural history, yet it gives insight into yet another field in which women were important. It shows that ethnologists in every situation should remember to ask "who did it?"

The second section begins with Roger Qvarsell's article about tin cans and cultural history. The museum Kulturen in Lund had a similar theme for its annual in 1987. Qvarsell observes that research on artefacts has been shifted from the manufacture and function to the uses, symbolic values, and cultural contexts. How people perceive the objects and assign meaning to them has become more important than the intentions and skills of the producer, he writes. The author presents seven different aspects from which tin cans may be studied, and it would not hurt if today's museum workers read it carefully and thought about new angles for their presentations.

Eva Silvén discusses some everyday objects as materialized memories, following up Gaynor Kavanagh's approach to memories and museum artefacts. Silvén's examples – a mug, a wig, and an electric alarm clock – are linked to experiences of concentration camps, cancer, and incest. The author asks what history it is possible to write, and how the museums react in situations of crisis and trauma. The narrative accompanying the object becomes a heavy part of their cognitive content. For museum workers it is useful to remember the story when they receive new objects and when they have to adapt their work of documentation to awkward, standardized computer programs. The narratives in Silvén's article are examples of something previously noticed in museology, namely that the museum is also a place where one can get rid of objects with unpleasant memories, which one has neither the will nor the strength to throw away.

The last thirty pages deal with research in museums on a more theoretical level. Barbro Bursell presents the Royal Armoury as a research environment. When the editor of the book discusses museum-specific research in the introduction, Henrik Zipsane observes, with his customary zest for debate: "There is only one – not two – research standards." As regards the latter part of his thesis, one must agree. It makes me think of the German ethnologist Karl-Heinz Kohl's formula: "Die Einheit der Kultur – die Mannigfaltigkeit der Kulturen" (1993). If one wishes to regard Science as one whole it is all right, but one both can and must discuss the content of different sciences, their principles and methods. And then the number of research standards will surely be more than two.

Anna Landberg's article starts with the exhibition principles at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, which brings her to a number of essential questions concerning the core of museums, what the directors should be thinking about and aware of in all their deeds. In a time with falling visitor figures, a strained economy, and pressure from decision makers, the museum leadership must fight for the right to work scientifically. Landberg gives examples of external interference in museum work and outsiders' attempts to provoke debate. If the challenges of historiography are ignored, this weakens the role of the museum as a forum. She also writes about museum collections as a means for us to perceive something of the universal humanity. A similar idea was expressed by the Finnish professor of art history, Hjalmar Öhman, in a newspaper debate in 1911. That time it concerned the question of preserving the old buildings at Klosterbacken in Åbo.

Using empirical material from Istanbul, Iréne A. Flygare discusses "the antiquarian eye", with the support of the epistemological philosopher Ludwik Fleck. I find that the most valuable aspect of her text is the demand for trustworthiness. "I want to be able to trust that what I learn, whether it is at a world heritage site or at the local museum, is not arbitrary narratives but honest attempts to supply plausible interpretations based on empirical work. Without the unique mix of authenticity and knowledge that is the great asset of cultural heritage institutions, I lose my trust. Trust is what holds society together, and it is part of the social responsibility of the sector to develop and maintain this" (p. 205).

The book ends with Orvar Löfgren's contribution about exhibitions as investigations. He describes the American artist and theatre man Rolf Wilson's summer camp on Long Island. The last section in his text and in the whole book is entitled "Ways to Knowledge", and here he once again raises one of the fundamental questions in the museum world: "What is worth preserving?"

As a whole the book is well planned and thought out. The different examples of artefact categories and the expertise that exists around them make encouraging reading for a museum worker. The volume is full of ideas and examples of different angles for exhibition designers and above all for those who look after the

documentation. A museum object can represent very different things and be larger or more than itself. The fact that many of the authors advocate cooperation between museums and universities and openness towards society at large gives hope for the future. The book has something to give people with an interest in cultural history, ethnology, and especially museology. See the person, see the museum – see the person through the museum!
Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, Åbo

The Global City

Ulf Stahre, Den globala staden. Stockholms nutida stadsomvandling och sociala rörelser. Bokförlaget Atlas, Stockholm 2007. 300 pp. ISBN 978-91-85677-58-0.

■ *Den globala staden: Stockholms nutida stadsomvandling och sociala rörelser* is the latest of three, inter-related books through which Stahre documents aspects of economically and technologically-related urban change in Stockholm, together with the social movements it generated, from the late 1950s to the present.

At the start of the story, Sweden was an industrial, firmly social democratic society, whose urban planners proposed major, modernising, rationalising developments for Stockholm. These were designed to solve its accommodation crisis and meet new commercial and transport needs, to maintain the European competitiveness of the city and its region. By the early 21st century, Sweden might be called post-industrial, perhaps post-modern, the Social Democratic party is no longer hegemonic, and the competitive struggles which still shape urban policy and planning, are of global reach.

Throughout the developed world, loss of much traditional heavy manufacturing to cheap-labour economies, and consequent attempts to grow high-tech, knowledge-based, high-value industry and expand the service and financial sectors, have changed the occupational structure. And new orientations to consumption have developed to mop up an increased number of goods. All this relates to changes in production techniques reducing labour-intensity, and developments in transport and I.T. that 'compress' space and time. In this 'globalised' world, companies increasingly compete in international markets, strengthening pressures to cut costs. Meanwhile, the new ease with which they can relocate and fragment their activities, co-ordinating them from wherever suits best, provides potential leverage over workers' wages, productivity and job security, and government's tax demands. Nations, regions and cities must compete to attract and retain companies and the jobs that go with them.

Den globala staden offers a general, literature-based review of how these changes affect cities in the developed world. It then discusses the specific ways and extent to which Stockholm exhibits these outcomes, querying whether it belongs in the urban super-league of 'global cities'. Though this is doubtful, it does exhibit many of the trends the literature review outlines. We learn, for example, that Stockholm has developed areas to attract and promote the new I.T. and knowledge-based enterprises, and large, peripheral, retail outlets for car-based consumers. We are told that it has experienced increased income inequalities and residential segregation [though more detailed quantification of these trends would be helpful]. Some of its traditionally working-class, central-city areas have been gentrified, while there is an increase in privatised and semi-privatised urban space from which the poor are excluded or discouraged. Typical of major western cities, it has indulged in 'place marketing' to attract both businesses and tourists, developing 'spectacular' cultural and entertainment centres and festivals. Not least, Stockholm has recently experienced neo-liberal moves to de-municipalize some welfare provisioning and public services. Designed to reduce expenditure, this has also opened up new areas of profitable activity for private companies, who have replaced previously municipally-owned transport, energy and housing companies and now also run some hospitals, nurseries, old people's homes and schools. However, shifts towards private sector *delivery* of services seem to have progressed faster than any cutback of provisioning or entitlement. Stockholmers still enjoy a level of collective and of public welfare services which might astound many U.S. urban dwellers.

This could fit with Stahre's central claim that global trends are locally-nuanced. This partly links to increased competition between regions and cities, encouraging them to cultivate 'attractive' local distinctions as a place-marketing strategy. Probably more significantly, different sizes, locations, histories and divergent cultural and political traditions affect the impact of, and responses to, global pressures.

In particular, Stahre suggests that Stockholm's trends towards social polarisation and segregation are less marked than in many places because of the 'deep-rooted pattern of social equality in the Swedish community and Swedish culture' and 'the long welfare political tradition in Sweden, together with the common understanding that lies behind this'.

Stahre also sees urban protest groups as potential mediators of global pressures. In his three volumes he documents the character, activities, and impact of a wide range of such groups in Stockholm, his latest work paying particular attention to their similarities and differences from groups elsewhere. Stockholm provides particularly interesting examples of one category of protest – that against the destruction of valued buildings and locations. In the 1960s and early '70s, '*Byalagsrörelsen*' [the Neighbourhood movement] challenged the wide-scale urban renewal that Swedish planners were then so enthusiastically embracing, contributing to a considerable shift in opinion. This was subsequently built upon by the wide range of organisations in *Stadsmiljörörelsen* [the City environment movement] of the '90s. These had considerable success in defeating proposals to enhance the capital's competitiveness by building new transport routes and offices – in areas movement members felt to be of high cultural and historical value. This activity to preserve particular urban sites was intrinsically locally-focused. And though other cities have spawned groups to 'save' their own cherished areas from redevelopment, Stahre suggests that specifically Swedish factors affected the particular strength and effectiveness of his Stockholm examples. These included a strong civil society with many pre-existing organisations interested in protecting the natural and built environment and local neighbourhoods, and a tradition of consultation between them and governmental decision-makers. The earlier *Byalagsrörelsen* which combined its attacks on excessive redevelopment, with broader social programmes for forms of local communitarianism, is presented as drawing inspiration [and its name] from a specifically Swedish tradition of organised co-operation between independent peasants. However, its programmes also resonated with communitarian elements in other '60s radical youth movements elsewhere in the West.

Thus earlier, locally-focused movements were not entirely insulated from international cultural currents. But the internet has recently increased the latter's influence, by making information-sharing about goals and tactics much easier. From the 1990s onwards, some of Stockholm's now self-standing groups, such as Reclaim the City and *Globalisering underifrån* [Globalisation from below] had origins outside Sweden [the former via London, the latter in the 2000 protests against the Prague IMF/World Bank meeting]. Many later organisations such as *Stockholm inte till salu* [Stockholm's not for sale] and *Mot marknadens diktatur* [Against the dictatorship of the market] are also characterised by a focus on challenging contemporary neo-liberal urban policies and their effects. This often extends into a more general critique of class divisions and global capitalism.

From the information provided about group membership, it seems that 'poor people's' urban movements are un- or under-represented in all the periods discussed. In general, youth and education, rather than class or ethnic status, seem to encourage membership of the groups currently criticising class structuring and the detrimental effects of neoliberalism on the poor. However, Reclaim the City is said to have 'canalised underprivileged youth's protest against big city segregation' and it did attempt to include migrants from the poorer suburbs in its street-reclaiming activities. *Husby Unite* also provides an example of ethnic mobilisation. Here an assorted group of long-established migrants complained about lack of local facilities and poor maintenance of their accommodation. But they are presented as unique among the city's ethnic suburbanites for organising in this way. Stahre suggests the Husby group's unusual sense of rootedness in their neighbourhood fuels their protest against its deficiencies. But the more limited extent of class polarisation and the continuing strength of the welfare safety-net probably also helps prevent the kind and scale of urban disturbances experienced in areas of American, British and French cities with extensive racial and ethnic minority populations. There is also almost no mention of the sort of right-wing, white lower-class movements which, in many Western cities, scapegoat racial and ethnic minorities for the difficulties they themselves face in the job and housing market. Urban protest movements don't always come from the left.

Den globala staden, like its predecessors, reveals factors affecting the success of the organisations it describes. Positives include having a tradition to build on and an organisational structure flexible enough to mobilise a range of different constituencies to reach critical mass. Undoubtedly the character of a movement's goals affects its chances of success. A group of Stockholm-based protestors can't overthrow global capitalism. And for all the improvements in transport and communications, there are major difficulties in establishing and maintaining effective, long-term, international co-operation against globally-mobile decision-makers who operate outside existing democratic structures. On the other hand, delimited local goals, within the 'gift' of local, democratically-accountable decision-makers and which do not fundamentally challenge the capitalist economic order, can succeed – as is shown by the campaigns against particular pieces of urban [re] development. Periods of economic recession, making it harder to finance developments can also help defeat such schemes. As can protest group members with the professional skills and contacts to propose and publicise convincing alternatives.

What remains intriguingly open is how far protest from urban groups [or from the undiscussed trade unions] will help Sweden and its capital, resist neo-liberalisation. Stahre seems uncertain. He suggests big city politicians everywhere must respond to global pressures with neo-liberal programmes. But he also shows how Stockholm's recent see-sawing of municipal control between Social Democrat and 'bourgeois' parties, is paralleled by some shifts of policy - which seems to imply room for manoeuvre. Systematic analysis of the social democratic welfare regime itself might help prediction. Does it, as some claim, have an *internal* development dynamic that is ultimately destabilising, independent of external pressures? Might constraints on international competitiveness of requirements for high taxation, be counteracted by other correlates of social democracy? Could its egalitarian ethos help develop a competitively advantageous high skills and flexible work-force?

So, does *Den globala staden* facilitate understanding globalisation and the city? Complete beginners will find its introductory literature-review clear and useful, though I would like it to emphasise even more strongly, connections between technological developments, post-modern cultural trends and an underlying logic of capitalist development. Those conversant with the literature will doubtless find some personal favourites missing. Why no mention of Graham and Marvin's analysis of how I.T. has facilitated the 'unbundling' of urban infrastructural networks? [*Splintering Urbanism,* 2001] What they will gain is a well documented, depiction of how global pressures interact with specific local factors in one particular case. A case, moreover, within a sub-category – that of Nordic cities in historically social democratic welfare states - under-represented in the kind of literature which Stahre reviews. His long-standing concern with Stockholm's kaleidoscope of urban protest groups ensures their current role is placed in a satisfyingly deep historical context and isn't underplayed. Future analysts will be grateful for his documenting some otherwise ephemeral accounts and views of their activities.

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Magic as Empowerment

Laura Stark, The Magical Self. Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland. FF Communications 290. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki 2006. 521 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-41-0998-8.

■ What can narratives about magic in 19th and early 20th century Finland tell us about older Finnish notions of the self and individual agency? A great deal, to judge by this book. Its basic premise is that the early modern sense of self was not the same as the modern one, and that stories about magic afford a glimpse of this conception of the self because magic was employed as a strategy to bolster the individual's self-esteem; the use of magic presupposed, on the one hand, a notion of the individual as an active agent (magic is a form of agency), and on the other, it was utilised as a tool to defend or enhance this sense of agency. Protecting one's ability to act as an autonomous agent was of prime importance in early modern Finnish culture for a number of reasons: firstly, it was the primary cultural expression of a sense of individuality, since a person was otherwise chiefly identified with the larger social unit of the farm household. Secondly, agency was paramount to retaining one's position in the social hierarchy: lack or loss of agency undermined this position.

The threats to agency and autonomy in early modern Finnish culture were, according to Stark, manifold, and she distinguishes between three major types of arenas in which people were said to use magic to defend their individuality and status as agents, and these provide the structure of the book, which is divided into four parts, with the introductory chapters forming the first. The first type of situation in which magic was seen as a viable means of defending one's agency, discussed in Part Two, was conflicts with neighbours and other members of the community. This included sorcery performed by the landless poor – or the threat of such sorcery – to maintain existing relations of exchange which were vital to their survival, dependent as they were on the charity of social superiors, as well as sorcery performed by neighbours to 'break' the members of other households or the luck of the household as a whole. The former kind of magic was considered more legitimate, something we can divine from the fact that the objects of this type of sorcery were never said to resort to counter sorcery, which was the normal response to the latter kind. Stark contends that magic might have been the only way for beggars and itinerant labourers to assert their autonomy and dignity as individuals, while social peers presumably had other methods for self-promotion at their disposal, and were not supposed to resort to magic. When they were nevertheless reported to do so, it was often to rectify what was perceived as a skewed balance of fortune – invoking notions of the limited good – or to handle a dispute for which no proper form of arbitration was available. Conflicts could seldom be settled in court as sessions were sparse, and the difficulty to avoid personal enemies in social life discouraged direct confrontation and encouraged attack or revenge by clandestine means, i.e. through magic.

The corollary of this state of affairs was the conception of the ideal personality as an aggressive defender of his individual agency, and this ideal personality was pre-eminently, though not exclusively, male, and belonged to the landowning class. Achieving the ideal of the autonomous individual was obviously easier for those who were independent to begin with, such as farm masters, and correspondingly more difficult for dependents. The epitome of this active individual, however, was the sage, the *tietäjä*, who invariably was the master of his own household, and possessed secret knowledge as well. Narratives about sages are highly interesting as they exemplify an important strategy for aggressive self-defence, namely anger, which Stark describes as more of a cultural performance than an emotional response in the modern sense. Anger mobilised the psychological, cultural and social resources of the individual and heightened his sense of agency, which was crucial in the banishment of supernatural illness agents, for instance. In these cases anger was a requisite part of the healing ritual, and empowered the sage in his battle against the illness agents.

A second context in which magic was used to defend the individual's agency, treated in Part Three, was illness; illness restricts the individual's autonomy as s/he is no longer capable of performing daily tasks, and thus loses one avenue to building a social reputation, namely through hard work. Illness was thought to result from the intrusion of supernatural forces into the human body, either through wounds on the skin or through penetration of the human body's own supernatural boundary and force, the *luonto*. The *luonto* could be hard or soft, and a soft *luonto* meant a greater vulnerability to illness as it was easier for supernatural illness agents to infect a person with this characteristic. Part and parcel of this greater susceptibility was the tendency of persons with a soft *luonto* to take fright easily, and thereby open themselves to infection by these supernatural illness agents. Fright and fear, in addition to falling down on the ground and even thinking of the possibility of infection, were viewed as a loss of agency, and eventually as a collapse, or rupture, in the important distinction between self and other, or the proper relationship between them. Anger, on the other hand, was believed to make people's *luonto* harder, and the sage consequently worked himself into a rage in order to release his clients from curses and illnesses, both to protect himself and to make the healing more effective. But "anger" was also ascribed to the supernatural illness agent, and Stark suggests that "anger" in this context should be understood as a form of agency rather than as an emotion, an agency that caused harm or injury to others.

In concert with her earlier work, Stark attributes the early modern Finnish conceptions of illness to what she calls "the open body schema", the unconscious experience of the body as opening up to the external environment in dangerous ways. Illness as a result of shock (*säikähdys*) is an instructive example here. Shock allowed alien forces to enter the body, and it could be cured by "re-shocking" the patient, which was thought to release the foreign element from the body. But the body could also be vulnerable to the intrusive energies of other people: since anger made a person's *luonto* hard or sharp, the projection of this energy onto another individual as the object of anger was believed to have potentially serious consequences. This was especially the case if the angry person was of higher social rank than the individual with whom he was angry, and hence was considered to possess a higher degree of social agency as it was. Farm masters rebuking servants, or adults cursing at children could, according to this mode of thought, inflict harm and illness on them, or cause them to be "taken by the forest", a state in which they were detached from human society and suffered the dissolution of their very identities. Stark argues that these experiences of the invasion of the body by alien forces resulted in trauma, and that the task of the folk healer was to produce a narrative explaining the origin of the trauma (through fright, falling down, etc.) – thereby verbalising the existence of the trauma and the patient's concomitant sense of psychological injury – and to perform a ritual in which the patient's bodily boundaries were sealed and restored. Thus, the diagnoses and aetiologies offered by the healer should be interpreted as healing fictions that had a real effect on the patient's body, according to the author, for the narratives state that people were actually cured from their complaints. Stark attributes this effect to the fact that the healer and the patient shared the same body schema, and understood illness and healing in the same ways.

The third type of context for magic, dealt with in Part Four, was what Stark labels testing situations: court proceedings, catechism exams, and dances. The common denominator of all of these is that they affected the social standing of the individual in the eyes of the community, and therefore the leverage for autonomous agency. In order to protect their autonomy, individuals could perform magic to try to ensure success in these contexts, and as the author points out, the narratives preserved in folk tradition are only concerned with those who enjoyed success in these arenas. There are no stories narrated from the point of view of a parishioner condemned to the stocks, or of girls failing to attract suitors at a village dance; they remain voiceless, and may even have lacked narrative models for verbalising their experiences. Physical insubordination or verbal assaults on spectators appear to have been the major forms of resistance to public shaming, and represented an assertion of agency in situations designed to constrain it.

This book lucidly illustrates the import of magic as a resource in highly competitive contexts – what scholars of Ancient magic have so elegantly called its "agonistic" context – in which the social status, and perhaps even the very life of the individual, was at stake. All contexts for magic covered here share a sense of intense vulnerability, and magic functioned as a form of empowerment.

The Magical Self furnishes an intriguing peek at the early modern Finnish self, and addresses a wide array of folkloristic issues, of which I have mentioned just a few. The book has bearing on the study of magic, the history of early modern society, the history of emotions, the study of folk medicine, ethnopsychology and narrative analysis. Interpreting the experiences of early modern individuals on their own terms is never allowed to slip out of focus, and the differences between early modern and modern culture are regularly highlighted by explicit comparisons between them. These comparisons make early modern conceptions more intelligible to the contemporary reader, and serve as a stepping stone for the analysis. Personally, I particularly appreciated the extensive discussion of anger in early modern Finnish culture, as it clearly demonstrates that emotions are not mere emotions, but also cultural performances and concepts that are "good to think with". *The Magical Self* is, in short, an impressive achievement by a dedicated scholar.

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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.

Reviews of other ethnological and closely related works should present the content and method and a personal appraisal. The length should be 1–2 A4 pages with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 5,000 characters.

Reviews written in English or German should be submitted by e-mail or on diskette.

When in doubt, check the format of previous issues of *Ethnologia Scandinavica.*

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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.

Authors of articles receive two copies of the journal.

This year's Ethnologia Scandinavica covers several topics current in the research field of cultural history, from the part played by gender in different professions and chores from the Middle Ages to the present day, to discussions of materiality and cultural heritage processes. Male subordination and female skill are the theme in most of the articles. Reliance on historical narratives in different spatial identity processes is in focus when it comes to European regions and heritage processes in new nations.

In the vigorous return of materiality studies that has occurred in ethnology, artefacts are often described as socio-material phenomena that structure everyday life. A couple of this year's contributors discuss the meaning of design in this respect, while another turns to the meaning of poetry being materialized in festivals and one article discusses how an old bridge can be used and abused. The materiality studies in ethnology are tied together, from the opening discussions about how materiality can exercise gender power, via its role in Europe and the world, to the concrete experiences of actually dwelling and having access to water closets, and to the fact that even poetry can be studied on the basis of the material forms it can create.

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