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Cover illustration: Submerged Sami dwellings, due to the building of the water power reservoir at Suorva, Stora Lule River, Lapland. Photo: Ernst Manker, Nordiska Museet 1939–40.

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Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

By publishing a periodical once a year it ought to be possible to notice movements in a rather small but distinct discipline like ethnology on a Nordic basis. Last year my predecessor as editor Birgitta Svensson mentioned how Nordic ethnologists obviously had expanded their territorial field outside their own countries. This year we can observe at least two movements in the articles as well as the discipline in general. One deals with the question of who we are, where we belong, who is to define this belonging and, of course, how this work of definitions is practised. This is not new but still there are new things to discover and learn.

We start with Tony Sandset's article "Color As Matter" and how people of mixed ethnic descent navigate and understand themselves. His example is collected from Norway, which gives him different opportunities compared to corresponding investigations in the US and the UK. His focus is on skin and colour and the investigation exposes a more racial environment than expected. As Sandset writes, skin is seen as a pointer to an imaginary or real "homeland", it seems to reflect our interiority, identity and cultural belonging.

Tony Sandset points at the interplay between speech and body, and his informants work against stereotypes but also play with them. On the whole the article gives examples of the tension between self-definition and definitions given by others, between skin, colour, body and origin. Colour matters and is made to matter.

In her article "Narrative Weapons" Eija Stark investigates autobiographical narratives of poverty with the focus on people in oppressive situations. She is interested in what kind of "weapons" the rural poor, the weakest members of Finnish rural society, had in their life, what possible resistance was available. The main class boundary went between the landowning peasant class and the landless working class. The article deals with this boundary and how landless inhabitants in twentieth-century Finland dealt with their subordinate positions.

Moralizing about the lifestyle of their superiors was one way of resisting; rationalizing one's own position and actions was another. Stark depicts poor people's ways of ignoring, for example, poor relief as a kind of resistance. The most common "weapon", however, was assimilation to the hegemonic elite culture. Becoming an owner-occupied smallholder or getting education were two strategies for assimilation. Stark also shows how class often competes with kinship, neighbourhood or faction as the core of individual identity and solidarity. If Tony Sandset raised awareness of the relation between body and speech, Stark points at class and speech and verbal and practical acts of resistance in contexts where the socially weaker could not afford to openly confront power holders.

Agnete Marie Schousboe also deals with the problem of belonging and origin but with a totally different entry. In the article "Hessischer Handkäse" the example is food and a specific German cheese, which is defined through processes of regionalization and standardization. She observes monthly quality tests that do not only preserve but create standards of regional quality and authenticity. She shows how such processes are the result of European political, cultural and economic con-

ditions as well as practices of quality management. Schousboe argues that it is not only the quality of a particular cheese that is at stake but also a regional taste that needs to be protected. Sensory experiences, tasting, is made meaningful for heritage, quality and branding. Space, the region, is defined through the cheese, and vice versa. Where does the cheese come from?

The problem of origin and its social and political consequences is a kind of starting point for Eva Silvén in her article "Constructing a Sami Cultural Heritage" about the ethnographer Ernst Manker and his collections of Sami artefacts at Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Did these collections help Sami emancipation, Silvén asks? If so, in what ways? Or did the collections contribute to locking the image of the contemporary Sami to an essentialized, homogeneous, and unambiguous past?

The definition in the twentieth century of "real" Sami rested on keeping reindeer and being nomadic herders. Parallel to Manker's collecting and documenting activities was a strong anthropological racial paradigm defining the Sami minority. In the exhibition halls stuffed reindeer, clothed mannequins, raised tents, handicraft and traditional religious items seemed to define and represent the Sami. Silvén's project includes analysing, deconstructing and unpacking the "black boxes" of notions taken for granted. She also processes a possible contradiction between essentialism and emancipation. Silvén argues that the construction of Sami heritage helped the Sami aspiration for recognition but it has also contributed to locking the image of the contemporary Sami.

Eva Silvén's article partly deals with the question of belonging. But she also takes it to an applied perspective. What is possible to do with this knowledge? What are the consequences? Such questions are leads in to the second movement represented in this issue. Basically it touches on what we do with the knowledge produced in our investigations. Some of us work with explicit applied perspectives, others, like Silvén, write in terms of consequences.

Eva Marie Tveit aims explicitly for change. In her article "Knowing the Patient?" she deals with nursing homes for elderly people and how such care can develop with a more person-centred knowledge about the patient. Tveit investigates individualized perspectives on the patients and how such knowledge works in action. Prior knowledge about the patient can make it easier to establish trust and a mutual relationship between the staff and the patient. Sharing illness stories is crucial for patients as well as the institutions. But in these processes of knowledge production a number of questions arise concerning what an authentic person really is and who has the right to define this. However, Tveit addresses problems related to persons with communication difficulties as well as cognitive disabilities.

Like Tveit, Giovanni Acerbis' article "Community Involvement in Urban Renewal" works close to an applied perspective. Urban renewal is the theme and the way cultural analysis can be engaged in such processes. With examples from Copenhagen, Acerbis investigates how community involvement is carried out in urban renewal. The renewal projects were part of a governmental programme and considered both physical and socio-cultural

aspects. They were funded by both public and public resources. Acerbis observes conflicts generated by this construction. Private actors wanted concrete results, while one overall aim was to develop participatory practices. Instead the residents were converted to rather passive resources for the projects. He also shows how residents' participation was limited from the beginning of the projects since crucial decisions were made before and in other spaces. Acerbis argues that residents were put into a position where they had to take responsibility for the failure or success of renewals rather influencing them.

Finally, we publish Anders Perlinge's article "Source-pluralism as Culture-historical Opposition at the Turn of 'Digital Humanities'", on source-pluralism as a method. With inspiration from a method developed by the economic historian Janken Myrdal, Perlinge investigates new methods and combination of methods for historical research. He argues that digital humanities and the easy access to digital sources have a tendency to invite the scholar to quantitative and realistic approaches. Perlinge speaks about source pluralism as an antidote to this temptation. He also urges us to be explicit in our deliberations. Validating sources and their uncertainties as well as counting and categorization are proposed as techniques for the cultural historian. One can understand Perlinge's message as a proposal to open up the analysing process and how this could be done.

Perlinge's methodological theme is of great importance. I would like to invite more researchers to develop their experiences and perspectives on methods in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, contemporary ethnography as well as cultural history.

Color As Matter

A Different Deployment of Color

By Tony Sandset

Introduction

In the following article I want to give an account of how individuals of mixed ethnic decent navigate racial and ethnic stereotypes in order to forge a culturally intelligible subject position from where to speak from. When it comes to research on mixed ethnicity and mixed 'racial', the field is growing in the US and the UK settings (Song and Parker 2001, Kelley and Root 2003, Root 1996, Root 1992, Tizard and Phoenix 2002, Ali 2003, Brennan 2002, Ifekwunigwe 2004, Olumide 2002), yet in Scandinavia this theme is underrepresented in the otherwise broad literature on ethnicity and ethnological data on various groups. This is also an effort to see how members of this group talk about themselves in relation to skin color and the colored body. In the international field, the importance of looking at mixed 'racial identity' has mainly been looking at issues of identification through how individuals of mixed ethnic decent navigate the various cultural spheres that they draw upon, but little has been done on the issues of 'speech acts' and performativity and their connection to skin color and bodies. This article tries to bridge a gap in the research on mixed ethnic individuals on two levels; (i) first and foremost to illuminate the issues which broaches the gap between speech acts and embodiment and looking at the importance of skin color. Secondly (ii) to shed light on the group of mixed ethnic individuals in Norway as a group that is often underrepresented in research in Scandinavia. The unique position of Norway compared to the US and the UK is particularly relevant to the field of mixed ethnic studies as Scandinavia has a vastly different 'racial grammar' and racial history than the US and the UK where most of the research on mixed ethnic belonging takes place. As such this article is among the first in Norway and indeed Scandinavia which touches upon this group of individuals. This article will show that the Norwegian context is much more racial then many Scandinavian scholars want to admit, while it will maintain that individuals of mixed ethnic decent in Norway represent a group which should be connected to the wider field of mixed ethnic studies. Thus this article contributes to the field by acting as a corrective to the blind spot within Scandinavian research on ethnic minorities as well as pointing out that culture and religious affiliations are not the only modalities that form ethnic minority identities.

I want to analyze how individuals of mixed ethnic decent forge an subject position placed between Norwegian and non-Norwegian by a complex interplay between speech and the body which is hybrid and formed in everyday practices such as (i) stereotypes of gender and sexuality, and (ii) the everyday encounters of being asked 'where are you really from?'. These two modalities are meant to shed light on how individuals of mixed ethnic decent manage to construct and hold onto a sense of double belonging in a Norwegian context.

The article is based on field work that was conducted in the autumn of 2011 and winter of 2012 where I interviewed twelve persons of mixed ethnic decent. The sample pool consisted of four men and eight women, ranging from the age of 20 to 35. The informants live in Oslo, sharing a certain commonality as far as geographical location is concerned. In regards to

the ethnic makeup of their parents they are diverse, but with one common characteristic; one of the parents is an ethnic Norwegian, meaning in this context that they are white. The other parents' native country varies from Asia and Africa to the Caribbean. Nine of the twelve informants come from backgrounds where they have grown up in a single parent household. Furthermore, of the nine persons that have been raised within a single parent household, the parent raising them have been of ethnic Norwegian background. I have not gone in depth into this as it falls somewhat outside the frame of this paper, but I do acknowledge that this demographic fact regarding the informants probably influences aspects such as cultural competency, language skill, and familiarity with parental culture and country, all of which in turn influence cultural as well as ethnic subjectivities.

Gender, Exotica and Stereotypes

Mike: Sometimes, just to have some fun, you sort of exaggerate ones ethnicity, and suddenly shout out to people: "Hey, hey! You have to calm down! You can't say that, can't you see that I am from another country?" just to make people nervous, it's mostly for fun. Come to think about it, I do it very often. And I also incorporate the positive stereotypes.
Tony: For instance?
Mike: That I am well-endowed and that I run a lot faster and that I am stronger and that I can dance much better than everybody else. (Mike, 26 year old man, mother from Norway and father from the Ivory Coast.)

The deployment of color that Mike here engages with is upheld by his use of highly gendered racial stereotypes that play on an idea of a black essence. As Bhabha claims in regards to the stereotype: "The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation" (Bhabha 2004:107). In order to reverse the racial power relations that are embedded in the ideas that black men are well endowed, more physically gifted and have an innate sense of rhythm, Mike uses them in a way that is meant to 'put people off' and make them nervous. Mike's usage of the stereotype of the 'Black Other' is a corporal doing; the play on the physical prowess of black men as faster is one thing that Mike uses but also the play on how well endowed black men are is something that has hold in our culture.

In Bhabha's reading of Franz Fanon the stereotype is a highly visible form of representation. It is what Fanon calls 'the epidermal schema' (Fanon 2008). Skin as the key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype is the most visible of fetishes, recognized as 'common knowledge' in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses which in turn plays a very public part in the racial drama that is enacted on an everyday level (Bhabha 2004:112). Skin becomes in a way 'culture'; it is a signal of cultural competency and of essence. Skin is premised between 'culture' and 'nature', but its connection to culture is in our era a result not just of racial thinking, but of the turn towards 'culture' as the signal of difference. Elizabeth Grosz views the body as an inscription surface where society writes with various tools upon the body in order to make it intelligible. I would claim that one such tool is stereotypes and that they form bodies and behavior. The body becomes a text and is fictionalized and po-

sitioned within myths and belief systems that form culture's social narratives and self-representations (Grosz 1994:119). Stereotypes and the use of them are not only linguistic expressions, but becomes ways of acting out social narratives that are taken to be 'common knowledge'; even though stereotypes are fictions, their social value lies in the way they play on taken for granted attitudes within our culture. Here we must interject and state that when we here in this article are referring to skin we must also take this to mean bodies; as such this article holds a specific affinity to the points that Judith Butler developed in here book *Bodies That Matter* (Butler 1993). Skin and color is one thing but it is the 'body total' that demarcates the stereotypes which can latch on to it and its social valence within the specific historical and cultural space which it is placed.

Even though stereotypes are often social fictions, their value is embedded in a certain kind of ontology; here biological statistics factor in and the power that statistical rhetoric holds when it comes to explanations of human diversity and capabilities. At the same time stereotypes work due to the fact that they sometimes makes sense and are found empirically true, thus this point makes for a 'truth game' which seems to follow the logic that if some stereotypes are true than all stereotypes must be true. This of course is not true, but partly explains why stereotypes have such long lasting power. The stereotype that Mike uses is also a highly particular stereotype; that of the black man and his body. This stereotype would not be as effective had it for instance been aimed at an Indian body. Hence we must be careful to conflate that all dark bodies will operate according to the same stereotypical logic; even stereotypes are heterogeneous and polymorphous, the colored body and the stereotype of the black man is just such an example.

Furthermore, the value and construction of stereotypes are often done in tandem, meaning that this is a dual process of stereotyping. The logic here must be said to be one wherein we say 'black men are fast runners' and the opposite of this must be 'white men are slower'. Here we see that stereotypes are divided by a dichotomy; to each set of stereotypes of the black man there is also a set of stereotype of the white man. But we should be careful to neglect the historical perspective here. Historically the white man and his body have more often than not been accorded the higher value and placement in these sorts of stereotypes and their construction.

Mike's narrative shows us that he engages with stereotypes in order to 'act' or exaggerate his own ethnicity. This is well put as the stereotype is exactly that: an arrested and fixed image of, in this case, an exaggerated black man. Another narrative that shows the intersection between gender and the deployment of color comes from a narrative taken from an interview with Stine.

Stine: It is mostly tiresome, and it is like I said, it's something about the fact that they think it is so original what they say. And especially the part about being exotic, it often comes when they mean to give you a compliment or try to pick you up in a way, trying to get some sort of relationship with you; that's when it often comes to the fore, and it just works so terribly badly! […] In those situations one does not want to measure up to those demands, about being exotic, that's when I just be-

> come extra vulgar, and burp and drink, and just become so much the opposite. Not to prove to oneself or them [the people asking the questions], but because one becomes so annoyed by being called exotic because I can't identify with being exotic. What is it to be exotic anyway? When I think about it I think about hula hula dancers in skirts who dance. And speaking of dancing, I really enjoy dancing and then you get like, "yes, you just have it in you" and that's that.
> Tony: Do you get comments like that a lot?
> Stine: Yes very often, maybe that's because I am not the worst dancer, but that's because girls dance a lot, I am often taken to be from Latin America and not from [Norway], they just say that I have it in me; even my family can say that. It is meant to be a compliment, so ok, I have a rhythm in my body, but it is not because I am half Indian, I don't even know if they are known for their great sense of rhythm, but it is because one is dark, and because of that then I am taken to be so much better at moving to music. (Stine, 30 year old woman, mother from Norway and father from India.)

The excerpt contains several points that are connected to the thematic at hand. Firstly it is interesting to see that just like Mike's narrative, Stine's narrative shows how power relations are turned around by reacting and activating a response to stereotypes; in this excerpt the interpellation into a subject position that is labeled 'exotic' gets a subversive response in Stine's refusal to enter that discursive position and instead 'becomes' the antithesis of exotic. Secondly it is interesting to see how the modality of ethnicity is linked in the excerpt to 'racialization' through a stereotypical view that black people are innately better dancers than white people. But Stine, contrary to Mike, does not engage in a deployment of color that plays on this stereotype, rather she questions the essentialist notion that this implies. I want to draw attention to the use of 'hula hula' dancer as a figure that stands for 'exotica'. Even though Stine opposes her own interpellation as exotic she still is not outside a discourse that furnishes her with images of who and what is exotic.

It is the everyday power struggles over stereotypes and how to resist the normative idea that black people are innately better dancers than white people which is also the site which both constraints and agency are found in these interactional practices wherein both the micro and macro conjoin (Tate 2005:32). This brings me to Butler and her idea that the normative framework that we all have to navigate both foreclose and make possible various forms of subject positions and ways of being (Butler 1993; 1997). This comes very well to the fore in Stine's narrative when she states that "in those situations one does not want to measure up to those demands, about being exotic, that's when I just become extra vulgar, and burp and drink, and just become so much the opposite." This is an excellent example of ways in which individuals refuse to become 'hailed' into a subject position that they find offensive or restrictive. Instead of being interpelated into a position that is considered 'exotic', Stine subverts and resists this interpellation by a performative script that is the opposite of the call to the exotic. Salih states that

> we have to response to the policeman's call otherwise we would have no subject status, but the subject status we necessarily embrace constitutes what Butler (borrowing from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak) calls 'an enabling violation'. The subject or 'I' who opposes its construction draws from that construction and derives agency by being implicated in the very power structures it seeks to oppose. Subjects are always implicated in the relations of power, but since they are also enabled by

them, they are not merely subordinated to the law (Salih 2002:79).

Relating this to Stine's narrative, we can claim that the very 'hailing' of her into a position of the 'exotic' is also what enables her to resist, to subvert and to performativly engage with a new subject position that is nevertheless part and parcel of the power structures that are embedded in gender/race structures.

In both Mike and Stine's narratives the stereotype of the dancing prowess of 'non-white' individuals represents an arrested form of knowledge about the Other; yet their response to this is different. Mike uses it actively by playing along with it, while Stine subverts it. Both are however, if we follow Butler, enabled by the very stereotype. In both Stine and Mike's case they are utilized along gendered and racial axes so as to create counter-knowledge's and strategies for resistance and contestation (Huddart 2006:55) that allow for a form of agency that nevertheless is contained within the very discourse that it opposes.

But the other side of such deployment of color is seen when we connect skin and visibility to the crucial understandings on how cultural 'schemata's' instill stereotypical ideas about as Bhabha claims: "color as the cultural/political sign of inferiority or degeneracy, skin as its natural '*identity*'" (Bhabha 2004:114, original italics). Skin becomes the site which "is seen to hold the 'truth' of the subject's identity (like a 'kernel') as well as functioning as the scene of the subject's memory and history" (Ahmed in Bell 1999:99). Skin and color must also be understood as connected to perception and the visible. The perceptual practices that are involved in the racialization of various bodies is to a large degree tacit, almost hidden from view, making them almost immune to critical reflections (Alcoff 2006:188), but in the above the informants seem to do just that; reflect upon the use and value of stereotypes. But it still seems fair to state that skin as a sign of the 'authentic', 'essence', 'ethnic belonging and identity' is a key in the formation of stereotypes and the importance of bodies; as part of a view that sees 'skin as genealogy'.

It is perhaps ironic that the word 'genealogy' within academic terminology exists on two levels, as a methodological aspect in the vein of Foucault, and in the wording of 'second generation immigrants'. But I want to push this even further and see this coupling as also a connection that has to do with bodies and ancestry in the sense that both genealogy as a method in the Foucauldian vein and as a way of understanding belonging focuses on a paradoxical splitting; on the one hand genealogy as a method avoids the search of depth, instead it focuses on surfaces of events, small details and minor shifts and contours (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982: 106). Now the paradox of all of this, is that at an everyday level 'genealogy', as it is visually connoted, is often drawn at the skin; skin is seen as a pointer to an imaginary or real 'homeland'. As such 'genealogy' in its everyday use is closer to Foucault's abstract notion of it as a method. In its everyday usage, 'genealogy' as the interpretation of skin surfaces, works much in the same fashion as genealogy in the sense that Foucault describes it when he states that "depth is resituated as an absolutely superficial secret" (Foucault cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:107). This

'genealogy of skin' at an everyday level is connected to for instance stereotypes and other labeling strategies that never the less writes a story of where we come from and who we are. It is the interpretation of the skin as genealogy that is key to understand the importance of skin and belonging through ancestry. These interpretations point to the paradox that the more we interpret skin as genealogy, the more we find not the fixed nature of belonging, but only other interpretations; these interpretations have been created and imposed by other people, and not by the nature of belonging (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). Now we are closing in on the point made by Fanon on the 'racial schema' which is formed out of a thousand anecdotes and stories made about the black man, but never *by* the black man (Fanon 2008).

Skin may be read as a paradoxical space; it is our *outer* most layer, *the* surface of the human body. But in regard to stereotypical ideas it functions as a sign of our *interiority*; of our identity, and of cultural belonging. Skin functions in this sense like the postmodern saying: the *only* meaning is surface meaning. In deploying stereotypes depth is skin deep, and color matters as a way of pointing to this meaning. It points to notions of belonging as well as to notions of essence, it creates an essentialist notion of 'ethnicity' which revolves around the two prong strategy of (i) that skin tells us where we are from in the genealogical sense of decent and corporality (certain bodies 'belong' certain places); and (ii) that colored bodies also is an indication of inner qualities and character; of values and mentalities that points to certain ways of conceptualizing colored bodies to belong to certain spaces, to be able to do certain things, and to act in certain ways. This leads to a notion which conflates skin color and appearance with an essentialist idea that claims that certain bodies originates certain places and that this 'coming from/belonging to' also dictates the content of character and values. This is of course a gross fiction that misses some crucial insights; for instance the people interviewed have all grown up in Norway and are born here, hence 'genealogically' speaking there is no 'origin' except for Norway; there is no return to a homeland. Of course the interesting aspect that we thus far see is that the people I have talked to construct, strategically and purposely, a narrative which more or less stipulates just the opposite; that it is possible to have a genealogy which is hybrid and dual. All the people I talked to have been born in Norway thus their birth land is Norway, yet by playing on their colored bodies and appearances, along with their attachments to a parent from another country, these individuals construct hybrid narratives which opposes essentialisms while at the same time paradoxically *plays* on it. Hence any narrative of hybridity seems to *also* paradoxically to play on and include essentialism. There can be no hybrid space without essentialisms to draw upon in constructing a 'third space' as Homi Bhabha has called the hybrid space of the post-colonial (Bhabha, 2004). But this is also very interesting in terms of an 'origin'; the narratives above all point to dual and strategic identifications which plays on both parents ethnic background as well as the colored body of the person interviewed. Yet such narratives shows us that any notion of a 'pure origin' is a fiction which is reserved for the racist and

xenophobic; mixed ethnic individuals challenge this by stating a claim to dual and hybrid identification even though their colored bodies seem at times to be 'out of place'.

The equation seems very similar to older tropes of biologically deterministic racial ideology, in taking cultural practices such as dancing or the sexual prowess of black men and making it into a norm. It makes cultural what once was taken to be biological and tries to arrest the notion of who people of color are and what they can be by insisting on the primacy of skin color as determining cultural belonging. Nuances and variations are made opaque and diversity is conflated; stereotypes are often a mechanism that reduces human variety into notions of essentialisms (Døving 2009:150). Once again color matters; it is made into matter and it would seem that even though 'race' as such has vanished, racialized versions of ethnicity still matters due to skin color and appearances. Døving in her work on stereotypes in Norway in regard to Jews and Muslims rightly places an emphasis on the ways in which stereotypes freeze and foreclose certain avenues of actions and belonging (Døving 2009:150). I also agree with her when she states that stereotypes are deeply connected to ways of discrimination and exclusion and that stereotypes are at its core about power relations which more often than not is about the majority's power to define others (Døving 2009:150). Yet as the examples above show, power relations can be turned around by re-citing highly negative stereotypes in new ways. The example in the above narratives shows that even though a 'violent interpellation' can be hurtful, i.e. by a negative stereotype, it nevertheless creates a space from where to speak back. It is a way of occupying a space that was meant to be negative, but which the informants take up as that space wherein one can speak back even though it is from a space that is deeply connected to negative usage.

The narratives presented show that they produce strategies, counter-knowledge and resistance to a discourse of the exotic black person. Stereotypes that deal with the exotic, black person could then as Bhabha points out, be seen as much more complex and ambiguous.

> Stereotyping is not the setting up of a false image which becomes the scapegoat of discriminatory practices. It is a much more ambivalent text of projection and introjections, metaphoric and metonymic strategies, displacement, over-determination, guilt, aggressivity; the masking and splitting of 'official' and phantasmatic knowledge to construct the positionalities and oppositionalities of racist discourse (Bhabha 2004:117).

In the narratives gender, stereotypes and racialized 'common' knowledge of ethnicity are all connected to each other which inform, foreclose and enable the individuals to use stereotypes. Furthermore, it is a paradox that it is the very discourse on 'black' or 'exotic' that in fact *enables* both the positive usage of stereotypes and the negative. According to Bhabha this makes the deployments of stereotypes a highly ambivalent text wherein both constraints and possibilities open up in an everyday deployment of color and the colored body as such.

'Where are you really from?'

Maria: Many people ask where I am from. People are very curious about where you are from and

they seem often want to ask me about that, they often try to ask in a certain manner like "where are you really from?" You can just see that they are dying to ask you that question.
Tony: What do you think about that?
Maria: I think that it is…I have to laugh a bit… At the same time you want to annoy them a bit.
Tony: Why do you want to do that?
Maria: It is probably because I previously have experienced it so many times, that you are sort of fed up with it. And then you sort of think that "I won't give him the satisfaction". I want to see him struggle a bit.
Tony: So you feel as though you sort of put him in his place?
Maria: Yes and then you sort of laugh inside yourself.
[…]
Tony: Do you feel that it is your appearance that defines these encounters?
Maria: Yes, no doubt. (Maria, 28, Korean mother and Norwegian father).

The narrative above points to how belonging, appearances and 'race' or 'ethnicity' intersect at an everyday level wherein color still matters. To Maria encounters such as these have become tiresome and she is 'kind of fed up' with it. We can link this to Minelle Mahtani who states that 'mixed race' persons who resist the occupation of a single ethnic space in what can be called 'hyphenated circumlocutions' also make the process of self-definition lengthy and exhausting often requiring a whole geography and history of explanation (Mahtani 2002a: 79). It might be logical to propose that certain ways of subverting ethno-racial labeling is also a product of a long history of exhausting and often very personal story-telling about one's heritage, family composition and family history. To subvert and not divulge one's cultural and ethnic affiliations might be seen as a coping mechanism that resists the insistence of today's society to label oneself as either this or that.

I want to explore this narrative in connection to how Jin Haritaworn has explored similar everyday encounters of identity interrogations (Haritaworn 2009). Haritaworn views everyday encounters such as this as encounters where some are entitled to gaze at and categorize others, and treat the perceived differences of those Others as a trigger for their voyeuristic forays into their bodies, minds and families (Haritaworn 2009:118). Furthermore, encounters, such as the one Maria mentions, should not be seen as 'a normal reaction to abnormal bodies' but rather should be linked to a legacy of colonial archives of knowledge (Haritaworn 2009: 116). The narratives that we have seen thus far seem to support what Haritaworn states in as much as everyday encounters might not be overtly racist or even discriminatory; but they nevertheless re-inscribe notions of racial and ethnic boundaries which in turn trigger specific ways of thinking about belonging within a cultural and national space.Yet we must perhaps question our own ways of interpellating out interlocutors as 'mixed ethnic' individuals; how did I or for that matter Haritaworn and others, get a hold of our 'informants'? Our calls must have gone out thus forming the social category which we at the same time try so hard to resist construct. Our interpellations of these individuals is also of interest; how could this article have been written had I not called out for informants who was of 'mixed ethnic decent' which I took to mean 'one parent which is ethnic Norwegian and another who is non-Western'. Was my interpellation also an instance of epistemic

violence which further re-inscribed a dichotomy based on skin color and bodies? There is a certain parallel between the question of 'where are you really from?' and my own call for 'informants' to this study; I am embedded in the same historical and cultural context which makes this parallel rather perplexing yet still true. In me raising the call for 'informants' to this study I am implicitly asking 'where are you really from?'. The question 'where are you really from?' is of course not explicitly racist or even discriminatory, yet it becomes a problem when it goes against the self-identification of people of mixed ethnic decent. Most of the time this question is just asked out of curiosity, but it can be, as seen in these narratives a difficult thing to answer when it goes against ones identification as a person. As such my own understanding of the people I have spoken to is, for better or worse, inevitably connected to the cultural schema that we are all part of which still uses 'origin' and 'otherness' as markers of a certain form of identity. In proclaiming a hybrid stand I have at the same time also relied on notions of 'origins' and 'decent', but this is perhaps the irony of hybridity; it must be forged out of the slippery essentialisms that we at the same time try to combat. Words and categories betray us as we utter them but I still think we can make considerable headway by acknowledging that the categories we engage with are used in subversive and hybrid ways in the everyday lives of people of mixed ethnic decent.

These types of encounters are not only about being gazed at and about being pigeonholed. As Maria shows, it is also about the reversal of power relations, about her 'holding out' and 'not giving him the satisfaction'. Such remarks show that encounters of the type 'where are you really from?' have the ability to create new meanings of race during social interaction and sometimes even forcing those with whom they interact to rethink assumptions and understandings (Haritaworn 2009:122). These encounters are what Haritaworn (Haritaworn 2009) and Teresa Kay Williams (Williams in Root 1996) have called the "*what are you"*- encounter. For both authors this encounter can at times be seen as "a transgressive space of empowerment and contestation which bears the potential to 'expand […] racial boundaries', 'subvert the racial system' and expose 'race [as] a process'" (Haritaworn 2009:122). In the above, Maria is perhaps not explicitly subverting the racial system but in her holding out on the information about 'where she really is from', she at least undermines clear notions of ethnic identity thinking. It can be seen as a way of breaking up a narrative that insists upon a clear placement of every(body) wherein non-white bodies must be made knowable and labeled.

Another narrative that I want to draw on is taken from my conversation with Stine who is a woman of Norwegian and Indian decent. It is very telling that in regards to my above points on the subversive potential in such everyday encounters of identity thinking.

Stine: I must admit that I have been very conscious about showing that I am Norwegian, let's say at least the last five years or so. […] When people see me, they often bring up the question of "where are you from?" and then I say Norway. Then they just ask "no, where are you really from?" and then I answer Halden. I understand why they are asking. They are curious, they are in-

terested and as I become older I am more understanding as to why they wonder, because I too wonder when I meet people who are dark.
Tony: And yet one has this attitude that one wishes to underline the Norwegianess?
Stine: Yes I do, I think I had a real need to do that. I used to be so afraid to be identified with the multicultural, or one with a multicultural background.
Tony: Can you remember why it was so scary?
Stine: I am not sure, I guess it is because they are being looked a bit down upon in our society and that I didn't want to be a part of that[…] They also question who you are or doubt who you are and that is very frustrating. (Stine, 30 year old woman, mother from Norway, father from India.)

In the above we see that several dimensions of the discourse on belonging, color and culture conflated into 'where are you from?'-encounters. In the beginning Stine does what Maria also did in her narrative; she resists the interrogation into her heritage by stating that she is simply from Norway. When this is not enough, she once again resists by recourse to a particular geographical location. She acknowledges the fact that the whole process is tiresome as it is an encounter she has met several times and she already knows what they are after. She implicitly links this encounter to color when she states that she herself is curious as to where 'black' people come from. It shows that Stine might subvert ethno-racial discourses in her own way, but she is nevertheless also part of a discourse that connects skin color to location and culture.

Stine's phrase 'and it is that thing about when somebody asks you that question; they also question who you are or doubt who you are and that is very frustrating' is interesting in this exploration of whether or not color matters. The phrase may be connected to how bodies are read, how they are culturally coded and in turn made as Butler would say: culturally intelligible. By refusing Stine's first answer of the 'hailing' into a cultural identity position, the person asking invokes an idea of what a Norwegian looks like. By posing the question 'no, where are you *really* from?' the person asking doubts the first answer given. But where is this '*really* from'? Why is it that the first answer is not accepted as a valid identification? I would claim that this 'where are you really from' is the skin; color and texture must be coded and made knowable. Skin color and the colored body must be placed within a space wherein those who asks the question of 'where are you really from?' can accept and code the answer given thus colored bodies that do not conform to what we expect to be a 'Norwegian' body seem to have a longer process of identification and acceptance when it comes to being accepted as 'fully Norwegian' to use a crude term.

This process of 'knowing the Other' is linked to Fanon's 'epidermal schema' or as Butler states, a racial way of "seeing" that is also a way of "reading" (Butler and Salih

2004:210). It is a specific cultural-historical way of 'coding' and 'knowing' Others; it is a way of seeing others that in turn also "reads" certain bodies as belonging to certain cultures, nations, and ethnicities. In relating this to Stine's narrative it is possible to say that Stine's body is not *seen* and in turn *read* as fitting the "historico-racial schema" (Butler and Salih 2004:210) of who counts as a culturally intelligible Norwegian, thus her first answer is not coded as valid and must be followed up by a 'no, where are you really from?'. This is an important indicator that

identity thinking is at its most persistent in everyday encounters such as these. Color still matters within our culture today; bodies matter as markers of ethnicity in a way that must be accounted for by recourse to a body and not to 'culture' as abstract phenomenon or as *the* defining difference. The discourse in question is connected to the fact that by implying that Stine is not really from Norway she is Other to Norway. Once again we can see this as an instance wherein the discourse on what a 'Norwegian' looks like makes for an assumed normative appearance; it creates an 'inside' and an 'outside', but this duality is to a large degree produced in relationship to the body; to colors and to appearances.

This can be linked to what Williams coins, 'the racial compass'. In her view it is when the 'racial compass' fails that the 'what are you?' and 'where are you really from' questions arise (Williams in Root 1996:203). According to Butler, this is because the "visual field is not neutral to the question of race; it is itself a racial formation, an episteme, hegemonic and forceful" (Butler and Salih 2004:207). It is a culturally constituted act of perception that informs us of who is "truly Norwegian". It is this act of perception and coding of skin that often makes us "see" the character and emotional subjectivities of others (Alcoff 2006:188) based on the assumption that skin as surface layer gives us access to the "truth" about non-white people in regards to who is 'Norwegian' or not. Yet the mechanism of these acts of perceiving are themselves not seen as just that; culturally and historically contingent and not ontologically true (Alcoff 2006: 188). This in turn is linked to what called 'common sense' in the sense that it is "just there"; a habitual way of perceiving others.

The visual field is also about knowledge, with ways of 'knowing' the Other based on the coding of for instance skin color. It works as a heuristic device in regards to identity thinking. But this field is not devoid of history, since the constitution of our bodies takes place in time and through materialization (Butler 1993) the visual field is informed by history and the narratives that follow the narration of the nation space (Bhabha 2004:199-244). Body narratives that fall outside history, or at least have a shorter history, are then subject to the interrogation of identity. Skin functions in the 'where are you really from'-encounters as a passport; it is must be inspected by a visual gaze for authentication. It is here that clear notions of 'race/body', ethnicity, nation, and culture become entangled.

I would like to qualify this further by stating that even though the visual field is not a neutral field, it should be remembered that the way it is structured varies between social sites. The visual field in Norway should be seen as different from the visual fields in the US or UK due to its historicity. At the same time it seems naïve to think that people of mixed ethnic decent in the US live within the same modalities of color as those in Norway and other Scandinavian countries. In regard to the 'where are you really from' encounter there are a few narratives that show how people of mixed ethnic decent also draw on language that is at time highly racialized and which points to the thesis raised that color and bodies still matter at an everyday level. This will also show that there

is an important contextual difference between for instance the US and Norway when it comes to how people live with and in color. The first two narratives that I want to use are taken from the interviews with Mike and John.

> Mike: On all public forms, I write that I am Norwegian, and if people who I do not know ask where I am from, I answer that I am Norwegian and add that I have a father that is non-Norwegian. Because most people can see that I am not white. But if I am with friends for instance, who I have grown up with, who are not Norwegian, then it happens that I define myself as African or as a mullato or something else like that. It really depends on the circumstances. The reason why I do that is because it is a way of fitting in. And the same when I call myself Norwegian. It has to do with how I feel a belonging to that particular group I am with at that particular time. (Mike, 26 years old, Norwegian mother and Ivory Coast father.)
>
> John: It is just that … well, I have become and always known that I am half Norwegian and half Ghanaian. It has always been said to me that this is what I am, thus this is what I am. (John, 29 years old, of Norwegian mother and Ghanaian father.)

Mike varies in ways of labeling himself according to context. In meeting with the public domain his strategy is to adhere to a definition of 'Norwegianess', while when he is with close friends his way of defining himself shifts according to the new context. As he himself states these flexible praxis's of identification allows him to gain a sense of belonging within the specific context that he finds himself in. Belonging is also linguistic; it is a way of speaking oneself into a community. By naming himself either 'Norwegian', 'African', or 'mullato' Mike names himself and thus is also given a certain possibility of social existence (Butler 1997:2) that hinges on what has already been mentioned as the various ways in which subjects are seen through the 'historico-racial discourse' and in turn how they then are coded. The reason is that all names or utterances of the sort 'Norwegian', 'African' and 'mullato' have, as Butler states, a *historicity*. The name has a *historicity*, what might be understood as the history which has become internal to a name, has come to constitute the contemporary meaning of a name: the sedimentation of its usages as they have become part of the very name, a sedimentation, a repetition that congeals, that gives the name its force (Butler 1997:36). In Mike's narrative there is a flexible, yet historical determined use of various ethno-racial positions; each identification is a sedimentation of prior usage. Belonging is to occupy a name, a position that was already there within discourse, prior to us or in this case Mike, stepping into that name, be that 'Norwegian', 'African' or 'mullato'. The excerpts functions as statements that creates subject positions. But this is also linked to Butler and the performative. The subject position of 'mulatto' is not entirely similar to that of other such positions, there are rather small differences in the performative doing of this subject position that creates new ways of inhabiting this space (Butler 1999). This influences how we navigate within that social position; it forecloses and enables various ways of acting and reacting.

I want to return to John's phrase in order to elaborate on the connection between 'interpellation' and 'becoming'. In John's narrative there is a clear distinction between 'whole' and 'part'; of being 'completely' and being 'half'. As Jin

Haritaworn found in her research, people of mixed ethnic decent often used narratives of 'stock' and 'blood' in an effort to strategically identify themselves, thus challenging the often perceived 'death of eugenicist and genetic' narratives of 'race' in contemporary society (Haritaworn 2009:119). Invoking ideas about blood-count such as 'half' can be seen as a way of reproducing and re-inscribing both whiteness and 'monoraciality' as a norm from which 'multiracial' bodies deviate (Haritaworn 2009:120). But contrary to perhaps the skepticism of both Haritaworn and Suki Ali (Ali 2003) who both to a certain extent were struck by these "problematic undertones" that "invoked essentialist, even racist, identity labels" (Haritaworn 2009:119), I, following Butler, want to look at this from a standpoint that instead sees these labels as subversive at times and as 'linguistic homes' that " can function as series of multiple identifications that come into play in different situations" (Mahtani 2002b:487). This can clearly be related to the first narrative in which Mike uses various identifications in a variety of situations. In his narrative an overt generalization such as 'African' becomes a 'home' and facilitates belonging; in fact even the notorious term 'mullato' becomes a source of cultural belonging in a given context. 'Mullato' as a derogatory term is in Mike's narrative taken up as a linguistic home. Butler states that "injurious names have a history, one that is invoked and reconsolidated at the moment of utterance, but not explicitly told. This is not simply a history of how they have been used, in what contexts, and for what purposes; it is the way such histories are installed and arrested in and by the name" (Butler 1997:36). But there is a specific historicity that must be accounted for in order to utilize Butler here; Mike's usage of 'mullato' does not only point towards the negative connotations that are imbedded into that word. His usage of the term is not necessarily the taking up of only the negative connotations that have sedimented themselves within that name throughout history, rather it is a performative re-inscription of a negative word.

Contrary to for instance the US or the UK, mulatto as a term does not have the same historicity in Norway. This is a sign of the opacity of racial discourses in Norway. They are there yet they act as a subtext that do not speak in the same colonial tongue as for instance in the US and the UK. The past intersects here with the present and allows for what in other cultures would be deemed a highly racist term to be used as a 'linguistic home' which in turn enables a hybrid identification. This is an instance wherein we can see a specific form of Norwegian hybrid emerging; one that is premised upon the historicity of various racialized terms and which in turn becomes material upon the body of individuals as they use such terms as 'mulatto'. Instead of seeing 'mullato' as a word that binds us with the power of past usage, of arresting movement (Butler 1997:36) of those that take it up, we must distinguish between the various historical and cultural connotations embedded in a name. 'Mullato' in Mike's case is bound to a Norwegian history, which we must also say is transnational, but the specific Norwegian discourse makes it a label that Mike can take up without any explicit hesitation.

Final Remarks: On the Importance of being Named or Naming Oneself

The term 'fully Norwegian' seems to have as its basis a visual component, skin is the surface we return to in order to delineate a subject position. In many of the narratives that have been recited in this paper the tension between self-definition and the definition given by others have been clear or at least an underlying principle. To be named by others then is often a traumatic event, one that often precedes our wills but one that nevertheless brings us into a linguistic life (Butler 1997:35) which I also take to be linked to a 'cultural life'; a life that marks out who is Norwegian and who is 'not'. For Butler to be given a name is a "founding subordination", one that is repeated in social life, and "because I have been called something, I have entered into linguistic life, refer to myself through language given by the Other, but perhaps never quite in the same terms that my language mimes" (Butler 1997:35). Discourse gave me a 'name' yet its use and future application can be disrupted by my own mimicry of that very term. By our own performative usage of that term that is given me by others I can also re-create it. This is perhaps best seen in Mike's narrative and his usage of the term 'mulato'. In connection to all of the above narratives there might be reason to say that people are not just born Norwegian, but must be called Norwegian; we must be given the proper label in order to 'be' Norwegian or become one. But perhaps racialized interpellations and performativity is just as much about what we are not called; about the lack of recognition as a 'fully' or 'complete' Norwegian. I would like to qualify this with a profound insight from Judith Butler when she states that

> The subject is constituted (interpellated) in language through a selective process in which the terms of legible and intelligible subjecthood are regulated. The subject is called a name, but "who" the subject is depend as much on the names that he or she is never called: the possibilities for linguistic life are both inaugurated and foreclosed through the name (Butler 1997:41).

I want to end by connecting the theoretical insights of Butler with an empirical statement made by one of the informants, Obi, who gave me a glimpse of how labels of language intersect with the body to create powerful ways of seeing oneself. Obi, who is a thirty year old man from Oslo whose mom is ethnic Norwegian and a dad who's Nigerian, went on to give the following statement: *'they view you as a foreigner and then you become a foreigner. Then you start behaving accordingly. And that can have something to say […] If everybody had treated me as if I was completely Norwegian, then maybe I had thought right away that I was completely Norwegian'*. Is this a powerful reminder of both the interpellative force of being called a 'foreigner' as well as the force of *not* being called a 'Norwegian'? How do we internalize a sense of belonging to a community when we are continually interpellated as belonging to an outside? The paradox is that internalization of a sense of belonging works through the skin it seems and through the names we are called and not called. It seems to place Obi in that zone of 'almost the same, but not quite' as Homi Bhabha said (Bhabha 2004:122), or as we now perhaps dare to say; *almost the same but not white.* The above quote

from Obi can be seen as a site in which to be 'hailed' into a subject position of 'Norwegian' is supported by the silence of not being called a 'Norwegian'. To be almost Norwegian is premised on being in that zone that is outside the normative of what a Norwegian looks like or is taken to be. Color matters and is made to matter in contemporary Norway. Even though we might not like to admit it; we might be post 'racial' but we are by no means post color. Furthermore this article has clearly showed that research on color and mixed ethnic belonging in Norway is a field that should be explored more as it is clear that there are commonalities with the US and UK settings, yet there are also highly different racial grammars at play within the three settings which effect how individuals of mixed ethnic decent form a sense of belonging and self-perception. I have tried to show what might be considered to be particular for the mixed ethnic colored body, yet many of the aspects that we have seen could just as well have been made relevant for people who are adopted or who are non-white but not of mixed ethnic decent. So what is so particular when it comes to this group? First of all they do in fact share a lot with other non-white bodies, but I think there are a few aspects that are important. First of all we can ask the question of which ethnicity are these individuals to be accorded in the increasingly more multicultural Norway which nevertheless operates with a category of 'ethnic Norwegian'. Are these individuals ethnic Norwegians? And in relation to this, is ethnic Norwegian also connected to a certain body and color? If so how does that influence identity thinking for these individuals? I think this article has shown that the specific challenges that these individuals pose to identity thinking is that mixed ethnic individuals pose a problem for classification; they are too heterogeneous to be one group, while at the same time the individuals I talked to all identified *as mixed ethnic* and not *just* as Norwegian. Hence by taking serious how these individuals talk about their own subjectivity we see that a new ontological identity marker is used which is 'mixed ethnic'. Based on this the commonalities that this group has with other groups such as people who are adopted or other non-white individuals is present, yet by the very fact that these individuals talk about themselves as 'mixed ethnic' suggests that there is a felt, subjective difference that these individuals express.

The relevance of looking at mixed ethnic individuals in as many different settings as possible is also an argument for looking at this group as a particular identity bearing group as this will also make the field stronger and contribute more to our common understanding of the ways in which individuals of mixed ethnic decent navigate questions of color, appearances and identity. It is obvious that contextual knowledge is highly important when it comes to charting out the importance of skin color, and as such this article has tried to show that skin color matters in the Norwegian setting and indeed has certain commonalities with theoretical proposal made across the Atlantic. Yet the article has also shown that words such as 'mullato' which by many in the US and UK setting would be seen as highly racist still is in use in Norway. As such this shows us

that we must try to broaden the field of mixed ethnic research to include other areas of the world than just the US and Britain.

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Narrative Weapons of the Underprivileged

Class Conflicts and Welfare Consensus in Finnish Autobiographies

By Eija Stark

Introduction

In terms of social class in the early twentieth century, the majority of landless commoners such as crofters, itinerant day labourers and skilled artisans in Finland have been considered to consist of one social underprivileged class. They were the people who did not have a place in the estate society, namely, members of the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and the farm owners, and thus made up the majority of the whole population. The main class boundary among the rural inhabitants went between the landowning peasants and the landless working class − the ones owning their farm and the others working partly or full-time on the farms of the former. This article deals with the social boundary between landowning peasants and landless rural inhabitants in twentieth-century Finland, and explores the ways in which the rural poor resisted the rules and commands imposed upon them by the dominant social groups in Finland.

The primary sources in this article include autobiographies written in the early 1990s but depicting past decades. I investigate particular aspects of the autobiographies, namely, poverty narratives, and I ask what connotations people attach to their narratives of poverty. In *Weapons of the Weak*, James Scott (1985) studies hidden verbal and practical acts of resistance in contexts where the "weak" cannot afford to openly confront power holders. The starting point of this article is that the autobiographical poverty narratives actually reflect social and cultural domination, which was influenced by the forms of labour control. Not only the distribution of labour but also the ideologies of society were under the control of the elites in Finland. The upper class controlled culture, religion, education and the media and thereby created and maintained the standards of what was true, moral, fair and legitimate. In this article I will analyse what kind of narrative "weapons" the weakest members of Finnish society, landless rural individuals – later smallholders – had at their disposal.

The autobiographies were collected in special writing competitions set by newspapers and other media. This method encouraged so-called common people, as opposed to celebrities and professional writers, to write about their lives (Gullestad 1996:33). The underlying idea was to obtain narratives that provided unedited views of the self. This article uses the concept of social control to examine the ways in which social distinctions were expressed, manifested and transformed in personal narratives. As a by-product of the analysis, the focus is also on how common people were categorized in the texts produced by the underprivileged and how they viewed the social hierarchy among themselves. How is the past experience of poverty constructed in the present and in the social context of the Nordic welfare state? My aim is to illuminate the following processes and themes: (1) how people in oppressive situations retain a critical perspective on their domination and (2) how people in oppressive situations do *not* necessarily have critical thoughts about superordinate groups. The article seeks to uncover the cultural representations that common people use as they reconstruct their narratives of peasant rural poverty in relation to the present.

Autobiographies as Narrative Weapons

This article is based on 22 autobiographies of common Finnish people. The autobiographies are taken from two competitions: one arranged for Finnish women in 1991 and the other for Finnish men in 1992. The manuscripts are preserved at the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, which was one of the competition organizers. The autobiographical competition for women resulted in almost 600 autobiographies, while the life-story writing competition arranged for men resulted in a total of 360 autobiographies. The life stories in both competitions were mostly written when the authors were retired.

A common feature among the authors, and the reason I chose them for my primary sources, is that they all express personal poverty experiences longer by page length and deeper by level of poverty than most of the writers in the data. Some, although not all, of these writers had experienced *absolute poverty*, that is, they lacked basic human requirements, such as food, shelter and clothing (Alcock 1997:68). Most of the writers were born in the first decades of the twentieth century, when the standard of living had risen from the nineteenth century. Although structural change and economic growth accelerated in the early years of the twentieth century, Finland still remained poor and agrarian (Hjerppe & Jalava 2006:53). All the narrators had experienced *relative poverty,* which refers to the overall standard of living that prevails in a particular society. In short, relative poverty prevents people from participating in activities that are customary in the society where they belong (Alcock 1997: 69; Townsend 1979:33). The autobiographies have been chosen according to the author's poverty narratives. Nevertheless, there is always a risk that by subjecting them to scholarly study the perspectives will be lost or subsumed in academic views and interests. Therefore, the concept of poverty is primarily defined by the writers themselves, and it is often defined in relation to the present.

The autobiographies I have analysed do not only consist of poverty narratives but also life histories as a whole. The guidelines for the competitions encouraged the authors to start with their childhood and family background, and then progress to their later adult life up until the time of writing. Therefore, the written autobiographies were not spontaneous accounts of things that happened to the narrator. As Britt Liljewall has pointed out, autobiographical narratives are always retrospective, with most space given to events and matters distant in time and different from perspectives at the time of writing (Liljewall 2013:32). Past poverty is one theme among many others, such as family, marriage, children, education, work, house and mortgage repayments. The autobiographical format in itself develops a reflective and agency-oriented view of the self, what Pierre Bourdieu calls "a biographical illusion": people feel compelled to write their autobiography at certain moments in life and using rhetorical modes that are not necessarily the dominant behavioural models in real life (Rotkirch 2000:34). Individuals also tend to emphasize some incidents and times in their past more than others, while events which may seem crucial at some moment in the past may lose their importance in the course of time (Löfgren 1991:147).

Questions about the representativeness of the people who write in autobiographical competitions are standard in autobiographical research. Earlier studies indicate that the authors are close to the population at large, with minor, although telling, differences: Women write more often than men, the elderly, i.e. retired people, more often than the young, and they are more introverted and inclined to writing than the population in general. In addition, white-collar workers are more likely than blue-collar workers to enter autobiography competitions (Rotkirch 2000:31). The people whose autobiography I have analysed had worked in jobs such as subsistence farming or small-scale farming, or as junior clerks, teachers or construction workers.

Due to rapid economic growth, Finland is now one of the wealthiest countries in the world. However, general poverty and backwardness were still common experiences some decades ago. The eldest of the authors was born in 1901 and the youngest in 1938. A common feature of all the people is their experience of poverty before the welfare state, where the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. The authors were born under poor conditions in rural or semi-urban environments as the sons and daughters of crofters, cottagers or agricultural workers. However, few of the writers were orphans or parish paupers who were supported by landowner households. Agriculture and forestry provided employment for more than half the Finnish population until the 1960s, and thus the authors belonged to the last generations with direct insight into rural practices and ways of life.

Did these authors belong to a subordinate class – a class without power? The answer is no, if we take a closer look at their narratives, where class often competes with kinship, neighbourhood or faction as the core of individual identity and solidarity. Usually, the reality of multiple identities – as James Scott claimed – is the experience out of which social relations are conducted, and neither peasants nor rural workers derived their identities solely from the mode of production (Scott 1985:43). These men and women formed the large majority, not only in Finland but, perhaps, in most Western countries until quite recently and their acquisition of knowledge and political consciousness made the last century the most revolutionary in history (Hobsbawm 1978 [1959]). In Finland, however, open confrontations and peasant rebellions, with the exception of the 1918 civil war, did not occur, and on only a very few occasions did resistance become active. More often, resistance against the landowning peasantry and municipal officials took the form of passive non-compliance (e.g. Scott 1985:31).

As a literary genre, written autobiographies reflect the social and cultural norms and sanctions prevailing at their time of writing. There is a tension between the realistic and the constructionist approaches in the use of autobiographies in life-history research. The former has concerned great historical processes such as social mobility, generations and the experiences of social classes, while the latter tends to focus on the presentations of ideals, identities and narrative structures (Roos 2001: 818–820). This article combines the two approaches: the lives described in autobiographies are interpreted as the result of

various social and cultural ideals as well as historical events and factors among members of society. The autobiographies show how different historical events have affected people's lives and reveal the kinds of social and cultural developments that have occurred. Unlike James Scott's pure anthropological fieldwork approach, this article puts greater emphasis on text analysis and on the approach that could be called *history from below*: it re-evaluates individual experience and considers ordinary writers as active agents in shaping their own cultures (Lyons 2013:16). An everyday form of resistance was born in the written narrative context, and it can be interpreted as a class struggle between the poorest and the better-off.

Resistance is a sign of power or, perhaps, a lack of power. James Scott claimed that resistance to the upper class usually required little coordination; rather, it was a form of individual struggle. As long as the rural social structure remained inequitable, that is, rural village life consisted of a dichotomy between rich and poor or landowning peasants and smallholders or the landless, resistance was unlikely to disappear (Scott 1985: 273). A synonym for everyday forms of resistance by the poor is the term *culture of contestation,* which in the narrative context is "to adduce opposing testimony" towards the hegemonic culture, in other words, culture that is defined by the superordinate in a given society. Subordinate people resist the generally applied cultural forms of the dominant classes by seeing things differently (Lombardi-Satriani 1974:103–105).

In the following sections I examine the interests, experiences and perceptions that were shaped by power that the poor themselves did not possess in their everyday life in the past. I examine social boundaries and conflicts from the perspective of the poor and mainly in regard to better-off people. Better-off is defined in each narrative context from the perspective of the narrator. I will discuss what kind of "weapons" the rural poor, the weakest members of Finnish rural society, had in their life. Recollected narratives are not seen as the products of individual minds isolated from the rest of the society, but as responses to a chain of narratives arising in everyday social life. Methodologically, this means that I have interpreted and theorized autobiographies and poverty narratives they contain as *texts;* in other words, text is used as a metaphor for all human sign systems, and these systems contain meaning which can be discovered or decoded. In decoding these texts, I engage in a close reading of the text in order to identify meaning and place it into a broader sociohistorical context (see Stark 1998:67, 2006:116) and decode the categories of informal resistance. The ways subordinated people reacted towards hegemonic culture can be summarized in four different argumentation categories: moralizing, rationalizing, ignoring and assimilating.

Moralizing

The first form of resistance was moralizing. Until the early twentieth century, Finland was a society of estates where – with the exception of the clergy – a person's social position was determined by birth. The Finnish Diet consisted of four estates: nobility, clergy, burghers and landowning peasants. The majority of the population,

the broad category of common people (in Finnish *rahvas*; in Swedish *allmogen*), remained outside these estates. The system of the estates was more than a political institution: it was the basis of the social order and defined its social boundaries and cultural hierarchies. In the countryside, the vernacular division for rural inhabitants consisted of three groups: members of the upper classes, landowning farmers and landless members of society. Landowning peasants had legal ownership of their farms, but they could not entirely live off rental income so they worked on their farm. They also owned the forests, and the rise of the forest industry in the nineteenth century increased the standard of living of the upper peasantry (Alapuro 1988:33).

Landless members consisted of tenant households, agricultural hirelings and cottagers. Tenant households, i.e., crofters, paid their land rent in the form of labour for the landowners. The other group of the agricultural population was agricultural hirelings who lived in the landowner's household helping a farm owner although they did not belong to a landowner's family. Cottagers rented plots of land which were too small for the cultivation of crops and they also paid their rent by contributing day labour on the main farm (Alapuro 1985:51−66). Poverty was experienced at many social levels; indeed, not only crofters, day labourers, smallholders and agricultural hirelings but also artisans faced the possibility of destitution. No individual or family was immune to illness, accident, or the premature death of the main breadwinner. However, the landowning peasantry was socially superior to their farmhands and farm servants, and the landless majority. The landowning groups ate and slept in a different space from their agrarian workers (Alapuro 1988:228). This boundary continued in the twentieth century, although two major land reforms by the government in the 1920s and 1930s enabled crofters and itinerant labourers to buy their tenant farm or establish a new farm.

One of the most common ways in which the rural poor resisted their landlords and other members of the ruling classes was by moralizing about how their lifestyles and practices deviated from those of the poor. The different food eaten by workers and the landowning family was a source of criticism, as in the case of the next male informant, born in 1938, who writes with a moralizing tone:

> We got meals from the farmhouse. But what kind of food! Coffee was made from of old coffee grounds, rusks were green with mould and sugar, just crumbs thrown out of the farmhouse people's sugar bowl. An evening meal was a plateful of clabbered milk with small piece of bread. The farmhouse people ate better food at the table. … In this farmhouse I learnt how easily the more prosperous take advantage of the poor, making them work more for worse pay and worse food.[1]

Another distinction between the poor and the better-off was the material consumption of goods, which was a source of resentment to the poor, as they did not have property and thus consumed fewer material goods than the landowning or bourgeois classes. However, across Europe, the better-off did collect different types of welfare resources for the disadvantaged (Gestrich *et al*. 2012:8). Nevertheless, differing patterns of consumption, and the use of advanced agricultural equipment, caused a division in the population. In the narratives, this fact did not result in happi-

ness for the people who were materially better-off, as the next male informant tells us:

> Most of the time during childhood we spent in play and games. Among children's games there were no big differences between so-called rich people's children and just cottagers' children like myself. Of course, the wealthier children's toys were different from ours, the so-called poor children. …When it comes to the number of different games, then I must say that we, the workers' children, had more variation in games than the wealthier children. Superficially, it looked as if the power holder's children were doing well but this was not the case in reality. These so-called more prosperous people's children often felt lonely. They could not join the games of the children of less prosperous people because of their higher status. The adults had prohibited their offspring from playing games with the children of less prosperous people.[2]

The argument above is an example of the culture of contestation, a certain testimony of contraposition (Lombardi-Satriani 1974:104) that explicitly shows how the better-off were resisted: their way of life was interpreted as less impressive and less valuable. However, it is rare to use moralizing to express the culture of contestation as openly as in the case above.

Another example of the rural poor moralizing about superordinate groups can be found amongst the children of these two classes. The next male informant, born in Northern Finland in 1933, makes a distinction between 'better people' and 'worse people' by glorifying poverty and interpreting its negative consequences, such as limited education, as advantageous: "The children who came from school willingly wanted to play games with us. For them we were something exciting. I realized that the circumstances of my sister and me may have been poor, but, still, we were somehow richer than those children."[3] In this childhood narrative, the rural working class is represented as a collective "we" who had, instead of programmed school days, the freedom to enjoy the neighbourhood and the outdoor surroundings. Unlike better-off people and their children's social life, with its many indoor institutions, there were fewer alternatives to outdoor socializing (e.g. Löfgren 1991:152). The narrator argues that the children who had an opportunity to go to school did not have such a psychologically stimulating environment as he and his sister, who were obliged to discover games and playgrounds of their own.

This male author has another example to tell of the differences in lifestyle between the landowners and the landless poor. Again, the moralizing – or at least the finding of a certain practice strange – is the main feature of the narrative. The narrator lived his entire childhood with his grandparents, and gave a helping hand, as a male youngster, to his grandfather. He and his grandfather often went to a local village centre to buy and sell rural products such as milk, where he saw the men from different landowning backgrounds, but he claims: "I could not have exchanged my grandparents for parents from some big farmhouse. Now, by writing this text, I wonder why I never met farm wives from the big farmhouses during those childhood years."[4] The narrator implicitly refers to the male-dominated public life that the landowning peasants led in rural villages. He does not respond to his question but leaves it to the reader to consider more carefully.

In this gendered division of labour, men

generally worked in the fields and forests, where their specific tasks included scythe harvesting, horse husbandry, hunting and fishing. Women worked in the cottage dairy industry and performed textile and household chores such as milking, cooking and childcare. Women also worked in the fields gathering and making sheaves of corn (Talve 1997:173–174), and the labour input of both women and children, including physically demanding work, was required (Frykman & Löfgren 1987: 187–189).

What the narrator meant by asking why he had never met a farm wife from big farmhouse was that the labour of rural women played an important part in a family's livelihood. In poor, landless families, in particular, both parents did paid work and sold products they made themselves. Because the family's livelihood was not tied to the land or landownership, women did not experience the same patriarchal pressures as the wives and daughters of landowning families, who were bound to domestic work inside the farmyard (Apo 1999:15–18). Landless itinerant women often travelled long distances in search of jobs, food and shelter, whereas farm mistresses were responsible for carrying out a number of tasks on the farm that restricted them to the domestic sphere (Stark 2006:427). Consequently, the strong structures of male breadwinners and female housewives were not able to develop among the landless people. It was this that the previous narrator reflected on by observing the absence of farm wives in the village centre, and he interpreted it as an anomaly even when writing about it many years later. For him, the standard woman is a working woman who is also publicly visible, which, paradoxically, is also a representation of the modern woman. In the eyes of the working class, the culture of farm wives was a culture of housewives based not on waged work but on leisure, and it was therefore a suspicious lifestyle.

Rationalizing

The second "weapon of the weak" that the rural poor had against the hegemonic ideology of the good and decent life defined by the landowning peasantry was rationalizing their own position. In the autobiographical narratives, the practices of the poor were solely the result of their poverty and the inequality in society. They did what they could when there was not enough adequate social welfare for everyone. James Scott uses the term *mystification,* which is something that subordinate classes do to themselves by justifying the force of their circumstance; in other words, it is the "naturalization of the inescapable" (Scott 1985:322–323).[5] The means and ways of survival are justified simply by common sense. The following male informant, born in 1914, explains the reason for begging for food:

> Especially to my mum, winter time was a hard battle for her children's bread. The milk from our only cow dried up in the autumn when it was taken back to the shed, and it only started to milk again later in the spring. We did not have money or food stamps. What was put on the table we had to ask for from the local farmhouses.[6]

This cruel life and the measures taken to survive in the past are expressed in rational explanations. In an era with an undeveloped welfare benefit system, when wealth was unequally distributed, the poor expected the superordinate of the rural so-

ciety to make a contribution to the distribution of material wealth. This was a system of unofficial "compulsory charity", created and dominated by the poor themselves, who were against official charity and poor relief practices, which were punitive and stigmatizing. In the unofficial "compulsory charity", the poor had the right to ask for aid when they desperately needed it from those who had property. Therefore, the rational view is held in relation to the self, one's own behaviour, and also the behaviour of the landowners.

Decades later, and at a time when this old type of poverty had been left behind, many of the authors started to understand "better people". The narrators identify themselves from their position at the moment of writing when they are no longer poor, in relation to the landowning groups of the past. In his autobiography the next male informant describes his father's life at length. The author's father lost his mother at the age of 8 and was sent to a farmhouse as a foster child. However, the master of the farm threw the boy out of the house when he noticed that the boy's thighs were covered in eczema. The boy had to leave the farmhouse for being seriously ill; that is, he was unable to do his farmhand duties and was "useless" from the perspective of the farm owner. However, the author, his son, rationalizes the cruel behaviour of the master: "Times were hard for everyone, everyone had to fight for their own bread, there was not any sympathy for children other than one's own."[7]

Rationalizing is often expressed in the narratives in relation to the current welfare state. At the time they wrote their autobiographies in the early 1990s, the old rural society was viewed as determined and fatalistic. Life was an incessant struggle against poverty, and the way for the poor to survive was to work hard. In his analysis, Pierre Bourdieu identifies certain beliefs concerning the inclination of people to make a virtue out of necessity, to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable (Bourdieu 2000 [1984]:372). With this in mind, it is not a surprise that descriptions of work often take centre stage in the autobiographies. Work literally kept the rural landless poor busy. "Working hard" and "coping with" are the most common views of the poverty type that people encountered in the past. By being born poor, an individual had to learn how to work hard, as the next female informant, born in 1901, claims:

> I was always saved by working. It was and has always been the meaning of my life and honour. When you have finished a task and perhaps you are appreciated for it by someone else, I feel that there is nothing else I need. Work gave me self-respect and safety in poverty. This dogma I have later tried to teach to my own children as well.[8]

The next two female informants, the first born in 1917 and the second in the 1920s, have almost the same idea in their narratives:

> We children got used to respecting work from an early age. By showing their own example, our parents taught us to work hard, and in a way that others don't have to fix it later, which my mum meant by saying that a job should not have to be done twice. Perhaps this attitude is the reason why we have always had work to do and earned our living from work.[9]

> Dad and mum were healthy and multi-skilled, also sober and hardworking. Therefore, we children learnt to work and help from early on, depending on our elbow grease. However, I do not feel it was bad that I had to take responsibility for many things from a young age. On the contrary,

during my life I have noticed it was a great blessing and help.[10]

Coping with hard times in the past produced a position that the poor are almost proud of. This is relative to their own children, who have no experience of absolute poverty nor have ever been badly off, and also to those of their contemporaries who never experienced rural poverty. Coping with tough circumstances by begging, working hard, and if needed, behaving without mercy to other people are interpreted as necessary under those economic and social conditions. These people claim and believe they made the only choices available to them at the time.

Ignoring

The two cultures of the countryside, those of the landowners and the landless, were expressed not only by the size of the land they farmed and the amount of property, for example livestock and agricultural equipment, but also by their different social habitus. Landless people ate, spoke and dressed differently. Furthermore, until the 1950s they did not have the same opportunities for education as the landowners and the bourgeoisie. The Finnish middle class was small, and even in the 1940s, only ten per cent of families belonged to it (Alapuro 1985:93). In the countryside, the middle class – vicars, doctors, pharmacists and shop keepers – historically was part of the rural elite. For the rural poor, the rising middle class was part of the stratum that had subjugated them. Middle-class people were portrayed in a negative light, especially in relation to poor relief. At the same time, in the eyes of the elite, landless people often appeared to be dirty, foul-smelling, vulgar, and unaware of the correct code of behaviour (Frykman & Löfgren 1987:70).

Were the poor aware of the negative image the superordinate had of them? According to Finnish folklore collected in the 1800s and 1900s, they were well aware of how the upper classes criticized them. However, this did not mean that they agreed with such criticism (Apo 1995: 165). On the contrary, "a weapon" of the needy weak against their stigmatization was to ignore the elite's controlling eye:

Mum took me to the doctor, but the doctor said that there was no cure for it. He had only "consoled" my mum by saying that a brat whose head is rotten does not live long, and it is good that the brat will die because otherwise she would become deaf, and what poor person needs a deaf-mute child? My mum said to the doctor that if things are the way you say, I'll try to heal my child by myself. Mum poured all sorts of strong drugs into my ears, drugs that were recommended by other people. Perhaps the drugs she used "burned" the rotten boils off my head.[11]

The narrative of the female informant above, born in the 1930s, illustrates well the resistance that the poor showed to the dominant groups in rural society. Ignoring, as a weapon of the weak, is often expressed in terms of the patriarchalism that characterized rural social relations between the estates, masters and servants and even between husband, wife and children. At the same time, ignoring as a weapon represents a type of questioning that is possible only in a society where social structures are changing. This is due to the ruled people feeling that their sufferings are not unavoidable. Barrington Moore claims that for conquering the sense of inevitability, subordinate people must perceive, define and explicitly express, in other words narrate, their situa-

tion in such a way that they need not, cannot, and must not endure it (Moore 1978: 458–459). The female narrator above is an example of this, and later her ignoring of the hegemony of the superordinate is even more evident when she was working in a farm as an auctioned-off pauper:

> The farm wife said that she had put a small amount of money into the coffers of the dairy, she gave me a deposit book, and said that she was going to pay me a small salary and she hoped that I would save all that money. But the next day I went to withdraw the money and told the farm wife I was going to leave the farm. I got to hear how ungrateful I was; how well I was being treated, like her own daughter, but what can you do? I had decided to leave, so I left. I was already 16 years of age and I could certainly cope elsewhere.[12]

Resisting the power holders' will was possible due to the loose social security system. On one hand, official social security was sporadic and minimal; on the other hand people were not coerced into staying as agrarian workers by the farmhouses.[13] As a result, there was a system of *laissez-faire* in which masters tried to patronize their subordinates using the same methods they had employed for decades, even centuries, whilst the latter strove for psychological freedom and self-sufficiency from their masters. For the poor, having to negotiate between the conventions of patriarchalism, that is, compliance and obedience, and having the freedom to decide their own lives was a paradox.

Poor relief in Finland was the responsibility of the self-governing parishes, and decision-making was entrusted to a parish minister and the most respected landowning peasants in the parishes. Poor relief did not differentiate between children and adults. The costs of poor relief were minimized by offering parish paupers at yearly public auctions to those who asked the lowest price for their maintenance (Rahikainen 2002:165–169). The landowning peasants were the ones who benefited most from the public auctions, as they usually bid for able-bodied poor children because of their ability to work. The practice of auctioning out the poorest groups to be maintained by those who took them in most cheaply continued in the countryside until the 1920s. The moral disapproval directed at those receiving poor relief continued from the early poor laws in the 1800s until the 1960s (Rahikainen 2002: 173).

The husband of the next female author, born in 1901, became ill, and the family no longer had the basic income from his forestry work. The parish minister, the head of the local social assistance board in the village, made a suggestion:

> Well, the leader of the village came to our cottage and said that Seppo [the author's husband] would be taken to the doctor at the cost of the parish. He also suggested that our eldest children be removed to the local children's home, while the youngest child could have stayed with me when I was working in the farmhouses. So this was the plan to secure bread for our family until the father had recovered and gone back to work. I became furious at the suggestion that the head of the village had made, and threw him out of the cottage. Seppo was lying in bed during this conversation and snorted in a way I understood to mean that he did not accept the deal either. Ever since, I have not applied for or got any poor relief.[14]

The early welfare system in Finland had its punitive side, and for the poor it was a no-win situation. If the poor applied for poor relief, they were socially stigmatized, and if they did not apply for poor relief, they could barely meet their physical needs.

Assimilation into the Hegemony

Moralizing, rationalizing and ignoring can be interpreted as informal forms of resistance by the lower rural working class. However, perhaps the most frequently used narrative "weapon of the weak" that the authors employ in the autobiographies was assimilation to the hegemonic elite-culture. This was due to a rise in the general standard of living in Finland in the post-war period. The expansion of general well-being had a remarkable impact on common people's lives. Previously hegemonic ideas of a decent and good life were to become the reality for the rural poor after the Second World War. What were the criteria that represent eligibility for a good life? According to the autobiographies, the first and the most profound requirement was to become an owner-occupier of a cottage or a flat:

> After sorting out the money needed, we got a cottage of our own! And soon after there was a day when I got to milk my own cow. With the help of the Harju family we managed to get all this. Somehow I felt that we had become equal to the others. We were no longer poor tenant cottagers but a normal lumberjack's family.[15]

This narrative is an example of a grassroots effort to become an owner-occupied smallholder. Folklorist Satu Apo argues that owner-occupation symbolizes the ability to master one's life: owning a small farm proved one's independence and freedom from the others, i.e. masters, neighbours and relatives (Apo 1995:222–223). Many common rural people's dream of small farm ownership became real during the twentieth century. The proportion of small farms increased notably after the land reforms of 1918, 1922 and 1945. Forests and even swamps were cleared for cultivation, and as a result more than 200,000 small farms were settled (Ojala & Nummela 2006:77–83).

Education was another goal of the superordinate class that the poor tried to achieve. Educating the lower classes had been on the political agenda from the early 1900s onwards. There were several motives for educating the landless rural and urban poor, including the threat of social upheaval, especially after the civil war of 1918, and the will to create a cohesive nation. In 1921 an act of compulsory free education was passed, but its full implementation was delayed until the late 1930s, especially in rural areas (Kuismin & Driscoll 2013:9). Compulsory education lasted four years, after which further education was optimal. Most poor children desperately wanted to educate themselves, but it was "simply not possible", as the next female narrator observes:

> I wanted to go to grammar school, and even my teacher recommended it, but it was impossible for me at the time. I remember how I cried to my mum in the autumn when the others went to school and I could not go because I had already received the school-leaving certificate. I pleaded with my mum to let me go to school to relive it. My desire to learn was great, but I had to go to work.[16]

Growing up among the common people meant learning by imitation the same practical skills that parents and the older generation had already acquired. Many poor people had no access to formal schooling until the twentieth century. Proper education required money, social networks and skills that were beyond the reach of the rural poor. In the personal narratives of Swedish commoners, lack of proper education and child labour were

also central themes in class distinctions (Löfgren 1991:153).

In Finland, most of the poor had no chance to educate their children, because at the upper levels of education money was needed to buy books, pens and paper and, often, decent, clean clothes. Although efforts were made to provide all population groups and regions of the country with equal educational opportunities, for a long time the attitudes of the poor towards education can be summed up as "time spent learning is time spent not earning":

> Because my mum had a leaving certificate with good grades from school, the teacher visited the croft many times to try and persuade my grandfather to send his daughter to higher education in Helsinki. It was all for nothing. Labour was needed on the croft. Academic "nonsense" was a matter for the gentry and the masters. And where was the money to come from? Mum told me she was bitter. And for good reason.[17]

Under the new conditions of internal migration and citizenship, the social codes that formerly guided people's choices and activities were put to the test. As Marianne Gullestad has pointed out, the processes of cultural change are more dynamic, and the roles of the common people more creative and diverse than theoretical models allow for (Gullestad 1996:3). Therefore, narratives weapons change in the course of time. Traditional views of social boundaries, and what opportunities each social class had, were challenged in the new social environment.

Hegemony can be defined as a process of ideological domination, where the central idea is that the ruling class dominates not only the means of physical production but also the means of symbolic production. The ruling class has control over the ideological "sectors" of society, i.e. culture, religion and education (Scott 1985: 315). The historian E. P. Thompson has gone so far as to argue that the ruling class control was located primarily in cultural hegemony, and only secondarily in an expression of economic power (Thompson 1991:43). Better-off people created the norms that they themselves wanted and could comply with, while the poor, the majority of the people subscribed to these norms but were unable to follow them. Finnish rural culture was a culture of material scarcity, and even the landowning peasants were often barely able to make a living from the poor soil and a short growing season. However, the structural changes in Finnish society after the Second World War made it possible for the majority of the population to become relatively wealthy. The norms and ideals of the ruling groups concerning "a good life" became real to the rural poor, or more precisely, to their children, who were first generation to enjoy the improved standard of living in Finland. Nevertheless, striving for a better standard of living, and therefore adapting to a position of subjugation, reveals an acceptance of domination.

Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the rural Finnish landless commoners' personal, "behind the scenes" strategies for coping with poverty, and its social consequences, during the rise and formation of the modern welfare state from the narrative sources. Written autobiographies that, in the broader genre analysis, belong to the category of personal narratives are of particular importance for understanding the lives of rural people in the early twentieth

century. Poverty narratives by the poor provide a window into the linguistic competencies, concerns, feelings and agency of the poor themselves, who constituted the majority of the population in all Western societies (e.g. Dyson *et al*. 2012:247). Furthermore, personal narratives are important for understanding historical shifts. Therefore, when analysing the historical processes of macro-level development in a society more deeply, scholars need more information about micro-level narratives and people's personal views.

I have analysed the source materials from the idea coined by James C. Scott, namely from the concept of "weapons of the weak", which means verbal and practical acts of resistance in contexts where the socially weaker cannot afford to openly confront power holders. The narrative weapons of the poor can be categorized into two different groups: resistance to and interest in the hegemony. The rural poor resisted their landlords by moralizing or ignoring them. They moralized about the class of landowning peasants concerning their lifestyles and the way their practices deviated from those of the poor. Landowners had too much food and their children had too many toys, which did not bring happiness. On the contrary, according to the narratives, the underprivileged without prosperity had a stimulating life because they had not been ruined by possessions. The second narrative weapon that the poor had against the hegemonic ideology of decent life that was defined by the elite, was rationalizing one's own position. In the narratives the landless commoners' practices existed simply because rural society was characterized by poverty, inequality and inadequate social welfare for everyone. Therefore, as the narrators claimed, underprivileged commoners did hard work. Ignoring, as the third narrative weapon of the weak, was expressed in terms of the patriarchalism that characterized rural social relations between farm masters and their servants. Simply, ignoring meant resisting the power holders' will and being obstinate against them.

The lives of the poor narrated in the autobiographies reveal how memory of resistance to the old hegemonic power still exists in the minds of the formerly poor. Living in a welfare state context and being comfortably off has not erased these recollections of the position of the poor and the weak. Their resistance to unfair treatment experienced in the past is expressed using narrative weapons such as moral superiority and rational explanation that are drawn from the current state of affairs, where all citizens are supposed to be equally treated and social rights should be guaranteed. From this point of view, the ruling classes of the past were often portrayed as being evil and selfish with no social conscience.

In their autobiographies, the narrative themes that the poor attached to their experience of poverty were mostly in relation to better-off people. Especially moralizing and ignoring as narrative weapons were directed towards the upper class of rural village life. Poverty did not exist without an awareness of welfare, in other words, the understanding of a certain standard of living above their own. Thus, when the narrators described their past poverty, it was often done in relation to the ruling groups of society. Poverty was expressed in terms of the amount of prosperity that "the others", had. This prosperity included material goods, such

as food or toys, and access to education and social services such as health care. These were the things that the poor did not have and their lack therefore qualified them as poor. This is interesting considering the fact that most Finns were not prosperous large-scale farmers with higher education but subsistence farmers with relatively low incomes, whose livelihood could be secured only in combination with forest work. Therefore, the norm of a good life was not the norm of an average life. Instead, the personal narratives of these common people are more a reflection of egalitarian and middle-class values. However, there were gradual changes in common people's ways of describing themselves in the early twentieth century.

Amongst the landless peasants, later the subsistence farmers and forest workers, the perceived differences between the norm and the ideal of "decent" life were perhaps the principal precondition for the rise of general welfare. On an individual level, the goal was to become independent of the farm masters and parish poor relief by becoming self-sufficient. The paradox is that the goal usually explicitly expressed in the autobiographies was to become the master or wife of an owner-occupied farm and therefore a member of the group that the landless poor had previously feared, despised, and also looked up to. The ultimate weapon of the poor was to become better-off, but in doing so, and to avoid accusations of hypocrisy, the poor had to adopt and no longer criticize the way of life of the superordinate classes.

For most Finns today, self-sufficient rural culture and village life in the past is an object of nostalgia or alternatively a culture stigmatized as underdeveloped and backward. Although industrialization, economic growth and the general standard of living rose gradually from 1900 onwards, many of the Finns earned their scanty living primarily from forestry and rural livelihoods until relatively late, in the 1960s. The Nordic type of welfare state with its distribution of wealth and the universal provision of basic human needs improved general well-being enormously. As a result of changes in society – the transition from rural work and lifestyle to urban – and its class structure, peasant and rural working-class identity started to decline. There has been a massive expansion of the welfare state, which has led to an increase in the numbers of public sector workers such as teachers, nurses and civil servants and clerical workers. The contemporary welfare state has concealed narratives that depict the relatively recent history of class-based rural communities.

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Notes

1 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 956.
2 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 21618.
3 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 12053.
4 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 12065.
5 Scott is sceptical of the concept of the "false consciousness" of the ruled classes.
6 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 5413.
7 SKS. KRA Eläköön mies 8662.
8 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 4185.
9 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 2960.
10 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 14986.
11 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 15518.
12 SKS.KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 15534.
13 In the nineteenth century there was no serfdom in Finland as elsewhere under Russian

rule. In addition, there had been legally decreed free movement of labour and the freedom to pursue any legal occupation from 1879 onwards.

14 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 4206.
15 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 4202.
16 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 19720.
17 SKS. KRA Satasärmäinen nainen 19720.

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Hessischer Handkäse

Practices of Reshaping Regional Quality Cheese

By Agnete Marie Schousboe

Introduction

This article is about the standardization of quality as well as the liberalization and regionalization of protectionist practices (Gille 2009), which work together to produce a diversity of EU-ropeanized products (Welz 2006). The article draws on the case of the certification of the special type of cheese called *Handkäse*, with an EU quality label for a product with a specific origin: Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). Studying quotations from official EU material and other commercial documents from the EU, the scheme has previously been shown to be a medium to support the EU's politics of regional identity building (Salomonsson 2002; Burstedt 2002). This article goes on to study the socio-material practices surrounding the EU scheme, thereby striving for a better understanding of the multiple and sometimes arbitrary affects of the scheme on "regional" identity formation. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted among five out of six producers of Handkäse and the leading administrator of the PGI certification in the German Bundesland of Hessen, the article discusses and analyses in what way EU-ropeanization can be understood as an ongoing process of reordering material-discursive practices (Welz 2006/2012; Sandberg 2009). The findings of this article are based on ethnographic fieldwork that follows the socio-material practices of quality management (Munk & Høyrup 2007). This article thus combines situations from the fieldwork, discursive analysis of labelling schemes and theories about Europeanization and regionalization. Participant observation is used to study how standards of regional quality are constantly redefined and retransformed through the practices of quality management. This article shows how the EU supports the performance of the German Länder as culturally homogeneous regional units and the performance of regional quality as quality that is connected to the Länder.

An Ethnographic Account: Tasting the Quality and Defining the Quality of a Hessian Cheese

In November 2011, I – a Danish foreigner living in Frankfurt am Main – was invited to the city of Wetzlar in Hessen to participate in the monthly sensory tasting and judging session in the Hessian Administrative Department 52.1 in charge of food and agriculture. Together with the producers of the special type of curdled cheese called Handkäse, they had arranged monthly sensory tests of all the Handkäse produced in Hessen since the 1960s. I got to the department some time before the test and participated in the preparations. I was given a white coat, so I would not get the smelly Handkäse on my clothes, and helped to set out buckets for spitting out the taste samples and water for rinsing the mouth. As the test began, we were two administrators from Department 51.2, a chemist from the public Hessian laboratory in Kassel (Hessisches Landeslabor), the laboratory assistant from one of the large producers, and me. The different curdled cheeses were placed without packaging on plates, three types of cheese on six different tables. On each table was placed a paper that listed the qualities by which the cheeses were to be graded: outer and inner appearance, smell, taste and texture had to be rated. The cheeses were given points from one to five in five different catego-

The plates with cheese at the sensoric test in Wetslar, Hessen.

ries. The Hessian administrator led the other participants and me through the different strictly organized steps of the test. At the beginning of the session, three cheeses were tested and given points by all judges in collaboration as a preliminary test. This was done in order to align the standard by which the cheeses were to be judged.

The point scheme and the special organizational structure of the sensory test is not random, but is structured from a special standard used in almost every other sensory test in Germany. This standard has been developed since 1896, when the Deutsche Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft e.V. (DLG) started testing German agricultural products, in order to improve the quality and secure a quality standard and thereby improve the value of German products for export. The DLG quality test

5-Punkte-Skala

Punkte	Qualitätsbeschreibung	Allgemeine Eigenschaftsbeschreibung
5	sehr gut	Keine Abweichung von den Qualitätserwartungen
4	gut	Geringfügige Abweichungen
3	Zufriedenstellend	Leichte Abweichungen
2	Weniger zufriedenstellend	Deutliche Abweichungen
1	Nicht zufriedenstellend	Starke Abweichungen
0	ungenügend	Nicht bewertbar

The DLG 5 point scale.

is composed of both a sensory test by trained testing professionals and a chemical composition test. In 1981, the DLG invented a special method of sensory quality testing, the Five Point Scheme ("5-Punkte-Schema"), in which point values from one to five are given for different characteristics (five being best, and one being worst). These methods and the point scheme are also used by Department 52.1 in the quality test of Handkäse.

The German quality authorities make a distinction between the so-called "free" types of cheeses ("freie Sorten") and the "well-defined" types of cheese. For the "well-defined" types, e.g. generic types like Gouda or Emmentaler, a clear and firm standard of quality is well-established. The work of defining the standard is thought to be over, and so the producers instead work hard to achieve the standard by perfecting the production process. A "free" cheese type is often produced by many and very small producers, and there are therefore very large variations in standards of quality depending on who made it. It is therefore also said to be more difficult to test the "free" cheeses, in contrast to the "well-defined" types. As a "free" type, Handkäse from Hessian producers is produced and sold under a multitude of different names and shapes. Many of the Handkäse producers

talk of local variations in the taste of the Handkäse that are thought to exist, in order to suit the different taste of consumers in the different areas of Hessen. As one producers of Hessian Handkäse told me:

Wie gesagt, jeder hat seinen Vorzug … Wir hier im Gebiet [the southern Hessian border area around Groß-Gerau], sagen die Leute, wir [the cheese producer] haben die Besten [Handkäse] […] Also ist [the Handkäse produced by the producer] es gut für die Leute hier im Umkreis. Und die Hüttenberger [the people of the Hessian city of Hüttenberg], das sind ja… deftige Bürger. Sie haben auch in der Küche normal eine ganz andere Ernährung. Sie müssen arbeiten, sie brauchen feste Kost und sie brauchen denn auch einen festen Käse. Und bei uns ist das schon ein bisschen… ja… milder…

In 2010, in spite of these varieties in quality, all Handkäse produced in Hessen was – after a long application process that started years before – certified and patented by the EU under the name "hessischer Handkäse" as a Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). This initiated as a process that codified a unifying standard of quality for all Handkäse produced in the Bundesland of Hessen. I will describe the scheme and the process of certification of Handkäse in detail in the following chapter.

However, on the day of my visit, the judges – as expected of such a free sort of cheese – also sensed and described very large variations in quality in the cheeses that were tested. For example, the cheeses are all very different in ripening, because Handkäse is a living product that is not thoroughly ripened when packaged after production and mostly often also when purchased in the store. It has to be developed further at home for a length of time that suits the particular consumer's taste. This means that it can be difficult for the judges to know whether the cheese is too old, just badly produced or too strong. So, a cheese that seemed to be very strong in smell and taste as well as very greasy on the outside was discussed in the first common test judging at the beginning of the session:

AMS: *"Hat er zu lange gereift?"* […] [The judges inform themselves about the production date]
Judge 1: *"Er ist zu alt."*
Judge 2: *"Dafür ist er eigentlich okay."*
Judge 1: *"Dafür ist er eigentlich nicht schlecht."*
Judge 3: *"Trotzdem ist er zu intensiv."* […] [the judges start discussing the points it should be given]
Judge 1: *"4?"* [A cheese is graded the full 5 points if it has no defects and 1 or 0 points if it has one very serious or several small taste mistakes.]
Judge 2: *"Der ist schleimig."*
Judge 3: *"3. Schleimig, das ist schleimig."*
Judge 1: *"Es ist zu intensiv. Aber was soll das jetzt bedeuten, hat es mit dem Haltbarkeitsdatum oder mit der Herstellung zu tun?"*
Judge 1: *"Solchen Käse hat man früher gehabt. So dramatisch finde ich es nicht. Er ist alt und schmierig."*

According to the production specifications (I will come back to this later), Handkäse should smell and taste spicy to piquant and look greasy with red-brown smears on the surface, but not slimy. These words, e.g. too intensive, old smear and slimy, which are used to describe the cheese, therefore become very crucial. Throughout the session, the judges kept having difficulties determining cheeses that were too ripened or too immature. Accordingly, they gave lower points for cheeses that they judged to be not thoroughly ripened, as well as cheeses they judged to be too old. The judges use the sensory test to set a standard area for the

ripening so that, within this area, the cheeses will be judged with best possible points.

Here we stop for a while, in order to make some notes…

The Central Concepts: Standardization, Europeanization and Practices of Quality Management

We already have a lot of material about the subject of this article: *standardization* and *practices of quality management* and its effects on the quality of so-called "traditional" or "regional" products. This ethnographic fieldwork account shows how both a standard of quality for Handkäse and a standard of quality testing is practised, upheld and renegotiated in the testing session. It is the argument of this article that sensory tests are not only objective techniques applied to avoid bad quality, but can also be applied to produce and define the criteria by which the quality of Handkäse should be judged. It is an innovative and creative tool to develop the quality of a product and also a conservative practice that works *to manage the enforcement of a standard* of quality (Star & Lampland 2009:16).

In their study of EU standards for the size and quality of tomatoes, Lena Ekelund and Håkan Jönsson argue that standardization and diversity are opposites that relate to different kinds of rationalities of modernity: modernity and late (or post) modernity (Ekelund & Jönsson 2011: 447–448):

> What we have seen is how a system, which has been successfully managing development in food production for several decades by stressing rationality, homogeneity and standardization, is being challenged by a production system that has adapted to consumer preferences such as heterogeneity, diversity and authenticity. […] State promoted consumption, standardization and homogenization once common, are now replaced by increased diversity and a growing demand for supposedly traditional, non-standardized, natural products. […] [These changes] can be seen as a result of a societal paradigm shift, from modernity to late (or post) modernity, where homogeneity is replaced by heterogeneity and standardization by differentiation […]

In the case of Hessian Handkäse, we see how uncontrolled variation in quality is ordered and regulated through the work of defining a standard for Hessian Handkäse. However, as we will see, standardizing is not only simplification; it can also work to differentiate between different kinds of Handkäse. This is what the agricultural economist Lawrence Busch calls "standardized differentiation". Busch differentiates between standards that are designed to standardize and standards designed to differentiate. So, some products (Busch 2011:165):

> are produced simultaneously to be standard (when compared to each other) and differentiated in space or time (when compared to other products or services), to create a niche targeted at some (larger or smaller) group of persons.

The German professor of European cultural anthropology, Gisela Welz, studies Europeanization as a process through which European Products – material as well as immaterial – are constructed. She terms these products "EU-ropeanized Products" or "European Products" (Welz 2006:11).

> Es [the European products] handelt sich um Produkte, die ohne die EU so nicht geben würde, weil ihre Materialität, ihre Nutzungsmöglichkeiten, ihre kulturellen Bedeutungen und ihr ökonomischer Wert in hohem Masse EU-europäisch infiziert ist.

However, this materializing process – following the same line of thought as Busch – should be seen as an ongoing redefining and reconstructing process, through which authentic regional quality is constantly renegotiated and reshaped (Welz 2006:11):

> Das heißt nicht, dass sie [the European products] europaweit gleichförmig sind, im Gegenteil handelt es sich um lokal- oder nationalspezifische Güter, die aber die Regeln der EU in sich aufgenommen haben oder sogar durch sie ganz neu entstanden sind.

It is the basic assumption of this article that Europeanization should not only be viewed as a conservative preservation of authentic "regional" quality in Europe (e.g. Burstedt 2004), but also as an ongoing creative process that redefines and reshapes standard(s) of "regional" quality (Welz 2006:11). As we will see in the case of Handkäse, the regional is constantly redefined as the Hessian through these practices of quality management.

The Hungarian anthropologist Zsuzsa Gille also studies Europeanization as a process that affects the quality of "European" product. Gille, however, takes a highly critical approach to this process and shows how the EU's food regulation standards play a negative double role on the local level in Hungary, since it became a member of the EU. On the one hand, the EU argues that Hungarian quality tests and concepts of quality are barriers to free-trade and demands their removal. On the other hand, the EU also demands that the new member countries live up to specific quality and hygiene standards, which have their basis in Western European norms for quality and control tests. So, according to Gille, the EU has become a medium for a standardizing and globalizing trends through the tests and managing of quality (Gille 2009:73):

> The European Union is not simply advocating trade liberalization […]. Instead, it is establishing […] "states of exception". Depending on the dictates of the most powerful interests, the EU creates a calculated mosaic of economic fields: in some, free-trade principles are ruthlessly enforced, whereas, in others, economic actors are granted exemptions from these very principles.

Gille's study highlights how the EU's member states fight to define quality management, certification guidelines and quality standards, in order to serve their interest. So, *standardizing work* is not only creative and free game. Instead, standards also reflect relations of power, interests and values (Hatanaka, Busch *et al*. 2006:42):

> while standards […] tend to be viewed as grounded in objective and value-neutral science and technological practices […] standards need also to be understood as socially mediated. [They] reflect particular social relations of power, interests and values.

Ethnological studies, inspired by theories of property and heritage, have shown how products of culinary heritage can be applied by governmental actors in the work of regional identity building (Welz 2007; May Scott 2013; Burstedt 2002; Salomonsson 2002:134; Johler 1999). It is shown how the EU's certification of regional heritage products works to differentiate between authentic regional heritage products and the non-authentic traditional and regional (May Scott 2013; Welz 2007). The EU certification scheme for regional products singles out products that are worthy of certification from products that are not. However, even though certification schemes codify rules and stand-

ards that can be difficult to change, "heritage-making" is not a one-time event of certification. Instead, once the legal certification in the EU is finished, the process of heritage branding goes on (Welz 2006). My ethnographic material shows that the process of implementing PGI is an ongoing process of reordering and reshaping existing forms of regional quality, rather than exclusively a process of exclusion and selection. Hence, different versions of the traditional regional product can also coexist (Ren 2009:120), even though the EU only certifies some of these products.

One central concept in this paper is the special notion of quality called *terroir*. In the last ten years, the traditionally French, Italian and Spanish concept of terroir has been introduced in a German context. Terroir can be seen as a special standard of quality that causally links quality to origin of the raw products (Trubek 2008). In this article, I aim to show how sensory testing becomes a forum for the negotiation of this newly introduced concept of quality as origin, and a useful tool in the performance and shaping of a so-called "Hessian taste". However, the concept of terroir is not a story of the implementation EU law. Instead, it is a complex meeting of a plurality of quality concepts and practices of quality management that work, sometimes together and sometimes in opposition, to construct a special Hessian taste. Handkäse is not "made" to taste Hessian overnight or at one moment in time. Instead, the production of "authentic regional taste and quality" is dependent on the implementation of practices – like the testing session – that work to constantly renegotiate and reshape quality. So, it depends on ongoing maintenance and constant work that reproduces and upholds material connections between quality and place (Munk & Høyrup 2007).

In my fieldwork,[1] I followed *the enactment of regional quality* in practice[2] as well as in EU text and law. *Regional quality* – whatever it might entail and mean – has become a crucial concept for the producers and for a great many different actors (e.g. Ekelund & Jönsson 2011; Jönsson 2002). These actors, in the example of Handkäse, include the EC, the German government, the Hessian government, Handkäse enthusiasts and the large retail companies. Regional quality is unfolded in a plurality of practices and discourses – both in the material practices of quality management in the production and in sensory point-giving tasting events,[3] in layout and text on the cheese-wrapper, in the text of EC, in the retail stores, on the farmers' market, on the website of the producers, as wells as in academic criticism of the EU scheme. In previous Nordic ethnological studies, which have focused on textual representations in official and commercial EU material, the scheme has been understood as a part of EU cultural policy and shown to be a medium in the EU's politics of "regional" identity building (Salomonsson 2002; Burstedt 2002). I am inspired by these studies, but also aspire to go further and combine an analysis of material practices in the sensory testing (Munk & Høyrup 2007) of Handkäse with analysis of EU documents, law and regulations of standards for regional foodstuffs. It is my ambition to show how such an approach can shed light on the way the EU quality scheme is applied as a medium in existing processes, through which Hessen is branded and performed as not just a

political and an economic, but also primarily a cultural regional entity. By combining an analysis of political regulations and of practices of quality management, it becomes clear how the shaping of a Hessian cultural identity is intertwined with practices of standardization and protectionism. Hence, my ethnological study indicates that regional identity building in Hessen is mediated through the ongoing work of reshaping and setting a standard for a "regional" Hessian taste. I argue that the regional identity formation involves the shaping of a concept of a Hessian consumer with a special Hessian taste that needs to be protected.

The PGI Scheme: Furthering and Protecting the Authenticity of Regional European Products

Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) is one of two types of EU-controlled schemes used to certify and label regional quality products. The legislative framework was decided in 1992, and rewritten in 2006 ("Regulation 510"). These schemes certify products with origin in, or close affiliation with, specifically defined geographical areas. PGI – the certification bestowed on Hessian Handkäse – can, according to the European Commission (EC 2006), be awarded to

> an agricultural product or a foodstuff:
> – originating in that region, specific place or country, and
> – which possesses a specific quality, reputation or other characteristics attributable to that geographical origin, and the production and/or processing and/or preparation of which take place in the defined geographical area.

The second label of the EU scheme is called Protected Designation of Origin (PDO). To obtain PDO, the production as well as the processing and preparation must – in contrast to the PGI – take place in the defined geographical area (EC 2006). The EC sees the difference between the PDO and the PGI as a difference in strictness of specifications – with the PDO being the stricter system – although they share a common goal (EC 2007:5):

> Each logo varies in the strictness of specifications that products must meet, but all share the common goal of furthering authenticity and sustainability.

To further authenticity, the quality scheme will – according to the EC – provide clarity in the growing market for regional foodstuffs and make it more transparent for consumers to distinguish between different producers' claims of regional quality (EC 2007:5):

> The EU protects by legislation particular product names which are linked to territory or to a production method. Purchasing a EU quality labelled product guarantees not only its quality but its authenticity (buyers can be sure that they are not buying an imitation product).

The EU scheme is designed to protect both consumers and producers from imitation products and the false use of origin names and terms, and should, according to the EC, make it possible for producers to gain added value for products that are certified through the scheme. The scheme was greatly inspired by the schemes and ordering systems found in France and Italy: the French AOC (Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée) (Gragnani 2012: 274, Watts, Ilbery & Maye 2005:28, Barham 2003:131, EC 2007:5) and the Italian DOC (Denominazione di Origine Controllata) (Becker 2002). The French case has proven to the EC that "authentic regional quality" is contingent on a publicly

administered quality scheme, which sets standards and norms for what is to be sold as regional, guaranteeing that the product lives up to these standards and norms (Moran 1993). This is done through a great variety of ordering practices: by patenting names, listing product names and descriptions in a common European database (DOOR database), authorizing and giving permission for the use of those names and judging between different producers' claims to names etc. With the scheme, the EC aims to become the central authority that defines and legitimizes what is viewed as authentic regional quality.

The EU scheme can be understood as a part of a development whereby the regulatory policy of production decreases and the new regulatory policy of consumption increases, so that production is regulated indirectly through regulation that influences consumer choices (Morgan, Marsden & Murdoch 2006:28; Ekelund & Jönsson 2011). Private retail-owned origin schemes as well as the Länder-administered schemes have flourished in Germany since the EU banned central German origin labels and judged them as protectionist and barriers to free trade (Spiller, Voss & Deimel 2007:188). Because the Länder's schemes certify a whole group of products, they cannot, according to the EU, guarantee a "causal link" between quality and origin in the Bundesland (Ermann 2005:26). The EU exclusively allows claims about such a link through the use of the PGI or PDO certification. The PGI and PDO schemes are therefore special in that they are the only schemes in Germany which (officially) guarantee a connection between quality and origin. The PGI is further unique in that the label allows the raw product to be imported from outside the area of origin. This has lead to critique from the German Association of Consumers, "Verbraucherzentrale Bundesverband e.V." (VBeV), which believes that the PGI label can confuse and mislead German consumers (VBeV 2011, www.lebensmittelklarheit.de):

> Die geschützte Ursprungsbezeichnung [the PDO label] bietet Verbrauchern eine klare Orientierung. […] Die beiden anderen Siegel [PGI and the now cancelled TSG label] können bei Käufern dagegen falsche Erwartungen wecken: Die geschützte geographische Angabe [the PGI] bezieht sich nicht zwangsläufig auf die Herkunft der Rohstoffe. Ein ergänzender Hinweis sollte deshalb Auskunft darüber geben, welche Stufe der Produktion in der bezeichneten Region stattfindet.

The Hessian producer of Handkäse cannot live up to the criteria of the PDO, because the raw product of Handkäse – the quark – is imported from outside Hessen. The PGI, however, can certify the producers, without demanding a change in the origin of the raw product. However, through this process of certification the PGI also facilitated the introduction a whole new definition of what regional quality is and should aspire to be. As one of the smaller producers I interviewed answered:

> Handkäse wird sowieso mit Hessen in Verbindung gebracht, und das Zeichen hilft dann halt eben mit, dass es wirklich dokumentiert wird, *dass es aus Hessen kommt*. […] Wir machen keine Werbung in dem Sinne. Das Zeichen spricht für sich, wenn jemand es kaufen will, [und] sieht der Käse kommt aus Hessen, schmeckt auch ähnlich, dann kauft er das Produkt weiterhin.

This producer's answer reflects the conflicting meanings that can be attached to the sentence "is from Hessen". At the start

of my fieldwork, I was frustrated with the fact that the producers misunderstood or were offended by my questions about the origin of the raw product. They believed that their product was Hessian and tasted of Hessen, and they did not think of the non-Hessian origin of the raw product as problematic for their Hessian quality – that is, not until I asked. In this way, my fieldwork – as well as the EU scheme and re-regulation of the labelling systems for regional foodstuffs – works as an intervention into the Hessian producers' world (Mol 2002:149 &152). The producers' defensive attitude to and misunderstanding of my questions made me realize how Handkäse is understood and practised as a regional quality product in many different ways. It became obvious to me that it is not always the same things that make Handkäse regional: Sometimes it is the Hessian consumers' love of this product, sometimes the history of Handkäse and sometimes the fact that it is produced in Hessen which makes it especially Hessian. And then again, in some contexts, Handkäse is not understood as Hessian at all, but as South Hessian, from Frankfurt, Central German, South German, or even Central European. Handkäse can therefore have difficulties fitting into the strict concept of regional quality as regional origin. In connection with this, I also experienced how the EU scheme has a minor role compared to other schemes and regulations affecting the quality of the Handkäse from the Hessian producers. The focus of my study therefore shifted along with my fieldwork questions: from the perspective of the implementation of the EU scheme for regional quality to a focus on the coexistence of different versions of regional quality Handkäse, and the PGI schemes as a tool and facilitator in the ongoing negotiation of the relations between these coexisting versions. The misunderstandings between me and the producers are a reflection of the fact that the PGI introduces a new concept of regional quality as exclusive Hessian origin. The EU-initiated restructuring of the labelling systems facilitates the process whereby the producers may question the authenticity of their product's regional quality and understand the non-Hessian origin of their raw product as problematic.

The Producer's Attitude towards the PGI Label as a Tool of Protection

The small producers of Handkäse in Hessen feel, with good reason, that their existence is threatened by the large European dairy companies fighting to become even larger. So, they call out for Hessian politicians to protect them. As the Handkäse producer Hermann Horst expressed it back in 1994 (Schneider 1994:23):

> Die deutsche Molkereilandschaft ist heute sehr ausgedünnt, die Konzentration zu Großbetriebe hält noch an. Die Großbetriebe werden sehr wahrscheinlich keinen Sauermilchquark mehr herstellen. Es ist also eine Frage der Zeit – vielleicht auch eine Frage der Politiker, inwieweit sie diesen Produktionszweig fördern, damit auch im Jahr 2000 noch Handkäs' in Groß-Gerau bzw. Deutschland hergestellt wird.

The Hessian administration in Department 51.2 together with the producers viewed the PGI label as a tool that could protect their producers in the competition with the big expanding dairy company, Müller group. As the leading public administrator in the certification process explained to me:

CE-Marking.

Deswegen haben wir das gemacht [applied for PGI certification of Hessischer Handkäse], weil wir kleine Hersteller haben, die in großen Wettbewerben nicht mithalten können. Das war der Grund.

According to the producers, the PGI label would – if successful – make the place of processing more visible to the consumer. It would thus merely function as a more visible supplement to the CE marking on the back. The Hessian government and administration wanted to protect the Hessian producers, so they pushed for certification and served as the main facilitator in the process. The Hessian minister of the environment spoke at the official presentation of the PGI certification of both Apfelwein and Handkäse (VhAFK 2010):

Der Einsatz in Brüssel hat sich doppelt gelohnt: Der hessische Handkäse wurde eingetragen und der hessische Apfelwein zudem gerettet. Mit dieser Herkunftsbezeichnung bleibt die herausragende Qualität hessischer Spezialitäten gesichert.

In this quotation from 2010, the EU is so thought to be an authority which can promise to secure (*sicheren*) and protect (*retten*) the so-called "Hessian" culinary heritage from standardizing and globalizing trends – the same trends that the EU itself in other cases is seen as a symbol of. Following Gille's view of the negative double role of EU protectionism, we see how, in the case of Hessian Handkäse, protectionism is viewed and practised as a positive feature of the subnational EU level, which adds political and economic value to the so-called "EU regions". Here, the subnational level is seen as "Guardians of Cultural Diversity" (Vos, Boucké & Devos 2002:207) and favourable for the many small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) rooted at the regional level (Paasi 2009). Following Gille's argument, we see how schemes that, according to the EU, make false claims of a so-called "causal link" between the area of origin and the quality of the product, are judged to be barriers to free trade and banned by the EU, while the EU's own scheme allows and actually requires such a claim to be made. In the case of Handkäse, the EU's PGI label surely introduces new quality standards and regulations, but unlike the Hungarian case, Germany and the German federal states seem to have the means to apply the scheme as they see fit, in order to support and protect their own producers and consumers. The Hessian government thus has its own publicly administered label, "Geprüfte Qualität – HESSEN", which certifies products with exclusive origin in Hessen. However, because the raw product is imported from outside Hessen, the PGI label is the only label – beside the less visible CE marking on the back of the wrapper – that the Handkäse producers can use to make the consumers know that their cheese "is Hessian" or

Geprüfte Qualität Hessen.

"aus Hessen", as they term it. In this way, the EC forces the Hessian government and the producers to make use of certain standards if they want to continue to protect and support their production against increased competition on the European market for foodstuffs.

The EU's regulations for the use of origin labels therefore facilitates a process whereby the quality of Handkäse is reshaped, so it may be able to live up to the EU criteria. The producers and the Hessian administration may aspire to work to strengthen this "causal connection", in order to be able to make a solid claim for the regional quality of Handkäse. The Hessian administration's development of control and testing practices – such as sensory testing – is also crucial for the federal government's ability to protect its producers.

Preserving Culinary Heritage: Codifying an EU-certified Standard for a Cheese of Regional Quality

By assigning the PGI label to Handkäse, the cheese type was patented under the name *hessischer Handkäse* and the name was afterwards reserved as a name for sour milk cheese that was produced in Hessen – though raw products from outside Hessen may be used. The PGI not only patents the name but also certifies that a connection exists between the German Bundesland of Hessen and Handkäse. So, as part of the certification process a link between the geographical area and the product has to be described (EC 2009):

"Hessischer Handkäse"/"Hessischer Handkäs" is highly regarded in Hessen and neighbouring areas and is known as a typical Hessen dish. Every inn in Hessen simply has to offer both "Äbbelwoi" (cider) and "Hessischer Handkäse" […]. Its major significance for the people of Hessen, both as a food and as an economic factor, led in the past to "Hessischer Handkäse" […] acquiring a special status in the region. "Hessischer Handkäse" […] therefore occupies a position of very special importance as part of Hessen's food culture and in the public's mind as a high-quality foodstuff. Today it is still regarded as typical of Hessen.

A large part of the application to the EC defines and sets standards for the sensory and chemical characteristics of the cheese sort, the raw materials used in the production process and the process of production. When the EU approved the certification, the standards of the application were written down in the production and quality protocol (the reviewed outline of the text of the original application). The five small producers of Handkäse located in Hessen, the producer association and the public administration in Hessen agreed to this text and other definitions in the protocol

'Hessischer Handkäse'/'Hessischer Handkäs' has the following characteristics:

(a) As smeared acid curd cheese (yellow cheese):

Exterior	smooth surface with golden-yellow to red-brown spread, fat, shiny appearance
Interior	white to slightly yellow in colour
Consistency	soft to firm, even ripeness from the outside inwards
Smell and taste	pure, spicy to piquant

The characteristics of Hessischer Handkäse are defined in the PGI certification.

as part of the application process for PGI certification. Here it says (EC 2009):

"Hessischer Handkäse" […] denotes small cheeses which were originally formed by hand and so became palm-sized. "Hessischer Handkäse" […] is to be classed among the sour milk cheeses. Sour milk cheeses are made primarily from sour milk quark produced only by acidification (without rennet).

"Hessischer Handkäse" […] can take the form of smeared acid curd cheese (yellow cheese) with mould formation. In the latter case, the extent of the mould formation varies. The characteristic whole-cheese shape of "Hessischer Handkäse" is determined by its traditional production. Each cheese weighs between 20 g and 125 g. "Hessischer Handkäse" […] is produced only in the low-fat category.

The PGI certification process establishes well-defined quality parameters that help Department 51.2 in its sensory test. It is one step further from free sort to well-defined cheese sort. Hence, the PGI application process is a translation process that works to fix a standard (Wehn Hegnes 2010), which could previously be continuously renegotiated and redefined. Here, the scheme works to preserve culinary heritage, instead of developing it (e.g. Burstedt 2004). However, the process of setting a standard does not stop here.

The PGI certification defines that the cheese should smell and taste "pure, spicy to piquant" ("rein, würzig bis pikant"). But because it is not a matter of quantitative measurable quality characteristics, but description of experienced sensory qualities, the producers and administrators will have to define and redefine through discussion and negotiation what sensory qualities are related to the words *würzig* and *pikant*.

Excluding Bad Quality and Evening Out Local Quality Variations between Retail-Supplying Producers

It was the Hessian producers that delivered to the retail market who were most afraid of the competition from the Müller group. A producer who sells his Handkäse at a stall at a farmers' market answered me when I asked about this:

AMS: "Die anderen Käsereien haben Angst davor, daß der Müller-Milch [the Müller group]

übernimmt den Markt. Haben Sie sich Überlegungen darüber gemacht?"

"Ja. Gut. Das ist ja klar. Wenn Müller, wenn er das will, kauft er alle aus. Aber ersten Mal der Müller-Milch [Müller group] fährt nicht auf den Wochenmarkt. Er ist nur scharf darauf auf die Supermärkte, egal ob es Edeka, Rewe, Aldi ist, was all gibt Kaufhof. Hier, das kleine, das will er nicht, das braucht er nicht."

According to the Hessian producers, the PGI label is feasible for retail sale, not for the farmers' market or the local cheese shop. Hence, other studies have pointed out that the labels and standards make it possible for the producer to communicate at a distance (Star & Lampland 2009:16–17). As Karin Salomonsson (2004:11) expresses this:

The in-store production of the product, offering transparency and presence, acts as a guarantee when the food is produced in a distant factory. It is more difficult to convince the customer of this guarantee when the food is produced in a distant factory. Here transparency and direct contact are replaced by quality guarantees and environmental European certificates.

It is not given that a bad result in the sensory quality test actually makes a producer reconsider or change the product. The result of the Hessian administration's monthly sensory quality test has not been published, and the producers are not forced to adjust the quality of their cheese to the opinion of the Hessian authorities, unless the results do not live up to the minimum requirements for hygiene or sensory taste. However, the test results, according to the leading administrator in Department 52.1, can be demanded from the retail chains selling the cheese:

Diese Untersuchungen sind auch als Absicherung für den Handel. Der Handel fordert das manchmal sogar. Wir haben schon Betriebe gehabt, die haben ein schlechtes Ergebnis erhalten, und sind daraufhin vom Handel ausgelistet geworden. […] Nicht wegen der Hygiene, aber wegen der sensorischen Eigenschaften.

The small cheese shops and vendors at the farmers' market in Frankfurt am Main to whom I talked did not require this information. Rather, they tasted different cheese and visit producers, and chose the one of the products they liked. This means that these small producers, who do not sell to the large retail chains, have less incentive to adjust their quality according to the sensory test of the Hessian authorities. This is reflected in one of the small producers' critical attitude towards the legitimacy of the test:

Aber die anderen, die da immer das machen da mit der Kontrolle da und prüfen und so weiter [talking about the monthly test of the Handkäse at Department 51.2]. Sie wissen ganz genau von wem dieser Käse ist und von wem der Käse daneben ist. Das wissen sie ganz genau. Das sage ich immer… das ist doch… Die meisten sind ja da und dieselben Käse sind da [the same producers and same cheese are there]. Dann wissen sie doch, das ist mein Käse… Na! Ja, Punktzahl fünf. Ja. Ist ja so. Die meisten wissen ganz genau von wem der Käse ist, vom Aussehen her, vom Geschmack her schon.

Here, we see how the standards relate to a certain moral order or so-called "modern" regime of production and consumption. The standards of quality for foodstuff are a product of or nested in a retail-based economy, whose products travel a long distance from raw products to end product before they reach the consumer (Ekelund & Jönsson 2011:447–448). Standards are thus relative to communities of practice (Star & Lampland 2009). For the retail-distributing producers, the standard works

to facilitate transparency and infrastructure, whereas for the producers selling their product at the farmers' market it may just work as a barrier to the establishment of trust in the personal meeting between consumer and producer. So, *"standards are always relative to the infrastructure within/upon/sometimes against which they are implemented"* (Star & Lampland 2009:7).

The producers and Hessian administrators to whom I talked all agreed that the quality of Handkäse was raised as a result of sensory testing, e.g. I was told that the use of casein had decreased and that the salt content was better balanced. The testing has certainly been successful in setting quality standards for the Hessian Handkäse producers, by which the Handkäse was to be judged. However, the test does not only raise quality, it also categorizes too wide variations in the flavour and smell of the cheeses as problematic quality defects. The standard of Hessian Handkäse in the PGI works as a category to exclude poor quality, as well as an ideal that the producers should strive for. Accordingly, in the long run, the sensory test of Department 51.2 causes the Hessian producers to even out the variations in the quality of the different producers' Handkäse – especially between the producers who sell their product to the retail chains, which demand a good test result. The test has been powerful in raising the quality of the Handkäse produced in Hessen, but it may have had and still has more influence on the quality of the producers who deliver cheese to the retail chains.

Standardized Differentiation: "Hessian Hausmacher Baurnhandkäse"

We have seen above how uncontrolled variation in quality is ordered and regulated through the work of defining a standard for Hessian Handkäse. However, following Busch's concept of "standardized differentiation" (Busch 2011:165), the sensory testing does not only work to provide a standard for Hessian Handkäse, it also works to differentiate between different types of Hessian Handkäse. "Hessian Hausmacher Baurnhandkäse" or "Hausmacher Bauernhandkäse" is a special type of Handkäse, produced by only two producers in Hessen. The four other producers do not sell this type. According to the now retired owner of one of these producers, Hermann Horst, he developed the

Hausmacher Bauernhandkäse.

Horst recipe for the Hausmacher at the start of the 1960s as one of the first producers in Hessen. With inspiration from cheeses like Brie and Camembert, he wanted to develop a cheese that was more suited to modern consumers in the 1960s. Therefore, he added the German sweet curdled milk called *Speisequark* (has the taste and qualities of yoghurt or crème fraîche) to the quark mixture, to get a milder and less salty taste, and sprayed fungus (or what the producers call a "Schimmel spray") on the surface of the ripened cheese to create a surface layer of white mould ("Milchschimmel" is the common fungus type called *Oidium lactis* or *Geotrichum candidum*), inspired by the French cheeses. Horst describes the cheese on the website (www.kaesereihorst.de):

Der Hessische Hausmacher Bauernhandkäse ist eine Spezialität unseres Hauses. […] Das Besondere an dieser Sorte ist, daß er nicht nur aus Sauermilchquark besteht, sondern mit Speisequark verfeinert ist. Der Hausmacher ist naturgereift und hat im Gegensatz zu den anderen Sorten einen ganz milden Geschmack. Auf der Oberfläche des Hausmachers wächst mit fortgeschrittener Reife zudem ein Milchschimmel.

It is crucial for Horst as well as the larger producer Birkenstock that the surface is what is called half-moulded, *Halbschimmel*. This makes the cheese surface wrinkled and light yellow. Birkenstock writes about the cheese on their website (www.kaeserei-birkenstock.de):

Lecker & würzig, unsere Sorte nach Hausmacher Art. Der Hausmacher Bauernhandkäse ist ein sogenannter Halbschimmelkäse, der nach traditionellem Rezept hergestellt wird. […] Gegenüber den Gelbkäsesorten hat der Hausmacher Käse eine weiß-marmorierte Oberfläche und ist milder im Geschmack.

On the Birkenstock website the cheese type even more confusingly termed "nach Hausmacher art". This is not a well-defined type as such, but a type that varies a great deal in name and in quality. Accordingly, this cheese type also has a slightly thicker coating of mould at Birkenstock than at Horst.

As part of the PGI certification the cheese type was defined in the production protocol as one of two types of Handkäse, with the name "Hausmacher", as opposed to the other type of Handkäse with a yellow ("Gelbkäse") or slightly red-yellow moulded surface, known as smear-ripened cheese ("Rotschmierekäse"). The "Hausmacher" is mentioned with a special section, where the quality is defined by a sen-

(b) As smeared acid curd cheese (yellow cheese) with lactic mould formation (home-made):

Exterior	slightly yellow with white lactic mould layer, also one-sided, sometimes an uneven to wrinkly skin
Interior	white to yellow in colour, matt cut surface
Consistency	soft, even ripeness from the outside inwards
Smell and taste	pure, mild to slightly aromatic

The characteristics of the special Hausmacher type of Hessischer Handkäse are also defined in the PGI.

sory description usable as a quality standard in the sensory tests:

The surface of the Hausmacher should look light yellow with a white mould coating on all sides or only on one side. In the protocol it is also later mentioned that the cheese is only sprayed with a pure bacterial culture ("Reinkulturen") and not a mixture of different fungi:

Der Rohstoff für den "Hessischen Handkäse"/ "Hessischen Handkäs" ist der Sauermilchquark. Als Hauptzutat für den Käse kommt ihm eine zentrale Bedeutung zu. […] Weitere Zutaten sind Reifungssalze, Speisesalz (evtl. jodiert), je nach Rezeptvariation Kümmel, evtl. Kasein und die Reinkulturen.

How to Judge a Non-Regional or Non-Hessian Handkäse?

The large Müller group in Sachsen also produces Handkäse under the name "Hausmacher" in different variations – they have been especially successful with a "Hausmacher" sold under the brand Loose. Trying to reach out to a new modern consumer who prefers a convenient product with a milder taste and added flavours, e.g. green pepper or garlic, the "Hausmacher" Handkäse is, together with a new mild and modern branded type called "Leckerbissen" (a goodie or a treat), a key product. Loose writes about their Hausmacher Handkäse on their website (Käserei Loose 2012):

Seit jeher pflegen und hüten wir die traditionelle Art der Käseherstellung. Unsere Hausmacher Handkäse werden nach altem Hausrezept hergestellt. Eine besondere Schimmelkultur bedeckt die Käsetaler wie Puder. Ein echtes Original.

In my fieldwork, this special type of Handkäse from Loose was often brought up. The Hessian producers of Handkäse to whom I talked were all very critical of the Loose cheese. The producer Hermann Horst described the cheese to me, when we talked about which cheeses would be included in the sensory test in Wetzlar, which I was going to attend some days after the interview:

The Hausmacher Handkäse from Loose, a brand owned by the large Müller Cooperation.

Er [the leader of the sensory test in Wetzlar] hat gern ein von Müller mit, ein Hausmacher. Das ist das flachgedrückte Hausmacher, dass zu viel Schimmel hat. Ich schrieb immer hin kein Hausmacher, oder zu viel Schimmel. Er tut nämlich mit ekeliger Schimmelspritze, und dann ist dann kein Hausmacher mehr. Hausmacher beim Birkenstock.. der hat sein Hausmacher Bio-Käse, es ist aber ein runde. Er spritzt auch mit Schimmelkultur rüber, aber ganz schwach, und dann hat er immer mehr Milchschimmel Charakter. Schmeckt aber sehr gut der Käse.

Here we see how the Loose Hausmacher from the Müller group is seen as the symbol of the exploitation of Hessian culinary heritage, whereas the variation between the cheese from Birkenstock and Horst is mentioned only in a positive light.

The Problem of the Thickness of the Mould Layer – Shaping A Quality Difference between the Hessian and the Non-Hessian Handkäse

At the quality testing, non-Hessian products were also tested, even though the

Hessian government has no authority in relation to these. Instead, in order to make a signal (and provoke), the result of the test is sometimes sent to the Müller group. In the try-out test at the beginning of the session, one of the four judges asked the others how to judge the Hausmacher cheese from Loose. This sparked a long discussion about the quality difference between the Hessian and the non-Hessian Handkäse. I believe that my presence at the session also led the judges to conduct a discussion that they had surely had before. All the judges agreed that they had problems judging the non-Hessian Hausmacher types. They believed that there is too much mould on the outside of the cheese to categorize it as "half moulded Handkäse" ("Halbschimmel"). In order to get such thick layer of white mould, two or more different types of fungus ("schimmel") sprays will have to be sprayed on the cheese:

Judge 1: "Bei deren regionalen Produkten, die spritzen die nur mit einer Sorten. Ist das bei denen ein Halbschimmel?" Judge 2: "Ja. Es ist Halbschimmel, die wollen den so haben."

Judge 1 again: "Das kann gar nicht sein, das gibt's gar nicht."

Judge 3: "Der Verbraucher weiß nicht wie viel Sorten Schimmel dem Käse gespritzt wurde" […]

Judge 1: "Das ist aber nicht ein Halbschimmel, aber ein Edelschimmel."

The judges debate for a long time, how to grade the cheese. The PGI production protocol only allows a pure spray to get the Halbschimmel surface on the Hausmacher. The non-Hessian Loose cheese should therefore, according to the judges, be sold as a whole mould ("Edelschimmel") cheese. If the judges categorize the thick- layered Loose cheese as a Hausmacher cheese, it will be graded as being defective quality, because it has too thick a layer. If they categorize it as a whole-moulded cheese, it will not get minus points for a thick layer of mould, but nor will it be a "Hausmacher" according to the terminology of the PGI production protocol. The judges agree that the grading scale used for Hessian Handkäse cannot be applied to grade this non-Hessian cheese. Therefore they end up with the conclusion that they must categorize it as incommensurable with Hessian Handkäse, and they define it as a non-Hessian quality. The reasons for this incommensurability are, according to one judge, the regional differences between the non-Hessian and the Hessian (quoted from fieldwork transcription from the sensory test):

Judge 2: "Wir haben die regionalen Unterschiede und das ist so. Da muss man mit leben."

Here, the regional is understood as aligned with the German Länder and not different geographical areas that cross the borders of the Länder. Further, these differences are, as we have seen before, meant to be a result of so-called "regional" consumer preferences and not a consequence of geographically different climates or production techniques. Judge 2 elaborate on his view:

Judge 2 [As he points at a cheese from a Hessian producer, which uses a thin layer of mould]: "Unsere Verbraucher sind eigentlich an diese Sorten gewöhnt."

Regional quality, judge 2 argues, is a matter of naming your cheese to fit the expectation of the Hessian (here, he uses

the word "our") consumers. In this perspective, the name Hausmacher Handkäse on the packaging will imply a certain quality for the consumer from Hessen. The consumer expectation is here thought to be a result of the Hessian consumer's special preferences and habits. Cultural differences in the consumer preferences in different federal states are applied as an argument for categorizing the cheese produced inside Hessen as Hessian Handkäse, and the cheese produced outside Hessen as non-Hessian in quality. The Loose cheese is mild in its taste and with a moulded surface similar to well-known French cheeses, shaped to fit the taste of the international modern consumer, but is, according to the Hessian producers and the administration, not adapted to Hessian preferences and the Hessian consumer's expectations. So, the Loose cheese plays the role of a constructive other or an anti-version. Its quality defects and incommensurability with Hessian Handkäse make it perfect as a constructive other that helps the judges in their work of defining and shaping a special Hessian taste. In this way, the non-Hessian Loose cheese actually becomes the most important and discussed cheese at the sensory test, because it helps the judges to construct a standard of differentiation, which can help to define regional quality in a process of negation. Here standards are not opposite to diversity as in the case of Ekelund and Jönsson, but shaped and applied in order to produce diversity and a supposedly traditional, non-standardized, natural product.

Conclusion: Europeanization as Ongoing Work of Standardizing, Protection and Reshaping of Regional Culinary Heritage

In this article, we have seen how the PGI is used as a tool to codify a quality standard for all Handkäse from Hessen (that use the PGI label). This standard is and has been continuously redefined and renegotiated in the monthly testing. The PGI certification helps to secure a similar quality standard for all the Hessian cheeses. In the same way, the PGI helps to facilitate the formation of a quality difference between non-Hessian and Hessian Handkäse, which is thought to be a result of unique "regional" consumers taste preferences in Hessen. Here, regional quality is connected to a special Hessian culture – i.e. a special Hessian terming practice and a unique taste preference among Hessian consumers. This regional quality is upheld and reshaped in the practices of continuous sensory testing. These are organized by the Hessian administration in cooperation with the retail-selling Hessian producers, who thereby participate in the formation of a Hessian quality standard, in order to be able to protect and increase their market share on the supermarkets' shelves.

The article shows how the protection of regional quality becomes an argument for a positive protectionist policy at the German federal level. Here we see how the PGI label is a part of a shift in EU policy, where consumer's choice is the target of regulation rather than the practice of the producers. The management of consumer choices facilitates, in a Hessian context, the process whereby the regional consumer preferences are defined as the Hessian

consumer preferences, and accordingly the Land of Hessen as a culturally homogeneous region. In this way, the EU policy works by the entanglement of protectionist practices and practices of "regional" identity formation.

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Notes

1 My fieldwork was spread out over a large period of time, and part of my fieldwork was intertwined with my daily practice as a Danish foreigner living in the Hessian city of Frankfurt am Main. From November 2011 to July 2012 I interviewed and visited four of the five producers of Handkäse in Hessen: three smaller producers who sell the cheese to retail chains in Hessen, to farmers' markets, restaurants and over the Internet, and one larger producer, who also sells to Germany-wide retail chains. One of the smallest producers does not deliver any product to retail chains, but drives to a farmers market to sell his cheese every week.

2 At three of the producers, I was allowed a tour of the production site. I also visited and interviewed a small organic dairy collective that produces quark, the raw product used to make Handkäse, and sells Handkäse under its regional brand name "Upländer Bauernmolkerei". In addition, I interviewed a leading administrator in Department 51.2 of the administrative area of Middle Hessen (Regierungspräsidium Gießen), who is in charge of the PGI certifications in the Bundesland and the control of the PGI-certified products in Hessen. I have focused on discourses and practices that form and reshape the "regional" qualities of Handkäse, for example the day-to-day quality management in the production area and the way the producers describe the quality of Handkäse as regional – and, in some cases, non-regional.

3 I participated in one of the monthly sensory quality tastings arranged by the Hessian administrative department in charge of food quality control in central Hessen with the active participation of one of the producers, as well as a Germany-wide sensory quality testing of a range of cheese types arranged by the same Hessian department. Here, I especially focused on the practices and discourses, through which regional quality is redefined, recategorized and reshaped. In addition, my material also consists of information and legal text published by the EU Commission, the Hessian Government and material from the website of the producers of Handkäse.

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Constructing a Sami Cultural Heritage

Essentialism and Emancipation

By Eva Silvén

The starting point for this article is that museum collecting, collections, and exhibitions are not just more or less credible representations of Sami culture and history. They also have social and political consequences. Depending on content and perspectives, different kinds of objects, documents, and photographs may work as sociomaterial actors in the construction of identities, stereotypes, and power relations. The aim here is to analyse and discuss the both essentializing and emancipatory potential of museum collecting and collections. My focus will be the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, the Swedish national museum of cultural history, and more precisely the work of one of its more influential curators and scholars of his time, Ernst Manker (1893–1972). My interest in Manker emerges from a research project which explores his material, visual, and textual collections, created in a time when both the Sami and the Swedish society in general were experiencing profound changes.[1]

The Work of Ernst Manker

The Nordiska Museet (opened in 1873) has a long history of interest in Sami issues, including the open-air museum Skansen (1891). The collecting was at the beginning intense, and while the artefacts were displayed in in-door exhibitions, Sami families were contracted to live and perform in the tents and turf huts at Skansen (Mathisen S.R. 2004; Hammarlund-Larsson 2008; Nylund 2008; Silvén 2008a, b). During the decades before and after the Second World War there was a parallel expansion of the museum's Sami related activities, due to the work of the named Manker. Educated as an ethnographer, but acting also as an ethnologist, around 1930 he took up Sami research, and in 1939 he became curator of the Sami collections at the museum and head of the new "Lapp Department". He carried out contemporary fieldwork as well as historical research, acquired a large amount of traditional Sami artefacts, sent out questionnaires to Sami informants, gave lectures, wrote articles, and published books. In the "Lapp Archives" he gathered earlier Sami related documents, manuscripts, correspondence, and images already in the museum's collections, along with his own research material. Moreover, he curated the cultural-historical exhibition *Lapparna* ("The Lapps"), which opened in 1947 and was on display for thirty years. Manker retired in 1961 but continued writing for a further ten years and became a well-known researcher of Sami cultural history, with several hundreds of books and articles (Silvén 2010, 2012). The material he created, which he sometimes called "a central museum for Lappish culture", forms a rich source for the study of Sami culture and history and is – of course – filled with compelling challenges.

Manker's main interest was what he saw as the traditional and disappearing Sami culture. When modernization and mass consumption began to change older Sami ways of life, like many other scholars and curators he wanted to "rescue" as much as possible for museums and archives, for contemporary and future research. But he also saw this as a possibility for the Sami to safeguard knowledge about their own history and culture. Moreover, he seems to have had the idea that this was a way to allow development among the Sami and offer them the same

Both during fieldwork and in the museum, Manker often collaborated with Sami people, among others the couple Sigga and Mattias Kuoljok, who contributed with different arrangements in the exhibition *Lapparna* ("The Lapps"). Here they are securing the baggage on a stuffed reindeer, supervised by Manker himself, 1947. Photo: Lennart Nenkler, Nordiska Museet.

possibilities of a comfortable life in modern society like other citizens. By leaving artefacts no longer needed to the museum, the Sami could, he said, with pride build a monument to their traditional culture – and move on (as I understand it), since he saw modernization as natural, inevitable, and righteous (Manker 1934, 1949). This view gives the museum a potential emancipatory role in societal change, which has not always been recognized.

But did it work that way? Research, documentation, collecting, and exhibiting can have both intended and unintended effects on contemporary political and social circumstances. The production of cultural heritage has often been criticized for creating essentialistic and frozen identities, but at the same time a distinct and documented ethnic character has become an emancipatory tool for many indigenous peoples and minorities of today (Smith 2006). This complex issue forms the background for my research. My main problem, both for this article as for the project as a whole, is what role Manker's construction of a "Lappish museum" might have played in his time and after. Did the shaping of the "museum" – the collecting and creating of a Sami cultural heritage – help to legitimate Sami emancipation with its aspiration for modern ways of life, change and diversity, and the struggle for new rights? Or did the historical representation lock the image of the contemporary Sami to an essentialized, homogenous, and unambigous past? Here I will discuss these questions by following two lines.

Manker frequently used the camera in his fieldwork, making visible the traditional Sami landscape, as well as the people's living conditions. One project of historical value was for example his research on the Sami areas that were submerged due to the exploitation of water power in the Stora Lule River. During Manker's field trips in 1939–40, it was still possible to see the top of trees, tents, turf huts, and other buildings, before the final elevation of the water level. Photo: Ernst Manker, Nordiska Museet.

Firstly, the essentializing consequences of the general idea of defining, collecting, and exhibiting ethnic minorities and the priority that has been given reindeer herding in Sami representations. Secondly, the emancipatory possibilities of new museology, indigenous methodology, and other transforming strategies. Finally, I will say some words about the varying effects of different categories of museum representations.

Defining Sami Identity

How, then, did Manker's contemporary political, cultural political, and ethno-political landscape look? In what historical context were his collections and publications created? What ideas and ideologies affected and legitimated the scholarly search for knowledge about Sami issues in his time?

The shaping of the new Swedish welfare state from the 1930s onwards had to handle different social categories of people not only in terms of class and gender, but ethnicity as well, although race was the current concept, in both scientific and popular contexts. With the expansion of industrial society from the late 19th century, the pressure to extend permanent

settlements and to exploit the natural resources in northern Sweden grew. Conflicts arose in the reindeer grazing areas, leading to the first legislation defining and protecting reindeer herding as an exclusive Sami right (1886). In addition, the discriminatory view of Sami that later on was expressed by race biology and the "Lapps should be Lapps" policy began to influence many people's minds. According to these ideas the Sami were reckoned an inferior race, which was taken as justification for attempts to keep them outside the growing industrial society and the coming welfare state. They were allowed to carry on with the traditional nomad reindeer herding, but otherwise they were supposed to be protected from modern life, which they were not considered able to cope with (Lantto 2000:40 ff.; Lundmark 2002:63 ff.).

When the state decided reindeer herding to be exclusive to the Sami, it also reserved Sami rights for reindeer owners. During the main part of the 20th century, this legislation (with a series of subsequent and complementary laws) formed the basis for the definition of Sami and the discourse on Sami identity, both inside and outside the Sami society. "Real" Sami were reindeer herders, particularly nomads in the mountains, and good reindeer herding was nomad reindeer herding. This created a gap between the nomadic reindeer owners and other kinds of Sami – like those living from hunting and fishing, the more stationary forest Sami, Sami settlers, Sami in other professions, and those living in other parts of the country. But it also forced the mountain reindeer herders to continue living as nomads. In the Sami political discourse, no other aspect but nomadic reindeer husbandry could really find a legitimate place (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2004).

In the mid 20th century the state finally gave up the "Lapps should be Lapps" policy and the demand for nomadism and instead promoted the rationalization and modernization of reindeer herding, like any other industry. In parallel, the urge for assimilation of ethnic minorities was generally strong in the 1930s and 40s. Well-known examples include the policy against the Roma and the sterilization programme directed against marginalized social categories (Broberg & Tydén 2005/1991). Still the Sami succeeded in bringing their ethnic mobilization to a new level and in 1950 the first nationwide organization was constituted: The National Association of Swedish Sami (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, SSR). Instead of representing an anomaly, from the 1960s on the Sami came to take the role of a recognized minority and an indigenous people, and at the end of the 20th century, language and culture came to constitute a new basis for being Sami. The problematic legislation concerning reindeer herding and Sami rights still persists, but today the discourse has broken up and admits other ways of defining Sami identity, which can be viewed as a kind of emancipation (Mörkenstam 1999; Lantto 2000, 2003).

The Authority of Reindeer Herding

Although the Sami society always has been characterized by multiple ways of life, the reindeer as an animal and reindeer husbandry as enterprise have become the icons of Sami culture and identity. When Sami are represented, the reindeer is usu-

ally present – in museums and other media, in research, literature, and popular culture, as well as in the Sami self-images. The symbol of the reindeer is common throughout *Sápmi,* in spite of varied conditions in different nation states. From an international perspective, Sami and reindeer are often synonymous with the arctic areas of the European mainland. Behind this situation, we can find the state and its legislation, but there have also been other actors.

Manker and his colleagues certainly knew there were other ways of being Sami, but to become a recognized scholar it was an advantage to focus on reindeer herding, the core of Sami identity. For example Manker set up eight questionnaires, among which the most comprehensive were about "The reindeer's biology and ways of living" (1941, 152 questions) and "The reindeer herding of the Sami" (1941, 240 questions plus subquestions). Even if the other lists dealt with different issues, the answering persons – "the Lappish body of representatives" ("den lapska ombudskåren") – consisted mainly of men from the different local reindeer herding Sami communities *(siidas)* (Silvén 2012). Also the objects Manker acquired for the museum mainly represented the nomadic parts of the Sami society. Consequently, a great deal of his publications focus on the life of the reindeer herders and in his exhibition, the long reindeer caravan constitutes a central element. Thus, in Manker's time, the scholars didn't – or couldn't – give Sami from other professions and areas enough legitimizing support to be acknowledged as "real" Sami. Another consequence, in our time, is that these groups can't find as much source material in museums and archives, when they want to reconstruct their history. Manker's deep and thorough descriptions of reindeer herding and nomad life are valid, but they are not the whole truth about Sami life and culture.

Even the Sami political movement had to adapt to the reindeer as a key symbol. Early spokespersons, in the beginning of the 20th century, like Elsa Laula and later

The eye-catching reindeer caravan in the exhibition *Lapparna* ("The Lapps"), 1947. Photo: Lennart Nenkler, Nordiska Museet.

on Torkel Tomasson, advocated a broader, more ethnic definition of Saminess, according to historian Patrik Lantto in his thesis about the Sami ethno-political movement. But to be accepted as legitimate actors in relation to the authorities they had to follow the discursive rules at that time. However, the link between Sami identity and the reindeer was not so evident from the start, and, at that time, many actors feared the extinction of reindeer husbandry. From the 1940s, when the industry recovered, reindeer herding became the focus of the Sami movement, which was proved (among other things) when the SSR was founded on the basis of the Sami *siidas* – the reindeer herding communities (Lantto 2000:280 ff.).

Ethnic Identity, Race Biology, and Minority Rights

In principle, any act of identifying a collective of people is problematic, even if the intention is to protect an ethnic group and promote equality with the help of exclusive rights, as in today's indigenous and minority politics. Formulating group criteria often starts a process of essentialization and homogenization, and the distinction from the (imagined) majority usually ends up in a hierarchical order. From this logic, in different popular and scientific contexts, Sami characteristics have been described as historical, static, and bestowed by nature, which placed them below the supposedly better Swedish qualities on a cultural and social scale (cf. Mörkenstam 1999:7 ff.). Different kinds of scholars contributed to this, particularly in the fields of ethnology and ethnography during the 20th century. Manker was connected to both these disciplines, which tried to order the world by defining people, delimiting object categories, and establishing cultural areas and borders. Vast collections of artefacts, images, and data about different aspects of the material environment, social relations, and cultural codes were gathered in museums, archives, and publications.

This research and collecting was carried out in parallel with the development of physical anthropology and race biology, which for decades were considered legitimate sciences (Broberg 1995; Ljungström 2004; Lundmark 2007). Here, cultural features were not sufficient, physical and mental distinctions also had to be defined, which then could be applied in eugenics policy. But even without that practice, this research established an essentializing norm, deciding how to talk about and describe different ethnic and social groups of people. Like many others of his contemporaries, Manker shared, more or less, the views and concepts of race biology. In some of his publications he used its terminology to describe the appearance and bodily constitution of the Sami, and he uses expressions as "racial features" and "Sami types", even so late as in his last books in the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Manker 1963:42 ff., 1978:38). But during his many tours in *Sápmi,* he made friends among the Sami, which probably is the reason that he generally didn't draw the same discriminating conclusions about their mental characteristics as within the pure race biology. In the chapter "Race and temper" in the book *De svenska fjällapparna* ("The Swedish Mountain Lapps"), for example, he presents the usual stereotypes about the Sami, concerning their appearance, the shape of

their skull, and their cognitive race-features (Manker 1947:39 ff.). But then he starts arguing against, or at least, nuances these images, point by point, although still with a patronizing gaze. "Are the Lapps a good-looking or ugly people?", he asks, and then begins to answer: If you flip through an anthropological photo album, you are inclined to agree with Carl Linnaeus in his description of a meeting with a frightening Lapp woman. But, Manker continues, the pictures are true only anthropologically, not humanly:

> In front of the measuring equipment and the camera, these faces have often petrified to hard, soulless criminal portraits. When the camera sees them in bustling life, with facial expressions and a twinkle in the eye, the Lapps appear – like other people – as they look in reality, not always so beautiful according to Indo-European standards, because every race has its own beauty norm, but often pleasant. Their smooth and easy movements also enhance the impression. In their beautiful costumes they are, in short, a treat for the eyes (Manker 1947:44, my translation).

Manker continues

> Another old cliché is the talk about the Lapps' untrustworthiness. It's not without a real basis, because a Lapp hardly follows the clock and rarely arrives on time. Perhaps he also does more often what he wants instead of what he should. But he seldom displays any actual dishonesty; theft is as rare as despised (Manker 1947:46 f., my translation).

Apparently Manker had the same mixed feelings as many other ethnographers, when the scientific categories met with their own experiences, and when bonds of friendship had been tied over the ethnic boundaries. In general, his descriptions of people and their ways of life were marked by respect, interest, and even admiration. He could describe the Sami as a proud people, as an "elite" or as "aristocrats", which, on the one hand, purposely placed them higher in the social hierarchy compared to other minorities, and, on the other hand, emphasized them as "pure Sami", who honoured their people and their culture (cf. Manker 1970:9, 1978:7, 24, *passim)*. Most likely the race biology's characterizations (in spite of the negative judgements) appealed to his fascination for the "authentic" or "genuine" Sami and the idea of a Sami essence. But since he simultaneously supported the need for emancipation from traditional roles to a more modern and multifaceted definition of Saminess, this must have created a conflict for him, or at least an ambiguity, from today's point of view.

Other factors than race biology behind the interest in defining ethnic identity were related to the contemporary political situation. Earlier in history, there was no minority policy in today's sense, but in practice there was one, based on duties instead of rights. It was made up of laws and rules with restrictions for certain categories of people to move around, settle down, practice their religion, do business, marry, or speak their language. But a new situation arose after the First World War, when different groups of people became minorities in new nation states and new views were established in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Consequently, for the League of Nations (UN's forerunner) the minority issue was considered a key to international political stability. Minority rights ought to be guaranteed, with the double purpose of creating similar opportunities for all inhabitants and making it possible to maintain and protect ethnic characteristics in new contexts (Mörken-

stam 1999:69). Another step was taken after the Second World War, by the creating of the UN in 1945 and the *Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948. Following the events in Europe around 1990, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* was launched in 1992 and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* in 1995. Every country that ratifies these two conventions can then decide on their own national minorities, based on language, cultural features, and historical presence (Nationella minoriteter 1999:11 ff.; Silvén 2011). But compared with the flexible and multifaceted view of ethnicity and identity in today's social sciences, the minority policy's categorizations, rights, and privileges are fixed and static in the defining of ethnic identity. The special rights that are offered in order to promote equality and to protect an ethnic or cultural individuality, at the same time run the risk of locking people up in essentializing and marginalizing categories. In his thesis about the Swedish government's construction of Sami identity, political scientist Ulf Mörkenstam discusses this problem. With references to Iris Marion Young, Nancy Fraser and others, he points to the possibility of avoiding the essentializing drawbacks associated with special rights, provided they are open and form a "temporary" or "preliminary" minority policy (Mörkenstam 1999:231 ff.).

Packing the Black Boxes

But how could such a policy, as well as a more flexible view of identity, be connected to museum collections? These are usually seen as the opposite of everything that is temporary and uncertain – stable, categorized, classified, locked up in storage, or displayed in permanent exhibitions for decades. Rather, museum collections could be said to counteract the suggested preliminary policy, being, in fact, material instruments for stabilizing social groups and social relations in the long run. In the perspective of actor-network-theory and using sociologist Bruno Latour's concepts, the collections are non-human actors in sociomaterial networks, shaped by contemporary scientific and political contexts. The object categories that in the 19th and 20th centuries were collected as the most representative for Sami identity are still defining – and delimiting – the museums' prospects to tell the history of the Sami. From such a view, it is possible to argue that the collections transport earlier interactions from history to the present, and that they keep the social relations in place long after the former museum curators have left (cf. Latour 1998:274 f., 279 f., *passim)*. Every time someone looks for data about Sami people – longing to know the Other or looking for one's own history – certain statements and conceptions turn up. Some people find their position as the "core" of the group confirmed by lots of material, for example about reindeer herding, while others remain empty-handed. Some find empathic portrayals, others stereotypes and discriminating descriptions. Modern and updated forms of Sami life are generally rare, which confirms the traditional and historical image of the Sami.

The permanent exhibitions in particular formed an influential and conserving genre with strong effect on the public for years or decades, by tempting visual presentations, a popular approach, and high

credibility.[2] To continue following Latour, they can be considered as "black boxes", a useful analytical concept for what is taken for granted and not questioned, created by a series of interconnections between human and material actors (Latour 1998:19 f.). Stuffed reindeer, clothed mannequins, raised tents, handicraft, and traditional religious items became standard elements in these exhibitions (cf. Mathisen S.R. 2004; Silvén 2008a). The life of the nomadic reindeer herders was illustrated by genre scenes, like the long caravan with loaded reindeer or a male Sami either with a lasso, posing behind a reindeer with magnificent antlers, or sitting in a reindeer-pulled sledge. These scenes became so normalized and apparently unproblematic that their discursive content was hidden, both in terms of distinctions between different categories of Sami as between male and female gender. Also the archives and object collections became such "black boxes" with standardized contents and recurrent categories and classifications, which fixed the Sami to certain social positions and cultural expectations (cf. Stewart 1993; Svanberg 2009; Rogan 2010; Muñoz 2012). In a study, the Sami politician Per Mikael Utsi declares, regarding the Nordiska Museet:

> It's noticeable that the systematizing of the Sami archival material differs in a remarkable way from the folklore archives' classification of Swedish folk culture. The collecting of material has been directed to the exotic and divergent in Sami culture (Utsi 2007:69, my translation).

As a part of the museums' society-shaping function, both exhibitions and collections have in this way helped create the general image of the Sami.

Unpacking and Reinterpretation

From my point of view, ways to challenge this situation are offered by post-colonial studies on museums, minorities, and indigenous peoples as well as by the "new museology", which since the 1990s has generated critical research about the museums' production of meaning in different historical, political, and social contexts (cf. Karp & Lavine 1991; Bennett 2004; Karp *et al.* 2006; Knell, MacLeod & Watson 2007). In these fields of research one can find methods like putting new questions to collections, testing new terms and classifications, as well as focusing ambiguity and hybridity, thereby trying to unseal the "black boxes" and uncover the processes of creating ethnic identities and other social relations. This has also been the idea behind my research project: how did Manker contribute in creating the image of "Saminess", what methods and research ideas were used, what was included and excluded, and how did the result came to be accepted as just a matter of course? The collections, catalogues, exhibitions, etc. contain material for such analyses and deconstructions, and – as in my study – it is necessary to explicitly include the collectors and their motives as well (cf. Herle & Rouse 1998; Penny 2002; Gustafsson Reinius 2008; Svanberg 2009).[3] A recent set of inspiring contributions to these issues is offered by the anthology *Unpacking the Collection,* based on actor-network-theory and other aspects of agency and materiality (Byrne *et al.* 2011).

This kind of research could be defined as a "transformative solution", referring to philosopher Nancy Fraser in her discussion about the relationship between cultural recognition of ethnic groups and

their social and political rights (Fraser 2003). In her analysis of the mechanisms of social ordering, she introduces the concepts of affirmative and transformative solutions. The affirmative solutions try to create equity primarily through the recognition of minorities and other cultural or social identities – for instance by including them in the common cultural heritage. The transformative solutions, on the other hand, are directed against the society's value systems and aim at a destabilization of prevailing norms and social power structures. One such method could be to investigate how minorities and other identities have been constructed, how they are maintained, and how they could be changed in order to achieve an equal citizenship. To analyse, deconstruct, and unpack the "black boxes" – as described above – could be such a strategy. If we assert that museums have the power to produce problematic conceptions about people, they should be able to contribute to the opposite as well, and help create alternative images and narratives.[4]

In the international field of post-colonial studies, and particularly during the last decade, a parallel critical perspective has developed. "Decolonizing" or "indigenous methodology" has grown into both a subfield and a vital theme, serving as a means mainly (but not exclusively) for minorities and indigenous peoples to re-interpret the heritage from alternative positions (Smith 1999; Porsanger 2004; Brown & Peers 2006; Loring 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2009; Boast 2011). In the Nordic context there are some studies of that kind, related to Sami heritage. In earlier post-colonial research the Sami have, for example, been presented as heavily exploited victims in the travelling "living exhibitions" of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This view has been challenged in a new doctoral thesis, which instead describes the participating Sami as conscious and strategic actors (Baglo 2011). The corresponding turn can be observed concerning the exhibitions in the late 1900s' new Sami museums in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Earlier, the critics believed that these museums repeated the stereotypical Sami images from the mainstream museums, staging timeless presentations focusing on reindeer and reindeer herding (cf. Olsen 2000). New research disputes this criticism, asserting that what is perceived as stereotypes have another meaning in this different context (Mathisen, S.O. 2010; Lien & Nielssen 2012). The timelessness should not be viewed as a colonial "ethnographic presence" (Fabian 1983/2002) but as corresponding to Sami views of time, with history more intertwined with the contemporaneous. The focus on the reindeer should, on the other hand, be understood as a way to promote singularity when a new identity was to be created, using the means that had been defined as Sami and thereby connected with special rights. Instead of a more negative interpretation of this as "auto-exoticism" or "self-orientalism", concepts like "strategic essentialism" (Spivak 1985/96) and "reappropriation of indigenous images" (Sissons 2005:9) have been introduced in the scholarly analyses of these processes, linking up with other studies of key symbols for ethnic groups as well as nations (Ortner 1973; Kaplan 1994). Minority and indigenous policies require a distinct individuality, with specific and acknowledged characteristics. Essentializing and stereo-

typing symbols can then be used for emancipatory purposes, strategically as well as tactically, as above, regarding the role that reindeer herding was given in the early Sami movement. You keep the symbols, but charge them with new meaning – which makes the potential contradiction between essentialism and emancipation less distinct and more ambiguous.[5]

Different Representations – Different Narratives

Another way to nuance the picture is to compare different types of representations and their respective effect – here exhibitions, object collections, and photographs. The aforementioned exhibition *Lapparna* ("The Lapps") showed what had become history already at its opening in 1947. But during its thirty years on display it must have blurred the boundary between past and present, owing to the continued use of traditional costumes and other Sami practices. Sometimes Sami visitors were dressed exactly like the mannequins in the exhibition, which created a strange mirroring effect, judging by photographs from the time. The visitors used the costume as honorary dress on certain occasions and later on more explicitly as an emancipatory tool in the growing ethnopolitical movement. But did the dress, in the context of the exhibition, work as a positive continuity for an indigenous people, claiming their land rights and culture since time immemorial? Or did it lock the contemporary Sami to essentialized attributes and historical living conditions?

Also the Sami artefacts of the Nordiska Museet had – and still have – an emphasis on past times. Fully 40 per cent of the total collection of over 6,000 single items was accessed before the year 1900, around 35 per cent 1900–50, and 15 per cent after 1950 (Hammarlund-Larsson 2008:87). But the artefacts that were taken to the museum during the first half of the 20th century and during Manker's time, all

Ernst Manker guiding a group of students from the Sami Folk High School (Samernas Folkhögskola) in Jokkmokk in the exhibition *Lapparna* ("The Lapps"), 1954. Photo: Nordiska Museet.

were of the traditional kind. The new objects, that replaced the old ones among the living Sami, were not regarded as suitable for acquisition; what we today call contemporary collecting was not an issue. At the time when that view was established among the Swedish museums, in the 1970s and onwards, the main responsibility for Sami research and documentation was transferred northwards, to the expanding regional museums and universities and to the new Sami principal museum Ájtte, the Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum in Jokkmokk, Lapland (Silvén 2008b:14 ff.). As a result, in the object collections of the Nordiska Museet there are few traces of the radical changes of Sami living conditions during the 20th century.

Still there is (at least) a third category of representations – photography. Manker was a well-known and respected photographer and many of his pictures of the more traditional Sami ways of life have been used in different contexts, and some of them have turned into veritable icons. But there are exceptions that open up a crack in the historizing, homogenous image of the Sami. Among Manker's photographs from his many field trips, from the late 1920s to the late 1950s, there are pictures that show the contemporary use of new types of clothing, household utensils, motor vehicles, and other kinds of material culture – just the kind of objects that weren't acquired for the museum collections. Manker included these photographs in his popular travel books, which he published on average every third year during his career. These books were widely disseminated among the public, and like the exhibition, I believe they must have influenced the conception of the Sami.[6] The narrative was often about the process of

"While the old cultural forms thus survived in the halls of the museum, on the outside modern life found new ways and means to proceed – to exist" (Manker 1970:151, my translation). Axel Larsson and his (here anonymous) wife on their way home from a reindeer separation in Malå, Västerbotten county 1952. Photo: Ernst Manker, Nordiska Museet.

change, the break between old and new, between tradition and modernity, and the photographs visualized, for example, the hybrid mix of modern sports jackets and peaked caps together with older parts of the traditional dress. Obviously, Manker became conscious of the discrepancy between these contemporary depictions and the museum representations. In the last chapter – "The museum and the life outside"– of the retrospective book *Åter mot norr* ("Back to the North"), he reflects over this: "Every culture has had or has its time, and the Lappish herding culture's time was up. But its bearers, the people, continued their lives, in the direction of new adaptations. It was high time for the museum curator to rescue the relicts, to take care of what could keep the culture alive as history, inside the museum walls. More important than the hours at the exhibition case and the desk became the tours in the field, the contacts with people, with life itself out there, which left one cultural form in order to try to master a new one" (Manker 1970:149 ff., my translation).

Conclusion

In this article I have endeavoured to analyse and discuss some aspects of the Nordiska Museet's representations of Sami history, in relation to contemporary worlds of ideas and societal contexts such as ethnography, eugenics, minority rights, and ethnopolitics. I have regarded the museum collections as sociomaterial actors and reflected upon their role in the construction of identities, stereotypes, and power relations. This material has often been shaped with essentializing and homogenizing purposes, but it can also be used in an emancipatory way with the help of different theoretical, methodological, and political tools, like for example indigenous methodology and new museology. It then turns out that the potential contradiction between essence and emancipation is not always so clear cut, and that the effect can vary depending on what kind of material and which forms and actors we are talking about.

My starting point was the question whether the creating of a Sami cultural heritage helped to legitimate the Sami aspiration for a modern life, or if the historical representations locked the image of the contemporary Sami to the vision of an essentialized, homogenous, and unambiguous past. The answer seems to be yes to both parts of the question. I believe that it is an asset for an indigenous people like the Sami to have been recognized, made visible, and represented in the common cultural heritage. It is good to have a collection of historical objects and narratives, but they must be subjected to scrutiny and be reinterpreted in order to break up the historical social context of which they are a part. In my opinion, museums and archives have a responsibility to contribute to this kind of new use of their collections. By doing so, earlier "truths" could be deconstructed and destabilized, which might make it possible to open up the historic discourse, reformulate the object of knowledge, and provide new subject positions for today's Sami, according to the current ethnopolitical situation.

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Notes

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2 As a museum professional I have many times experienced the impact of permanent exhibitions on the visitors, representing timeless truths and historic stability in a changing world. During the second part of the 20th century, due to regular collaboration between schools and museums, these exhibitions were also presented to generations of children as a scheduled part of the curriculum.

3 Such an ambition was also one of the starting points for the Nordiska Museet's permanent exhibition *Sápmi – on being Sami in Sweden* (2007), which is built upon five post-colonial themes and includes the museum in the narrative (Silvén *et al.* 2007, Silvén 2008b).

4 However, of course one must ask if these practices as well will result in an equally effective sealing of new roles and power relations.

5 Regarding the use of Sami symbols not only in museum exhibitions but for tourist purposes as well, see Mathisen S.R. 2010. Also Sami artists use Sami symbols, like the dress, strategically in their performances and in contacts with media (Ledman 2013:172 ff.).

6 More exactly, 13 books were published in 32 years (1928–59). They were to be found in many local public libraries, and several friends and informants have memories of the books being kept in their parents' book shelves.

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Knowing the Patient?

A Discussion of Person-centred Care and Staff Culture at Norwegian Nursing Homes

By Eva-Marie Tveit

Introduction

Nursing homes are interesting arenas for cultural interaction. Staff and patients are given very different roles, and power is unevenly distributed. We can talk of staff culture and ward culture – in big nursing homes staff culture often seem to differ quite a lot between wards. We can talk of patient culture – in the sense that patients gets socialised into a collective response towards how they get treated as a group. Further, both patients and staff have their individual cultural belonging, some related to the place the nursing home is located, others to places far away. A common assumption is that most people in small countryside communities know each other, are related or friends. Since trust and a good relationship is a premise for person-centred care, a further assumption goes that close knit communities enable good care in nursing homes and that multiplex relations (Brass et al. 1998) among staff and patients promote transparency and reduce the potential using of restraint.

I currently participate in a study − MEDCED[1] − that includes 24 nursing homes randomly chosen from three regions in Western Norway. A material established from both quantitative surveys and qualitative studies inspire us to pursue a multitude of questions. In this essay I discuss person-centred care and approaches for getting to know the patient as a person with a unique past, present and future. I use three nursing homes to demonstrate the contextual complexity that affect staff culture and the relationships among staff and patients.

MEDCED is both an implementation and an implementation study; we aim to change services in the best possible way. Implementation of knowledge and active aiming for change is not common in ethnology and folklore studies. But our view upon people as both creators and carriers of culture corresponds well with modern perspectives in care-sciences, and competence in qualitative methods is asked for. In this essay I elaborate on how different contexts might shape different care-cultures. I have done interviews and participant observation, up to ten days at nursing home 15 and 23.[2] I have visited and interviewed the leader at nursing home 22. I further use the quantitative results from our mapping of staff[3] conducted autumn 2012. I also refer to the experiences reported by our facilitators after their coursing and supervision at the homes.

Summing up, the main questions I address in the following essay are these: What is person-centered care? And what is the relationship between staff culture, contextual factors and person-centered care at the nursing homes?

MEDCED

The core of the MEDCED project is a two day intensive educational intervention followed by six monthly supervisions for care staff, aiming to prevent use of restraint in nursing home residents with dementia, and increase job-satisfaction among staff. MEDCED is a multi-method study, developed from a successful intervention implemented by Ingelin Testad.[4] The main purpose of the education and supervision is to teach staff to think and act more in a person-centred way towards their patients. The aim is to work professionally and strategically to achieve trust among care staff and patients, and to try

multiple alternatives before use of restraint is chosen. Use of restraint towards patients is not legal according to Norwegian law[5] paragraph 4A, if not approved after an application to the county governor's office.

During the supervision sessions our facilitators use a 7-step model that aid staff when making decisions regarding whether to use restraint or not towards individuals with dementia. The first step involves staff describing a problematic situation, recounting what has happened and how this situation has been handled. The second step deals with understanding the situation – who is involved? What is the patient's age and gender, diagnosis, medicines? An example can be that this is about "Per". Per is an eighty-four year old man, which refuses to take a shower in the morning. He is awaken at eight thirty, but would often have liked to sleep longer. The third step involves staff recognising and accepting how this makes staff feel, how it is to handle this situation, how it is to enter his room and so forth. The aim is to make staff aware of the relationship between feelings, attitudes and actions, and on the relationship among them and the patient in the situation. The fourth step aims to get deeper into the situation – what is this really about? Who is Per? What is he concerned about, what are his interests? The aim here is that staff shall share the knowledge they have about Per with each other so that individual knowledge becomes common knowledge. Tools can be used, as Per's life history, or a diary of his days at the institution. Step five aims to solve the initial problem by using creativity and collaboration among staff. The group shall agree on a common strategy, which could be playing classical music in the morning to Per because that is his passion, and letting him wash with a cloth instead of in the shower, since that is what he is used to. Step six involves making a procedure for the conduct, and getting this approved by the institutions leader. Finally, step seven is an evaluation of the measures that have been made, discussing what worked and what did not work, and if restraint was used, whether it was right.

The Nursing Homes and Their Contexts

The 24 nursing homes in our study were randomly picked from a total of 83 non-profit nursing homes in the counties of Sogn og Fjordane, Hordaland and Rogaland. All three counties cover a very diverse geographical area of islands, rugged coastline, inland, fjords and mountainous areas. These counties also have two of Norway's largest towns, as Bergen in Hordaland with a population of approximately 268 000 and Stavanger in Rogaland with approximately 130 400 inhabitants. The nursing homes included in our sample are non-profit, and governed by the same state laws and regulations. Some nursing homes are located in municipalities that are wealthy, due to particularly good conditions for certain industries. Other municipalities struggle economically due to demographic reasons; most youth having left due to lack of jobs, and many elderly needing help in care facilities.

In our sample, eight nursing homes are defined as settled in an urban context, while sixteen homes are settled in a rural

context. The placement of nursing homes follows trends, and these trends influence both urban and rural areas. Until recently it has been seen as an advantage for nursing homes to be built in quiet, remote areas, due to the assumption that older people need to rest. However, ideals are changing. Currently it is voiced from many holds that location of nursing homes close to other arenas, social and cultural, can facilitate better living conditions and a more social and active life for the patients. But the outcome of this trend is yet to make a great impact on the nursing home scene.[6]

Some municipalities argue that they cannot afford to have several nursing homes, and to the despair of locals and patients, we see that nursing homes in small communities are closed down. In some municipalities that manage to keep several homes running, wards are given specialized profiles (as rehabilitation ward, short term ward, dementia ward) due to increased demands from both reforms and administrative and political authorities. As a consequence the locals in one area cannot any longer apply to their local nursing home. Rather they are referred to the home specialising on their diagnosis, or other administrative considerations are put in forefront.

According to Marit Solheim, associate professor at nursing studies in Sogn og Fjordane University College, one aspect of rural areas is that they have a rather small and stable population, leading to people knowing each other, or, knowing of each other through family relationships. This enables complex relationships among people, because people meet each other in different roles, and at different places. As a result people experience security, but also social control (Solheim 2001:17).

Late modernity changes our lives, and the change is very visible in Norwegian countryside. The majority of people have become more mobile using their own cars, but public transportation is reduced. There has been a rapid centralisation of banks, post-offices and shops. This makes elderly and handicapped people unable to drive more isolated than ever before (Solheim 2001:19). And while modern information and communication technology might diminish geographical distances for the majority of Norwegians, the opposite seems to be the case for many elderly.[7] This can imply that elders living in remote areas get increasingly isolated at present time, and the lack of former meeting places might lessen the bonds between neighbours. "The strength of a relationship refers to the frequency, reciprocity emotional intensity, and intimacy of that relationship", writes Brass et al. (1998:17).[8] They further argue that cooperation, trust, intimacy and empathy develop between two parties in a strong relationship, and that if people are linked by more than one type of relationship – as friend, neighbour, business associate and so forth – this multiplexity adds as a constraint on unethical behaviour (Brass et al. 1998). Whether multiplexity always promotes ethical behaviour is sort of another question. People do not always like each other. Criminals and abusers also get old and ill and in need of care. "Knowing too much" about someone might hinder professional care. But then – what is professional care? Solheim writes:

> We hardly find the ideal relation that is described in literature in the rural communities. The user of

services is in literature seen as an unknown individual about whom one should collect data, gain trust, show sympathy and so forth. It is the ideal type of user that is promoted as normal and thereby easily becomes the norm, without it being explicitly expressed that other types of relationships are abnormal or less wanted (Solheim 2001:26, author's translation).

At the present time we see that the ideals of professional care evolve. Promoters of person-centred care argue for a closer, more mutual relationship with the patient; the role of the carer as the distant, effective professional is questioned.

Person-centred Care: Knowing the Patient

Person-centred care is often promoted as a holistic form of care, developed particularly for individuals with Alzheimer's disease or similar cognitive impairments, one of the primary advocates being Tom Kitwood.[9] My discussion of person-centred care is based on the work of Brendan McCormack[10] and his associates in the field of practice development;

Person-centred care has a long association with nursing, and at a level of principle is well understood as that which is concerned with: treating people as individuals; respecting their rights as a person; building mutual trust and understanding, and developing therapeutic relationships (McCormack & McCance 2010:1).

McCormack & McCance advocates person-centred care as something to aim for in all staff-patient relations. Person-centred care seems necessary if patients shall be able to contribute to the design of their own care as well as achieve a sense of independence and suitable activities as they are entitled to by Norwegian law.[11]

There are many approaches to what care is and what care should aim to be, and there are different ways to understand the term *person*. McCormack and McCance fuse different philosophical perspectives on "person" claiming the term to be understood through the concept of "authenticity": "By authentic is meant a way of reaching decisions which are truly one´s own – decisions that express all that one believes important about oneself and the world, the entire complexity of one's values" (Gadow 1980:85 in McCormack & McCance 2010:14). It is further stressed that an individual is always embedded in the culture of the communities from which identity is derived,[12] and finally: "People have a past, present and future and to detach oneself from the past serves to deform the present and plans for the future" (McCormack & McCance 2010:15). I find a certain inherent paradox in presenting the term authenticity when talking of an individual as a changeable being, since authenticity implicates something original, an unquestionable quality that is stable and set. But McCormack and McCance certainly argue for a perspective upon persons as flexible, changeable beings, and authenticity in this connection can be regarded as the versions of self that the individual *itself* experiences as authentic at *any given time* in contrast to roles or personality traits tossed upon the individual by others. Sociologist Anthony Giddens addresses a similar approach to identity when he writes:

The existential question of self-identity is bound up with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual "supplies" about herself. A person's identity is not to be found in behavior, nor - important though this is - in the interaction of others, but in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going* (Giddens 1991:54).

Assuming that McCormack and McCance agree upon such an understanding of the flexible narrated self, I will continue their argumentation. The question becomes; how can we get to know a patient as a person? McCormack and McCance argue that one useful tool is the idea of a "life plan";[13] a presentation of what a person wants to do in life, life priorities, goals, ambitions, dreams and desires. A life plan is not permanently set; it evolves over time with new experiences (McCormack & McCance 2010:17). In ethnological terms we would rather speak of life stories, and of illness narratives,[14, 15] both are important genres of personal narratives.[16] Illness destroys or changes an individual's biography. Norwegian sociologist Dag Album (1996) has studied illness narratives in hospitals. He claims that the ill person must work on her/his biography, and establish a new narrative in the world by sharing it with others:

> They reconstruct both their past and future. (…) They create a personal model of what has happened, a processed version of a historical course of events. They work on connecting the illness into their lives. Hence, the stories are just as concerned about the individuals self as they are of the illness (Album 1996:140, author's translation).[17]

Following the train of thought from above, we can assume that sharing illness stories with others are crucial for patients and thereby for our nursing home patients as well. But the above examples refer to patients with their language and speaking facilities, as well as cognitive abilities, still intact. This is often not the case for patients in nursing homes, due to severe dementia, stroke or other handicaps. Hydén and Antelius confront such matters in their article *Communicative disability and stories: Toward an embodied conception of narratives* (2010). According to them, "narratives are produced through a speech event, making a story part of or embodied in, a network of social relations" (Hydén and Antelius 2010:599). Meaning is created as the story is designed for a particular listener, and in this process of telling and listening both parties makes use of shared background knowledge. Hence, cultural and contextual factors are crucial for the analysis of narratives.

Hydén and Antelius further stress *the body*; strangely enough they write, the body and especially the diseased body has often been forgotten in the research on stories, disability and illness (2010:599). They argue that in the cases where the person lacks verbal communicative skills due to disease or cognitive impairments, they need to use non-verbal resources like gestures and eye movements. Hydén and Antelius further suggest to us[18] that we include vicarious voices in order to facilitate the stories being told (2010:600). It seems to be implied in this argument that the vicarious storyteller has quite good knowledge of the primary storyteller, and has his or her trust, if not it is hard to believe the story would turn out as the ill person intends. This leaves us with a challenge; how can we create a fruitful environment for patients with ill and dysfunctional bodies to tell stories about their changed selves? Folklorist Georg Drakos argues that this is possible. He questions the very idea that a human's self and identity is determined by the individual's ability to produce and if needed revise a coherent and logical story about oneself. This, Drakos argues, is connected to the idea of a coherent self, an idea that has been questioned

from many perspectives (Drakos 2013: 177). His work in a nursing home, as part of a team making short films with severely ill patients, has convinced him that narrating is a social, bodily action, and that very ill individuals' storytelling contest normative attitudes towards narrating and narratives;

> (…) the loss of bodily functions that prevent a human from narrating cannot be taken as a proof of this person lacking a sense of self or a personal identity. I have argued that a human's self is embedded in the body, and that our embodied experiences exist as an invisible assumption for all narrating – and all narrating is a bodily action. Hence, the challenge for the scholar of narratives is to use the narrator's bodily prerequisites as a starting point, and the multitude of forms the production of narratives can take, rather than being governed by assumptions and assessments of the products as a full and coherent story (Drakos 2013:19, author's translation).

McCormack & McCance, Hydén & Antelius and Drakos all suggest an approach to care that expands what is normally perceived as a professional role. They argue that the carer ought to establish a dialogical space that enable the patient to share a life plan (McCormack & McCance) or a story (Hydén & Antelius and Drakos) in an intimate fashion relying on trust similar to the kind an individual normally share with close friends and family. Let us have a look at three of MEDCED's nursing homes, and how their various contexts affect relations among staff and patients.

An International Nursing Home in the Wilderness

NH15 is located in a coastal municipality with a small and extremely scattered population located on an abundance of islands and a mainland torn by fjords. Most of the nursing home building is very old. The premises are not well suited as a nursing home by current standards – neither indoors, nor outdoors. This is the only full-fledged nursing home in the municipality, but there are a few supported living facilities located in other parts of the community. But if the elderly need fulltime care, they are transferred to NH15. Due to the distance relatives must drive (and often take a ferry or two) to get to the institution, they mostly come visiting in the weekends. This is a pity, the leader thinks, because in weekends the nursing home is staffed at minimum level, and thereby staff has scarce time to talk to the relatives. There is also some frustration among relatives because they would like their ill family members to stay in the supported living facilities in their own community, but these are not staffed or qualified to take care of seriously ill patients in need of fulltime care.

NH15 is of medium size when it comes to patients admitted. The staff does not normally know the patients that move in. They seldom have relatives of staff admitted. Many patients come from remote and desolate parts of the municipality. The nursing home leader suggests this might be one of the reasons for them being admitted in the first place; the elderly person often has neither family nor neighbours nearby.

Many of the employees at NH15 are quite old, and will soon retire, the leader reports. Aging staff is a general problem faced by most institutions. At this nursing home the rate of sick leaves is quite high. There are many chronically ill among staff. On the positive side, they have never had as many qualified nurses as they have

at the moment. The level of education is above average in our investigation.

Due to challenges in getting enough qualified staff from the municipality, NH15 have a quite international staff, mainly recruited from Eastern Europe and Asia. Most of the foreigners are authorized health workers, some authorized nurses. The nursing home leader thinks the foreigners bring many positive things with them, but language issues is a challenge, and it takes time before the foreigners get settled in properly.

When asked if staff have any systematic approach to gathering information on the patients when they arrive, the leader says staff does this well at the dementia ward. At the long term ward she knows they are working on this at the time of our conversation, as a consequence of our intervention.

We have data concerning person-centred care from our questionnaires given to staff. On the claim "The inhabitant's life story is routinely used when planning care"[19] the answers are above mean positive. On the question "We regularly have meetings where we specifically discuss how we shall give care to our patients" NH15 has a very good score, indicating that planning and collaboration is central at this nursing home. On the other hand, when the claim is "I actually do not have time to perform person-centred care" their answer is slightly above averagely positive, suggesting that work load is experienced as rather high at this institution. This work load though, and the reported high level of sick leaves among staff, does not seem to influence staff satisfaction negatively. When all 13 questions concerning psychological and social factors at work are summed up, NH 15 is at top among all our 24 nursing homes when it comes down to reporting work satisfaction.[20] Seven of these questions regard staff's relationship to their leader, and these answers show an exceptionally good relationship.

In MEDCED we find NH15 very interesting. That an outdated building with aging staff and heavy workload at a remote location should report so well on both person-centred care and job satisfaction, is not to be expected. It is not the safety among long term neighbours that promote the well-being among staff, and it is not the pre-knowledge of the patients that promote the person-centred care they get. Rather the good results are due to a more than averagely resourceful leader, importing the skills she needs from the international workers market, and instructing her staff to work systematically in teams to provide person-centred care. In other words, the leader's strategy and competence trumps the not very promising contextual cards she has been given, creating a blossoming, international nursing home in a Norwegian outskirt.

The culture at this nursing home can be characterised as quite open and teachable. The leader said that she, and the staff, knew much of what was taught to them from before; still it was great to hear it from someone else. As the saying goes; an expert is someone from out of town. Also, both leader and staff at this institution found the supervised sessions to be very useful and interesting. In these sessions they shared their knowledge of the patients and discussed the best care. The leader voiced that the patients literally changed form in front of her eyes; an old

man that she had seen as a *patient*, she now perceived as *an old farmer*. This exemplifies how productive it is to collaborate when making or recreating the story of an individual. When all the different pieces of information different staff might hold is put together, the picture gets both more realistic and more useful.

A Traditional Nursing Home in a Close Knit Community

NH 22 is located in a small inland municipality connected to the ocean by a fjord. The municipality has many mountains and lakes, still most inhabited areas are more easily accessible by car and public transportation here than in the municipality above – and the distances from one end of the municipality to the other is much shorter. Most of the nursing home building mass is overdue for renovation. Outdoor facilities are not quite as bad, some big terraces and a yard are available for patients. NH 22 is the only nursing home in the municipality. The municipality also has some supported living facilities for elderly located in the different community centers.

In this municipality they have what can be called "integrated services"; home care is organized by the leaders of the nursing home. Hence, some of the same staff is used both at the nursing home and as mobile teams giving people care in their own homes. This organizational model is seen in many small municipalities, and though it certainly has its challenges (as for instance lack of predictability for staff), it gives staff intimate knowledge of patients before they eventually get admitted to the nursing home. It also gives the leaders an overview and an aid to plan ahead for patients still living at home. Finally, it promotes patients' welfare that they already know much of staff if and when they get institutionalized.

NH22 is a medium sized nursing home. The patients come from the municipality, and since it is so small, the leader says that patients experience living at NH22 as staying in their own neighbourhood. Many patients have relatives and family nearby. Quite a few staff live in walking distance from the nursing home, and it is not unusual that staff has family or relatives admitted at the nursing homes. The leader says this can be problematic, because sometines staff starts demanding particular rooms for their family and so forth. They have to handle such situations professionally, for instance by not having staff work on the same ward as they have relatives. Mostly, the close knit community seems to have a positive effect. The leader reports that every single one of the patients had family accompanying them to last year's Christmas party at the nursing home.

Rate of sick leaves is high at this institution. Staff has been reduced due to lack of funding, and this has put more strain on the remaining staff. Staff cannot go to work if they feel "half ill" any longer – the shifts are just too demanding. Staff's level of education is at the bottom of the range in our sample, with only one other of the 24 nursing homes sharing this low level of formal competence. Still, staff here is more than averagely satisfied with their work environment. However, participant observation and discussions with staff at NH22 showed that staffing was a challenge on an everyday basis, and that ward leaders spent most of their time trying to

solve staffing challenges, leaving little time for other important issues.

Both geography and demography contribute to making this municipality "close knit". Eating lunch with a group of staff, they jokingly said one had to be careful saying anything bad about anybody in this community, because everybody was related. At some wards they have professional routines collecting data about the patients when they are admitted, relatives are encouraged to write their story, and deliver pictures that can be used for conversation in the ward. Still, NH22 does not score very high on person-centred care. This can be a result of not having professional strategies of putting person-centred knowledge into use, or it might be that lack of education makes staff unaware of what person-centred care is, and that they thereby underestimate, or underreport, the care they actually give. Doing fieldwork at this institution I saw a few good examples of person-centred care. Most remarkable was the case of an old woman, "Kari", suffering from severe dementia. Kari was very frustrated, but still quite physically fit, and she continuously wanted to go home. Staff had decided to try letting her visit her ill spouse at their home. A member of staff accompanied Kari to her home several times a week, spending almost all day outside the institution. Kari became much more at ease at the ward as well when she got these frequent visits to her former home. The flexibility and will to make this work among staff and ward leaders were admirable.

The staff-culture at this home seems to be quite complex, with some nurses and nursing-aids aiming for change, while others resist. After our supervisions some major changes were made for a few patients, restraint and medication was reduced, and one woman in particular got a much better quality of health and life. This was reported by our facilitators as a true "sunshine-story". But the process was not at all smooth, in the beginning some staff called the ones trying to discontinue medicine and lessen restraint for this patient for idiots, and they refused to participate in acting out the new strategies they had decided upon.

A Tiny Nursing Home in a Close Knit City Neighbourhood

One might assume that urban nursing homes are big standardized institutions, but this is not always the case in Norway. Rather, most bigger cities have a variety of nursing homes. Some have developed from being homes for the elderly, some are run by religious foundations, others have previously had particular vocational groups in focus. NH23 is a small nursing home in a city municipality housing a wide range of nursing homes. The building is totally renovated, and meets most modern demands. There is a huge terrace and a park across the street. The nursing home is located in a building that also houses several rental flats for elderly. The nursing home leader is in charge of these flats as well, and the staff works both in the nursing home and serves as home care nurses for the elderly inhabitants in the rental flats. The nursing home is located in an urban area, but also in a rather close knit community: several local organizations and the local church tie people together. Most of the inhabitants in the nursing home come from the neighbourhood. Some have been residents in the flats for

the elderly, before needing such intensive care that they got admitted as permanent residents at the nursing home. The staff expressed great content about their organizational model.

The services at NH23 are integrated much in the same way as in the small municipality housing NH22 mentioned above. But at NH23 the integrated services do not include the municipality as such, just this particular institution and its rental flats. Due to the population being dense in this area, most patients come from a geographically small neighbourhood, though there sometimes are exceptions to this.[21] Many patients know each other from before being admitted, or they knew former residents of the nursing home. Many residents have relatives in the neighbourhood.

The leader is very satisfied with the staff. This is not surprising; staff here has the best formal qualifications in our sample. The rate of sick-leave is very low. The leader thinks it is due to many of the oldest employees having retired, and more young people having taken over. This institution is well staffed.

Many members of staff come from this municipality, though not the very neighbourhood. Some of them have moved to this neighbourhood after starting to work at NH23. This nursing home also has a quite international staff. The leader says that they demand above average good Norwegian skills of their foreign employees, and being a popular institution, they can make such demands.

When it comes to person-centred care, our survey reveal that NH23 is a bit above the mean when it comes to the claim ”I actually don’t have time to perform person centred-care”. This is somewhat surprising to me, having spent some time at the nursing home, and finding it one of the least hurried. Regarding the claim “The inhabitant’s life story is routinely used when planning care” NH23’s means is far below average; hence their knowledge of the patients is not routinely put into use. On the other hand, on the claim ”We have the possibility of changing work routines if the patient’s wishes” NH23’s score is quite high, showing that the staff is quite flexible after all.

NH23 is settled in a village-like context; somewhat more village-like than some of the actual small villages, due to the grade of interaction among the local community and the nursing home, and the integrated services. NH23 is a bit paradoxical. Staff has the opportunity of getting to know many of the patients over time, but this option, and this knowledge, does not seem to be put systematically in use. This is a paradox also because staff at this institution is highly qualified. I did observe some examples of person-centred care while doing fieldwork, as staff taking an active, restless old lady suffering from dementia on city walks. Further, a nurse made especially nice food for a patient on diet, not happy with what the cook had served. Both walking and cooking seemed to be done to reduce agitation among patients. Using person-centred care as alternative for restraint is just what the MEDCED intervention teaches, and this is of course good care practice. But ideally the person-centred care should encompass the quiet, undemanding old men and women as well. And it seems that without professional strategies of doing this, pre-knowledge of patients are put to little

use. But then – how much pre-knowledge do staff have? Our facilitators were surprised at this institution, of how little some of staff knew of their patients. On my direct question, one nurse said they did not *need* to know much about them. On an evaluation meeting after our intervention at this institution the manager said that they had gotten some interesting tools (during our course), but the manager feared that these might be forgotten. It seems as both manager and staff perceived our approaches to person-centred care and the seven step model as something they can use to handle severe situations. But since they have few of these, they do not need this tool (at the present time). Person-centred care is seen as a tool to *solve* difficult situations, rather than a tool to *prevent* difficult situations in the future. I perceive the culture at this institution as rather closed. It is a common assumption that organisations with high competence acquire new knowledge most easily – this did not seem to be the case at NH23. Rather, the culture seemed complacent; they had a popular nursing home where much was going very well. The individual patient's stories, hopes and dreams were not prioritized.

Final Discussion

Due to the assumption that prior knowledge can make it easier to establish trust and a mutual relationship between the elderly ill person and staff, I focus much on prior knowledge of the patient in this essay. The assumption "everybody knows everybody" in a countryside nursing home is based on the belief that both patients and staff have roots in the same soil so to speak. The latter is often not the case. Several of MEDCED's participant nursing homes have a quite strikingly international staff. The hiring of foreign staff is not necessarily a sign of not having Norwegians wanting to work at the institution, but the locals might not satisfy the raising demands for qualified staff. Current nursing home leaders employ nurses and nursing aids that have specialized in relevant fields, rather than housewives or employees that have lost their jobs due to a local factory being closed down or similar. The search for qualified staff is an ongoing and tough process for most leaders of nursing homes in small and remote municipalities, and some look to other countries. Hence, giving priority to formal qualifications rather than local knowledge when hiring staff might raise formal skills at the institution, but local knowledge and long term relations to patients are jeopardised. Another factor that jeopardise patient-staff relationships is centralisation, and reorganisation into specialised units, of the nursing homes. Marit Solheim discusses different premises for care in her essay "Should we care about differences between The Small Town and The City?"[22] (2001, author's translation). Solheim writes that there are many examples of local communities wanting to sustain smaller nursing homes in little villages in their municipality, but where both professional and political leaders disagree. They usually use economic arguments to close down small nursing homes, but there are no conclusive arguments supporting that it is cheaper to run big centrally placed nursing homes than small local ones. On the other hand, scholars *do* agree that it is better for all categories of care receivers to live in small institutions. Solheim argue

that elders ought to benefit from this knowledge (Solheim 2001:20), but at the present, the opposite trend is prevalent. Specialised wards, and strong claims for cost effective administration of nursing homes makes its mark all over Norway, the only municipalities seeming to escape this trend being the unusually wealthy ones.

Factors that promote relationships between staff and patients are less than I expected related to the urban/rural division. We have seen that integrated services between nursing homes and home care promote relations among staff and patients. It seems that such organisation can strengthen relations that are already present, as the case is for NH22, or establish a common ground for growing relationships between the elderly that is not yet in need of nursing home services, as is the case with NH23. But one subject is the institutional conditions, another is staff culture. In the sample of three nursing discussed in this essay it is the staff with the least pre-knowledge of the patients that were most inclined towards person-centred care, and also most positive and perceptive for change and new knowledge. Nursing homes in Norway differ to a great degree, as do the institutional and contextual challenges for staff. Hence, it is hard to say what contextual factors that are most important in shaping staff culture. But in our study the leader, and his or her competence, attitudes and strategies for leadership seem to trump most contextual factors. It also seems to be a connection between staff satisfaction and person-centred care. Staff thrives when seen and treated as individuals, and when they are part of an inclusive and tolerant staff culture. Such staff cultures seem more inclined to perceive and treat their patients as individuals as well.

In this essay I have shown some examples of person-centred care. But this is the great challenge; making use of what staff knows of the patients to improve their days at the institutions. In her essay "What is person-centred care in dementia?" Dawn Brooker argues that "Filing cabinets in care facilities around the world are full of information about people's lives but still care staff will not know even the rudimentary facts. The individual´s perspectives need to be used if they are to be part of person-centred care" (2004: 220). This is obviously a challenge whether the context is urban or rural. Even if everybody knows everybody, one needs a professional perspective to translate this knowledge into action in the framework of person-centred care. Put in other words, it is a challenge for all to help create, re-create and sustain a meaningful life story for the seriously ill older person, a story that can both express the persons individual experience and reflections, and aid staff in their struggle to create a worthy present *and future* for the nursing home patient – however limited this future might turn out to be.

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Notes

1 MEDCED is short for **"**Modelling and evaluating an evidence based continuing education program in nursing home dementia care". The

project is hosted by Centre for Care Research at the University College of Bergen and the Regional Centre for age-related medicine (Stavanger) is funded by the Norwegian Research Council. The knowledge translation process is thoroughly described and tested using a RCT cluster design to ensure the replicability of the study and applicability of the results.

2 All MEDCED data is anonymized. I refer to the institutions by the number they appear in our statistical material.

3 The questionnaires used include one page of personal background questions, QPS Nordic – a questionnaire considering psychological and social factors at the work place, and PCAT – a questionnaire measuring person-centred care. The questionnaires are distributed by a team of trained raters. The results are processed into statistics by Oddvar Førland.

4 See Testad 2009. Testad and Tone Elin Mekki designed the present project, where Mekki is the driving force, and Christine Øye and Eva-Marie Tveit are employed in post. doc. positions.

5 The patient and user-rights law, chapter 4A: http://www.helsedirektoratet.no/lover-regler/pasient-og-brukerrettighetsloven-kapittel-4a/Sider/default.aspx

6 Norsk Form, Foundation for Design and Architecture in Norway, is one organization promoting new locations and new ways of thinking about Norwegian Nursing homes. Norsk Form argue these homes represent good care facilities for the "new old": http://www.norskform.no/Documents/Byutvikling/Bylab/Eldre%20i%20sentrum%209_interaktiv_080910_1.pdf

7 Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*, relying on numbers from Statistics Norway, recently claimed that 400 000 persons between the age of 59 and 79 never use internet. In total one assume 600 000 individuals never use the net. Representatives from senior organisations claim that the elders are being discriminated by the state, since the state assumes that all citizens use the net in issues concerning tax, health and public services. Source: *Aftenposten* 14. November 2013; http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/400000-eldre-mellom-55-og-79-ar-er-ikke-pa-internett-7372846.html

8 They refer to Granovetter 1973: "The strength of weak ties". *American Journal of Sociology*, 78.

9 See for instance Kitwood, Tom 1997: *Dementia reconsidered: the person comes first*. Buckingham: Open University Press

10 McCormack is a true senior in this field, with over 100 peer reviewed articles and several books in his luggage. He is one of the driving forces in discussions on, and development of, person centered care.

11 FOR 2003-06-27 nr 792: Regulation about quality of care in care-services for services after law of 19. November 1982 nr 66 about health care in the municipalities and after law of 13. Desember 1991 nr 81 about social services and so forth (Author's translation) http://www.lovdata.no/for/sf/ho/xo-20030627-0792.html

12 Here McCormack and McCance refer to MacIntyre 1992: *After Virtue - A study in Moral Theory*.

13 McCormack and McCance get the concept of life plan from the social psychologist Diana T. Meyer's book *Self, Society and Personal Choice* (1989).

14 See for instance Arthur Kleinman 1988: *The illness narratives: suffering, healing and the human condition*.

15 Though not an ethnologist, Arthur Frank's work on narratives of "deep illness" is also very interesting.

16 See for instance Sandra Dolby Stahl 1989*: Literary folkloristics and the personal narrative*.

17 Album further refers to Goffman's «retelling events» (1981:2), making a point of the ritual perspective of the storytelling situation and how the listeners listen patiently and respectfully as a part of the ritual.

18 All questions are translated by author.

19 Questionnaire: QPS Nordic.

20 NH23 recommends inhabitants from their rental flats when they need extensive care, but a board at the municipality takes the final decision. They might prioritize an elderly person from another area with urgent need to be institutionalized.

21 Original title: *Skal vi bry oss om skilnaden mellom Hyen og Byen?*

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Eldre i sentrum − bedre boliger for de nye gamle. Eksempelsamling fra Norsk Form; http://www.norskform.no/Documents/Byutvikling/Bylab/Eldre%20i%20sentrum%209_interaktiv_080910_1.pdf

Pasient- og brukerrettighetsloven kapittel 4 A, http://www.helsedirektoratet.no/lover-regler/pasient-og-brukerrettighetsloven-kapittel-4a/Sider/default.aspx

Community Involvement in Urban Renewal

An Ethnographic Perspective on Danish *Områdefornyelser*

By Giovanni Acerbis

The residents' decisions: The special feature of Områdefornyelserne is that residents' needs and resources have a great impact on how the renewal effort will proceed. The local forces are actively involved in all the stages of the development. This means a strengthening of residents and user involvement and ownership of the neighbourhood. It is the dialogue with citizens, associations, institutions, commercial businesses etc. that determines which problems and solutions to focus on (København 2013:4).

During the last decades, in the field of urban planning, development and renewal projects there has been a growing interest in trying to involve the community of local residents. Grassroots initiatives and organisation, groups of concerned citizens, small 'cultural' businesses and artistic associations started to demand a more active role in the processes that affect and change the space they live, work and operate in. Slowly but surely their demands have been somehow taken into consideration by the various municipal institutions and governmental authorities. Indeed, at the present moment involving the local community in urban renewal has become, in cities like Copenhagen, an almost consolidated institutional practice. Official discourses surrounding the projects place a strong emphasis on the inclusion of the residents in open-ended, innovative and democratic ways. And a non-indifferent amount of energies – also financial – are devoted to that.

However, in the concrete dynamics of these projects, participatory practices often happen in rather confused ways − and their final outcomes are, in some cases, far lower than what would be expected by looking at official discourses.

The main ethnographic problematic of this article is to produce an empirical and analytical understanding of the tensions and contradictions surrounding community involvement in urban regeneration in Greater Copenhagen. This is deemed important, since the most part of the literature on the subject focuses more on a general and sociological understanding of such problems, and the various researches are carried out mainly in different contexts than the Danish one.[1] The aim of this article, then, is to explore and understand what actually happens when the so much praised participation of citizens is carried out in urban renewal, as well as to try to grasp what lays behind the discrepancy between the high interests and efforts in community involvement and the not so inclusive character of their practices and outcomes.

The research behind the present article was carried out from April 2012 to May 2013. It focused on urban renewal projects (*Områdefornyelser*) of one Municipality and two Districts in the area of Greater Copenhagen. My role in the projects was not only that of a researcher: I was there also as part of a network-oriented organization of architects, designers and researchers that have been working with innovative participatory practices in urban renewal and development projects for the last 10 years. The organization was contracted to engage and involve the local residents in several sub-projects of the three *Områdefornyelser*. I collaborated with them as an intern first, and freelance after. The main findings and analysis produced were finalised in my Master dissertation in Applied Cultural Analysis, Copenhagen University.

The research is based on data gathered and produced through interviews, participant observations, informal (non-recorded) conversations, workshops, public meetings, conferences and, in general, the everyday activities carried out in the field. Concerning interviews, the participants were selected in order to cover the various stakeholders and people involved in the various projects. That ranged from *Områdefornyelse* project leaders, to private consultancy firms, local citizens, and representatives of the various public and private organizations that were related to the urban renewal efforts. Additionally, the analysis and discussion are based on a plethora of different official documents, such as the various *Områdefornyelse* official programs, applications for private and public funds, and final reports concerning the outcome of the projects and sub-projects. This is further integrated by web based research which focused on the home pages of the Ministry of Town, Housing and Rural Development, the Municipalities involved in urban renewal, as well as local newspapers and publications.

It is important to mention before we start, that due to privacy issues, the names of the informants as well as places, organisations, and firms which together represent the empirical material on which this work is based, are going to be treated anonymously.

Contextualising Danish Urban Renewal: Network Governance

Community participation in urban renewal has been praised and institutionalised not only in public sectors, but also within academic circles. Allowing for the participation of citizens in the various projects is seen as a "major method for improving the quality of the physical environment, enhancing services, preventing crime, and improving social conditions" (Chavis & Wandersman 1991:56). Also, for others, it is the very base for making renewal processes more democratic and inclusive, with as a result the empowerment of the citizenry (Healey 2003; Sørensen & Torfing 2005). However, one of the main reasons provided to explain the strong and shared interests in participatory practices focuses on the governmental aspects of urban renewal – namely network-based governance. The concept is used to describe emerging modes of governing that promote institutional arrangements which include to a greater extent actors and stakeholders outside the public sector – namely, private sector and civil society (Swyngedouw 2005:1992). Some of these researchers claim that, due to the complexity of society and consequently of any act of governing, network modalities of policy making and implementation are more efficient and better suited than hierarchical modes of government (Koppenjan and Klijn, in van Bortel & Mullins 2009:205). In the latter, a centralised and single actor – e.g. the welfare state – assumes all the functions and responsibilities of governing. As a consequence, there can be an increase in public expenditures in governmental actions, since the single and central actor assumes all their financial responsibilities. Furthermore, a hierarchical and centralised modality of government may run into the risk of the institutionalisation and solidification of specific governmental practices, which

are not necessarily the most suited for their specific aims. Additionally, the presence of an overreaching bureaucratic system can make change and innovation very difficult to happen. And, last but not least, the exchange of new ideas, expertise and know-how may be limited by the centralisation of all the responsibilities.

Instead, network governance promotes the framework of partnership, where the various partners share parts of the *responsibilities* and functions in decision-making, administration and implementation, which previously pertained to public institutions (Swyngedouw 2005:1992).

This model sees the inclusion and mobilisations of resources outside the public sector (including the community of local citizens) the pivotal way to reach a democratic, efficient and effective government (Pierre, in Swyngedouw 2005:1995). Network governance is described as allowing for horizontal interactions between presumptive equal participants who, through mediations, conflicts and compromises shape the urban renewal in ways that will favour the collective public interest (Schmitter 2000:4; Sørensen & Torfing 2005:9).

At the level of the national state, network governance is achieved through institutional reforms that encompass a double restructuring of the public institutions. The first one refers to the externalisation of the state apparatus through deregulation and *privatisation* of former state-based sectors of urban governance. The aim of privation is to lower public/state expenditures in the act of government, as well as to include in an organic and direct way expertise and know-how. The second one points to the down-scaling of government to local institutional departments and units (such as counties and municipalities) through *decentralisation* (Jessop, in Swyngedouw 2005: 1998), in order to allocate them more freedom and independence.

One of the most salient outcomes of it is that there is a proliferation of actors (both public and private) that acquire more and more important roles in realms that before pertained mostly to the state – financing, decision making, designing and implementation processes… Thus, the acts of government in this context extend also beyond the state. Instead of the state taking direct decision in relation to urban renewal projects and applying them accordingly, government has now turned into stakeholder governance, where the public institutions try to maintain levels of smooth cooperation and shared goals achievement.

The framework of network governance is highly relevant for the Danish context. Indeed, starting from the 1990s, Denmark started to develop an hybrid form of government that aimed at opening its traditionally welfare state to liberal influences (Campbell & Pedersen 2007), and it has now reached a well-defined hybrid between welfare and networked governance. Such achievement has been highly praised not only in academic circles, but also through global media, as the special issue on Nordic Countries by *The Economist* very well shows (*The Economist* February 2nd 2013).[2]

Within network governance, then, the community of local residents is supposed to have active access, with other private actors and public institutions, to decision

making, designing and implementation processes of the renewal of the area they live in.

However, the promises of network based arrangements of governance may run ahead of how things works in practice. Several authors suggest that the highly praised horizontal interactions between the stakeholders could hide the formation of informal – but nonetheless present – hierarchies that would favour some actors at the expenses of others (Swyngedouw 2005; Tasan-Kok 2012). Furthermore, the concrete opportunities that the various actors have to influences the processes may not be as equal as the official views on network governance imply.

There seems to be several contradictions then, between the promises of network governance and its concrete outcome that the following ethnographic analysis of concrete examples of community involvement practices will try to uncover and explain.

The following section aims at presenting the main features of *Områdefornyelse* projects, so to construct the empirical bases on which the subsequent sections will build upon in the analysis of participatory practices.

Danish Urban Renewal: *Områdefornyelse*

Områdefornyelse is a program of the Danish state which was under the Ministry of Social Affairs until 2011, and was relocated by the new coalition government lead by Helle Thorning Schmidt under the Ministry of Town, Hosing and Rural Development (Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter). It aims at generating a holistic renewal of the targeted area by taking into consideration both the physical and socio-cultural aspects: indeed, the grant is to be used for the renewal of streets, squares and parks as well as to create and support social and cultural activities.[3]

In order to receive the grant from the State, the Ministry allows for one year time in which the Municipal council applying for fund can develop a detailed program that has to be submitted for final evaluation. In the application format for *Områdefornyelse*, the Ministry provides a list of guidelines and requirements that need to be taken into consideration during the design of the overall project. One of the main preconditions for receiving support is the involvement of local stakeholders and actors in the planning and implementation of activities: "in connection with the preparation of the program the municipal council shall establish a binding cooperation with the parties that may be affected by the local council's decision on the area."[4] The stakeholders/parties referred to are: the local community of residents; public institutions such as schools, hospitals, libraries, museums, etc...; shop and business owners, landowners. Stakeholders' involvement is deemed important because "Involving the private capabilities and resources early in the process may create a sense of responsibility of all concerned citizens, businesses and organisations to ensure continued development in the area − even after the public investment ends."[5] Moreover, the drive behind engaging the community from the beginning lies in the firm belief that it will create a sense of ownership of the projects, which will secure their success and establishment in the future (ibid: 3).

Once the Municipal programme is accepted by the Ministry, the urban renewal process can start. The first step the Municipality in question has to take is to create a specific office for it: the *Områdefornyelse* Secretariat with the project leader, and a Steering Committee composed half by municipal officers and half by local residents, associations and businesses. The project leader, together with the Secretariat, is the executing and practical manager (also in relation to the hiring of external expertise and know-how in carrying out parts of the various sub-projects), while the Steering Committee has the responsibility for the overall planning and administration of the urban renewal.

Privatisation and Processes of Stakeholderization

At the level of urban renewal projects in Greater Copenhagen, processes of privatisation are pushed through first and foremost by the Ministry of Town, Housing and Rural Development.

As we have seen, the Ministry sets as a binding requirement for *Områdefornyelse* the inclusion of private resources and stakeholders. The aim is to share expenditures, responsibilities, practical tasks and know-how/expertise. However, reforming the urban renewal field by turning it into a set of (quasi) markets brings along certain features that may in the end create new problems. These relate to the roles the different stakeholders enjoy in urban renewal projects, and how private actors sponsoring them can acquire stronger roles at the expenses of others (especially the community of local residents). Additionally, privatisation may carry along issues of dependency of the state on private financing and expertise. As it will be shown, these problems did in some cases compromise the involvement of the local residents.

Within *Områdefornyelser* there are various private and supra-national (such as the European Union) actors that contribute financially to specific phases or sub-projects of the overall urban renewal. In the case of a neighbourhood in the north of Copenhagen Municipality, the local Secretariat applied for money from the private foundation Real Dania in relation to a sub-project connected with an environmentally sustainable renewal of the area.

> We have the goal to become an environment area and the municipality has given 10 million Crowns for that, which is quite little even if it is on top of the urban renewal money […]. So we applied for a private grant Real Dania – you know them? – and they will donate 60 million in the area to build on top of what they are doing and finding new sustainable solutions and helping Danish industry as well to find solutions to sell. (Employee at this specific *Områdefornyelse*).

The private financing was sought precisely because of a shortage of public money supporting the project. This fits with the privatisation reforms, achieved with the entrance of external financial support aimed at lowering dependency on the central state. The problem is that such reforming doesn't solve the problem of dependency, it simply moves it somewhere else – namely the projects are more and more dependent upon external financing. That creates a structural dependency on the private sector. The following words, from the project manager of the Områdefornyelse under scrutiny in this section, will hopefully elucidate how

such state of affairs affects the renewal processes:

> Normally you should, you are able to find the solution in the local area and so you keep it inside, local. And we don't show that we have the problem because it won't help us. The idea with this approach is to get extra funding, both from the state, and even more from private foundations. To do this, you must show that you're doing a good performance, and you know what to do and how to do it (ibid.).
>
> [*Talking about the problems encountered during the first two years of Områdefornyelse*] and of course we can't just focus on the anxieties we have, because there are so many small and big problems to solve, but we have to show what we have achieved, we have to focus on that. Because we need to show to the politicians what we have been doing these two years in the report […]. And if we want to get more money we have also to show our achievements to the big grants, and what we will do, so they can support us because they see what they can get out from helping us (*Områdefornyelse* project manager).

The projects are in a constant situation of having to search for and secure financial support, both from the state and its various departments, and from external/private foundations. Being constantly on the look-out for money implies the need to always account for and promote the reasons behind the project – why it is important to finance it – as well as for the solutions proposed, goals to be achieved, practical methods and structures of action, and so forth. Promoting to external actors means that "you must show that you're doing a good performance", and to do so you have to somehow hide the problems, doubts and insecurities implicit in such an open-ended way of working, if you are to win the money needed.

Therefore, structural dependency on external financial support entails as a consequence the constant need to 'sell' the project, which effectively places it under the pressure of market-forces. In turn, this also implies that a great deal of resources and efforts have to be spent on the search for grants and promoting/selling the project, at the expenses of the concrete renewal processes.

This structural dependency on the external financing implies that the private actors acquire a stronger role and influence at the expenses of the public sector and civil society.

A good case that very well shows how a private grant affects design and implementation processes comes from a specific project in a municipality on the outskirts of the Greater Copenhagen area, developed by the local museum and a social housing association with the assent of the municipality.

The project was about the creation of a path system with different thematic routes around the city. The aim was to create awareness of the town's culture, history and resources, and add some attractiveness to it. To finance it, the project managers applied for a Real Dania grant. It happened that the foundation had a specific grant in relation to bettering the connections between neighbour areas, which fitted the purpose of the project. The only way to receive private support was through an application process, composed by several phases: first, a detailed programme for the project needed to be submitted; a preliminary evaluation was carried out by the foundation, which provided feedback on needed adjustments; a second programme was submitted, the money granted and the project started; and then, during the implementa-

tion processes, reports about the ongoing works had to be submitted to the foundation. In the words of one of the project managers:

> It was very difficult to get money and it's a long process: there are many phases, different phases, and you have to do what you want to do with the project and do at the same time what they require: it's kind of a compromise […].

And, what the project managers wanted to do was to focus as much as possible on involving the local residents and together with them develop and implement the jointly created project. However, Real Dania had something to say about it:

> So, we wanted to use a lot of money on all this citizen participation and activities, but they were like: "no, no, we can't give you so much money to do that!" They want concrete results, like architect drawings and stuff […], they want to see something on paper after the process so they can say: this is what they did with our money. So, after they told us no, in the second phase of the application we had to change that, and use the money on other stuff… and for trying to make the best process with the community, which was one of our priorities, well, it's been done almost for free by community organisations and the museum… (ibid.).

It is clear from the above quotes how the private foundation heavily affected the design and structure of the project, since it controlled how the money given for financial support was used. And in this specific case, the authority of the private actor and its personal needs and agendas ("they want concrete results, like architects drawings and stuff") worked against one of the main wishes of the project, namely participatory practices.

Processes of privatisation then, imply that private actors acquire stronger role and authority in the processes of urban renewal projects. Furthermore, constantly depending upon external financing creates a rather unstable ground on which urban renewal projects are designed and implemented. The projects are therefore born, and develop within a field of intrinsic uncertainty, that makes the people in charge spend consistent amounts of time and resources simply in promoting the ongoing processes in the most successful way possible.

Even though allowing for private money to play a very important part in *Områdefornyelse* does of course lower public expenditure, on the other hand, as the research showed, it creates stark differences in the influence different stakeholders have over the processes.

Such state of affairs carries as a consequence the creation of beyond-the-state arenas of power-based mediations and compromises, which, as the case shows, more often than not exclude the grassroots component of civil society (Swyngedouw 2005:2003). Therefore, contrarily to the official understanding of network governance, such arrangements are not horizontal (where all the actors share equal responsibilities, functions, and authority), but hide arenas of hierarchical mediations and compromises between the various actors – and such situation may limit or exclude the role of the local community.

This situation also implies a different role that the state and public institutions play in the renewal projects. The project manager, instead of governing directly – taking the full responsibility for the project, as well as being the effective managing director – figuratively takes a step back and tries to mobilize resources (eco-

nomical, expertise, cultural) from actors who are outside the state system, in order to carry out the renewal efforts. The project leader is now acting as a *facilitator* of processes:

> And so the role of us as the employed in the municipality is changing because we are more facilitators, and not experts. We're kind of struggling to connect experts, people, private financing, the public departments, and the Ministry… like that, managing… (One of the *Områdefornyelser* project manager).
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> We [*municipal officers*] are the facilitators. We try to make you [*referring to me as part of Supertanker*], the architects and specialists, and the local residents to work the best way together to come up with results (Employee at one *Områdefornyelse*).

What is interesting is also that in this networked governance public institutions and departments descend as well in the 'arena', and acquire a status of (semi) stakeholders – from the perspective of those in charge of the urban renewal project. Indeed, the Ministry becomes, from the point of view of the Municipalities and the various project managers, another external stakeholder to be managed and "satisfied". As we will see further along in the article, the stakeholderization of urban renewal processes and the consequent creation of arenas of power mediations entails that in certain circumstances, managing renewal processes is closer to operate within a hierarchical field of "masters" and their interests, which have to be respected if the project is to be concluded.

Instrumentalised Citizens' Participation

As shown at the beginning of this paper, the inclusion of the private sector and civil society is the distinctive feature of *Områdefornyelser*. This is so because, as it was previously mentioned, network governance seeks to mobilise local resources outside the public sphere, to integrate them in renewal processes and delegating to the actors who carry them more and more responsibilities and governing functions. This picture works rather well when the resources in question are of a financial nature, as it was the case, explained above, with Real Dania. However, when it comes to the community of residents, things are quite different. This is due to a subtle change in what it is meant by the word 'resources'. Instead of being something paramount for the very existence of the project (as it is the case of private financing), the community of residents is seen more as a source of passive resources, intended here as knowledge useful in sharpening and bettering the project – but not the fundamental element.

This is clear if we are to look at a subproject in the *Områdefornyelse* of the municipality located in the outer part of Greater Copenhagen. The renewal was about lifting the identity of the town, which suffered from the closure to the capital city (it is generally considered like a suburban 'sleeping' quarter), and its historical fragmented development. The *Områdefornyelse* leader, together with the Steering Committee, decided to focus on the industrial heritage of the area and to integrate it in the overall urban development. For this reason, two external organisations were hired: a consultancy firm specialised in urban heritage, and the networked-based multidisciplinary organisation with whom I was cooperating. The first one was hired as the overall project manager, as well as

with the specific task of mapping the physical industrial heritage. The second organisation, on the other hand, was hired to map the socio-cultural heritage of the town, by interviewing and engaging with local residents to create networks of engaged citizens.

The two maps, once completed, where to be juxtaposed to individuate the most interesting spots, buildings and stories to work on in a series of final workshops with all the actors involved – meaning, the municipal project leader, the consultants and the other organisation, selected citizens engaged in the networks, and owners of the industrial sites under question.

However, since the two organisations worked separately – also due to differences in working methods and overall aims in the project – the final maps were not tuned along the same lines. So, being the consultancy firm the actual on the ground manager of the project, they went along with the workshops, while the other organisation decided to stop at delivering the map it was contracted for. It is interesting to underline here that the local residents selected for the final workshops were not the ones suggested in the socio-cultural map. On the contrary,

> They [*the consultants*] went for these local actors they chose, meaning the usual people in associations who are anyway everywhere [...] I mean, completely different people from what we were doing (Member of the network-based organisation working on the project).

The consultants relied on particular residents who, for their position within institutionalised associations, held specific places both in the *Områdefornyelse* steering committee and in other official public groups. Following, there is a description of the workshop by the consultancy firm project leader:

> We wanted to present them [*the participants*] with our knowledge from the whole mapping saying: "these are the areas that we find interesting, what do you think?" So we used the first workshops to get people to talk about these areas, the possibilities, the challenges and we used the second workshop to sort of feed that back to them, to say: "see that's what you saw, so how could we activate the potential that you see, what are your ideas?"

The dynamics were the following: first, the expert presented his/her own knowledge to the participants, with the aim of receiving a feedback and preliminary suggestions and ideas for future actions. The material collected was then processed by the experts in cooperation with the public institutions (the consultant firm with the *Områdefornyelse* project leader, in our case) to select the best solutions, which were finally "fed back" to the participants in the second workshop, in order to be further refined. This selective and aimed process shows the power imbalance in the overall decision making process between the residents and the axis institution/private expertise: the first were the weak actors who could affect the project if, and only if, what they had to say followed the same lines of the latter. Collecting knowledge in this context was not a practical action free of judgement: it entailed a process of selection and exclusion.

> The downside is maybe that the ideas that people in a city like that come up with, don't have always the highest quality [...]. But we were sort of prepared for that: we did a second qualification round internally in the project [*with Områdefornyelse* secretariat], where we adjusted some of the ideas and we added some extra ideas and, I think that

worked out, you have to just think about what's you success criteria (ibid.).

So, if there was any problems with the workshops – such as the ideas generated were not "good enough" – it was possible to "adjust their ideas and add some extra ideas", bearing in mind your (from the external expertise/institution point of view) success criteria. So, accepted were the ideas which were in accordance to the success criteria of the project – which had been decided elsewhere through power-based mediations between institutions and financing private stakeholders. Following the words of Bent Flyvbjerg, "Power determines what counts as knowledge […]. Power procures the knowledge which supports its purposes, while it ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does not serve it" (Flyvbjerg 1998:226). Thus, the involvement of residents in the industrial heritage project was of an *operational* and *instrumental* character, which resulted in selective participation. Participation was mediated and limited by power, which relegated the community of residents to the role of a passive source of knowledge and resources, instead of including them as paramount actors in the renewal efforts as the official and normative discourses claim.

Community Involvement as a Façade

We have just seen how the pretended importance of the residents was translated in the concrete dynamics of the industrial heritage project in a not so democratic, instrumentalised and operational involvement. And that happened in a project that was designed from the beginning to include as much as possible the local community. In other circumstances, projects are designed so to involve the residents at later stages, which was the case of the renewal of the Activity Centre of the same Municipality.

The Activity Centre was located in close proximity with a social housing area, where the local Muslim community held a strong presence. The community finally received permission to build a Muslim Culture House in the same area targeted by the *Områdefornyelse*. So, the area surrounding the Activity Centre ended up being the focus of two overlapping agendas: on the one hand the renewal efforts, on the other the requirement set by the Technical Department of the Municipality to create more parking spaces for the soon-to-be-built Muslim culture house. The agreement on how to address the problem were mediated between the Technical Department and the *Områdefornyelse* project leader, and the solution was to combining the parking space with recreational pitches (football, handball, volleyball, basket fields...) designed on the ground. Such result was decided in the offices of the municipality with the help of an architect, without any participation of the community whatsoever.

However, since involving the community is one of the binding requirements for *Områdefornyelse* set by the Ministry, the project leader decided to create a room for citizens' participation. First he organised, together with the architect, a workshop/stakeholders meeting with representatives of the associations and groups that were going to be the direct beneficiaries of the project: the Activity Centre association, the scouts, local church and school, the tennis club, the

Muslim community. The aim of the workshop was to present the main idea (parking/recreational space) to the participants, and together 'adapt' and 'sharpen' it. The architect, then, processed and formalised the results, which were later presented in an open community meeting on the location. The meeting included several pavilions from the local associations, the Municipality, and the local Museum, and the goal was to present in an interactive way what was the idea for the renewal of the area surrounding the Activity Centre, and how it was going to develop.

The community, then, was involved at a later stage of the project, once the decision making process was over and the solution identified. This affected greatly the way the workshop was designed and what it was intended for.

> I could see that the way the architects made this workshop was locked from the beginning, because what they presented was basically ideas that were already decided. And they asked to the people coming there: "how do you divide these different sports activities, and where do you want them?" […] they were not asking the big question: do you want a… what do you want here? (Employee of the local Museum).

The space open for citizen participation was, in this case, very limited: all the residents could talk about and give their opinion on was in relation to the location of the different sport activities, and nothing more. The residents, in this case, were involved mainly because citizen participation is the normalised praxis in urban renewal processes – it is mandatory. So, in a project where decision making and designing processes were dealt with and agreed upon by stakeholders other than the residents, involving the local community becomes simply a matter of presenting what has been decided – usually through the classic 'open public meeting': it is a 'check on the to-do list'.

Such an approach, however, ran into the risk of creating discontent in the residents and associations involved, precisely because the citizens felt like they were excluded and not properly listened to. Indeed, feelings of dissatisfaction were very present in the local residents, and they were brought up during the meeting with the *Områdefornyelse* steering committee which followed the community meeting. The reaction of the urban renewal project manager to the critiques was an *aut-aut* – either we do it this way now, or nothing happens for a long time:

> At the steering group meeting we said to him *[Områdefornyelse project manager*]: "ah, the parking lot project is maybe not so good!" And then he told us: "now or never". He had to say so because the centre chief at the Municipality was pressing for action since there wasn't much time: if we don't decide it now it will pass another year. We could all understand that […]. So we were sort of with our arms on the back: it has to be now, and it has to be this way (Citizen, participant of the steering committee).

The *Områdefornyelse* project manager had to struggle with the Technical Department in order to make the two agendas meet. One of the main constraints in doing so was precisely the short amount of time in which the Technical Department had to make the proper modification to the site (more parking spaces) in accordance to the revised *lokaleplan*. Thus, the project leader had to come up with a solution as quick as possible, otherwise he would have lost the opportunity. And it was precisely these dynamics which affected the participation of the residents.

What happened is that the restructuring of the public sector through decentralisation, by allocating more responsibilities, decisional and practical freedom to local departments and units, makes them descend as well in the arenas of network governance, and they acquire a status of (semi) stakeholders. So, even though the two departments of this empirical case are of the same Municipality, there is no central coordination between their activities. Therefore, when their agendas overlapped, they had to negotiate and reach compromises like they were external partners in the project. This situation reproduced the hierarchical dynamics of networked forms of governance between the public and private sectors. Here, the *Områdefornyelse* project manager had to submit to the requirements set by the Technical Department, and those requirements were the most binding. Who actually held the most influential role within the renewal of the Activity Centre was the Technical Department. And even though such power choreography was rather blurred and indirect, it did anyway heavily affect the project, and the concrete influence that the community could have in shaping the renewal project.

What this case has shown then, is how in several circumstances community involvement represents no more than a façade: the residents have to be included due to the mandatory nature of their participation, but practically they have no concrete space for taking active part in the project. And this is again because of the concrete hierarchical interactions between the partners of a project, that in most cases relegate the citizens in a secondary role.

Representational Forms of Participation

Another important point to be made is that within urban renewal projects there is a rather unclear understanding on how to involve the residents and allow for their contributions. The main problem lays in the fact that network arrangements of governance do not (yet) have codified rules and regulation for participation (Swyngedouw 2005:1999).

The Ministry doesn't specify how the involvement should take place. It delegates participation's responsibilities to the municipalities, which have to deal with it in ways that best suit the projects. The only institutionalised involvement of residents happens through the Steering Committee. It is composed half by municipal officers and half by local people: representatives of various local associations (cultural, recreational, and social), members of local *Andelsboligforeninger* (tenants' cooperatives), the local industry, shop and business owners… As previously stated, the Steering Committee is the organ which has the overall responsibility for the urban renewal.

The idea behind having a civil society component in the organ appointed with the overall practical responsibility of *Områdefornyelse* is precisely to include the residents in the renewal efforts. However, contradictions and tensions arise even at this more institutionalised level.

The practical logic of allowing for members of the Associations to be part of the steering committee is

> To try to find some people who are, you could say, the voice of the local area. And you point these people out and say: they are the voice of the locals. We take them as the voice the local community

(*Områdefornyelse* project manager in a neighbourhood in Copenhagen Municipality).

It is rather clear that the selection of the civil members of the steering committee is somehow arbitrary. This is so because of the "ill-defined and diffuse notion of an actual system of representation" that networked forms of governance based on partnership suffer (Swyngedouw 2005: 2000).

The arbitrary character of the choice of civil participants in the steering committee implies that "effective representation has to be assumed [: it] is difficult to verify and practically impossible to challenge" (Swyngedouw 2005:2000). Civil society organisations that participate in *Områdefornyelse* do not necessarily have direct and checkable lineages of representation, and such condition holds as a consequence the opening of spaces of power struggles within the organisations, as well as in the in the arenas for *Områdefornyelse* policy and decision making. The inherent risk is to actually exclude from such processes the grassroots component those association claim to represent.

This last point can be seen empirically if we are to look at a specific case concerning a sub-project in the *Områdefornyelse* of the same municipality which underwent the industrial heritage renewal analysed in the previous section. This project was about the renewal of the local activity centre, and it saw as protagonists a resident (which will be named Sarah) of the local social housing association. Sarah is highly involved in various activities and projects with the social housing association, and has been cooperating with them for several years. Anders, member of the association, personally invited Sarah to take part in the stakeholder meeting for the activity centre project. She was invited for her commitment and interest, as well as for the fact that she was a resident of the social housing area, which is one of the stakeholders that will benefit from the project. However, her participation raised some issues:

So I was at that meeting, and [*the Områdefornyelse project leader*] was getting angry at Anders because he had invited me, so I was told not come to the other meeting […]. And he told Anders that I was not supposed to come, because for them I was just an ordinary citizen, I was not part of that group [*the steering committee*] (Sarah).

So, Sarah, even though she was a 'grassroots' part of one of the stakeholders of the project, saw her participation in the steering group meeting on the subject refused precisely because she "was just an ordinary citizen". The *Områdefornyelse* project leader saw her as an unwanted intrusion in dynamics that are not of regular residents' competence.

What happened is that community participation expressed in the steering committee hides an often exclusive and selective character. Once the "voice[s] of the people" has been appointed as members of the steering committee, the actual lines of representation they are supposed to hold are taken for granted and not put into question. Therefore, their role and position are absorbed in the practical dynamics and institutionalised. Grassroots participation is not permitted, and if the various associations' insertion into grassroots civil society is rather tenuous, residents' representation/participation can be seriously compromised.

Conclusion: The Underlying Rationale of Community Involvement

A picture can be drawn at this point: urban renewal projects, closely following the logic of network governance, consider the local community of residents as one of their pivotal stakeholders, and try to maintain open spaces for their inclusion and participation. However, the non-transparency of policy/decision making processes, coped with the hierarchical arenas of power based mediations where they take place, can easily translate into an exclusion of the residents from those very processes. Furthermore, their participation can be turned into an operationalised and instrumental 'fishing' for knowledge and resources that fit private interests. If this is the situations, then, why is there so much institutionalised emphasis on involving the community? Can it only be a way of seeking consensus from the fringes of population of different political views – which it certainly is, in part?

Taking again into considerations the official discourses surrounding *Områdefornyelse*, another feature of the emphasis on citizen participation can be found:

> Every time the municipality comes and do something, if we are deciding too much, people are backing out and leave all the responsibility back to us. And I don't think that makes good projects because it's very important that they are engaged and that they have ownership together (*Områdefornyelse* project leader).
>
> If you want people to work with stuff, it's a great thing if the idea came from them. […] if they feel that's their idea, well, they feel ownership of the project, and that secures the success of the project once we [*municipality*] finish our work (Industrial heritage consultancy project leader).

With *Områdefornyelse* it is important that the residents feel that the ideas for the project came from them. This is because in doing so they develop a sense of *ownership* towards the renewal efforts, which will secure the *anchoring* (the success) of the project once the institutions end their part in it. If people don't feel engaged enough, they "back out" of the project and leave all the responsibilities to the municipality, which in turn doesn't "make good projects" – the projects will very likely fail as soon as the municipality is over with them. Thus, in this view, creating ownership of the projects in the local community secures their success.

We can see now that citizens' involvement was very important not so much within decision making processes – they were not stakeholders there – but in regard to the *responsibility* of the success or failure of the projects: "This participation has a 'price tag': the individuals themselves have to assume responsibility for these activities and the possible failure thereof" (Swyngedouw 2005: 1997).

Here, it is possible to see one of the uncontested and freed from contradictions reasons behind the importance of residents' participation in *Områdefornyelse* projects: residents were not involved so much as active stakeholders in the renewal processes, but as the ones who have the responsibility for their success or failure. And this is in accordance with the programmatic logic of network governance in that it seeks to share and devolve the responsibilities of acts of governing.

So, to conclude, what is needed first and foremost is more awareness on the part of the stakeholders involved of what network governance entails in urban renewal. Furthermore, seen the general importance the subject holds in political, public, private and academic debates, it is important to extend the reach of the actual research that has been carried out on the subject. The benefits of doing so would be, besides others, to add precious insights in the consolidation of enhanced awareness of the practical dynamics and concrete mechanisms of urban renewal. Furthermore, it would certainly help in developing concrete and efficient strategies to productively include the community of residents and avoid over emphasising, normative and finally counterproductive discourses about the necessity of residents' participation in urban renewal.

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Notes

1 Even though there are several empirical studies of Danish urban renewal (see, for instance, the elegant ethnography of Bent Flyvbjerg (1998), very little attention has been paid to the concrete and practical dynamics of community involvement within such projects.
2 http://www.economist.com/printed edition/ 2013-02-02
3 http://mbbl.dk/by/byfornyelse/omraadefornyelse
4 http://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/ Ro710.aspx?id=129859
5 http://mbbl.dk/by/byfornyelse/omraadefornyelse

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Ministry for Town, Housing and Rural Development: http://mbbl.dk/by/byfornyelse/omraadefornyelse

Source-pluralism as Culture-historical Opposition at the Turn of "Digital Humanities"

By Anders Perlinge*

A Return to the Sources of Cultural History

All around our institutes for the preserving of sources relevant to cultural history – archives, libraries, museums and community centres – there is an abundance of possibilities for new knowledge production about the past. This might be quite a trivial statement, but at the same time it is actually not self-evident that researchers in the humanities or other fields will acknowledge that, neither today nor in the future. Bright technology seems to offer so many modern ways of access that it may appear obsolete to actually pay a visit there.

One way of focusing on the possibilities for *still* new knowledge is to find new methods, or combinations of methods, to be able to work with the research questions relevant to our time directed towards the preserved sources. Every generation rewrites history, to continue with another trivial statement. However, there will be a recurring need for scientific accuracy and methodological awareness, provided that new knowledge is in demand.

In his book about the tending of livestock in the Middle Ages, Janken Myrdal for the first time presents a broader and more systematic application of what he, with a borrowed concept, refers to as *source-pluralism*. More of a sketch of this was published earlier (Myrdal 2007), and it is part of an earlier and long-standing work of his.[1]

In this article, I will focus entirely on matters of *method* and comment on that from my own perspective using his book as an instrument. Concerning the virtual *results* of Myrdal's work, I deal with these in a review in Swedish. (See Perlinge 2013. Cf. Flygare 2013; Szabó 2013.)

The result of Myrdal's supplementary work is a book of great theoretical and methodological interest, not only to historians of the Middle Ages, or even agrarian historians. The largest part of the new volume has also become a methodological study of its chosen subject, with implications far beyond the standard group of readers of such a title. Therefore, there seems to be a need to present this methodology to a larger public, not least to ethnologists and others working in the field of cultural history.

Myrdal has been working on the edge between several academic disciplines. To dwell in a borderland may be something extremely positive. It fosters a form of creative freedom without too heavy a responsibility to a single discipline. It becomes possible to be interested in several vital research matters, and to make use of different disciplines' various methods and techniques, at least in the way and as far as one may be able to, not really belonging to the other fields of research oneself. The decisive thing is that the work is kindly received and formally accepted by the other disciplines. There must be quality in the research. The different disciplines themselves also create a space for polemics and interdisciplinary cooperation, and, when this is qualitative – i.e. aiming at the scientific problems, techniques or methods, rather than personal conflicts – that space is going to be fruitful to all.

Disposition: With this introduction over, I will deal with source-pluralism in different modes. First, I comment on its relations to the traditional source-criticism in the historical context, and on its methodological importance to an emerging field, "digital

humanities". Second, I give a short outline of the field of cultural history. Third, I go into source-pluralism itself from a process-oriented perspective: how it is performed, and how it is related to micro-history. Fourth, I comment on the relevance of ethnology to source-pluralism. Fifth, finally, I also comment somewhat on the limitations of source-pluralism.

The Need for Source-pluralism as Opposition

The title of this article speaks of source-pluralism as an *opposition*. An opposition *against what*, one may ask. In every case, this opposition does not *entirely* include a kind of objection against the traditional Swedish so-called Weibull School of source-criticism – i.e. to evaluate individual sources in relation to the set of research questions regarding their status of: *coincidence*, *spatial vicinity*, *tendency*, and *dependence* – within the field of historical research, even if it is true that the Weibull critique did not exactly favour the cultural history type of research. Myrdal even refers to the traditional source-criticism as "narrow", but at least it is obviously *insufficient*, or even *inadequate*, to be able to answer more questions about the long past. Here I would like to add, though, that Myrdal uses a slightly old-fashioned view of what this traditional source-criticism is. There has been an on-going debate in the meantime about the shortcomings of source-criticism, but still the need for it. (See for example Nilsson 1973; Nilsson 2002; Nilsson *et al*. 2005 in a special issue of *Historisk tidskrift* on source-criticism.) The same is true about methods. (See for example Karsvall *et al*. 2013 in a special issue of *Historisk tidskrift* on method, published after Myrdal's book.) Not very many titles in the list of literature in the Myrdal book *explicitly* have to do with method or source-criticism. However, this chosen way of contrasting source-pluralism with the Weibull critique does seem to have a pedagogic point of clarity.

In the first place it might be most reasonable to speak about a kind of opposition against only leaving the difficult kinds of investigations unattended, i.e. the obvious or the hidden in the everyday life of ordinary people that never actually left any direct evidence behind for the researcher to sift out. Here, source-pluralism opens up new doors or at least windows to the Middle Ages, among other things because it provides better tools to handle *uncertainty*. It might also, as is evident from the book, result in a *rejection* of *unreasonable* sources – when confronted with the research matter at hand.

Source-pluralism, as this borrowed term might reveal, is *including*. This including also goes for the Weibull kind of source-criticism. Every form of source-criticism is simply called for when it comes to the judgement of the specific value of a certain source to a specific research question, Myrdal emphasizes.

However, source-pluralism should not be confused with interdisciplinary research, even if the researcher might also be encouraged into the sort of cooperation simply because there is a need for a specialist competence which is not possible to obtain for every source-pluralist. This is not least true when it comes to archaeological or scientific fields of inquiry – at the very heart of the Myrdal research achievement.

Source-pluralism *should not* lead to *over-interpretation* either, i.e. drawing too exhaustive conclusions based on a limited complex of sources. This is, more precisely, the finesse of the inclusion of the Weibull source-criticism, which allows for *control* and *comparison* and maintaining the balance. At the farther end, the application of source-pluralism seems to lead to holistic approaches to themes, such as agrarian technological change.

Simultaneously, it might be the case that the *need* for source-pluralism now has become mature for the first time, due to the technical development of research in the humanities. "Digital Humanities",[2] or whatever it will be called in the end, still suffers from an *underdevelopment* of its *methodological* approaches. Therefore, the application of source-pluralism has a value to all research today in the humanities. Thus, it seems plausible that source-pluralism will be in great demand by researchers in the humanities in the very near future.

To view source-pluralism *exclusively* as an opposition is not the only way. Several other views may be included, especially with regard to the old and certainly well-known problem to culture-historians emanating from *diminishing marginal returns* from vast surveys of *extremely huge quantities of groups of sources* in their search for particular relevant evidence. At this point, it must be possible to imagine that the duplication of unique series of sources in *digital* formats – and that might include not only parchment or paper documents, but artefacts as well – most certainly has opened and will open completely new roads, not least to scholars on the Middle Ages, where a complete digitization may not be Utopia at all.

Digital records have a kind of charm that easily ends up in a form of *empiricism* that stimulates quantitative approaches, thus becoming yet another "positivism". Source-pluralism might be the "antidote" needed, enabling more critical and interpretive research, during a time when researchers more often encounter an illusion of realism in the digital world. The method for handling uncertainties becomes a more decisive part of it, at least according to the researchers at HUMlab at Umeå University. This is not simply a technical triviality, but will certainly, as one of the pioneers of "Digital Humanities", Johanna Drucker, has stated, even influence how we are able to view the very *essence of knowledge* itself: "embodied, situated, partial, historical" (*Infrastructure, Space and Media* 2013:27).

Myrdal has expressed it in this way: "The dialectic lies in both accepting the constantly floating, and at the same time see the constantly existing aspiration for the permanent." (My own translation from Swedish in Myrdal 2007:503f.) While historians in general more often look for quick and "important" *changes* or at least specific events in the past, culture-historians look for slow, harder-to-detect changes and even for *continuity* in everyday life.

In this way, less potential knowledge about the Middle Ages needs to be excluded. The traditional, and for a long time dominating kind of source-criticism used among historians, which in principle meant the *exclusion* of single sources for a certain purpose, is better suited for single

unique events rather than slow culture-historical processes.

The greatest problem with the traditional source-criticism was that it contributed to a serious depletion of the soil of cultural history for such a long time. Nation states became the focus of historians, thus concealing the ordinary living people at their level in history. Myrdal does not, however, give any exact definition of what *cultural history* is. Earlier, however, he made a short programmatic declaration in which he underlined "the study of the little things, the apparently less important, belonging to everyday life. Those things so common that they are virtually invisible. … cultural history is the combination of material and spiritual culture at the level of everyday life." (My translation from Swedish in Myrdal 1999.) In addition, the study of material culture needs a symbiosis with folkloric research, to create the only possible fully adequate cultural history, he further argues.

The Field of Cultural History

The clash with traditional source-criticism also contributed to making culture-historians homeless within Academia in Sweden. Effects of the *rules* that constitute specific academic fields, and especially the importance of the *gift* that in this case helped to give cultural history a bad reputation, made some of its practitioners seek asylum in what was then the rather young field of ethnology (Bourdieu 1996:105–155).

The problem only was that the ethnologists really never were willing to accept the need for *quantitative* research methods. In relation to sociologists, for example, ethnologists instead, as a result of a conscious choice, wanted to work *qualitatively* to find knowledge of people's appraisals and activities in everyday life. That is in general still true about ethnology (Bringéus 1981:30; Svensson 2012:18).

There is, however, a certain finesse in bringing cultural history together with ethnology, since living people are cultural creatures, and cultures are created, maintained and transformed by these living individuals. The limits to different kinds of possibilities in society at different periods of time, and without too high social transaction costs due to the challenge of norms, are thus changed by these, and not by any social structure or regularity that lives its own life, as little as material things. Ethnologists have lost a great deal of their ability to make more interesting generalizations based on their results as an effect of this.

Ethnologists may, however, contribute a valuable holistic approach to small, theoretical totalities, such as villages or parishes, in contrast to statistical cohorts drawn on the entire population of a country, or at least on very large parts of its population. And the *embeddedness* of people in the surrounding cultures, providing them with specific living conditions both materially and socially, gives the problem of representativeness another dimension than among historians in general (and ethnology is a historical discipline). Social regularity does not exist independent of the cultures where it appears, simply because it relies on human activities. Therefore, all kinds of human expressions – material as well as folkloric – may be advantageous to include because this enhances our understanding.

A combination of ethnological and culture-historical approaches then may lead to a higher degree of generalization, often attempted by science, based on the concept of cultures and on a kind of "field research" in contemporary historical records. The concept of culture is problematic, but it seems not to be dispensable. The real dilemma of cultural history, though, has much more to do with its objects: the study of small things, the seemingly less important, things that are almost invisible, what belongs to everyday life. The lack of qualitative sources must therefore lead to the matter of how *quantity* can be turned into *quality* in the scholarly work.

The problem of cultural history is to find a way to understand the everyday life of the living people in history, with the aid of extant contemporary sources.

To sum up: What is source-pluralism *not*? It is not necessarily interdisciplinary, since one researcher uses several sources for one question, although it is useful to cooperate with specialists in other fields of knowledge. It is not about over-interpretation, since the researcher at the same time rests on the long-established source-criticism, which enables control and comparison. Instead, source-pluralism most certainly will lead to an interest in holistic approaches to special themes such as agrarian technological change.

The emerging field of "Digital Humanities" seems to be in strong need of a source-pluralistic method, not least true as regards the demands of scarce evidence. Therefore, source-pluralism is not only a kind of opposition against a perhaps too narrow-minded view of what is allowed to become potential knowledge. It might also become an indispensable partner to the humanities in general in a very near future, when technological progress needs to be followed by a corresponding development of methods.

However, researchers must not surrender to *eclecticism* regarding both methods and evidence, which might lead to methodological confusion. There has been a critique against ethnologists and culture-historians for their far too rash tendency to combine scattered evidence that in the first place may seem to be irrelevant during the treatment of a certain problem or an everyday occurrence. Combinations of methods can be defended, but such combinations need to rely on some kind of theoretical coherence. The "mobile searchlight" might be a concrete example. Someone – the researcher – actually needs to hold the torch.

The Method of Source-pluralism

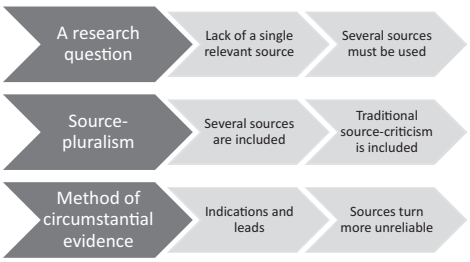
Let me now go into more detail about the method. For one thing, the method seems to be connected with a central problem within cultural sciences, where it has been a matter of either gaining *decisive* results from a weak starting-point, or vice-versa, i.e. with the help of a *strong* starting-point merely gaining *weak* results. The *strength* in this context has been a matter of source-criticism, and the way of using the sources of history. Secondly, source-criticism is in a way about the ability to create *quality* based on *quantity*, in a thorough study of a slow, gradual change of people's everyday life during a long period of time: *a culture-historical process*.

In this context, I figure *quality* simply refers to the degree of close contact to the

living people or individuals in history, while *quantity* refers to the sources themselves. This new production of scientific truth circles around that.

The following illustrations are my own interpretations of Myrdal's application of source-pluralism to medieval cultural history, made more generally useful from a process-oriented perspective.

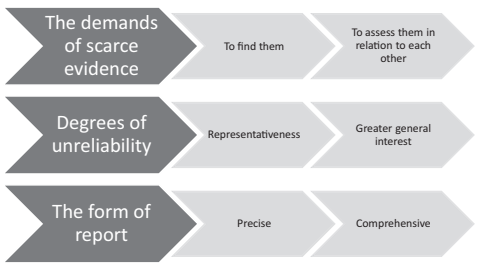
The object: a culture-historical process



Regarding the Swedish (and other) Middle Ages, the situation is rather that the culture-historical researcher only rarely finds one single source to be useful for answering those specific questions he or she would like to answer. Several disparate sources simply must be used, and therefore the need for a systematic use of source-pluralism as an including method, allowing the researcher to take on more of the scarce sources in relation to the research matter. This also has the finesse of including the old enemy, so to speak, of cultural history: the traditional source-criticism. This enables better control of the results.

The weak situation of sources from the Middle Ages soon enough leads the researcher out on to thinner ice, at least in the view of the traditional historian that does not become a source-pluralist. However, as the Swedish saying goes, there is no cow on the ice, as long as its behind is on the land. The more peripheral the sources become, the more the researcher will eventually be led to start looking for *circumstantial evidence* or *indications* concerning specific circumstances or material things. If this part of the research prevails, the researcher will also end up looking for *leads*. Naturally, the further this is pursued, the weaker its results become. Source-pluralism thus seeks to further develop the working methods of the *micro-historians*, represented for instance by our Swedish pioneer in that field, Börje Hanssen or, later, by Carlo Ginzburg or Natalie Zemon Davis as front figures in the international arena.

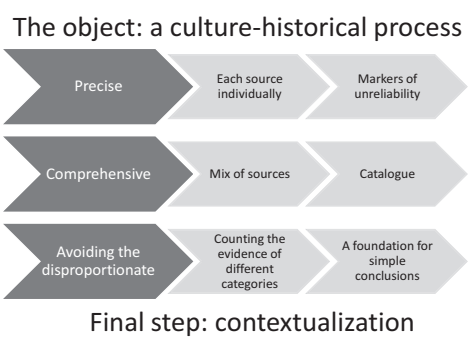
The object: a culture-historical process



However, it is not enough only to gather a substantial *quantity* of sources, like the armful of flowers used by the shepherds to attract the animals to better places. It is important also to give the scarce evidence its *qualitative* treatment. The first problem is to be able to find them at all, like needles in a haystack. If there actually are several sources to be found, these also need to be judged in relation to each other. The decisive element at this stage of the method is to be quite clear of the fact that there are different grades of *uncertainty* in the picture. Sooner or later,

the researcher would like to end up with some form of *representativeness,* to be able to draw somewhat more general conclusions which would be of greater interest.

Hence the *form of the report* is of vital importance. It might be *precise* or *comprehensive*. The common general warning about the "scaffolds", which we often heard during our time as doctoral candidates that we had not been able to tear down enough of in our thesis manuscripts, is no longer valid! As source-pluralists we should include the variations, and also actually present our deliberations to the readers. It has an additive effect.



In the *precise* report there is space for the handling of each single source individually. However, *markers* indicating different grades of unreliability are *compulsory*. In the *comprehensive* report, on the other hand, several different kinds of sources must be mixed. A *catalogue* of the evidence might then be most fruitful for the assessment of the conclusions and their different degrees of uncertainty, and of the factual value of the sources in use. This is a common way of working among archaeologists.

At the same time, the researcher has to avoid the deep wolf trap of the *disproportionate*. It is a great advantage to separate the evidence into different *categories*, and also actually to *count* them. The rules for creating these categories must of course be followed, taking into account their exclusiveness, for instance. Thus the researcher may escape from the risk of over-evaluation of certain, perhaps extremely expressive evidence, and, *consciously* or *unconsciously* assign too great an importance to the conclusions, or for that matter, to the last step of the method: the *contextualization*.

Such rough estimates also give a foundation for plain statements on whether something is "common", "less common", or even "unusual". To make these estimates is actually a good idea for all those who are working with narrative sources, like thematic lists of questions sent out to informants from the museums, or collected autobiographies. It is very easy to be impressed by this kind of sources, and to allow them to colour the conclusions. This actually was one of my most important experiences during the work at Nordiska Museet in the 1990s within the project *Bondeminnen* [Farming Memories] with Janken Myrdal as initiator and creative scholarly leader (Perlinge 1995).

The final step of the source-pluralistic method, the *contextualization*, is made to ensure the validity of the results. Small theoretical totalities are created, making it possible to evaluate their probability. There is a risk of circular reasoning, where single interpretations are simply adjusted to suit a main idea or hypothesis. This is actually the major reason why the openness about different degrees of uncertainty concerning the sources is decisive.

The Relevance of Ethnology to Source-pluralism

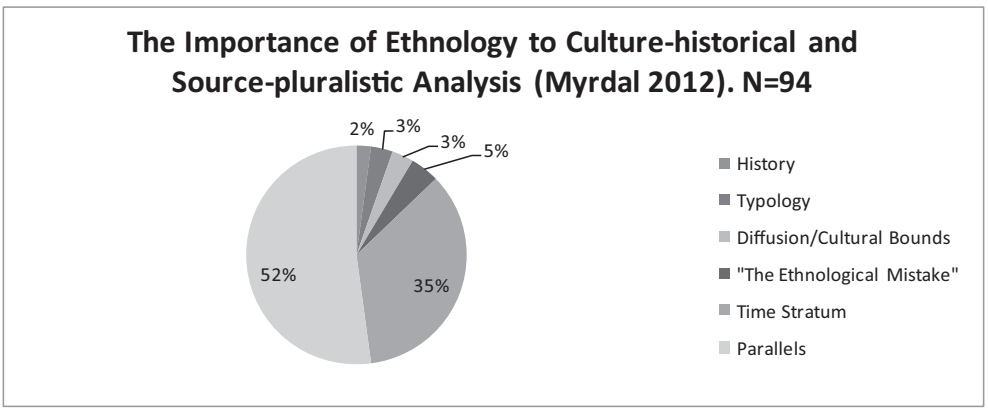
Above, in the context of the field of cultural history, I have argued for the importance of ethnological approaches, mainly on the basis of the epistemological contribution it can bring. The combination of ethnological theories on cultures, and methods of cultural history, seems to be plausible. But is ethnology also relevant to source-pluralism?

Historically there has been a kind of tension between the pair, which has had much to do with their differing views of the need for quantification. My idea here is that ethnology adds an extra level of analysis to the objects under study, in comparison with the working methods of historians in general. The conclusions of culture-historians are therefore drawn on a more abstract level in relation to the empirical sources.

Before concluding with some general reflections about source-pluralism and ethnology, an application of the former may be performed by analysing the book by Janken Myrdal with the help of *quantitative* information. This is done by measuring the number of occurrences of "ethnol" in different specific contexts of the text. The purpose is to evaluate the *qualitative* importance of ethnology to culture-historical and source-pluralistic analyses, and is expressed as a percentage of the total number of observations (94).

Naturally, it is most often for the purpose of drawing *parallels* that ethnology may be useful in this context (52%), or, to make chronological comments based on information from the so-called ethnological stratum, or time layer (35%).

The *"ethnological mistake"*, i.e. drawing too far-reaching conclusions about more distant historical periods, for instance the Middle Ages, based only on a study of the nineteenth century, or the very early twentieth century, has been a lesson (5%). The *results* of the classical ethnology's studies on the diffusion of innovations or cultural boundaries, and the typology of artefacts (each of them 3%), or the certification that the ethnological discipline of today has lost most of its purely historical direction (2%), are of lesser importance. Well, in a philosophical sense, all research of the humanities,



Source-pluralism	*Ethnology*
Several sources available	No sources available
Active source-searching	Active source-creation
Quantity	Quality
Method	Technique
Contextualization, conclusions	Method
	Conclusions

including ethnology, still *is* historical, since history does not end ten or a hundred years ago, but is an ongoing process in our everyday lives.

With source-pluralism, all efforts are placed on one of the most central starting-points to all research: viz. the *sources*. In practice all kinds of researchers, no matter what their personal interests or theoretical frameworks may be, have a certain relation to the sources. Source-pluralism then could be viewed in comparison with some typical ethnological characteristics. While active source-creation might be necessary to the ethnologist, when no sources are available at all, this cannot be implemented by the source-pluralist when working with the Middle Ages (perhaps with the exception of experimental archaeology). When the latter has to consider a quantity of scattered sources, the ethnologist in general prefers to rely on qualitative sources (still with not too many exceptions). The actual work with the sources then is often referred to as method in a number of disciplines.

As an ethnologist I would like to look at that merely as techniques, like statistical techniques, instruments enabling the researcher to use culture-historical analytical methods in the next step, i.e. to make scientific observations at a level that is not necessarily directly empirical. That step often is called conclusions and/or contextualization by others, when I would like to consider yet another, extra step as the conclusive part of the ethnological research work. The understanding of *epistemes* is the natural example of why this is decisive.

However, nothing is mentioned about the way the source-pluralist imagines the societies or the cultures which erect conditions and create prerequisites for whatever stands in focus in the study at hand. A kind of choice between different possible theoretical views on societies, or cultures, is never made, probably simply because it is all the same to the *method* itself, which is the main track of the book this article

deals with. The including method of source-pluralism therefore is equally valuable to researchers of competing outlooks.

In my own view I cannot see a special problem in this context concerning for instance representativeness if one theoretically imagines a society, a village or a parish, that is exactly that, viz. something theoretically constructed with the purpose of creating reasonable limits to the researcher in his or her search for adequate sources. It will be well-nigh impossible, I suggest, to imagine any kind of society that would be able in such an extreme way to stand completely outside every *rule and regulation* (institution in the Douglass North sense), and *surrounding human connections* (actors), that would make this society completely independent of these, and within itself would have had the opportunity of pursuing something extraordinarily *unique*.

Just think of an everyday occurrence like the *monetary system*, and observe how that forms a bond inside and between whole nations, and constitutes a kind of cement in all cities and every minor province at the same time. Even if money *per se* is not always in use, due to imbalanced or delayed diffusion, the *discourse* of money always exists in private and official documents. The monetary system also covers at least a thousand years of Swedish history.

I would like to suggest that all kinds of human activity, during all periods of time, at least have some things in common, simply because we, for natural reasons, have to solve certain problems in our everyday lives to be able to live and stay together in the ways we do. Therefore humans – simultaneously *both* natural and cultural creatures – always are embedded in the surrounding cultures with their varying conditions. That is why human behaviour cannot be expected to mirror anything but these cultures: through *epistemes*, *discourses,* and *practices*. The task of the researcher will therefore be to try and understand how these work together, despite obvious conflicts between them in specific situations. This is done through an analysis of inter-human relations.

This is at least the case concerning periods of time closer to us than the Middle Ages – I am not a historian specializing in that period – when there is a vast range of sources available in the archives, libraries, museums, community centres etc. Still, however, there is the *hidden*, or the things that went *without saying* among the living people in that period of theirs, when no sources ever arose. Source-pluralism as a conductive *method* (I would prefer to say *technique*), will then be as applicable to the Middle Ages as, for instance, to the eighteenth century, or the ethnological stratum of the nineteenth century.

The very search for the *epistemes* or *paradigms* contributing to the creation of human conditions during certain periods of time cannot be done on the basis of *direct observations* in any kind of sources. This has long been a known fact to ethnologists and historians with an interest in cultural history, and we also make use of the source-pluralistic methodical complex, via indications and leads for instance, to be at all able to observe what the sources never were designed to show us. Knowledge has to be *extracted*. "Data" (i.e. the given) *does not exist*, only labori-

ously *collected information*, as Deirdre Nansen McCloskey would have expressed it.[3]

To the institutes for the preserving of cultural heritage – the previously mentioned archives, libraries, museums, and community centres – it is naturally decisive for the future preservation of the sources and artefacts relevant to cultural history, and the access to these in digital format, that there is a kind of renewal among researchers interested *even in the future* to bombard these sources with new and relevant questions.

It seems reasonable in this context to think that source-pluralism will become an important contribution to, if not a foundation for, the necessary methodological renewal within "Digital Humanities". This is the main reason why we constantly need to return to the sources of cultural history, and that is also why source-pluralism is needed as an opposition.

We, the researchers, ask – therefore they, the sources, still exist.

New Knowledge Production about Everyday Life in the Middle Ages

Source-pluralism brings with it a *dialectic*, or a way of argumentation that leads up to a synthesis, a *conclusion* based on the sources that passed through the method's critical assessment in relation to the research questions put forward.

Myrdal has, however, pointed out at least a couple of special areas of research where source-pluralism has its limitations, due to the need for *specialist competence*. One single researcher is seldom able to master all kinds of knowledge at once. Those areas are *pollen analysis* and *osteology*. The former is of great importance for the interpretation of wooden artefacts, since these are often problematic due to their state of preservation, which tends to mislead the conclusions. The latter is probably going to gain much from the new generation of visualization techniques developed by a Swedish research team. *Experimental archaeology* is another field of research not included in Myrdal's book. Here it will be possible to learn about the "tacit knowledge" of everyday work, by using the tools and understanding more aspects of those. Neither is *toponymy* used very much in the book. However, the understanding of the use of land, of which remainders may still be studied in our landscapes, must be supplemented with other sources, such as medieval descriptions of boundary-lines, and seventeenth-century maps. It needs further development of suitable methods to reach important results, Myrdal concludes.

It has to be mentioned that the limitations of source-pluralism naturally make the researcher dependent on the research of other scholars, and since their fields of research might require special knowledge, impossible to ask from the source-pluralist, there are inevitably some mistakes. I am certainly not in a position to catch too many of these, but there might be at least some chronological effect when it comes to the interpretation of the so-called *Lydekini excerpts*, which were formerly assumed to be a later excerpt from *Yngre Västgötalagen* (the Later Law of Västergötland), whereas it has now been shown convincingly that these in fact were an older, *original* legislative work, that rightfully should be named *The Book of Laurentius* (Myrdal 2012:175, 269, n. 562; Nilsson 2012; Nilsson 2013). This gives

perhaps at least a reminder to the source-pluralist: to be sure to use the latest findings in the areas where he or she is dependent on other scholars and their knowledge to be able to include it to the analysis, thus avoiding "factoids".

A comment on Göran B. Nilsson's brilliant readable new interpretation of the legislative process in medieval Västergötland is that he uses a *parallel* with the same kind of processes in the nineteenth century to be able to establish the fact that the Lydekini document actually simply does not contain wording of an Act. Instead it can be read as notes from the long legislative process, probably made by the clerk Laurentius and written down by Lydekinus. Even though Nilsson refers to his work as a kind of *dynamic history writing*, in this respect it also echoes an important part of the source-pluralistic method as has been shown above. Also, this new insight helps to illustrate that Swedish medieval legislation primarily was a domestic concern rather than a foreign import, supporting the idea that these documents actually are able to mirror regional customs in Sweden at that time.

As a matter of fact, to conclude, Myrdal's book is also full of threads which have been left open by the author, now waiting for other researchers to pick them up and to weave something new. Knowledge production about the Middle Ages has much to gain from this new application of methods. As regards the source-pluralistic approach, this might be a method also for the new combining of interests between ethnologists and economic historians. At least, this has been foreseen by Myrdal on the basis of their complementary competences in the fields of cultural history and statistical investigations (Myrdal 1986:21). However, now perhaps there is also more to find out within these academic groups on the basis of the use of new kinds of sources and combinations of sources that will satisfy both research traditions and make it possible for them to meet again.

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Notes

* This methodological approach was my theme at The Royal Academy of Forestry and Agriculture, 26 February 2013, on the occasion of the release of Professor Janken Myrdal's study on medieval tending of livestock (Myrdal 2012) together with the author, Professor Bengt af Klintberg and Associate Professor Carin Martiin. The event was organized as a form of doctoral dissertation act of the old style with three opponents, chaired by Professor Birgitta Svensson. An introduction was given by the Academy Secretary Carl-Anders Helander and a representative of the financial supporter Stiftelsen Lagersberg, the former Justice of the Supreme Court Fredrik Sterzel.

1 Almost thirty years ago, Janken Myrdal published and defended his thesis in economic history, *Medeltidens åkerbruk: Agrarteknik i Sverige ca 1000 till 1520* (Medieval Arable Farming in Sweden: Technical Change A.D. 1000–1520, Myrdal 1985). His original plan was to write about that complex whole, i.e. including the tending of livestock. The task was, at that time, too much for a doctoral candidate, he figured. Since then, Myrdal, now Sweden's first Professor of Agricultural History at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Uppsala, has published industriously on almost every aspect of Swedish agriculture. His writings always display great sensitivity to interdisciplinary aspects besides

economic history, such as ethnology, archaeology and even the natural sciences. However, his vast collected material and analyses of livestock tending in the Middle Ages was kept in a drawer, only partly to be used in his subsequent publications. The remainder of this material has now, at last, become a new volume under the somewhat defused title, *Boskapsskötseln under medeltiden: En källpluralistisk studie* (Tending of Livestock in the Middle Ages: A Source-pluralistic study, Myrdal 2012).

2 *Digital humanities* is "an emerging coverterm for the many growing usages, adaptations and developments of information and communication technologies in the context of the humanities". Sven Strömqvist in *Infrastructure, Space and Media* 2013:13.

3 Deirdre Nansen McCloskey made this vital statement during her after-dinner speech in connection with the 9th Economic History Meeting in Gothenburg in 2011.

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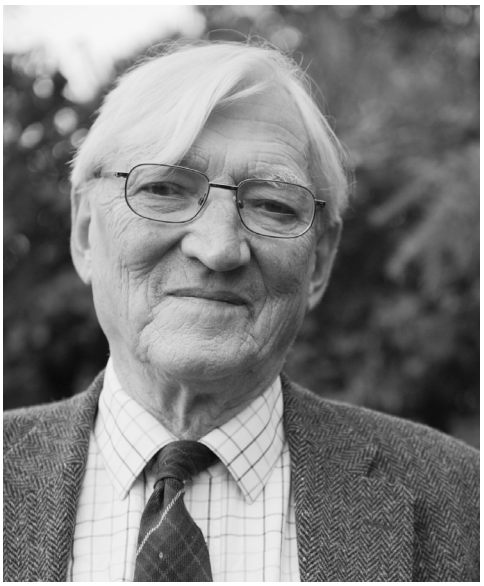
Bo Almqvist, 1931–2013



Bo Gunnar Almqvist was born on 5 May in 1931 in Alster in the Swedish province of Värmland. He died in Dublin on 9 November 2013. He came from a family with deep roots in Sweden whose connections extended to Värmlands Näs where Bo's paternal uncle – "Farbror Fritz" – (Olsson) participated in collecting local folk tradition.

Bo went up to Uppsala University in 1950 where he studied Nordic Languages. He won a scholarship to Iceland where he graduated with the prestigious BPhil in Icelandic and became lecturer in Swedish at the University of Iceland. He returned to Uppsala in 1960 where he took up the position of lecturer in Nordisk filologi och folklivsforskning and completed his doctorate on *Norrön niddiktning. Traditionshistoriska studier i versmagi* under Dag Strömbäck, becoming Acting Professor in the subject on Strömbäck's retirement in 1967. A few years later, in 1972, he was appojnted Professor of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin (UCD) where, in addition to teaching duties he also served as director of the folklore archive (mainly at that time consisting of the voluminous holdings of the former Irish Folklore Commission [1935–1970]), but since greatly expanded and now constituting one of the largest collections of its kind in the world.

Bo's translation to Dublin was Uppsala's and Sweden's loss and equally Ireland's gain. However, his central role in Irish folklore affairs over a period of 23 years until his retirement in 1995, led to no discernible slackening in his enthusiasm for the medieval and modern traditions of the North that formed him as a scholar. Rather did it cause his deeply embedded interest to develop and flourish in the context of his wide and ever deepening knowledge of the Gaelic folk culture of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man. He shared his knowledge generously with students and colleagues alike, inspiring a new generation of Irish scholars with his learning and the rigorous exactitude of his approach.

Bo embodied the rich tradition of scholarly achievement in folklore and medieval studies in which he had been fostered and took such pride. His life span was evenly divided between Scandinavia and Ireland (where he resided for the last 42 years of his life), and his copious contribution to scholarship in his chosen field reflects this reality. He became an eloquent champion of both traditions and one of very few scholars equally at home in either domain.

Needless to say, this entailed relentless dedication to the acquisition of relevant linguistic expertise of a high order enabling him to master his brief and eventually bestride the *kulturgebiet* of north western Europe like a colossus. His many articles teasing out themes and topics of Gaelic-Norse cross cultural concern show him at his very best and, in common with his scholarly *œuvre* as a whole, will prove to be of abiding interest and value for many years to come.

Bo's long-standing interest in Iceland and Ireland was spurred by Strömbäck and, indirectly, through him by Séamus Ó Duilearga, himself no stranger to Nordic shores. He received his first lessons in Irish from Caoimhín Ó Danachair, seconded in 1951 from the Irish Folklore Commission to serve as Irish lecturer at the University of Uppsala. He first visited Ireland in 1953 and made annual summer visits there in subsequent years, spending longer periods in Dún Chaoin, county Kerry where he perfected his knowledge of Irish. He also commenced large-scale collecting work in that locality from a number of top-rank tradition bearers among them Micheál Ó Gaoithín, son of the famous Peig Sayers. In retrospect, it seems as if Bo's path was fated to lead him to Dublin where he filled Ó Duilearga's Chair of Irish Folklore with such distinction.

Ireland offered a veritable *el dorado* of field work opportunities and, being no armchair folklorist, Bo realised that he and his staff must strive to combine

teaching, archive and collecting and researching activities, and, of course, publishing as never before. The foundation of *Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann*/ The Folklore of Ireland Council in 1972 coincided with his arrival in UCD and in addition, to taking up the editorship of *Béaloideas*, the Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society, Bo also became General Editor of the Council series, Folklore Studies.

The broad arena of folk narrative was Bo's long suit and within that province proverbs (including a store inherited from his mother, Hulda) and folk legends exercised an abiding attraction for him. He made substantial collections in both genres skilfully coupling his discoveries and observations in the field with the superabundance of archive materials already available under these headings, frequently breaking new ground in the process. He wrote mainly in English, but where feasible also in Irish and, with special pride, in his native Swedish in which he was an acknowledged stylist.

Under Bo's leadership, conferences brought the fruits of much of what he and his colleagues and students had achieved to a wider audience. These including the 1985 International Folk Epic Conference celebrating the sesquicentennial of the publication of Kalevala and also the founding of the Irish Folklore Commission in 1935, and the instigation of a series of international folk legend conferences, held first in Ireland and subsequently at various other venues in north west Europe.

Bo's election to various learned bodies such as the Royal Irish Academy and Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien betokened acknowledgement of his scholarly standing and achievement. He viewed his membership of Olaus Magnus' Sällskap as a signal honour but, perhaps, the bestowal of membership of the Icelandic Order of the Falcon was the distinction that gave him most pleasure. His lively contact in latter years with Swedish scholars of his own and later generations also was a source of great satisfaction to him. Two volumes of essays in his honour were published, one on his 60th birthday (*Viking Ale. Studies on folklore contacts between the Northern and Western worlds* [1991]) and the second, *Following Folklore in North Western Europe*, ten years later in 2001.

Bo never gave up on his life's calling, constantly following up new lines of enquiry, writing and publishing to the end. Following his retirement, he had suffered a number of health setbacks, but his death after a short illness took everyone by surprise for all that. He had a brilliant mind but wore his learning lightly, and was a warm-spirited, humorous and kindly man whose memory will be cherished by all who knew him.

The President of Ireland was represented at the funeral by his *aide-de-camp* and a former Irish ambassador to Sweden was also in attendance together with a large company of friends and colleagues from Dublin and other parts of Ireland. Bo will be greatly missed by his wife, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne, sons Ragnar and Olaf, daughter Marja and their spouses and partners, grandchildren and his sister, Vera, to whom our sympathy is extended.

Séamas Ó Catháin, Dublin

Anna Sofia Lundgren, Professor in Umeå

Anna Sofia Lundgren studied ethnology at Umeå University and defended her dissertation there in 2000. She has continued to teach ethnology and cultural analysis, becoming associate professor in 2007 and professor in 2013. Alongside the teaching which has rendered her a prize, she has been an administrator of studies in different periods. Not least of all, she has helped to make a success of the Cultural Analysis programme.

There are three main themes in her research. The first deals with identities and relations in the world of school, based on her the dissertation, *Tre år i g: Perspektiv på kropp och kön i skolan*. For three years she followed a class through the upper level of compulsory school, during lessons, breaks, and sometimes after school. It is an ethnographic close reading of different situations and communication acts, focusing especially on body and gender. Central concepts are staging, representing, and creating. Lundgren shows how the body constantly makes itself felt in the everyday life and relations of the class, yet the pupils are reluctant to ascribe any significance to it. She nicely captures life in the school, from the whispering along the row of desks, to the nudges and insults in the breaks. It is about hierarchies and gender in the pupils' collective and about the guerrilla struggle against the teachers and the school system.

Lundgren has retained her interest in school and adolescence in other contexts, for example, in the research project "Self-evident Heterosexuality: School as a Place for the Construction of Gender and Sexuality". Through interviews with teachers, and inspired by queer theory, she analyses how heteronormativity is reproduced and challenged in the profession.

The next theme in Lundgren's research was urban studies. The book *Genus på offentlig plats: Reflexer och transparenser* appeared in 2006, with various perspectives on the city as a place of experience and how gender takes place in different settings. Elsewhere she has continued with fieldwork issues in urban contexts.

In recent years Lundgren has worked with questions of ageing as experience and identity. In an article from 2010 she tries a nice approach to two women's narratives about what it is like to get old: she juxtaposes a 72-year-old with a 15-year-old. The title is a quotation: "If you compare correctly, I am old."

What strikes one when reading Anna Sofia Lundgren's works is her skill as an ethnographer, her writing ability, and her sharp thinking. Everyday situations are described and analysed with theoretical acuity. Although she has moved between different research fields, there is a theoretical continuity through her combination of cultural analysis and discourse analysis. What characterizes her works above all is an open and critically testing attitude.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

New Dissertations

The Right to Place

Paul Agnidakis, Rätten till platsen. Tillhörighet och samhörighet i två lokala industrisamhällen under omvandling. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Höör 2013. 224 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7139-888-8.

■ Paul Agnidakis' doctoral dissertation in ethnology has a title meaning "The Right to Place: Belonging in Two Local Industrial Communities". It was defended at Uppsala University in the spring of 2013. The dissertation fits into the ethnological research tradition of studying local communities, but Agnidakis seeks to renew the genre. He refers to a series of ethnological studies of local communities, such as Åke Daun's *Upp till kamp i Båtskärsnäs*, Kjell Hansen's *Välfärdens motsträviga utkant*, Katarina Saltzman's *Inget landskap är en ö: Dialektik och praktik i öländska landskap*, Per-Markku Ristilammi's *Rosengård och den svarta poesin: En studie av modern annorlundahet*, and the one that is perhaps closest to Agnidakis' own study with its focus on taking place, Håkan Berglund-Lake's *Livet äger rum: Försörjning och platstagande i norrländska sågverkssamhällen*. In the presentation of the research background he displays a natural familiarity with the ethnological research on local communities. At the same time he declares explicitly that, in order to understand phenomena such as local identification and people's relations to space, the author has been chiefly inspired by research in other disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology.

The dissertation is based on fieldwork in two small communities, Surahammar and Timrå. The two places have much in common. Both have an industrial past but have been hit by the post-industrial processes that have affected communities that were dependent on industrial activity, through factory closures and the threat of operations being moved abroad. The rescue, if it is one, for Timrå and Surahammar can be that people from the relatively large nearby towns, Sundsvall and Västerås respectively, move in. Conflict can then arise, between those who have lived in the place a long time and have memories of its industrial activities, and the newcomers who do not share these memories and instead have to build up a different kind of belonging.

One of the great merits of the dissertation is the extensive fieldwork done by Agnidakis. He spent a total of eighteen months in the two communities. In this he is following an ethnological/ethnographic research tradition, but he more than exceeds the common norm for fieldwork in ethnology today. As a reader one must be impressed by this work and the depth of knowledge of the communities that can be achieved when an author, as in this case, spends so much time in them, for periods of varying length. He settled down in Timrå and in Surahammar, walked the streets and strolled in the parks, bought things in the shops, went to sporting events, celebrated Lucia, Midsummer, and the National Day, observed, participated, and, above all, spoke to the residents, to those who have lived there for a long time and those who recently moved in. The conversations arose spontaneously at bus stops, in checkout queues, at dance places, in restaurants, schools, and parks, but also in the form of longer interviews, to be exact, two hundred in number, on average four hours long. Some interviews were directly geared to special places of significance in the community. Naturally, he has also acquired official information about each municipality, by talking with local officials and politicians and in other ways. The dissertation text clearly demonstrates that Agnidakis has been successful in his fieldwork, in establishing contact and confidence, thus obtaining knowledge of how people feel about each other and about the place. Attaining this success in fieldwork is not something that can be taken for granted; it takes social talent and subtle intuition as well as analytical distance. To move from this to make "scholarship" out of everyday situations and information from interviews involves rising to a new level. All this together requires an enormous effort. Agnidakis also shows in a discussion of the conditions and choices of ethnological fieldwork that he is fully aware of the possibilities and complications. Doing fieldwork with interviews about people's thoughts, values, hopes, and opinions entails a responsibility. How can that best be handled? Some scholars tone down the researcher's role while others are careful to emphasize it. Agnidakis found it impossible, partly because of his personal background in a different Swedish industrial community and as a second-generation immigrant, to make a clear separation between the role of researcher and that of friend or acquaintance. "I permitted myself to feel affinity

through common denominators that appeared in the form of shared values and through insights that my own various affiliations could provide." It is important to declare a reflexive stance like this in a scholarly work, and it gives us a clue to understanding the conditions in which the empirical data were acquired.

The temporal focus of the study is the twenty-first century, but the history of the communities is amply reflected in recollections and narratives about workplaces, buildings, and events. The chronological indications are rather vague, however, and would have benefited from greater precision. There is also a certain vagueness in the way the communities are described. As a reader one would have liked to see a few more basic facts about Timrå and Surahammar, and about the companies that have set their stamp on these places. Admittedly, this is not a dissertation that claims to be about local history or industrial history, but an ethnological dissertation in which it is natural to concentrate on people's relations to a place and to each other, yet a little more background data would have enhanced the reader's understanding of the main aim of the dissertation. Timrå and Surahammar, after all, are not just ordinary places; they bear the mark of their industrial heritage. Since this heritage is also an important factor for the way the inhabitants relate in different ways to the place, as Agnidakis stresses, a more exhaustive account of what the heritage consists of would have facilitated the reading and understanding of the book. As it is now, the industrial history and the partial closure of the factories is summed up in a few lines. There is extensive research in adjacent disciplines about Swedish mill towns and the Swedish industrial heritage, and it would have been easy to refer to the works of other scholars. The absence of a detailed account leaves a hole in the dissertation. Some points of reference for understanding the inhabitants' attitude to "their" place are missing and the reader is left groping. Surahammar and Timrå are not just any places, and not even just any old industrial towns; they were for a long time among the diamonds in the industrial crown of Sweden, with operations in iron and forestry respectively, the two main branches of Swedish industrial history.

Despite this reservation, it must be said that the aim of the dissertation, "to investigate how people relate to and create a place for themselves in Surahammar and Timrå, where they live their lives", is well achieved. The author wants to find out what happens when people who have lived in and been shaped by an industrial community that has undergone great change have to mix at a superficial level with newcomers. How does local identity construction take place, how do people relate to the place with its memories, and to each other, and how does one create a relation to the place in a new situation? What potential conflicts arise, and how can they be resolved?

Place is a central concept in the dissertation. "Taking place", Agnidakis writes with reference to the ethnologist Håkan Berglund-Lake's research, happens in relation to space and to other people who inhabit this place, and it means "a practice for acquiring place". To handle the concept of place and taking place, Agnidakis is inspired by research applying phenomenological and constructivist perspectives. He does not find it meaningful to distinguish between "place" and "space"; instead, citing the human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, he would rather emphasize what unites place and space than what distinguishes them. He would thus interpret the concept of place as "a field charged with meaning within a definable space, area, or surface, which cross-fertilize each other and which people both influence and are influenced by".

The relationship between people and place is in large measure a question of identification. That the dissertation focuses sharply on "an individual identity process that is related to place" is evident from the introductory chapter, where Agnidakis holds up British-American anthropological research as a source of inspiration.

The author identifies some phenomena in the studied communities as being particularly characteristic for the creation of a place-bound identity. These include certain memories – from the folk park, from workplaces, and from experiences of sporting activities and cooperation. Whether these phenomena, more than others, are suitable as symbols of belonging and solidarity in the two towns is impossible for me to decide, but the author's argumentation, based on the empirical material, is persuasive. The overall impression of the dissertation is that it convinces the reader, especially because the interpretations are backed up by generous quotations from the interviews. The informants are thus allowed to speak and to become visible. Perhaps the

reader is left with a feeling that there is more to be said, more to be read from the interviews. This feeling probably arises because the material collected during the fieldwork is so copious that there is more to be extracted from it than what can be fitted into a doctoral dissertation. There is more for us to look forward to!

What conclusions does the author draw from his study? He finds that the old and the new inhabitants of Surahammar and Timrå are "local opposite poles" when they meet and judge each other. The author thinks that these opposite poles have a historical counterpart in the groups formed in early industrial society, between blue-collar and white-collar workers. This assumption is one of the reasons why the reader might feel more convinced if more facts had been provided here and there about the old industrial communities. With the aid of Tomas Hylland Eriksen's discussion of "roots" (*røtter*, the need for permanence) and "feet" (*føtter*, the need for change) as active components in identity creation, the sense of belonging among the "old" inhabitants is contrasted with the mobility of the "new" inhabitants. The pattern, however, turns out to be more complicated than this. It is possible to define dividing lines in each group, and the informants display many combinations of place-permanence and mobility. At the same time, there is a distinct tendency for the belonging of the old rooted inhabitants to be grounded in a concerted, multifaceted relationship to the place, based on many parts of their personal life experience, compared with the more divided belonging of the newcomers, which is often shared with an existence outside the place, often in the city. An interesting observation is that the anchorage of the newcomers is often based on the creation of a home of their own, an individual or family-based project in which a house one has built or chosen oneself is an indispensable part.

Coexistence in the local community means that a sense of belonging is something achieved by negotiation, where the absence of long continuity in the place, of a background as a local worker, and of family ties has to be compensated for by different kinds of involvement in local life. The final chapter brings up the question of homecomers, since Agnidakis has also interviewed people who moved away but came back. Although this perspective adds a new dimension to the discussion, the focus becomes more blurred here. Returning gives partly new relations to the place and its inhabitants, and returning as a phenomenon might perhaps be worth a study of its own.

To sum up, it may be said that *Rätten till platsen* is an ethnological study whose real strength lies in the extensive, well-performed fieldwork. But perhaps the fieldwork was *too* extensive. Reading the dissertation gives a feeling that the analysis cannot match the sheer volume of the empirical data, which in turn leads to a supposition that there is more to be extracted. On the other hand, I would say that the concluding discussion, which avoids simplifications, is interesting precisely because of the large amount of empirical material and the author's familiarity with it. The dissertation clearly shows that local communities are still very suitable for ethnological studies. Paul Agnidakis has succeeded in his ambition to demonstrate the strength of research on local communities, while simultaneously pointing out how it can be renewed.

Katarina Ek-Nilsson, Uppsala

Researching a Rock Festival as an Insider and an Outsider

Jonas Bjälesjö, Rock'n'roll i Hultsfred. Ungdomar, festival och lokal gemenskap. Hammarlins bokförlag, Båstad 2013. 200 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-979381-0-5.

■ Let me start this review by stating my opinion that the new thesis by the Swedish ethnologist Jonas Bjälesjö on the rock festival held in Hultsfred, Småland from 1986 to 2010 is quite an intriguing book, a strange bird in the best sense of the word. What makes it odd is that it can be read in at least three different ways, with three separate cultural frameworks and research traditions being addressed. One way of reading the thesis is to place it in a cultural-historical context, reading it as *the* or *a history* of the rock festival in Hultsfred. This reading mode is not without its complications however, but it is still, I think, the most obvious way of looking at the thesis. Another way of reading the book is to see it as an example of doing ethnography in the here-and-now, in a context where the larger cultural ramifications are not that important. Instead, what happens in the festival, in the carnivalesque reality, as Bjä-

lesjö might call it, is paramount. That way of reading is accentuated in the third section of this tripartite book (with an additional summary, in both Swedish and English), the one on the experiences among the festival goers, something Bjälesjö has studied for many years. If this phenomenological approach is at the forefront in the third part of the book, then the first can easily be read as a cultural history of the Rockparty society in which the whole enterprise was started by a group of teenagers in Hultsfred and its vicinity in the early 1980s.

But already here a further split in the storytelling occurs, because the "traditional" way of describing such activities, by rock historians and ethnologists/cultural analysts doing rock research, is to give it a strong subcultural bent, an understanding of the music field as a rock formation (Lawrence Grossberg's concept) or as one or more subcultures (see e.g. Hebdige 1979; Willis 1977, Fornäs, Lindberg & Sernhede 1988; Berkaak & Ruud 1993; Bjurström 1997). This usually means that the study focuses on questions of cultural and symbolic capital, distinction, taste (markers) and gatekeepers. But what Bjälesjö is doing in his thesis is distancing himself from this type of analytical framework, or to put it more distinctly: his big invention in the thesis is to parallel the subcultural leanings among the people he describes – both the youngsters of Hultsfred active in the festival arrangements, the rock community in Sweden and the rock'n'roll world at large and the musicians involved in the festival – with a sociological explanation of quite another type. This he does by bringing in Robert E. Putnam's social capital concept via an excursus into the Bourdieuian world of practice and cultural and symbolic capital. By this manoeuvre Bjälesjö makes it possible to establish a kind of middle ground or a negotiation space in which these key persons in the Rockparty group can balance – the single most important key word of his thesis – between the subcultural demands on one hand and the quite different ones concerned with social capital, read as the trust and resourcefulness of the whole Hultsfred community (and by extension the Swedish popular and political system at large). This manoeuvre then leads in quite a distinct way to the middle section of his study, which is also about the growing entrepreneurial and businesslike grip which the organizers of the festival are either forced to or freely choose to indulge in (a question which is clearly articulated here, but maybe actually never quite answered), which in Bjälesjö's still somewhat romantic and nostalgic storytelling spells the death of the traditional rock festival in Hultsfred. The middle section of the book is then a passage into the today quite active research field concerned with the creative industries or the experience economy, something in which Scandinavian ethnology in recent years has made several important inroads, see for instance Orvar Löfgren and Robert Willim's *Magic, Culture and the New Economy* (2005), Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl's *Turreturtemapark: Oppdragelse, opplevelse, kommers* (2003), Robert Willim's *Industrial Cool: Om postindustriella fabriker* (2008) and a special issue about "Irregular Ethnographies" in *Ethnologia Europaea* (1: 2011), edited by Robert Willim and Tom O'Dell.

Another important turn in Scandinavian ethnology informing Bjälesjö's thesis is the one his supervisor Jonas Frykman has been promoting for years, a turn towards a markedly phenomenological understanding of the ethnological work to be done. Frykman's recent book *Berörd* (2012) is a fine update as to the ideas concerning this strand of ethnological thinking. Frykman, together with Nils Gilje, has also edited an instructive volume on phenomenology and the analysis of culture called *Being There* (2003). This means that the shift can be observed more generally in contemporary Swedish ethnology, a tradition or "school" known for its antischool-like or anti-doctrinaire nature. This "tradition", as far as I can see, is interested above all in connections and analyses to be made between questions of materiality, auto-ethnography, ethnographic close reading and observing and ethnological phenomenology. This more "existentialist" or "searching" way of doing things in Swedish ethnology can also be observed in e.g. Löfgren & Ehn's *Kulturanalytiska verktyg* (2012), especially part one of that book, and also the same duo's text "Ute på kulturforskningens bakgårdar", in *Kulturella Perspektiv* (1:2013) as well as in the volume *Tidens termik: Hastighet och kulturell förändring* (2009), edited by Anna Hagborg, Rebecka Lennartsson and Maria Vallström, which is a *Festschrift* to Gösta Arvastson. Looking at Bjälesjö's thesis one can detect how this so-called phenomenological turn – which, as Frykman himself states in *Berörd*, is a conscious move away from the totalizing grips of discourse analysis and related forms of doing ethnological re-

search, including the whole concept of representation – has been making inroads in his thesis along the way, a work which in Bjälesjö's case has indeed been long in the making. Back in the late 1990s this reviewer had the pleasure of being a member of the same Nordic group of researchers working in the area of child and youth studies in which Bjälesjö was also involved. He was already at that point rather well into his thesis and a piece he wrote on the Hultsfred festival, "Rockparty in Hultsfred – Young People and Local Music Life", was published in a volume from the group in question, *Younger Than Yesterday, Older Than Tomorrow* (2002). What is noteworthy in that earlier text is a lack of the material and phenomenological aspects which seem to take centre stage in his thesis. But the text in that anthology is in itself an excellent examination of the various problems a researcher encounters if he/she tries to define the concept of "youth cultures" in terms of an open spatiality, consisting, as he writes, of a complexity of interacting and social relations, a research he then can be said to both deepen and broaden in his thesis. This turn towards spatiality is perhaps the single most defining feature of his work on Hultsfred and the youth involved in it and with it.

What I actually can see in Bjälesjö's thesis is then a split vision concerning the research done here, which if one reads the book carelessly might be difficult to spot. Given the rather long time Bjälesjö has worked on his thesis, it is perhaps almost inevitable that the end product is something of an assemblage. But one problem with the thesis is that the reader might not see this, if the reading is done from an angle which is too far away from the object under scrutiny, or taking the phenomenological approach for granted.

What Bjälesjö has done in his thesis, and done really well, is to mask this internal split, or rather several splits, which as I stated inform his work, producing a master narrative of an evolution process of this rather small rootsy kind of festival in the Swedish countryside or semi-countryside developing into a bigger and more professionally defined and streamlined type of festival. Hultsfred is a municipality in an otherwise mostly rural milieu, with some industries and a small town centre where much of the action of the festival has been played out. As an evolutionary or in this case perhaps devolutionary story with a clear pedagogical aim, Bjälesjö shows, ultimately, the strength of the older Swedish socio-political model, Folkhemmet ("The People's Home"). The musical-ideological basis for the festival and the people involved in it from its beginnings in the early 1980s is a crowd not from roots rock, but punk rock and new wave, i.e. largely "ordinary" male teenagers from the vicinity, interested in creating a festival to their own liking, a festival in which the cultural know-how of rock'n'roll – variously called cred or coolness in the thesis – is matched and balanced by a profound understanding of the local cultural values and indeed Bourdieuian (cultural and symbolic) capital to be used when composing a festival concept around the three networks or assemblages called Rockparty, the festival itself, and Rockcity. These three aspects of the festival, starting from the earliest, smallest and most amateurish, Rockparty, and progressing through the festival and its later metamorphosis into an ever more professionally administered one, can also be read as the festival becoming a less local and "genuine" event. There is a plot structure in the thesis which could almost be read as a cinematic script of sorts. In fact there is a striking resemblance to Bill Forsyth's wonderful Scottish movie *Local Hero* (1983), involving some surprising narrative parallels in Bjälesjö's storytelling with that movie. It is a story in which the place Hultsfred is the nave around which different expansions and contractions, balancing acts are taking place, something which the ethnographer has been registering along the way.

It is the mode of balancing, between the amateurishness of "authentic rock" (Bjälesjö does not problematize the concept of authenticity) and the growing professionalization of the festival organization and at the same time the deterritorialization of the whole concept which in his story brings above "the fall from grace" here, which is the end of the Hultsfred festival as a distinctly local enterprise. As he states in his summary, this has been a meeting place not only for the Swedish music community at large but also between association, community and festival and between exclusivity, lifestyle and historical rooting. This kind of balancing act led, in Bjälesjö's view, to an image being created of a phenomenon being simultaneously commonplace and exclusive. The festival was both a place where music people met to have their subcultural belonging confirmed and to show their dedication to the bands

playing (a clear majority of which were always Swedish, with only one or two overall coming from the world outside of the Nordic countries or the Anglo-American sphere). And at the same time the festival was seen as a pilgrimage and partying ground for young Swedes.

At this point it is important to pause and try to figure out what this kind of storytelling is doing and what it might have lost along the way, when the question of balancing takes centre stage and other aspects might be pushed aside, one of them being the understanding of rock'n'roll seen from a subcultural perspective, which has been a more traditional way at looking at rock, especially perhaps in the '80s and '90s. This subsuming of the subcultural mode of understanding of rock is one of the most important consequences of Bjälesjö's approach and it corresponds with his emphasis in the writing process of moving through three arenas of diffusion and professionalization of the rock culture in question. This also happens to correspond to a larger cultural shift taking place in entertainment and the creative economy, a move towards a tightening grip of economic and entrepreneurial thinking on popular cultural products and effects.

Internally this is mirrored in Bjälesjö's own positioning in his project and in the whole idea of the Hultsfred festival as a balancing act, which is one of the most interesting and potentially problematic aspects of his thesis. This is because Bjälesjö is an insider from the beginning; he was born and bred in Hultsfred, he has been working with the festival, if not from its beginning then at least for a very long time, in different capacities (see especially the Rockparty and Rockcity parts of the thesis) which gives him quite a unique position here as being both an insider (as local resident, music fan, partaking in the organization of the festival) and an outsider (a researcher). It is this Janus-like position with its many possibilities for a more profound understanding of the festival that at the same time makes it difficult for him, I think, to come to grips with the question of his own positionality and the contrasting or competing claims they make on him. Thus there is a tendency to anonymize some informants without the reader being able to understand why this is actually needed, since the end product is not in my view especially "far out" or extravagant in describing the lifestyle of the festivalgoers. On the contrary, the description of the festival in its "wholeness", including material, discursive and symbolic aspects, is done with great panache by Bjälesjö, that is, if one is interested in having a neat, well-researched, and often quite beautifully written story largely told from an eagleeye perspective. The narrative drive in the text is then organized out of a careful consideration and alteration of various dualisms, such as rock rebels and "ordinary" rural youth, cultural innovators and commercial entrepreneurs, broad folksiness and alternative exclusivity, a carnivalesque free zone and a well-organized commercialism, a reserved and including attitude towards the local community and an overarching and open one towards the outside, arrangements which were both practice-oriented and affectively effective, and so on.

The best and most telling parts of Bjälesjö's story, both from a narrative and a phenomenological point of view, are his wonderfully complex and multisensorial descriptions of life in the festival camp, with its symbolic and discursive terrain mapped in quite an impressive way, and perhaps as the high point of the whole book, the description of the arrival of the party people at Hultsfred railway station, with all their small, practical problems and their senses of anticipation, exhilaration and anxiety. His prose depicting the mass of young people moving through the municipality from the railway station to the festival area is a real gem. Seldom have I read a piece of such almost cinematic clarity and elegance in an ethnographic study.

Unfortunately, the problems which these wonderful passages cannot hide are those of Bjälesjö's own, slightly awkward position, which I read as showing him to have a lot of tacit knowledge which the reader can only speculate about, which makes him unable (or unwilling) to write out a story with more edges, with an interest in the odd and marginal detail, and in those who do not quite fit as the typical or mass-mediated festival youth, of which the book has some fine pictures. I would have liked to read more about the famous "Bajsmannen" (literally "the shit man", a legendary figure, fixated on the "Bajamajor", the portable toilets of the camps), of which I have heard Jonas tell stories verbally, but here the figure is only mentioned in passing. The questions of pollution and dirt are to my mind central to an investigation of ritual and festivity, and it would have made sense to try to figure out what role this person played narratologically here. And what of the teenagers who did not fit into the harmonizing

picture the researcher is painting, where are they? My hunch is that these types of characteristics might be something which in this kind of research (on youth and rock culture) is generally relegated to earlier times and older people (cf. for a very readable thesis on such eccentrics, Lynn Åkesson's *De ovanligas betydelse*, 1991).

If a strong sense of narrative value resulting in a smooth story progression and a compression of the storytelling is the greatest asset of this thesis, then it must be said that the theoretical and methodological aspects here are not quite up to the same high standard as some of the quite brilliant passages of the narrative mentioned above. The thesis is in my view not well enough grounded in an analytical frame which could make an understanding and even deconstruction of the phenomenon of this rock festival possible. This is partly a result of difficult analytical tools. Especially Robert D. Putnam's theory of social capital, in my view, tends to be quite problematic and is so here too, since it easily leads to a hermeneutical spiralling of sorts from which there is no escape. That which is to be analysed is already understood from a more intuitive angle, which makes it quite difficult to come to grips with how this concept operates in real situations. Related to this is more generally an inability on the researcher's part to open up his investigation to questions of intersectionality and marginalization taking place in this kind of setting. Questions, for example, of a heavy gender bias in the whole "phenomenon" of Hultsfred, how it came to be formed and functioning, are mentioned, but not addressed more analytically. The same goes for generation and class, concepts which are used, but not dealt with vigorously enough.

If one thinks of the concepts Bjälesjö uses, such as the carnivalesque and the liminal, there are also some strange omissions of theoretical references. There is no mention of Bernice Martin's important, but at the same time rather problematic study *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change* (1983), on 1960s rock'n'roll liminality, or more generally as to the ritual side of the festival, Edmund Leach's seminal research on ritual and ritual time, which is strange since the form of thinking Bjälesjö applies to his study is more indebted to Leach than to Victor Turner and Bakhtin, who are the two "major" references he is using in this part of the thesis. But his use of these analytical tools is in my view lacking in depth, with a problematization that is not particularly effective.

So what we have here, I think, as so often is the case, is a piece of research which very much mirrors its maker, a beautifully written text, which at the same time poses several difficult questions for the reader, for instance the low level of self-reflexivity on the researcher's part, not only being a combination of insider and outsider (invoking images of fan, critic, researcher, "local hero", "local native", cultural professional, all wrapped in one). For a problematization of this kind of highly ambivalent role to play as researcher I have to look elsewhere. One such place is the excellent study by Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl in the issue on "Irregular Ethnographies" in *Ethnologia Europaea* (1:2011), "Twisted Field Working: Fighting for the Relevance of Being Connected".

But I still want to end on a more positive note. This is an extremely well-written and often quite thoughtful investigation, packed with illuminating details of "life in a festival mode" in the Swedish countryside. And moreover, I don't think I have ever encountered an ethnological thesis/book this beautifully made, as regards the layout, the cover and the pictures inside. Both the publisher and Bjälesjö himself must be congratulated on bringing such a well-made and informative book into the field of ethnology. Is this the definitive story of the Hultsfred rock festival? Not quite, and perhaps one shouldn't even try to write one. The book was a pleasure to read, one which also raised several questions and some objections in the reviewer along the way.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

An Ambitious Comparative Scandinavian Study

Mattias Bäckström, Hjärtats härdar. Folkliv, folkmuseer och minnesmärken i Skandinavien, 1808–1907. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2012. 372 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7844-843-2.

■ Mattias Bäckström's dissertation is impressive in size, showing that the author is thoroughly familiar with a wide range of source material, and his research project is ambitious. The theme of the disser-

tation is central, relevant, and positioned in a large and important research landscape. Not only historians of ideas, but also historians, cultural historians, and museologists have long been interested in the nineteenth-century museums and their founders. By studying Scandinavian museums in the nineteenth century it is possible, for example, to view nation building as a cultural practice – with all the details, complexities, and changing networks of acting and thinking people that this perspective entails. This museum-related cultural practice involves education, journalism, aesthetics, art and design, literature, and university work. Through his choice of individuals and institutions, Bäckström succeeds in conveying this complexity and all the relations that have existed between the different cultural spheres and between the individual actors.

Precisely because the dissertation has such a broad and ambitious approach, there is good reason to begin by asking where exactly in the problem-landscape Bäckström is located. It is not entirely obvious whom he is actually discussing with or which research tradition he is following. This may have to do with the fact that Bäckström starts by declaring that he does not wish to reduce the diversity of his material or his perspectives, "to established categories in theory or tradition" (p. 11). Of course, Bäckström refers to other authors and their works, but without a fixed focus through the whole dissertation – or for that matter in the concluding analyses.

Bäckström introduces a few slightly surprising categorizations – partly to describe different intellectual positions and partly to explain the differences between these positions: ideal-realistic naturalism and naturalistic real-idealism (p. 17). He uses these terms fairly consistently to discuss his findings and his actors, but this reviewer at least can never quite grasp what insight this conceptual pair gives in relation to the complexity of the empirical material.

Another central question is the chronological demarcation on which Bäckström bases his study: 1808–1907 may be a well-founded choice, but the problem is that the reader is never told the reason. It is possible that these two dates represent concrete (and important) events in museum history, but this does not answer the question about the periodization on a more general level. What began in 1808 and what ended in 1907? The Danish Society of Antiquaries of 1807, for example, was created by men who were born in the period 1750–1770, and although Artur Hazelius died leaving his life's work in 1901, his Norwegian counterpart, Hans Aall, lived and worked at his Norwegian Folk Museum until his death in 1946. Tracing the background to or the effect of the ideas Bäckström studies can thus not be restricted by the choice of dates like these. In my opinion, the author ought to have problematized this himself.

This rather superficial question raises a more fundamental question, namely, whether the period 1808–1907 witnessed any real watersheds, new phases, or changes that shed light on the shifting debates, the different structural choices, or the general processes taking place in work with museums and culture in Scandinavia. Of course it did, and in practice Bäckström operates with relevant sub-periodizations, changes of generation, and innovations. The dissertation would have gained from greater clarity in these dimensions of the analysis. As it is now, it is instead built up around separate topics and thematic analyses – monuments, folklife, and folk museums. Given Bäckström's interest in following certain ideas and processes through nineteenth-century Scandinavia, this arrangement makes sense, but it does not solve the periodization problem.

Mattias Bäckström's main project is to work in a comparative nineteenth-century Scandinavian context. This is a good choice, but not the only possible one. In fact, the dissertation derives much of its weight from this choice and the way it is implemented. It takes considerable energy – and not least patience – on the part of a researcher to work through the amount of source material that this choice entails. Here Bäckström has a distinct strength, and his large note apparatus with discussions and references will make his dissertation an important reference book for later researchers. Yet this admittedly good choice brings some new challenges. One thing is that it would have been an advantage if the author had stated more explicit reasons for his Scandinavian comparison. Comparison can have different objectives: As a method it can reveal both similarities and differences, it can set up contrasts, and it can indicate both limitations and possibilities available to the actors. Ignoring language aspects and the size of the material: Why is Finland not included? And what about other European countries which used the establishment of museums in the nineteenth century to mark their newly won or ardently desired

cultural independence? And given that the choice of the three Scandinavian countries is justified (as it is of course), it would have been good to see an account of how relations between these three countries underwent different phases in the course of the nineteenth century. Relations between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had their ups and downs, to put it mildly, during this period. Scandinavism as an ideology and cultural practice peaked in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it undoubtedly influenced several of the central museum founders in all three countries. At the same time, however, it was obviously significant that relations between the three countries in the early nineteenth century were affected by war, conflict, victory, and defeat, a situation that laid the foundation for cultural mobilization and cultural isolation. The same thing happened as a result of Denmark's crushing defeat and degrading in the time around the death of Frederik VII in 1863: Europe's oldest royal family died out, Denmark became a decimated state as a result of Prussian aggression. There was a similar situation at the end of Bäckström's period: Norway and Sweden were on the verge of full-scale war after several decades of heated political antagonisms concerning the formal and the real meaning of the personal union that had been imposed on Norway. Clarifying these circumstances would probably have made Bäckström's concrete analyses more dynamic and also enabled a clearer periodization of the processes he describes. The ideas and motives that he considers came into existence and acquired their meaning in a political and cultural space. It is not sufficient either as a method or as a concrete analysis to point out relations between ideas or actors (p. 16).

Yet another question about the research design deserves to be raised. Once again, Bäckström's ambitious approach is the starting point. The problems he has chosen, the implementation of the study, and the concrete arrangement of the book have the result that the research object itself appears enormous: we are provided with themes (in museum history), institutions, actors, ideas, and processes in a rather shapeless composition. It is perfectly clear that Bäckström's primary interest is in following the relations between the concrete actors, the museum institutions, the surrounding society, and the public sphere in Scandinavia, but that could have given reason to discuss the methods, perspectives, source selection, and theories that would have been best for analysing this relationship. And the definitive question then is this: Can the highly diverse sources withstand the pressure of the ambitious questions and perspectives?

If we move from this broad, general discussion of the research design, theory and method of the dissertation, and instead look at where the real centre of gravity lies, the conclusion is quite clear: Bäckström studies the museum projects of the Dane Bernhard Olsen (1836–1922), the Swede Artur Hazelius (1833–1901), and the Norwegian Hans Aall (1869–1946) and the relations between these men. The chronological emphasis in the dissertation is thus on the last third of the nineteenth century. The three museum founders had – to say the least – very different backgrounds, both socially and culturally. They nevertheless ended up with cultural and museum projects that had many features in common.

How could this be? This brings us to the crux of Bäckström's dissertation. He is not a devotee of any one specific theory, instead eclectically testing different theoretical perspectives. This is acceptable and not uncommon. But when one approaches his concrete analyses, one can occasionally be mystified. Bäckström mentions several times that, when he wants to capture and analyse the ideas and strategies that his main actors express, negotiate about, share, and translate into practice, it seems as if what constructs and explains connections and relations (between the ideas and/or the actors) is "nearness". Perhaps this proximity of ideas in some cases is of a more superficial or non-relational character? A cultural historian looking more closely at the kind of source material in which Bäckström detects this closeness of ideas would be struck by how different they are – in their evidential depth, rhetoric, level of ambition, and genre. Here we find works of cultural philosophy alongside poetry, letters, opening speeches, and exhibition catalogues. It is hard to see the clear connections and close ideas that Bäckström assumes. One may perhaps *suspect* that there are connections, but often it is no more than this.

Bäckström's dissertation would have gained by an additional focus on the combination of rhetoric and mentality, as a way to explain the concurrence in museum and culture projects across the national borders in Scandinavia. When Bernhard Olsen, Artur Hazelius, and Hans Aall – seemingly without any long-term contacts or alliances – nevertheless ended up with concepts that that had a great deal in

common, it was not due to the nearness of ideas, a proximity which can easily be taken as evidence of influence or relational processes. The similarity in the concepts may just as well have to do with the fact that the cultural rhetoric that arose in many fields, and under the influence of different forms of social, political, and cultural changes in the late nineteenth century, gradually made some museum models possible and others impossible. It was possible and acceptable to elaborate some conceptual models and gain support for them, while others became antiquated or politically impossible to peddle.

If Bäckström had followed sidetracks like this, some of the thematic fields that he shows so clearly to have been shared by central actors in the Scandinavian museum world would have stood out more distinctly. Here are some concrete suggestions for some of these tracks:

At several places in the dissertation Bäckström shows how *religion* and a religious rhetoric follow museum thinking closely through much of the nineteenth century. The Norwegian and the Danish material is almost over-explicit in this respect. In Norway many central actors who set the premises for the shared national cultural memory were either theologians or closely connected to a religious and ecclesiastical way of thinking. Eilert Sundt (1817–1875) – who is, quite rightly, an important figure for Bäckström – was a theologian, clergyman, and a leading actor in the church. In Denmark Bäckström highlights N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), who pursued theology and church politics in all his actions, thinking, and influence. For both Sundt and Grundtvig, politics and culture were of crucial ecclesiastical and theological relevance. In this perspective it makes good sense to look for the (secularized) religious rhetoric in the next generation of cultural ideologues and institution founders as well. The whole thinking about the national spirit, collective memory, the national communion, and how this was developed or terminated in law, has an unmistakable dimension of theological and religious rhetoric. The same can be said about much of Hazelius' rhetoric, for example. If this is correct, it should be possible to set the development of Scandinavian museums into a larger context of ideas and projects concerning the transition of the Protestant countries from confessional unitary states to complex, conflict-ridden class societies. Ecclesiastical religion no longer had any good answers at the time of this transition. Instead some people tried to find the answers in new institutions which would conserve the national memory and the collective spirit, identifying community-building places, narratives, and objects which united people across social and political differences. It is clear that this was the position of both Hazelius and Aall.

Going further, one can also ask what happened to *politics* in Bäckström's dissertation. If we follow Bernhard Olsen's Danish museum project, it is perfectly clear how his political actions were downright revanchist. Not only the national culture was to be included within the borders of Denmark after 1863–1864, but also the culture of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and the increasingly independent Iceland had to be incorporated in Olsen's Danish Folk Museum. In contrast, it is striking how both Aall and Hazelius seemingly tried to manoeuvre between opposite political poles in their cultural projects: the museums they established were supposed to bridge the differences.

One theme which Bäckström repeatedly touches on, and which is fascinating and ripe for further research, is the relationship between the Scandinavian museum projects and the *economy*. In the practical activity there was a close relationship between the three countries' central museum founders and the increasing and professionalized trade in antiques. Here we come to what is perhaps the most interesting and novel aspect of Bäckström's dissertation, namely, his study of what he calls "museum economism" (a new term which he introduces along with several other concepts, rather abruptly in the middle of the dissertation, pp. 164ff.). The Scandinavian folk museums developed at the intersection of a private collector's market and a public-legal field linked to an understanding of cultural community and shared ownership.

To conclude, it is important to state that Mattias Bäckström has delivered a massive and impressive scholarly work. In printed form the dissertation consists of 285 pages of text in two columns followed by 970 notes which alone fill 50 pages. This alone is enough to show that the dissertation is a result of a systematic will to undertake an ambitious comparison on a Scandinavian basis. And the work has been done with great learning and an interest in details. As regards research design and potential alternative interpretations, Bäckström's dissertation nevertheless seems rather self-enclosed. This reviewer would

suggest that Bäckström could have explained more by opening his project further towards other research, towards more clearly defined perspectives and connections between the phenomena, processes, institutions, and individual actors he discusses. This critique, however, should not conceal the fact that Mattias Bäckström's dissertation impresses by the way it puts the nineteenth-century Scandinavian museums into a broad intellectual perspective. This ambitious project has given new insights while simultaneously inspiring new research.
Arne Bugge Amundsen, Oslo

The Music of Danish Cultural Radicalism

Michael Fjeldsøe, Kulturradikalismens musik. Museum Tusculanums forlag, Copenhagen 2013. 832 pp., Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-87-635-3894-7.

■ In this grand volume, a thesis for the Ph.D. degree, the musicologist Michael Fjeldsøe delves deep into the music of the interwar culture radicalism in Denmark. After the human catastrophe of the First World War, the 1920s and '30s saw a vigorous growth in ideas about how to change culture and society on the national and international levels. Democracy, new technology, reform pedagogy, psychoanalysis, sexual emancipation were all parts of a modernization where function was a relevant measure of evaluation, and secularization and demilitarization were necessary processes in the making of a new and better society. These were international intellectual currents, yet they could take distinct directions and be articulated in different constellations in different countries, and they have also undergone different retrospective evaluation and conceptualization. In Denmark, *kulturradikalism* has been used since the mid 1950s as an overall concept when speaking of this interwar constellation of phenomena and discourses – which points to the contemporary need in the 1950s at least to speak of an intellectual climate where "broad-minded liberalism and the focus on social inequities were not contraries but were considered instead to be the same thing", as Fjeldsøe puts it. (In Sweden, this was instead spoken of as the possibility of a "third stance" between the systems the USA and the Soviet Union stood for, without so much reference to interwar radicalism.) He also speaks of the cultural left wing – not identical with and yet not independent of the political left wing; and of the many artists we meet some are organized communists, social democrats and liberals, some are excluded communists, and some are independent yet active in progressive endeavours.

Fjeldsøe states that the study concerns "modern music", but not all kinds of modern music, rather "the specific variants that live up to the ideas that make cultural radicalism stick together". This means "an idea of a progressive, committed and emancipating music that connects the idea of progressivity to artistic as well as social progress, the idea of commitment to filling social needs and communicating a serious content, and emancipation to spiritual and bodily release of fantasy and creativity".

Fjeldsøe divides the interwar period into two phases. The first part of the 1920s is characterized as one of openness and interest in new and experimental artistic forms, new views on culture and society, new scientific theories. Many organizations and journals were established in order to present and promote the new culture. In music, this primarily meant introducing the new methods of composing, promoted by German composers such as Arnold Schönberg, which meant a radical break with the nineteenth-century romanticism that dominated art and popular music. However, the introduction of modern forms was not enough. Fjeldsøe poses two problems that the culture-radical composers had to face. First, the need to reach out to a greater audience and not repel it, which led to the question of the roles and uses of culture in society. One answer was to embrace the ideas of functionalism. In music there was also around 1927 a re-evaluation of the expressionism (of Schönberg) and Dadaism of earlier decades, that now were interpreted as the last phases of romanticism rather than the beginning of something new. The resulting efforts, which are the subject of the greater part of the book, included inter-artial collaborations (especially with theatre), influences from popular music including jazz, and music for and in educational programmes. Kurt Weill's cooperation with Bertolt Brecht and Paul Hindemith's concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* were important influences.

There were some organizations that played important roles in promoting and initiating the new currents, and they are given quite some space. One influence was the Monde group that started in 1928, a self-elected avant-garde team of Marxist intel-

lectuals like Carl Madsen and Rudolf Broby Johansen. Apart from producing the eponymous journal, they initiated and had a strong influence on Forsøgsscenen, an experimental scene where radical films, plays, and marionette theatre were staged. However, the scene soon split into two because of conflicts about economy. The growing influence of the Communist Party on the Monde group gradually isolated it and eventually led to its closure in 1932. During the remainder of the 1930s, there were instead a manifold of organizations and individual efforts that would effectuate the radical culture. This also included the more official institutions like Det kongelige Teater, Det ny Teater, and established commercial stages.

A good part of the book is dedicated to presentations of different shows and projects including music, among them Poul Henningsen's PH revues, Lulu Ziegler's cabarets, Storm P's and Knudåge Riisager's modernist ballet *Benzin* and the communist agitprop groups. Several chapters deal with the introduction of Bertolt Brecht's plays and of Brecht's work in exile in Denmark, including the "theatre war" in 1936 when Det kongelige Teater was accused of playing communist propaganda and Brecht's and Weill's ballet *The Seven Deadly Sins* was taken off the programme after two performances. One chapter gives a thorough description of the state-produced information film on Denmark that was made in 1932–35, with a screenplay by Henningsen and jazz big band music by Bernhard Christensen.

Christensen is one of the major actors in the large part of the book that deals with jazz music. From being one of many popular music forms, jazz from the late 1920s was ascribed certain emancipating qualities, and interpreted as a thoroughly *modern* music. A starting point was Poul Henningsen's 1928 appraisal of Josephine Baker's artistry, which marked a breakthrough of the idea of African American culture as genuine, natural and exemplary. Christensen, a young composer who had studied non-European music, would elaborate in writing on rhythm and swing – a 1930 article shows remarkable insights – and together with the music pedagogue Astrid Gøssel and the writer Sven Møller Kristensen introduce pedagogy of "rhythmic music" that had a strong influence in Danish music education. One form Christensen worked with was "jazz oratories" – song cycles in jazz style for and about young people. *De 24 timer* describes a school day, including anxiety about exams and evening joys. In 1934, he wrote *Trompetkvadet*, a paraphrase on the Old Norse *Thrymskvadet* where instead of Thor retrieving his stolen hammer from the giant Thrym, Trompetkvadet deals with how Louis Armstrong has his trumpet stolen by Richard Wagner and eventually wins it back. In 1935, a jazz music school started with Christensen, Kristensen and Gøssel as leading forces, giving weekly lessons for amateurs and professionals, to be followed by others. This was quite an extraordinary development in comparison with how jazz was evaluated in other countries. However, with the rise of the swing craze from 1935, the emancipatory pedagogy would be marginalized within the dominant jazz discourses where a more traditional romantic art view grew dominant.

Indeed, the dominant image of the music of the interwar cultural radicalism has been that of the jazz influences. Fjeldsøe devotes much space to this, but as stated above there is a manifold of forms, uses and situations that were chosen as ways to make new music that would live up to the expectations and programmes of the radical currents, not just accompany them. Thus, the point here is not so much about the trajectory of jazz in Denmark per se, but rather how jazz discursively and practically was construed as music well suited for the modern and emancipatory ideas.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the outbreak of war, and finally the occupation brought much of contemporary radical culture to a halt (even though jazz music attained special significance as a sign of resistance; hence the early 1940s have been named "the golden age of Danish jazz"). Fjeldsøe does not go into the occupation period in any depth, but as an epilogue one chapter deals with the post-war period and how the space for an independent radicalism diminished. The composers Finn Høffding and Knudåge Riisager are put forward as examples – two former fellows that now took stood for the Communist Party and the CIA-financed Society for Freedom and Culture, respectively.

An interesting theme that surfaces here and there is the role of ethnomusicological theory and research. Béla Bartók is referred to as an inspiration and role model for composers, and folk music is ascribed a role as a source of psychological, rather than historical, authenticity.

Fjeldsøe has not only focused on the musical

works as remnants from the period, which would be a standard way of writing music history. By also going into the organization building, the writing and publishing of texts, the conflicts inside and outside the radical networks and the wider reception of their works and performances, the book also functions as a form of "studying up", a sort of ethnography of how radical ideas are put into practice and how actors make choices with long-term ideals and short-term circumstances as a framework.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Dealing with Painful Memories of War

Florence Fröhlig, Painful Legacy of World War II. Nazi Forced Enlistment. Alsatian/Mosellan Prisoners of War and the Soviet Prison Camp of Tambov. Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies, Stockholm University 2013. 230 pp. Diss. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87235-42-9.

■ Florence Fröhlig's dissertation in ethnology is about memories of forced enlistment and captivity during the Second World War.

From 1870 to 1945 the regions of Alsace and parts of Lorraine changed nationality five times. In 1939, when France became involved in the Second World War, the regions were a part of that country, but when France was defeated a year later, they were annexed by Nazi Germany. In August 1942 it was decided that all the men in these regions who were born between 1908 and 1928 had to report for service in the German army. The young men had no choice, because the Nazis threatened to kill their families if they refused or deserted. A total of 130,000 men were forcibly enlisted. The majority were sent to the eastern front, where many were captured and sent to Russian prisoner of war camps. The Soviet authorities assembled the French prisoners in Camp 188, in the forest of Rada near the city of Tambov in Russia. When the war ended, Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France and the prisoners who had survived came home. There they were regarded as traitors since they had fought against their fellow countrymen. Florence Fröhlig's grandfather and his brother were two of these men.

Fröhlig's dissertation is about the returning men's experiences of having fought in the German army and having been prisoners in Russia. She studies the strategies employed by the former captives and their families to cope with these experiences, and thereby focuses on the far-reaching and still active consequences of the Second World War.

The aim of the dissertation is to study how knowledge and memories of forced enlistment and Soviet captivity have been and are remembered, communicated, and transferred in the light of the fact that the prisoners were regarded as enemies and traitors when they were re-integrated in France. Fröhlig regards the participants in these processes as actors of memory, and she examines their strategies for dealing with and overcoming painful memories and passing them on from one generation to another.

The theoretical and methodological influences are numerous, but they are bound together by an interest in memory processes. The introduction contains theoretical discussions of the concepts of narrative, experience, ritual, memory, place, and trauma. Fröhlig regards narration and memory-making as interpersonal processes and as strategies to give meaning to experiences and thereby transform them. These processes take place within the framework of constantly changing cultural systems.

The dissertation is structured around four strategies for dealing with experiences of forced enlistment and captivity. These overlap and are also chronological. The first strategy, and according to Fröhlig the most common, is both individual and collective silence. She writes about this in chapter two under the heading "To Silence Experience". Fröhlig shows that there are several different (interlinked) forms of silence. She distinguishes four. The first she calls a political silence. As soon as the Second World War ended, the European societies were thrown into a period of oblivion. This led to a collective silence about the experiences of the forced recruits, and it gave a kind of hope that the future would heal all wounds and let people forget the horrors of the war. In relation to this collective silence, an individual self-preserving silence was also created, which Fröhlig calls a liturgical silence. She regards it as a kind of survival strategy, designed to handle suffering and make it possible to leave the war and its consequences behind. The third type of silence that Fröhlig distinguishes is a consequence of the way society encountered the type of experience the former prisoners had undergone. Immediately after the war there was, quite simply, no place for these experiences. The fourth form of silence

that Fröhlig discusses is linked to guilt and humiliation. She points out that several of the former prisoners felt guilty because they were deserters and had fought against their fellow countrymen. The only manuscript available to portray experiences of war was that of the war hero. This did not contain the experiences undergone by the former prisoners.

By distinguishing these four forms of silence, Fröhlig shows that silence in the post-war period was not only due to the tension between personal experiences and political memories, but was also linked to the nature of the experience. It is, moreover, clear that silence is action, just as effective as speech. All in all, the widespread silence about forced enlistment and experiences of captivity led to blocked communication and made it difficult for the prisoners to pass on their memories to the next generation.

The second strategy for coping with the past is to create "families of resemblance", which Fröhlig writes about in chapter three. These were created through organizations which looked after the interests of the former prisoners and served as links between French society and the forcibly enlisted men. The purpose of the organizations was to reintegrate the men in the French patriotic discourse and the political memory. This work shaped a collective memory of the events the men had been through.

Fröhlig sets the changes within the interest organizations, and the creation of new ones, in a national and international context. It then becomes clear that these are linked to changes that occurred in the 1960s in the way the Holocaust was viewed. From this time onwards, the Holocaust served as a kind of model for non-heroic experiences of war, such as forced enlistment and captivity. In this way, the organizations offered a platform and a framework for the men to articulate and narrate their experiences. It also became possible for other people to accept them – a possibility that had not existed immediately after the war. In the dissertation the men's narratives are regarded as the third strategy, and they are analysed in chapter four, "To Speak Out".

The fourth strategy about which Fröhlig writes is the organization of "pilgrimages" to the old prison camp in Russia. These trips bring three or four generations together and offer opportunities for Fröhlig to investigate the transfer of memories, which also takes place in chapter five.

The analyses of the four strategies requires different empirical sources. Consequently, it is chiefly historical sources that serve as a basis for the analyses of the first strategy, silence, and the second strategy, creating families of resemblance. The analyses of the third strategy, narrating the experiences, build on Fröhlig's interviews with participants on the pilgrimages.

In the analyses of the interviews Fröhlig demonstrates that the narratives are structured chronologically and that they emphasize the opposition between personal and official history. The storytellers avoid emotionality and the theme of hero, and organize their narratives in accordance with established genres in order to talk about experiences of forced enlistment and captivity. Although these do not contain all aspects of the narrators' experiences, Fröhlig believes that the men may have accepted the limitations and found security in using established genres, since it is very difficult to speak of traumatic experiences. Fröhlig points out that the men she interviewed, by the very act of telling their stories, also reshaped their personal experiences into a shared heritage to pass on to the next generation. In this way their experiences were moved out of the private to the public sphere.

The fourth strategy, going on pilgrimages to the old prison camp, is investigated by Fröhlig through participant observation and interviews with thirteen of the men. Fröhlig has gone on two pilgrimages, in 2008 and 2010, and she studies how the former prisoners and their relatives remember the past and ascribe meaning to it in relation to social, political and cultural demands today.

Fröhlig's analyses of the pilgrimages also reveal the significance of places and bodies in memory-making processes. The pilgrims travelled to a forest near the place where Camp 188 lay, on the outskirts of the city of Tambov in Russia. The pilgrims transformed this part of the forest into "the French camp", a symbolically important place, by making it familiar with the aid of various objects. They mark the place with a stone monument and a large wooden cross, along with the pipe of a dead prisoner and various floral arrangements. Other ways of reshaping the place are by tidying up, decorating, digging, and standing in a line to honour the survivors. These methods not only create a symbolically important place where memories can be staged; the place also becomes a part of the pilgrims' current life and their bodies.

In this way the pilgrims confront their sorrow and

pass on or receive the memories of forced enlistment and captivity. The pilgrimage genre and the pilgrims themselves point out that it is a healing process. At the same time, the pilgrims' agency is an obvious attack on the way France as a nation remembers the past. During the pilgrimages a new interpretation of the past is created and presented, where the heritage of the forced enlistment is included in the history of France. This interpretation, or narrative, is dependent on how it is received, not just by the men themselves, their relatives, the interest organizations, the regions of Alsace and Lorraine, and France, but also by how it is received by Russians and Russia. Fröhlig shows that the acknowledgement by the Russian authorities is important in the shaping of this narrative, and that the acknowledgement in turn requires that the pilgrims reappraise their preconceived opinions about Russians and Russia.

This dissertation clearly shows that memories are not finished reflections of the past but ongoing reconstructions in the present. The shaping of social memories is an active and continuous process that changes over time. What is remembered and how it is recollected depends on cultural contexts, moral considerations, and present-day demands. Fröhlig points out, however, that the actual staging of the memories is not the aim of the process; it is a medium for transformation. When the men and their relatives transform personal traumatic experiences into social memories, they simultaneously make their way through the experiences, turning them into memories that they can live with in the present and pass on to the heirs and to the future.

Reading Fröhlig's dissertation is a harrowing experience. Events many years ago stand out as sharp and fresh, and the reader learns at close quarters how memories are constructed, staged, and transferred. The dissertation is an important work that covers a whole spectrum of interesting discussions about memory-making processes. The empirical evidence is elegantly presented and analysed, the methods are described in detail, and the theoretical framework is well adapted. It is obvious that Fröhlig succeeds in her undertaking to examine how the former prisoners and their relatives cope with the past.

At first reading, however, the term strategy somewhat conceals how multifaceted Fröhlig's analyses really are. One could also question whether silence should always be understood as a strategy, since it can also be a necessity. Moreover, silence in this dissertation is a precondition for the other three strategies: the creation of families of resemblance, the narration, and the pilgrimages. The slight imbalance in the arrangement of the dissertation, with chapters that vary in size from five to forty-five pages, is also a consequence of the arrangement around the four strategies.

My objections mostly concern how the dissertation is organized and presented to the reader. I find the imbalance and the many theoretical references distracting, especially when the latter take the form of long quotations. This gives the reader an impression of uncertainty. In combination with the rather bare introductions to the chapters and the very general tone of the headings, it is sometimes difficult to follow Fröhlig's reasoning. This makes the dissertation much harder to penetrate than it would need to be. With a clearer presence of Fröhlig herself in the analyses and further elaboration of the theoretical discussions, the otherwise excellent dissertation would have become accessible to many more people.

These criticisms, however, do not detract from the verdict that Fröhlig's dissertation is analytically nuanced, insightful, and a very interesting contribution to research on memory processes, and to studies of narrative and culture. In the dissertation Florence Fröhlig shows herself to be a skilled fieldworker and a consistent, theoretically knowledgeable, inquisitive, and stubborn researcher. I look forward to future works by her.

Susanne Nylund Skog, Uppsala

Materialized Sexualities

Michelle Göransson, Materialiserade sexualiteter. Om hur normer framträder, förhandlas och ges hållbarhet. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm. Stockholms universitet 2012. 318 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7061-119-3.

■ *Materialiserade sexualiteter* ("Materialized Sexualities") is a qualitative study mainly based on nineteen interviews with people living in Stockholm whose common feature is that they "deviate from the societal norm of man and from the societal norm of heterosexual" (p. 13). These are people who call themselves lesbians, dykes, homosexual, queer, bi-

sexual, or nothing at all. The aim is "to investigate how notions of sexualities are linked to and shaped through connections, different types of materialities, and to study the significance that materialities (i.e. bodies, spaces, and things) have for how norms, especially heteronorms, are shaped and made active" (p. 12).

If the key word par excellence for identity- and power-focused dissertations in the first decade of this century was *performativity*, the counterpart this decade seems to be *materiality*. We have already had nine dissertations encoded with a very similar meaning of the concept of materiality. In this book we even get it in the title, and rightly so, for as we also see from the rather obscure formulation of the aim, it is central to the dissertation.

I myself belonged to the performativity horde, and as a whole we were pretty unsuccessful in implementing performativity theory in our empirical descriptions. The neo-materialistic perspective that is Göransson's main source of inspiration entails a kind of extension of the concept of performativity, seizing on the fact that materialization processes comprise not only speech acts between people within a discursive framework. Discourses interact instead with things, bodies, spaces as performative agents. In other words, everything is intertwined with its situation and everything collaborates in it. As an even more finely calibrated perspective on coming into being (by aiming not only at the subject's agency, but also that of things), the ambition becomes even more complicated and difficult to accomplish. Nor does Göransson achieve it, as I understand the assignment. But it is a "failure" with consequences that are good in part, one could say.

With Sara Ahmed's queer phenomenology as her method, Göransson follows the informants' narratives in time and space with the help of the Swedish terms *skeva* ("to be skewed", in the sense of deviating from the norm) and *skava* ("to chafe", the subjective experience). The author pauses to consider carefully where things skew and chafe, and highlights very well how the informants *take place,* in various senses of that phrase. We follow what can be described as a movement from big spaces to smaller ones, over a time span from the 1980s to the present day, with the main focus on the present of the interview situations between 2008 and 2010. What the dissertation describes is "how they got there", the way the HBTQ identifications came into being, through ideas and experiences of countries, cities, and spaces of time, to the city of Stockholm and its parts, and around neighbourhoods, clubs, and cafés, to intimate relationships and the informants' own homes, and a great many things to be found on these roads. In this way Göransson performs a kind of cartography of sexuality. We are given a broad, detailed, and nuanced run-through of places, styles, and things, which is actually the first of its kind (i.e. a contemporary ethnographic analysis of HBTQ life in Sweden). And I willingly admit that it is entertaining to coincide with the object of study and see oneself as a Stockholm-based HBTQ person caught between two book covers.

With this delicate way of drawing sexuality maps, Göransson brings out the problem of *who* can travel and live *where*, for example, thus conveying a nuanced image, not just of restrictions in where to travel and live, but also of how Stockholm-based HBTQ persons locate intolerance and prejudice, both some Otherwhere and in the Others. In local terms it can be in Bromma on the Nockeby tramline, with its bourgeois upper class, or in Norsborg on the Metro, with ethnic Others or working-class people. The interesting consequence that Göransson discerns on the informants' world map is how this enables what she describes as a Swedish middle-class tolerance embodied in whiteness. We thus see how racification processes are intertwined with heterosexualizing processes (pp. 97ff.). One can thus assume that an interesting continuation of Göransson's analysis would also apply in reverse. In other words: that actually being constituted as H, B, T, or Q is in itself a middle-class journey and a bleaching bath, and that a person thus becomes more middle-class and white(r) by embodying an HBTQ position. In this way the reader gains insight into how HBTQ, regardless of the way it gets there, *takes place* through ideas about the Western, urban, secularized, etc., which homogenizes the Other as heteronormative and homophobic. In times of increasing homophobia and racism, this is of crucial significance. We, this "white HBTQ middle class", must learn how better to communicate our experiences of homophobia in order to stop reproducing racism and so that it will not be possible for racist ideologies to speak in our name. Göransson's nuanced account of how racification and heterosexualizing are interwoven is an important lesson here.

But in the dissertation there are also analyses that

I do not find so convincing, which do not tackle the problematic in as relevant a way. In the introduction Göransson declares an intention to focus on how norms of resistance also serve to exclude – for example, that there is a hierarchy among activists, some of whom are reckoned as more subversive and others as less so. Göransson asks "whether the spaces that are regarded as queer in a Swedish context really do skew" – and then goes on to show that these spaces too have their norms (p. 269). But why assume at all that folk meet at queer clubs in order to "skew"? And is it possible at all to envisage communities without exclusions? Instead of noting that even "queer kids" have their norms and hierarchies, I think the analysis ought to consider the problem of "coming in" and the hierarchies within the group; for, as Göransson also describes, there are many people who can say that "coming in" was almost as difficult as "coming out", whether this is football dykes or the queer gang you want to join. What do the tough entrance exams for HBTQ communities tell us about the conditions of the materialization processes for subjects who deviate from the societal norm of man and from the societal norm of heterosexual?

Finally, a few words to pick up what I said at the start of this review, concerning the circumstance that Göransson is inspired by the theoretical turn that is sometimes called neo-materialism. If a fortunate consequence of this source of inspiration can be said to be the study's rigorous analysis of the bodies, things, and spaces that the subject is surrounded with and has to deal with, I regard as less successful the agency of things that the author says she wishes to investigate. My general objection to this perspective is not that is in an incorrect hypothesis about the nature of reality. Instead, my hesitation derives from the fact that researchers, regardless of how they choose to approach materialization processes, ought to consider the nature of the material in a way that, for me as a humanist, goes beyond the human psyche that I understand and am able to handle as my main study object. Describing the inherent agency of material or conveying the so-called ontological flow requires, as I understand it, methodologies beyond the humanities and language, beyond chronology and linear thinking. Quite simply, it takes us beyond what Buddhism calls traditional knowledge, which I think is what we in academia ought to stick to.

The fact that Göransson does not capture the materialization processes through the empirical data is therefore perhaps something for which she should not be blamed. But it *is* a failure that she hardly considers anything of the extensive and engaged discussion that has been carried on in gender and sexuality studies in recent years. Nor does she relate her study to other theoretically adjacent studies, which I think ought to be the case when theory is so central. One of the merits of the dissertation, however, is that it is precisely through its theoretical approach that it achieves a partly richer study than the supporters of performativity theory achieved by (sometimes) reducing practices to meaning-making. With the vigilant eye for "bodies, things, and spaces", it is also an interesting development of the ethnological tradition of conducting meticulous inventories of "life-worlds".

A more negative consequence of what I understand as Göransson's fascination with the concept of materiality, however, is that it results in a will to find proof for the theoretical premise. At about ten places in the dissertation the reader is served with sentences summing up how we see here *that* bodies, things, and spaces are constantly being co-created (e.g. pp. 165, 191, 272). So what? That assumption was the starting point of the study.

Yet another negative consequence of the dissertation's focus on theory is that, despite the amount of empirical material, the analysis of this material ends up in the background. The choice of cover for the book exemplifies a symptomatic consequence of this. It is a picture of a house facade in which, imprinted in the concrete, there is a sequence of images in five parts. It starts from above, with a female toilet symbol receiving flowers from a male toilet symbol, followed by a further three scenes, and ending with a scene where the male toilet symbol is bending over a baby figure (the nursery room symbol) and the female toilet symbol is sitting down. As I read this, it is an ironic portrayal of normal life. And I can really understand the dizzying fascination with such a well-captured representation of materialized sexuality. In graphic symbol language reduced to the utmost, as in toilet signs, and moreover in concrete (a material that in itself may be said to symbolize material permanence), the observer can see the hetero norm. But it is also a somewhat unfortunate choice. The empirical data in the dissertation does not describe heterosexuals, but what Göransson, in

the words of Gilles Deleuze, calls refugees from the norm, in this case HBTQ persons. Precisely as in her own analysis of the building on the spot, we have once again a reproduction of how the norm is portrayed, and with it the normativity (pp. 133f.).

My major objection to this dissertation project is thus rather about the nature of the task. In ethnographical and empirical studies I believe that the researcher's main task is (with a theoretical approach, of course) to focus on the analysis of the material rather than on the theories, partly because we (mostly) are not philosophers, partly because our important contribution is precisely in concretion rather than abstraction. The fact that the theoretical approach is, so to speak, the heart of the dissertation, is yet another problem. To call this an ethical problem would be going too far, but as a study object I feel somewhat resentful! This is not what I want to let myself be studied for. I want the production of ethnological knowledge to teach me something about *me*, not about ontology.

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Wartime Letters

Sonja Hagelstam, Röster från kriget. En etnologisk studie av brevdialoger mellan frontsoldater och deras familjer 1941–1944. Åbo Akademis förlag, Åbo 2014. 389 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-765-724-2.

■ Sonja Hagelstam's dissertation starts with four collections of letters from and to five soldiers during the Continuation War in Finland 1941–1944. The aim of the investigation is to analyse the meaning of the letter communication for people separated during an abnormal and life-threatening period. Hagelstam also wants to contribute knowledge about how individuals experienced and coped with the war. A third aim is to illustrate the possible use of personal letters as an ethnological source.

The four collections contain approximately 4,100 letters and postcards. The collections and their writers represent shifting military ranks, age and marital status. They are all written in Swedish.

For theory Hagelstam uses Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism. She adds the concept of identity and the Deleuze and Guattari concepts of rhizome and assemblage. Dialogue is presented as the most crucial concept of the thesis and tells us that every expression is meaningful only in relation to someone or something else. Hagelstam chooses to view the letter as a kind of room, a dialogical space for two individuals. She also states that identity is something "happening between individuals" (p. 34). Assemblage is a process where two different elements are assembled. Rhizome is understood as connection wires, without any beginning or end.

Hagelstam reflects insightfully on the letter as a form of communication, on its relation to a continuous presence, its relation to the spoken word and its partly fragmentary character. She notes the aspect of authenticity but she also states that the letter does not suffice as a source for "how it really was" (p. 27). Despite this, she thinks that the letter has not lost its grounding. The letter may be seen as "text", but it has an obvious relation to the featured object.

The analytical method is thoroughly described. Hagelstam calls it dialogical close reading, thus placing herself, as a reader, in the dialogical process. She mentions reading as an activity of intensity, accuracy and systematics and a process of moving alternately between sources, theory and literature.

The thesis is structured in seven chapters which, apart from the initial chapter, have the titles "One war – five soldiers", "The war and the letter", "The war and the soldier", "War and space", "War, family and civil life" and finally "War and time".

The second chapter offers a short summary of the two wars, the organization of the Finnish army and an introduction to the five soldiers. The third chapter starts with a description of the army mail service and the war censorship. Hagelstam notes how the censoring authority read letters to understand, and report twice a month, the mood of the soldiers. Here Hagelstam develops her perspective on letter writing. She states that it is guided by conventions and agreements but also that the personal letter offers a "free form". She also describes the letter as a kind of private space for the writer (p. 74).

Furthermore, this chapter deals with linguistic strategies. Hagelstam shows how different positions in the military hierarchy, the letter writer's individual expressions and the relation between the sender and recipient caused different ways of expressions. Soldiers' slang, satire, parody and irony could be means to express resistance to and independence from the army. She also finds a kind of trivialization of war words as a means to normalize the abnormal,

a phenomenon not only including the soldiers but the people at home as well.

The fourth chapter, *The war and the soldier*, deals with the experiences of the war front and how the role as soldiers was depicted and read. Hagelstam offers good examples of the difficulties of writing about severe experiences and what to call the enemy. This chapter deals with how anxiety and trust were dealt with and expressed, but also how the construction of soldiership was expressed through concepts such as duty and responsibility. However, Hagelstam also finds expressions of recalcitrance, not least against the military ranks. Writing letters could be a channel for critique of and aversion to army life. Here the soldiers' double affiliation appears. The sense of duty and the loyalty to the army increased corresponding to the army ranks, as with the difference between being a conscript soldier and a professional.

Loyalty and duty characterized the wives of the professional soldiers. In this context we find, more or less articulated by Hagelstam, aspects such as class, gender and age. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the role of the soldier is produced in relation to friends, the military hierarchy, virtues and ideals as well as the military as an institution. Hagelstam argues that the letters do not express any coherent depictions of identity. Instead she finds "multivocal understandings of the self".

Sonja Hagelstam has an ambition to know how the men described the landscape of the front and what meanings such descriptions had in the dialogues. Therefore, the fifth chapter – *War and space* – deals with space as a physical place but also as "a place that becomes and understands discursive in the dialogue" (p. 202). The soldiers' way of taking possession of space is investigated, but also how they were forced to move and risked losing control over space.

Hagelstam writes about how bunkers, shields and tents were to be considered as a kind of home. Home was a place and a metaphor. The men wrote home with quotation marks to stress irony or the ambiguous meaning of the word. She describes how the soldiers created private areas in the military environments, areas defined both by emotions and by physical objects like furniture, books and writing devices. Sports grounds and gardens were built and with them a piece of civilian life was brought into the war. The same was true for meals and the maintaining of civilian traditions and manners. Hagelstam depicts nicely how the longing for home was expressed in the letters, the longing for relatives, for places, landscapes and objects. She also describes the importance of leaves, for the soldiers as well as the relatives, and the function of leave as strengthening the borders between military and civilian life but also, of course, the function as a bridge between them. The leave was a space in between, a liminal condition on the threshold between the military and the civilian world.

The sixth chapter concerns how the soldiers tried to uphold their civilian roles and social bonds. Hagelstam argues that the letter writers developed needs to create normality, continuity and stability in these relations, especially between the sexes. The women strove to show resolve without seeming too independent of the husband. The letters from home described in many cases daily routines that might make the men feel more involved in everyday life.

The letters give many proofs of intimate and emotional expressions, but also signs of conflicts and differences. On the other hand, Hagelstam traces efforts to calm such conflicts and reduce distances. She also traces signs of (class?) differences between the workers – the two Sax brothers with their parents – and the other letter writers who came from more bourgeois environments. The Sax letter collection is claimed to be characterized by plain information and news and is, according to Hagelstam, devoid of "analysis or deep reflections on their own life situation" (p. 326). Is that the case? Or is this requested depth perhaps expressed in other words or layers of the text?

The concluding chapter – "War and time" – describes the writers' perspective on their own times. Here we also find a concluding discussion. Hagelstam argues that the writers moved between experiences of normality and abnormality, between civilian and military life as well as between war and peace. She compares the time of war with a carnivalesque time in a Bakhtinian sense, where the world is turned upside down. She also sees a kind of timelessness in the abnormal time. Everyday life was cancelled and had to wait. At the same time, she seems to believe that this standby position generated a new everyday life, a wartime life. Hagelstam argues that the letter was a normal space, or a bridge into the normal. It also gives the reader good insight in the organization of everyday life

and describes small things and doings that other sources lack.

Sonja Hagelstam's thesis is rich, resting on comprehensive sources. Her aims connected to the empirical investigation are well fulfilled. However, the methodological aim could have been more developed. The introduction tells the reader that letters as a source for cultural history, as well as appropriate methods, will be developed in the thesis, but this is scarcely done.

The theoretical starting points are well chosen. But their significance for the investigative implementation is somewhat unclear. Hagelstam notes that dialogues and assemblages are in action but seldom uses the concepts to understand the material in a deeper analytical sense. The text is to a large extent descriptive, sometimes psychologizing. Strikingly often it lacks analysis resting on cultural science and concepts. The text is to a high degree carried forward by quotations from the sources, which has its advantages. But Hagelstam's own perspective and analysis are somewhat overshadowed. Does she really use the concepts as the toolbox Deleuze suggests, tools to be used for generating new thoughts and understandings? Hagelstam says that the concepts from Deleuze and Guattari have contributed to her thinking on space and movements. To show in what way this has been done and how the concepts have been applied in the process of analysis would have strengthened the thesis considerable.

The three main concepts are thoroughly presented. Other concepts in use would have gained from a more systematic and distinct treatment. Identity and culture are presented in the introduction but generate little insights. The concept of emotion is nowadays at the centre of a developing scientific field and is a part of the aim of the thesis but left undeveloped as a concept.

I would also like to mention the way Hagelstam refers to existing research. On the one hand she impresses with many references. She is obviously very well acquainted with the field. But she is unfortunately too rarely in dialogue with the literature. I often find general statements about, for example, the nature of war, statements that are proved by references but seldom followed up or discussed.

As mentioned above, Hagelstam successfully reflects on letters as a way of communicating. She also thinks that her primary sources are ill suited for generalizations. On the other hand, several conclusions contradict this statement. The range of the qualitative material and perspective would obviously have gained from a few reflections, a gain that would have strengthened the methodological discussion in the thesis.

However, the above critique does not conceal a very well conducted investigation including important contributions to the cultural history of individuals' experiences of war. An obvious strength is the rich and large material and Hagelstam's way of structuring and thematizing it. Her language is straightforward, clear and uncomplicated.

Hagelstam successfully links the two fronts, at home and at war, and shows how these two open and close to each other. The letters give a good understanding of war as an uneventful, pending everyday life. But they, of course, also give examples of severe experiences, in the middle of fear, violence and lethal actions.

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Living with a Mutated Gene

Niclas Hagen, Modern Genes. Body, Rationality, and Ambivalence. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 2. Lunds universitet 2013. 557 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7473-659-5.

■ Huntington's disease is a genetic disease caused by a mutation in a gene. Individuals who know that they are in the risk zone for the disease can find out through a predictive genetic test whether they are predisposed, before any symptoms of the disease appear. How do people who are affected in various ways by Huntington's disease perceive their everyday situation? How are such everyday experiences questioned or challenged in the encounter with other people, with health care and the social insurance system? How can we understand these challenges as aspects of modernity? These questions are considered in Niclas Hagen's dissertation. The aim is to investigate the link between everyday experiences of genetic disease and inherent patterns and mechanisms in modern society, and thus to contribute to a deeper understanding of the interaction between genetic science, culture, and society.

The dissertation *Modern Genes: Body, Rationality and Ambivalence* comprises an analysis of

semi-structured interviews with people who know that they are in a risk group and can carry the gene for the disease; people who have had pre-symptomatic testing and found out that they carry the mutated gene; people who have reached a stage where they have neurological symptoms of the disease; and family members. The author has also done participant observation at meetings arranged by local support groups for people affected in various ways by Huntington's disease.

The main theoretical foundation consists of two different philosophical traditions: on the one hand, Jürgen Habermas's analysis of modern society, and on the other hand the phenomenological tradition with its interest in unique human experience, and above all body phenomenology with its investigations of our physical being-in-the-world. Hagen also engages in dialogue with theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha, Edward Soja, and Henri Lefebvre, to discuss the significance of place and space for understanding aspects of human existence in general and the informants' narratives in particular. The theoretical field is, in other words, broad, as is evident from the four articles which make up the dissertation, together with Hagen's long introductory essay bringing the studies together.

The article "Drinking Glasses, Doorsteps and Table Edges – The Material Dimension of Experiencing a Genetic Hazard" examines how material objects such as a dropped glass or a doorstep into which a person walks are part of the physical experience of genetic risk and uncertainty for individuals who know that they may carry the gene for Huntington's disease. For many of us, genetic knowledge is something abstract to which we do not need to relate in our lives, but this is not the case for the informants in the dissertation. The abstract and simultaneously dangerous genes become something that the individual cannot avoid relating to in everyday situations where banal events such as dropping a glass are filled with specific – dangerous – meaning and appear as signs of a predisposition to Huntington's disease or of the first presentation of neurological symptoms of the disease. Hagen discusses what this means for the individuals' corporeal self-perception and being-in-the-world, and the role that things like glasses and doorsteps can have for making genetic risk and uncertainty concrete.

The analysis is taken one step further in the article "The Cultural Paradox of Predictive Genetic Testing for Huntington's Disease". Here Hagen studies how the existence of abstract and yet potentially dangerous genes gives rise to complexity in the informants' everyday life. Hagen begins his analysis with a discussion of the alien and the invisible. He describes how causes of disease have been understood historically as coming *from outside* or associated with *visible* factors such as age or sex. With Huntington's disease, he writes, it is different. The alien comes *from inside*, from a person's own body, and it is caused by inherited genes. Yet this does not make it easier to relate to the cultural categorizations of what is reckoned as healthy and sick.

Hagen shows how some informants who have not had predictive genetic testing for Huntington's disease try to make meaning out of the potential and abstract "alien" thing inside them by focusing on external similarities between themselves and relatives with the disease – or by interpreting everyday accidents, such as dropping a glass, as signs of the disease. He makes good use of Victor Turner's concept of liminal place to discuss situations where we are in between stable and culturally recognizable classifications such as healthy and sick, normality and deviation from normality. He also shows how the informants, when they know that the disease runs in the family but not whether they carry the gene themselves, sometimes oscillate between the categories of sick and healthy in the description of their own situation and suggest that the way of ascribing meaning to events like the dropped glass, or seeing meaning in similarities to relatives – in the form of signs of being a carrier – can be understood as ways to handle the liminal place between normality and abnormality, and as ways to transform a difficult, distressing situation into something that can be categorized as either normal or abnormal, healthy or sick.

Hagen also goes one step further and shows that the action of having a predictive genetic does not resolve the situation either. Both carriers and non-carriers, Hagen concludes, even after being tested seemed to be in the liminal place between the categories, where the boundary between being in the risk zone for Huntington's disease, carrying the gene, and having symptoms of the disease can become blurred in everyday life. Moreover, the liminal place can be not only emotionally strenuous but can also entail a radical questioning of the view in Western medicine of what it is like to be a patient, where one is expected to have distinct symptoms.

One of the challenges in the situation when an individual knows that there is a risk that he or she carries the gene for Huntington's disease or knows that he or she has a predisposition to the disease can lie in the way one can share experiences and thoughts with other people who understand the complexity of the situation. Some of Hagen's informants describe how they received support and information via local support group for relatives of individuals with Huntington's disease. For some people the Internet and social media were alternatives to the local support group. The article "A Molecular Body in a Digital Society" investigates the role of the Internet and social media for the individuals affected by Huntington's disease.

Here Hagen proceeds from Paul Rabinow's concept of biosociality, identifying a practical biosociality and an online biosociality. The local support group offers practical biosociality, where the focus is on support and down-to-earth advice in everyday situations, but it is not always the optimal alternative for everyone. The chance of finding individuals in the same situation can be greater in social forums like Facebook. The reader can follow Patricia's account of how she uses her homepage as a means to find other individuals in the same situation. Hagen describes how it is precisely the Facebook group that Patricia turns to when the situation is emotionally trying – and how she receives support here from others in a similar situation. He also demonstrates important differences between practical and online biosociality: in the latter, time and place were compressed, which made it possible to meet new people who were distant in terms of geography and time. There was also an obvious grass-roots character. In contrast to earlier research on biosociality, online biosociality does not have any formal framework for the way the interaction starts.

Hagen's analysis sheds light on the way the online group can help individuals to deal with the paradox of finding themselves between the cultural categories of healthy and sick. Via Facebook contacts, a new sickness identity can also be created. Patricia describes, for example, how she understands herself as HD+, that is, a carrier of a gene for Huntington's disease, but without symptoms. The point for Patricia is that, as HD+, she is sick – with Huntington's disease – despite the absence of clinical symptoms. Finally, Hagen demonstrates a more problematic side of online biosociality. Even if individuals are "friends on the net", the friendship can prove fragile when a person can no longer manage communication on the net.

The first three articles, to use Habermasian terms, investigate the level of the lifeworld. The last one looks at the potential conflict between the lifeworld and the system level in modern societies. In the article "For Better or For Worse – Lifeworld, System and Family Caregiving for a Chronic Genetic Disease" Hagen and colleagues study later stages of Huntington's disease, when a family member has neurological symptoms of the disease and when the person and other members of the family need help from the welfare system for everyday care and nursing. The aim is to better understand what happens in the interaction between families and the welfare system, and to problematize the way in which families confront the demands of the welfare system, to show how the families, in some cases, succeed in creating space, a place between themselves and the system, and how from this place they are better able to confront the difficulties they encounter.

Hagen and colleagues show how the informants sometimes describe the contact with representatives of the welfare system as being full of conflict; they did not get the help they needed and found it all frustrating. The authors of the article analyse narratives of conflict in terms of the difference in outlook between the affected individuals and the welfare system: on the one hand the lifeworld perspective with the focus on the individuals' needs and experiences, and on the other hand the system perspective which is supposed to deal with the need for help in accordance with the laws that regulate the allocation of welfare resources. Hagen and his co-authors also note that quite a lot of research in the cultural and social sciences about the discrepancy between lifeworld and system has focused on the conflict between the perspectives. The conflict aspect is included in the analysis presented by Hagen and colleagues, but there is also something else here: examples of how the families find strategies to communicate with representatives of the welfare state and gain manoeuvring space to be able to use the tools of the welfare state in order to get the help they need. Here Hagen and colleagues show how the support groups functioned as a forum for comparing and discussing how best to handle conflict with the welfare system, and how affected individuals, via patient organizations, could be offered courses in law with the focus on the legislation that regulates needs assessments. Some of the affected families manage to combine their perspective with

that of the welfare state, which the authors discuss using Homi Bhabha's concept of the third place. The third place between the lifeworld and the system level – the hybrid form and the in-between place – is something the family members themselves create between themselves and the welfare system by adopting the language of the welfare system. This gives the potential to change the situation when the affected individuals and families combine the lifeworld and the system perspective.

Hagen's dissertation demonstrates the complexity and ambivalence of the situation when a person knows that he or she is in the risk zone for Huntington's disease, or has had predictive genetic testing, or has symptoms of the disease. He also draws together the four articles in the dissertation and discusses how genetics can be understood as an experimental system where an instrumental and rational outlook on nature paved the way for new genetic knowledge, and how genetic knowledge entails a different perspective on one's own body than what we have in most everyday situations. Genes, writes Hagen (2013:66), are not a part of the "pre-scientific" perception of the body as we experience it in our everyday life, and new genetic knowledge that enables predictive genetic tests "challenges" the pre- scientific perception of the body. That challenge has to be handled by individuals affected by Huntington's disease, just as they have to handle the challenge that can arise out of the welfare state's assessments of families' help needs from a lifeworld perspective.

There is thus a challenge here both to the understanding of the body and to the everyday experience of Huntington's disease in the encounter between the lifeworld level and the system level. The encounter between lifeworld and system level is an inherent part of the structure of modern society; the division between lifeworld and system level can result in ambivalence, which is a characteristic of modernity, but at the same time some people in Hagen's study do not remain in their experience of conflict, but create a third place from which they can act and deal with challenges from genetics and the welfare state by combining experiences as patients with biomedical knowledge and/or legal knowledge.

The dissertation has several strengths. These include Hagen's discussion of the liminal place between the cultural categories of healthy and sick, where some individuals with Huntington's disease create a new category of patients who define themselves as sick but without symptoms – quite contrary to the standard way of viewing patienthood in biomedicine. The dissertation is also theoretically original, through its combination of analysis of modern society and of bodily self-perception when an individual lives with the knowledge that he or she may be predisposed to the disease. This bold combination of theorists helps Hagen to make a contribution to our understanding of everyday experiences of Huntington's disease, and also to current theoretical investigations of system and lifeworld levels. Particularly promising is the analysis of the third place, although here there is also a more problematic power dimension that risks ending up in the background. The third place is not a place that everyone can reach with equal ease: to be able to express lifeworld experiences in the language of the welfare system requires a great deal. At times the dissertation could have highlighted the analysis of the empirical evidence even more clearly. Moreover, the study of how the body becomes prominent for people in the risk zone for Huntington's disease could have been further strengthened through a more detailed discussion of materiality, affectivity, and intersubjectivity from the perspective of body phenomenology that Hagen applies.

With those minor criticisms, it must be said that the dissertation is a fascinating and very promising example of interdisciplinary work: we have here an encounter between the sciences and the humanities, and also between empirical work and theoretical development – not to mention the encounter between micro and macro levels, lifeworld and system analysis. This makes the dissertation a stimulating contribution to interdisciplinary research on health, biomedicine, culture, and society.

Kristin Zeiler, Linköping

The Meaning of Happiness

Anna Nilsson, Lyckans betydelse. Sekularisering, sensibilisering och individualisering i svenska skillingtryck 1750–1850. Agerings Bokförlag, Höör 2012. 274 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-86119-14-0

■ Happiness may be one of the most elusive things for which humans strive, which makes it worth the

effort to explain and understand the concept. The aspiration for happiness nevertheless seems to be tenacious, which can be frustrating since it has been filled with different meaning through the ages, and in our days of New Age beliefs and ever-present advertising it has also been commercialized and exploited in our media. Yet it seems important to do academic studies of the concept of happiness, as has now happened through the Lund historian Anna Nilsson. The doctoral dissertation that Nilsson has written is best regarded as a sister study to one on "the theatre of fate" by the historian of ideas Andreas Hellerstedt, *Ödets teater: Ödesföreställningar i Sverige vid 1700-talets början* (2009) and one by Kristiina Savin on "Fortuna's guises", *Fortunas klädnader: Lycka, olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige* (2011), two studies to which Nilsson frequently refers. Both Hellerstedt and Savin have tackled these concepts which mainly figured in the learned world in the early modern period. Nilsson, in principle, proceeds from the era where the two previous scholars ended their studies, and she focuses moreover on a type of material that cannot be related to the learned world, namely, chapbooks in the period 1750–1850. The chapbook as a genre has mainly been studied by scholars of literature and music, not by historians, and so this "folk" medium can be used for other scholarly purposes and to answer a different type of questions, in this case how the word and the concept of happiness has been used in the ballads and tales printed in chapbooks. There is good reason, as Nilsson shows, to question whether chapbooks really reflect folk beliefs; perhaps it was the values of the elite that were instead expressed in the idiom of the people and mixed with those of the broad masses. Nor can we wholly ignore the question of censorship and whether commercial aspects acted to moderate the ideas expressed in the ballads and tales. It is nevertheless evident that the genre as such can give us some historical insight into the form taken by perceptions of happiness.

The author makes a chronological division of her period into two halves, 1750–1800 and 1800–1850, and this turns out to be fruitful. The second half of the eighteenth century still bore the stamp of the Lutheran ethic and the Aristotelian-scholastic view of man. The chapbooks then displayed a crass picture of humans as lost beings filled with unbridled lusts and desires. Human life, according to the ballads, seems to have been about combating the craving for material possessions and worldly success, rejecting the drive for artificial happiness and instead striving towards eternal bliss. What was available to eighteenth-century people was thus virtue, a life of controlled desires. Then, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the ballads took a different direction with the more popular influences of religious revivalism, the increased significance of nationalism and patriotism, and direct influence from a Neoplatonic movement during the romantic era. Although happiness was still regarded as being impermanent, as in the preceding half-century, happiness and bliss acquired meaning in combination with concepts such as emotion, tenderness, virtue, and pure habits. The meaning of happiness in the second half of the eighteenth century was focused on our brief and transient life on earth, a world from which mankind required salvation. Happiness was associated with sin and short-term material aspirations, a constant reminder of the dangers of temptation. From a theological point of view, and, it may be added, from the perspective of the power hierarchy, happiness was not something worth striving for; heavenly bliss was the alternative. If earthly life was characterized by peace of mind and a clear conscience, combined with a longing for eternal life in heaven, it was a sign that one had triumphed over deceptive worldly desires. The nineteenth-century attitude to happiness still had negative associations of worldly life and desire, but became an interesting counterpart to heavenly bliss and well-being. Through the chapbooks we now see a growing tendency to secularization, with worldly happiness as a moral equivalent of life in heaven.

Anna Nilsson's dissertation is very competent in its handling of sources and how she interprets the changed content and character of chapbooks during the period. It seems reasonable to assume that the start of the nineteenth century saw a healthy move away from the most dogmatic Lutheran principles, although they could be replaced by nationalist sentiments alongside the more liberal revivalist theology. During the same period, moreover, the liberal press emerged, headed by *Aftonbladet* (1830), and more outspoken criticism of the monarchy and the state church could begin to make itself heard, even though there was still considerable censorship.

I have one objection, however. Nilsson is guilty of a strange formulation when she says that "the

concept of folk culture undeniably has an ideological heritage that gives it a troublesome ring" (p. 41), this in connection with Bengt af Klintberg and Finn Zetterholm's edition of *Svensk Folkpoesi* from 1972. While it is true that there may have been a romantic notion of "the good and repressed people" in academic research, political debate, and cultural expressions in the 1960s and 1970s, this should be seen in the light of the fact that research on power relations and the ambition to highlight the conditions of repressed groups was only in its cradle at that time. In any case, we do not have to go to much effort to find concepts with a "troublesome ring" that we use every day without much reflection. What about misused terms such as "democracy", "freedom", or "reform"?

Despite this critical remark I find the dissertation well done and interesting, also as a sign that historians today are increasingly devoting themselves to the history of ideas and culture. It is perhaps of more academic interest to note that subject boundaries are becoming increasingly fluid and that, in the longer term, they may perhaps be renegotiated and redrawn, but it is still worth noting.

Henrik Brissman, Lund

Luxury, Colonies and Consumption in Early Modern Denmark

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Luksus. Forbrug og kolonier i Danmark i det 18. århundrede. Museum Tusculanums forlag, Københavns Universitet 2013. 382 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-87-635-4076-6.

■ Mikkel Venborg Pedersen's dissertation, with a title meaning "Luxury: Consumption and Colonies in Denmark in the Eighteenth Century", is a contribution to the historical study of consumption. Its ethnological approach is that of cultural history. For Pedersen this means that he follows the latest trends in the new cultural-historical research that traces its roots back to the French *Annales* school. In his case it is a question of emphasizing the material basis of everyday life and the profound changes that this underwent as a result of the new range of commodities that colonialism brought to the countries of Western Europe in the eighteenth century. By emphasizing objects and useful things on the everyday level, he seeks mainly to highlight the changes in people's immediate context, that is, the home. His choice of five case studies of homes – representing, in urban settings, the big merchants and craftsmen whose social status rose as a result of the consumption revolution, and in rural contexts, the nobility and two different peasant households – means that he can also conduct a broad examination of the new consumption habits. Pedersen has chosen the five homes from the selection of interiors at the National Museum in Copenhagen and the Open-Air Museum in Brede, which enhances the value of the dissertation in many ways. This new research adds many details about the existing settings, but above all Pedersen's profound research means that these settings are now given an indispensable context, especially as regards the colonial development.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen also describes Denmark's colonial possessions, the changes in them and what these meant for the trading houses at home. Few people know that Denmark had colonies in India, West Africa, and the West Indies, and those who did know can find out more here. Commercial connections in the market towns in Denmark where the studied houses were located are also analysed on the basis of the towns' customs accounts, so that we get good insight into the range of goods on offer.

The deliveries of colonial goods have attracted considerable attention, chiefly from economic historians who have studied the important trade routes, and how the different types of commodity began to appear on the European market, and the relations of dependence and superiority that arose between states as a result of the new trade. In organizational terms the focus is mainly on the different companies, mainly the East Indian ones. The colonial era has also attracted attention in ethnological research, through the study of altered purchasing habits and the changes these led to in the organization of the home. There are examples here from both Norway and Finland, which are put in special relief through Venborg Pedersen's research, as he emphasizes the important role of Copenhagen as a re-export harbour.

Traditionally ethnology has had a fondness for studies of the material conditions of everyday life. Here Pedersen takes that trend almost to its extreme: he prefers to study the material sphere as distinctly

as possible, as regards both conditions in the home, the furnishings and furniture, and the significance of the new commodities, chiefly the food and drink, for socializing and for the new repertoire of artefacts that they required.

Pedersen states that his treatment of the subject takes place on three levels. First there is the running text, where the changes are analysed on the basis of historical sources such as estate inventories and other such lists, as well as customs accounts. On this level he can also use the existing interiors of the five selected homes, and there he can use his museum expertise when it comes to studying the objects themselves. On this level Pedersen's task is to describe as accurately as possible what the changes meant. The running text is therefore, to a large extent, purely empirical. Yet this treatment nevertheless uses the results from the second level, which is represented by the scholarly discussion of microhistory, consumption, and history of ideas. This level is explained in the preface but chiefly covered in the notes, where readers with an academic interest get information about the theoretical literature that has been used, and about the deliberations in which it has resulted. The running text is not overloaded with theoretical discussions and commentaries, which is extremely unusual for a dissertation of this kind.

The third level is represented by the illustrations. With a copious supply of these, Pedersen seeks to visualize the five homes, focusing on details to draw the gaze to the new commodities and the way they were used. He has found particularly interesting paintings which show people partaking of things like tea and coffee, but as regards the pictures of the museum interiors it ought to have been emphasized that they are museum representations, that is, constructions by museum men and women, admittedly authoritative but still re*constructions*. All the pictures are of extremely high quality, and the same may be said about the layout of the whole book.

The dissertation has a clear structure, divided into six chapters, the first of which deals with the initial premises: consumption and the colonies and Pedersen's choice of angles. Here he clearly emphasizes that the roots of changes in consumption are to be sought in various kinds of aspiration: for comfort and pleasure, and also for social comfort or status, as Pedersen repeats often – perhaps a little too often. Comfort is to be found in the homes, where the eighteenth century saw great changes with the pleasure derived from luxury goods. The status a person acquired through the goods was different from the status that a person's social position could previously lend to the commodities. We see the consumption revolution as it spread, which is considered to have meant that people could buy status via new commodities, and here Pedersen rightly stresses the consumption of goods as a driving force in development.

How these aspirations were satisfied in the village, the city, and the countryside is the subject of chapters two and three, where we make the acquaintance of the five homes: those of the porcelain dealer Gjerloff in Magstræde and the big merchant and industrialist van Hemert on his new-built estate, resembling a manor house, at Brede, as two representatives of urban homes, although one of them was outside Copenhagen. From the countryside we are shown the small noble estate of Lilla Hesbjerg and the peasant household of Lundager, both on the island of Fyn, and finally Ejdersted from Schleswig. The two farms are in the Open-Air Museum in Brede, the same location as van Hemert's house at Brede.

Chapters four and five paint a deeper picture, the former with a focus on the stock of objects, under the heading "For the Comfort of the Home", and the latter with the focus on the different kinds of commodities, chiefly foodstuffs, spices, and the drinks tea, coffee, cocoa, but also the importance of rum and sugar under the heading "For Life's Pleasures". The significance of pleasure and luxury goods is examined thoroughly.

The fifth chapter, rather surprisingly, deals with a completely new level, the debate and discussions provoked by the new colonial goods and the intensified consumption. Here the author uses only literature from the period and the contemporary scholarly thought, chiefly in the field of economics. The ideas of Bernard de Mandeville, La Fontaine, Montesquieu, and above all the great man of the time, Adam Smith, are presented in a tone that harmonizes with the preceding account of the material level. Here the focus is on what people at the time thought that the negative effects and the benefits of the consumption revolution could be.

The idea of presenting contemporary thought is fully in line with the early preference of the *Annales* school, that is, analysing bygone eras on their own terms, and from the point of view of the purely tech-

nical possibilities available back then and the mental apparatus of the time. The idea was to examine periods by judging them according to what it was possible for the people to think and do.

But in retrospect we can think and analyse on a much broader plane using our current knowledge. It would therefore have been interesting to look in more depth at the findings of modern research on historical consumption. On the other hand, we no longer have the material environment and do not know exactly how all the habits and customs were performed. A great merit of Mikkel Venborg Pedersen's dissertation is the rich source material he has managed to find and extract details from. Together with the selection of pictures, it is as if the eighteenth century is almost physically conjured up here. It is as if the intention of the dissertation were to give us as authentic a picture as possible of the colonial situation in one of the countries that had colonies of its own, which Pedersen also explains in concrete terms in the introduction. It is as if he wanted us to be able to enter a bygone world and see the new things that arrived in Denmark, with our eyes as fresh and open as possible.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen has thus written a highly original work about consumption and colonial goods in Denmark at the end of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century. The work is part of a tradition of cultural history and museum studies where the museum collections are examined in great depth to yield new knowledge. The approach is also chiefly that of a presentation in cultural history and museum studies, which means, in a way, that the author aims very distinctly, and with great insight, to describe a historic era and its way of arranging various aspects of everyday life as regards interior decoration, clothing, daily planning, sleep, food and meals, drinks and drinking habits. To a certain extent one could say that he offers a *world of experience*. The narrative technique used by Pedersen likewise makes the presentation rather immediate, a quality that tends to be alien to the genre of doctoral dissertations. The communication of *immediate facts*, which the dissertation also claims to present, is perhaps a slightly presumptuous undertaking. What we get is really a presentation of what the sources are able to give us, in pleasing narratives about the five different homes.

The dissertation is extremely empirical throughout, so that the interiors are brought to life in every conceivable possible detail. We thus have microhistorical snapshots of partly vanished settings. Because the homes simultaneously function as museum interiors today, one side of the source material is still available for anyone to look at. The other source material is extremely rich – different kinds of inventories, household accounts, customs accounts, memoirs, ethnological descriptions, contemporary literature – all cited with long extracts so that the text itself evokes a distant century.

The dissertation does not lack references to today's research on consumption and on the colonies. These references, however, form a discourse of their own, which is deliberate, but it can also be somewhat detrimental. Although the dissertation is aimed at a broader audience, the text could well have included more theoretical discussions and comparisons with the situation in other countries as regards the theme that is examined. The temporal dimension of the dissertation is illustrated with data that testify to a major change in everyday habits, but the spatial dimension remains slightly insular. The five different homes are however compared as regards their social and geographical dimension. This is partly in the nature of the spatial dimension in general. Different places seem, at least from the point of view of living people, like separate worlds with cultural arrangements surrounding everyday life. Pedersen has captured these very well in words and illustrated them in pictures. The dissertation therefore functions as an excellent peephole on another era, where the aesthetic qualities are almost unsurpassed.

Yet this is not what Mikkel Venborg Pedersen brings out most in his dissertation. The dissertation is a pure ethnological or cultural-historical analysis of the material culture of different societies, which includes a powerful cultural understanding of the way objects affect everyday life. This is not a return to functional analysis but a holistic survey of particular settings and of the commodities and ideas that circulated at the time. We thus get a good picture of how the colonial period affected the selected homes. And we get a strong impression of how habits were modified and refined, as Pedersen puts it. The globalization that was strong in the eighteenth century is clearly expressed in exoticizing furniture, textiles, and porcelain. Foreign things took root in a visually much stronger way than later global trade flows. And it happened through what Mikkel Venborg Pedersen calls cultural choices.

This means that this work on *Luxury* is a good illustration of what it was like in the West when the new cultures were discovered. It is clearly demonstrated that Denmark too was a determined agent in the globalization of the time, and it was especially the bourgeois strata that were the leading organizers of development and its chief instigators. We see the other worlds clearly and can reflect on globalization in our own day. The dissertation is therefore – despite the slight defects – a good contribution to our understanding of how Western culture was modified, and above all enriched, acquiring many of the features that we take for granted today.
Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

The Construction of the Future City

Klas Ramberg, Konstruktionen av framtidens stad. Arkitekttävlingar om bostäder och stadsdelar i Sverige 1989–2003. Hemmavid förlag, Stockholm 2012. 272 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-637-1770-3.

■ Ramberg's thesis, *The Construction of the Future City: architectural competitions about housing and neighbourhoods in Sweden 1989–2003,* focuses on five architectural competitions held when the country had moved from the high modernist, industrial era of Social Democratic hegemony and was developing its post-industrial economy in an increasingly globalised world. Ramberg wants to understand the character of the contemporary Swedish built environment and suggests examining these five competitions (and briefly mentioning some others) contributes to this. So we can both ask what Ramberg's work teaches us about Swedish architectural competitions, and whether his analysis helps us grasp why contemporary urban developments take the form they do.

Ramberg outlines different types of architectural competition that are run in conjunction with the Swedish Association of Architects under rules prescribed in Swedish law. His case studies are 'Project' rather than 'Ideas' competitions; they are not instituted only to canvas ideas and abstract possibilities but are intended to result in actual developments. They include examples of 'open' competitions and ones where participants are 'invited', either directly or after an initial weeding of open entrants. All were initiated by municipalities and for the design of neighbourhoods, not single, 'landmark' buildings. They were to produce 'the everyday architecture that it is intended will constitute the environment in which future city dwellers will live their urban life'.

Each competition generates three components – the written 'programme' or brief, devised by the organisers, next the design entries produced by the competing architectural practices, comprised of words, images and sometimes models. Finally there is the jury's written assessment. This provides arguments for their selection of the winner and evaluations of the other entries, some of which may be commended. Examination of these material embodiments of the competition process constitutes the body of Ramberg's thesis.

As we will see, he deduces much from this data, but greater semiotic insight could enhance analysis of its non-verbal components, particularly their rhetorical effect. He does mention the different potentialities of plans, bird's eye views and perspectival representations (for example, for showing the overall structure of a development, its relation to other areas and how new spaces will look and can be used). But it's odd that the distinction between hand-drawn, photographic and computer-generated images is not much elaborated beyond suggesting that CAD facilitates creating the illusion that a proposed development already exists. Models, whilst mentioned (in a footnote) aren't discussed. We eventually learn that all of the images are daytime summer ones but the use of colour in the presentations is ignored. The proportion of visual to verbal isn't mentioned and there are no worked-through examples of how submissions link the two. It's a shame this edition contains so few illustrations, and whilst this may have been beyond Ramberg's control he could have more clearly directed readers to the full Stockholm competition documentation available on the web. The relative weakness of the visual analysis is odd given Ramberg suggests architects primarily think through images and that, as we will see, he feels the visual appeal of proposed developments 'dominate over other qualities'. Do contestants try to link the visual appeal of their presentations *as presentations*, to the visual appeal of what they propose?

Ramberg suggests (though doesn't explain how) the transition from the purely written (project brief)

through the verbal and visual (architects' entries) to the purely written (jury assessment) contributes to the potentially significant 'displacements' and 'translations' in the competition process. The latter has a dialogic character. Entrants can interpret the brief in different ways and adhere to it with varying rigour. Facing a range of proposals, juries may shift and go with suggestions lying beyond their original presuppositions even though 'the competition rules stipulate that (they) evaluate the proposals in relation to the qualities the programme demands'. Project competitions have the potential to be more than tendering processes for already determined schemes. However, Ramberg's analysis does not suggest strong *systematic* differences between the views of instigators, entrants and juries – although one can't judge how far the comparative unanimity is an artefact of the competition process itself. The range of decisions the architects can take is limited by the brief's specification of area size and location, functions it is to contain and existing elements to be retained. And whatever architects may feel, they are likely to shape their proposals to what they think juries will find attractive – if they hope to win. It's difficult to be sure, but unsuccessful entries seem more likely to be criticised for being too conventional than too radical, and organisers and juries more concerned than entrants with economic viability. However, with one (non-winning) exception, there seems much that all participants are agreed upon. Everybody wants high quality developments. And, whilst Ramberg sees 'quality' as a floating signifier of historically changing values, he also shows a broad contemporary agreement that good environments provide light-filled accommodation with outlooks over green spaces accessible for leisure and car-free movement with, where possible, views over water as well. This builds on a key feature of the post war Record Years' suburban developments aimed at providing better conditions than those in the then dark, run-down, over-crowed urban core. In other respects however, there's a move away from this modernist ideal – and in directions Ramberg often criticises. The competitions' schemes are in, or seeking connection with, the city centre and, rhetorically at least, reject the functional segregation of the post war periphery in favour of earlier urban forms, particularly the lively, mixed use, 'block city' quarter Jane Jacobs praised. Whilst modernists demolished existing buildings, programme organisers often want built and natural heritage preserved. And, despite limited concern for regional building traditions in new builds, judges liked entries which discovered the 'essential soul' of a place, and competitors who created not just spaces but distinctive place identities. Perhaps this was why submissions had such catchy titles.

Though the illustrations suggest a preponderance of multi-household buildings, Ramberg doesn't tell us much about the accommodation types proposed. But he does explain that modernist planning of the social democratic *Folkhem* was particularly concerned to provide good quality homes for all, directing considerable research effort to improving buildings' interior functionality. He contrasts and regrets the contemporary competitions' focus on the visual attractiveness of neighbourhoods at the expense of informed consideration of how building interiors will meet the real needs of potential users. He criticises the way the traditional nuclear family still seems to be taken as the norm even when its minority status is acknowledged, and castigates the lack of attention to sociological work on current working and living patterns – and indeed any opportunity for direct input by potential residents. He sees emphasis on differences of building form and colour as merely superficial and argues the proposed developments can't replicate Jacobs' type diversity because their large size and the requirements of the contemporary building industry militate against the variety which results from an accretion of small-scale projects over time. Moreover, while functional segregation is now disfavoured, the projects appear largely residential and fail to recreate the traditional inner city's economic variety. Ramberg also doubts the developments will achieve much population mixing beyond that of age and gender. Some briefs do ask for a non-exclusive environment. But comments on accessibility often refer to disability rather than economic status, whilst the decreased significance of housing grants and high new build prices must limit who can be future residents. Ramberg suggests that this is planning for the middle class – and a rather passive one at that. Entries envisage gentle flaneurs along the green pathways, sitters in outdoor cafés, or possibly tenders of their vegetables or boats. No large concentrated groups of adults or children are depicted; the intended social life seems 'seldom related to the individual's role as citizen'. Ramberg tells us that there has only ever been one competi-

tion to redevelop a more working class peripheral Record Year estate, though he doesn't point out that some of these have been quite substantially updated. He says his sample competitions don't properly address urban equality and justice, arguing that delivering both equality and safety requires attending to the total urban environment and not just the design of individual localities. Similarly the environmental sustainability desired by many of the participants requires addressing with reference not just to building material and technique, but also to city-wide patterns of car use, commuting and shopping. Despite some references to connecting the development areas to the urban core, the competitions don't consider their impact on the city as a whole.

Ramberg links the character of the new proposals both to a reaction against the perceived problems of the Record Years' monolithic estates and to the shift into a post-industrial, more globalised economy. Not only are there ex-industrial sites needing redevelopment but the remaining working class in their peripheral milieux have become less valued. Gone is the Record Years' quest to provide good housing for those in the worst conditions, replaced by a new competition between areas and cities to entice and retain investors and 'coveted and attractive citizens' from the 'creative class'. This puts a premium on the aesthetically attractive and contributes to a gentrification of the urban core with its re-appreciated cultural heritage. A rightward political shift (whose economic causes Ramberg does not examine) additionally deregulates and increasingly privatises the housing market, boosting the importance of property exchange values – a further driver towards aestheticisation. 'Homes and even neighbourhoods in the construction of the post-industrial city, become goods in a market more than a social right for everyone'.

If architectural competitions are influenced by these factors does Ramberg sufficiently reveal how the competitions themselves make a difference? Would urban development be otherwise without them? He cites Latour's advice to 'look for the point where the contract is drawn up, just where power is translated and where the difference between the technical and the social is decided', suggesting architectural competitions are just such pivotal occasions. But if this is the case it would be interesting to examine not just the material manifestations of the various competition stages but the *processes* by which they were assembled. Reviewers should be wary of criticising a work which meets its own goals for not being a different kind of enterprise. But I wanted to learn how brief writers, invited entrants and juries are chosen, more on the demographic of the key participants, and what interconnections there are between the different role players – are entrants in some competitions jury members in others for example? And how do the briefly mentioned municipal officers and politicians and housing association representatives relate to the professional architects and planners on the organising committees? I would like to know *how* the latter arrive at their programme, whether they are constrained by broader city and regional plans, what obligations they have for housing supply and more on why they take the competition route to redevelopment, given this doesn't appear inevitable. And why *do* architects enter competitions? We learn that Project competition winners are expected to contribute to implementing the development, but the single passing reference to prize money receives no elaboration and there is no discussion of professional reputation-building, though apparently competitions have been 'avidly discussed in both the trade and ordinary press'. The relation between competitions and the building expositions (*bomässor*) which seem to have been associated with some of the redevelopments isn't fully explained. It would have been illuminating to hear some participants speaking *about* their practices, which should have been possible for at least the more recent competitions. As frustratingly, there's little information on outcomes. Given the most recent competition was held ten years ago, it should be possible to do more than note that 'the resultant built environment can be influenced by other processes that follow the competition' and that one development was subsequently stopped because of strong opposition by local inhabitants and the media. Is the really important 'displacement' between a winning proposal and what's eventually built?

Thus the lack of background information and study of process somewhat limits this thesis's contribution to understanding Swedish architectural competitions per se, whilst the suggestion they provide a useful way into studying the contemporary built environment is weakened by under-specification of the link between competition content and what is actually built. All a little surprising for someone who claims to draw inspiration from a

range of theorists particularly concerned with how power is assembled and practiced. Nonetheless, many of Ramberg's criticisms hit home. There's real value in stressing the need to plan on the basis of a sociologically-informed grasp of the potentially varied lifestyles, needs and interests of contemporary urbanites and to lamenting overconcentration on aesthetics and on environments for the better off. Last summer's rioting in some poorer Swedish suburbs gives added weight to Ramberg's claim that we need a broad urban politics which 'starts from a critical analysis of contemporary urban problems', challenges increasing segregation and properly considers 'the consequences of placing certain people in certain kinds of environment'.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Fortune and Risk in Early Modern Times

Kristiina Savin, Fortunas klädnader. Lycka, olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige. Sekel bokförlag, Lund 2011. 501 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-8576-784-7.

■ One of the best-known evening prayers in Swedish, "Gud som haver barnen kär", ends with the words "Lyckan kommer, lyckan går, den Gud älskar lyckan får" (Fortune comes, fortune goes, those who love God receive fortune / Fortune comes, fortune goes, those whom God loves receive fortune) or else "Lyckan kommer, lyckan går, du förbliver fader vår" (Fortune comes, fortune goes, thou remainest Our Father). There is dispute as to how the prayer should really end, and that is perhaps a sign of the doubt that seems to prevail about what fortune is. Kristiina Savin has written an impressive doctoral dissertation with a title meaning "Fortuna's Guises: Fortune, Misfortune and Risk in Early Modern Sweden". In today's society where risk is a favourite word – also appearing in collocations such as risk capital, risk zone, risk group – it is entirely appropriate that a historian of ideas should look back to see what the concept and related concepts have meant. When people learn to reckon with risk it shows that they do not view themselves as a reed shaken by the wind, wholly dependent on other people or on supernatural forces, and that they are capable of abstract thought about other conceivable outcomes than just the one they wish for. What, then, did people in early modern times think about (un)fortunate and risky circumstances in life?

Savin starts with the common notion that early modern people were passive because they were subject to chance, fate, or the will of God. Concepts like fortune, happiness, luck, risk, danger, fate, chance, venture, calculation, and their negative counterparts are therefore examined in detail. The author uses the Swedish Academy Dictionary to show how old or recent the words are. She limits herself to the educated population of Sweden-Finland in the period from 1560 to 1720. This mostly means men working for the state and boys who were to be given an education appropriate to their status, but Savin also examines writings left by women. A great many categories of material make up the foundation for the analysis: for example, school books, pamphlets, chapbooks, biographical texts, letters, alongside religious works of various kinds. She states clearly that she has omitted folklore, which could possibly be viewed as a weakness in relation to the aim of the book, namely, "to survey the changing ideas and arguments cited in discussions of the uncertainty of human life on earth". Folklore too has a great deal to contribute, for example, in magic spells which are vestiges of an activity intended to influence the course of events, or prayers which were spoken to achieve a result and thus indicate people's own activity. A researcher, however, has to draw the line somewhere for what can be examined, and perhaps it is wise of a historian of ideas to stick to categories that are fixed in time and place in a way that folklore is not.

Savin thus seeks to ascertain how people perceived fortune, misfortune, and risk during two centuries. As a historian of ideas she is inspired by Reinhart Koselleck's thoughts about how the meaning of concepts changes through time. To be able to apply the long perspective, Savin goes back to classical times, while simultaneously relating her findings to the present day and the postmodern way of viewing fortune and risk. She moves between Aristotle's ideas, classical rhetoric as it was rendered during the studied period, the moral philosophy of the time, the growing interest in nature and curiosities, strange things in general, and on the other hand Luther's and sometimes also Calvin's doctrine, with occasional glances at Catholicism. She argues that concepts such as fortune, misfortune, and risk must be viewed as parts of a cultural repertoire which in-

cludes ideas that derive from somewhere – she deserves praise for trying to show where an author may have found a model – and genres that serve to ease communication in different rhetorical situations. To arrive at these situations, Savin keeps her eyes open for the feelings, for example, gratitude, fear, or delight, that produced a particular document and also tries to show what emotion this document may have aroused in those who read it. She thereby manages to combine now relevant ideas about performativity with old material. The result is, of course, that she can rarely ascertain exactly how the reception was experienced, but her interpretations are plausible.

The author moves back and forth between several different opposites. She proceeds from an oral tradition that gives way to the production of written texts but still continues to exert influence backwards. Here she is influenced by Walter Ong. She seeks expressions of collective (mis)fortune as well as finding statements about private (mis)fortune. She also sees that fortune can be perceived as both a concrete and an abstract concept.

Savin shows that the notion that early modern people were passive is incorrect. In contrast to what she claims as a common view of early modern people – that they lack agency and ability to influence their own lives because they believed that God's will and omnipotence stood in the way of personal decisions and actions – Savin shows that people in the period certainly did believe that they could affect their own lives, but that God was usually included in their reasoning. If a person behaved well, in accordance with the Lutheran view of what a good person should be like, then God was favourably disposed and the person enjoyed good fortune. If things nevertheless went badly, which was far from uncommon, the outcome could still be interpreted in a positive way. This is a study in the history of ideas and therefore it lacks references to research in the psychology of religion, but Savin's study confirms what psychologists of religion have claimed about how faith works. Religiosity in the early modern period permeated life at a public level in quite a different way from today. At least the sources she uses give good reason to maintain this view. Biblical persons as they were presented in sermons, moral tales, and catechisms provided models by which people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could interpret events in life. Whatever the circumstances, a person's conduct was his or her own responsibility. People had to choose whether to live as God wished and achieve happiness by being virtuous, whatever that word meant in different situations, or to go their own way and take the risk that fortune would turn out otherwise.

The book is divided into three main chapters, all subdivided into short sections with separate headings. These headings are not always so informative, but often the reader is carried on through metatext from one section to the next. The language is splendid, making it sheer enjoyment to read the book. The illustrations are taken from historical documents. This means that one can clearly see how concrete fortune was envisaged to be, and Savin's way of explaining the content of the pictures makes the reader glad.

Only one recurrent turn of phrase is irritating. It concerns Savin's over-explicit way of explaining what is difficult to understand for a postmodern reader. This comes so often that it made me wonder. Why must she point this out? Have we in our secularized society distanced ourselves so much from the Christianity that for two thousand years has been the foundation of our society that the things that seventeenth-century people believed or at least wrote about have become so strange? Is the tradition broken? Do people born in the 1970s no longer understand expressions like "God willing"? Can this saying only be understood literally today? Is it not conceivable that it is a manner of speaking that also includes many other expressions of symbolic meanings? In Åbo (Turku) the peace of Christmas is proclaimed every Christmas Eve at midday. The text runs: "Tomorrow, God willing, is the feast of the birth of Our Lord and Saviour." I have been asked what this "God willing" means. The language is so archaic that it has become incomprehensible. One may wonder if this is not also the case with the whole of Christianity. For a Christian believer, however, what Savin regards as strange or incompressible is not at all incomprehensible to a postmodern person. Religious people still give their lives meaning with the aid of a coping process whereby what happens is attributed to God as an active partner in life, but that does not stop them from thinking or acting by themselves. In this respect postmodern people in today's Sweden have a great deal in common with people in early modern Sweden.

The book is very well written, giving insight into

the researcher's way of reasoning and testifying to her broad learning. It can be recommended to anyone who wants to know about how upper-class people during Sweden's Age of Greatness thought and reasoned about life's many different experiences of success and adversity.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Creative Life Strategies vs Cosmopolitan Reality

Lisa Wiklund, Kreativa liv. Konstnärligt arbete och kosmopolitisk vardag i Williamsburg, Brooklyn New York. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2013. 238 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7061-121-6.

■ Looking at the introduction, the description of the purpose and the theoretical background to Lisa Wiklund's dissertation I wondered how she would cope with analysing such an impressive number of issues. She mentions, among other things, globalization, cosmopolitism and the individual, national identity, strategies in new fields, city environment and individuals influencing each other as well as gentrification and to some extent consumerism. They are all in relation to one another but still this is an ambitious enterprise. The dissertation indeed explores all those problems and even more, so it is a difficult task to summarize and evaluate its most important observations.

The author gathers a vast and valuable corpus of empirical material as she studies sixteen Japanese artists who moved to Williamsburg in New York because they did not feel they could freely express creativity in their homeland. In her thesis Wiklund introduces various theories concerning the problems she aims to analyse, but the dissertation's two main theoretical starting points are Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and Arjun Appadurai's concepts of imagination and -scapes (here ethnoscapes and mediascapes). Wiklund calls the field applied here the *alternative creative field* that reflects the artistic occupations of the informants. Using Appadurai's theory Wiklund discusses (again among other matters) a different way to see nations and the sense of belonging to the nation in a cosmopolitan and globalized world.

The main part of the dissertation is an ethnographic field study that the author carried out mainly in New York but also in Japan and Sweden in the crisis years of 2008–2012. Lisa Wiklund followed the Japanese artists, all born in the seventies and the eighties, who moved to New York to pursue their creative careers. They did not move to get better-paid jobs – this was what Japan probably could offer them at that time as many of them had attractive degrees from distinguished universities. They chose less profitable lives abroad that would presumably bring them freedom from traditional Japanese norms and from the pressure to fulfil their parents' and their society's expectations.

The first chapter is meant as a contextual background as Wiklund studies the meanings of the Japan the informants escaped from and the New York that was to be their new starting point. Both cities are presented from a media perspective and from the informants' point of view. In the description of Japan the interesting aspect is Wiklund's division of the informants' angle into *the collective, the commercial* and *the conservative,* which aptly summarizes their relation to their homeland and the reason why they fled. The reflection on New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg is the most interesting when the ever-relevant issue of gentrification is discussed.

In the next part containing interviews and participant observations Wiklund examines the informants' "strategies in the alternative creative field" in three chapters. Starting with the informants' explanation of their decisions to leave Japan (which often ends up in the aforementioned *the collective, the commercial* and *the conservative* with an emphasis on escaping the status system), Wiklund analyses the informants' (as she calls it) "escape into the field".

An interesting aspect is how in the context of a new field the artists' national identity is expressed. The author points out how the Japanese artists do not feel like "real Japanese", they live in a "reversed diaspora" (do not seek contact with other Japanese), they are free from the homeland's hierarchic system and yet to some extent the hierarchy catches up with them in their new alternative field of art as they relate to the actors and institutions around them. Still they feel more cosmopolitan and "citizens of the artistic world" than Japanese. Wiklund comes back to this aspect in the last chapter and shows how the identity issue can evolve when something out of the

ordinary happens in the homeland. Here Japanese identity became relevant for the informants after the tsunami of 2011.

The chapter on "Creative Consumption" examines the phenomena that the informants especially tried to separate themselves from when they were leaving their country: Japan's excessive consumption, which Wiklund exemplifies using her experience from Tokyo. The informants, according to the author, adopt a field strategy of avoiding consumerism, and their lives in Williamsburg are very modest by choice. An interesting paradox that Wiklund discovers here is what she calls "creative consumption". Although the Japanese artists do not identify themselves with the hipsters and gentrifiers of Brooklyn and even want to distinguish themselves from them, some carefully selected luxury goods such as "bags and shoes" are important to them simply by being valuable in the creative field.

In the last chapter Wiklund comes back to the Appadurai's theory to show how the notion of cosmopolitanism has changed the informants' lives. This is, as I interpret it, also an excellent analysis of the disillusionment with mediascapes. The mediated Williamsburg often did not offer what it had promised. A striking conversation between the informant Saki and her friend is included by Lisa Wiklund that for me exemplifies the disappointment that those imagined new ways of living in a mediated space can bring. Saki has problems finding work but her friend who has a job says that she should not worry about it because her freedom is more valuable. However, for Saki freedom would end if she were forced to return to Japan to seek work. Eventually Saki goes to Hong Kong, then to Sweden and back to New York which exemplifies the conclusion that Wiklund draws: for the informants the cosmopolitan life with all its frustrations was more fulfilling than returning to their seemingly safe previous existence. The only problem I have with this chapter was the inclusion of the part about Wall Street protests. I understand how Wiklund relates it to the national and global identity of the informants but it still seemed less relevant and far-fetched here.

As I stated at the beginning, Lisa Wiklund decided to confront many issues in her dissertation. I think she has done an admirable job; the abundance of problems was also understandable as she interviewed sixteen informants and the analysis needed to have an individual approach as well as leading to some general conclusions. It would be very interesting to read a follow-up study with the same informants in five or six years' time.

Maja Chacińska, Gdańsk

Book Reviews

Nordic Heritage

Performing Nordic Heritage. Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture. Peter Aronsson and Lizette Gradén (eds.). Ashgate, Farnham 2013. 346 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-4094-4834-1.

■ The varied and interesting essays of Aronsson and Gradén's edited volume *Performing Nordic Heritage* explore the complex interplay of the personal, communal, and the institutional in creating, maintaining and displaying cultural heritage and identity in the modern Nordic region and beyond. With contributions from historians, folklorists, ethnologists, and museologists, the anthology combines a rigorous sense of historical depth with nuanced understandings of the fleeting and ephemeral, creating a historically-informed scholarly snapshot of heritage politics in contemporary Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, with occasional excurses to the eastern Baltic and North America. Space constitutes a key uniting focus in the essays, understood broadly to include activities undertaken within specific spaces, the attendant symbolism of particular spaces or artifacts, and the collection and display of symbolically charged objects within privileged spaces like museums. Naturally, such processes of definition and display also entail processes of exclusion and concealment, and these are explored insightfully in the essays as well. Taken as a whole, the volume provides a state-of-the-art overview of heritage studies as currently practiced among Nordic scholars of ethnology, history, and cultural studies.

A number of chapters within the anthology examine the construction of national and pan-Nordic images by Nordic governments and state organizations. Here, the key articles have been written by historians and provide a wealth of historical information without making assumptions of readers' familiarity with any of the events described. Torbjörn Eng and Ingemar Lindaräng, with doctorates in history from Uppsala University and Linköping University, respectively, provide an overview of recent Nordic commemorations organized and funded by Nordic governments. These include national celebrations of historical events or persons as well as international commemorations of events that touch upon multiple countries, such as the ending of a war, transfer of territory, or change in status of relationship between two nations. In every case, public money is spent programmatically so as to underscore or shape public attitudes toward particular events or situations. Events discussed include celebrations of famous individuals (e.g., Fridtjof Nansen, Saint Birgitta, Astrid Lindgren, Johan Ludvig Runeberg) as well as important events (e.g., the Kalmar Union, the Treaty of Roskilde). The authors examine the tensions that can arise concerning events seen differently by two countries and the economics, attitudes and experiences surrounding commemorations of varying kinds.

Important organs of such state assertions of identity are museums, and these occupy the attention of additional articles in this vein. Magdalena Hillström, who holds a doctorate in culture studies from Linköping University, examines the quintessential Nordic museum, Stockholm's Nordiska museet. Providing an overview of its history as well as its present-day policies, Hillström explores the museum's very conscious role in defining what it means to be "Swedish" and "Nordic" in Sweden. Eglė Rindzevičiūtė, likewise a holder of a doctorate in culture studies from Linköping University, describes similar processes of national and regional definition within the Baltic countries Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, with respect to archaeological and cultural artifacts. Materials like amber become markers of cultural and regional distinctiveness deployed in museums of the pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet eras in order to differentiate Baltic peoples from their neighbors and historical opponents. Olav Christensen, who holds a doctorate in ethnology from the University of Oslo, examines smaller Danish museums in the South Jutland region and their portrayals of the Danish-German borders and border disputes of 1864 and 1920. The tasks of commemorating a long and tumultuous series of political and military conflicts within the narrow confines of a museum exhibition are discussed along with the differing political agendas of different museums. As all of these articles demonstrate, depictions of the past are usually shaped by concerns of the present, making museum exhibits, collections, and activities active parts of the historical processes they seek to depict.

Where the chapters described above examine the concepts of nation and region on the level of state

institutions and politics, other chapters in the volume look more at vernacular understandings of national categories, as performed by individuals as part of their daily lives. Here folkloristic and ethnological perspectives come to the fore, with fieldwork an important source of insight. Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, who holds a doctorate in folkloristics from Åbo Akademi University, presents research on Nordic walking practices, making a case for walking activities as constitutive of Nordic identities both within the Nordic region and as seen from the outside. Within the Nordic countries, concepts of *allemansrätten* and notions of egalitarian fitness activities within nature combine to make both forest foraging and pole walking popular. Outside of the region, Finnish pole manufacturers have used perceptions of Nordic nature and health as a means of branding their products, recasting pole walking as "Nordic walking." The article also examines pilgrimage as practiced in the rest of Europe and as revivified in the Nordic countries, pointing to distinctive ways of performing the act of religiously motivated walking that reflect both religious and secular ideals of spirituality, health and leisure.

Katla Kjartansdóttir, a doctorate candidate in ethnology at Edinburgh University, and Kristinn Schram, the director of the Icelandic Centre for Ethnology and Folklore, build on their extensive separate research to present an overview of the ways in which modern Icelanders adapt national images of Iceland in their performance of personal (and business) behavior when outside of Iceland. Behaviors include the presentation of exoticized Icelandic foodways and customs to cultural outsiders, displays enacted by students, private individuals, and corporate bankers alike. The authors identify a concept of *borealism,* "impulsiveness, disorganization, lack of structure and melding with a wild and creative nature" (p. 65) as a set of behaviors strategically negotiated and shared between Icelanders and interlocutors. Stuart Burch, Senior Lecturer at Nottingham Trent University, explores what he terms "banal Nordism: a series of commonplace suppositions and, by extension, disassociations about Sweden and its neighbours" (p. 132).Playing on Michael Billig's "banal nationalism," Burch suggests that banal Nordism functions not as an actual set of policies or relations but rather as an asserted, largely untested set of assumptions concerning the region as cohesive, sharing in certain core values, and possessing certain core characteristics. When facts like the existence of major military arms producers in Sweden come to light, they grate against elements of this assumed understanding, e.g., the notion of the Nordic region as a peaceful, war-eschewing place. Burch suggests that Nordic leaders, as well as ordinary citizens, exercise care to maintain their countries' and region's positive image internationally, while not challenging inconsistencies within Nordic societies that run counter to public perceptions or stated national values.

This emphasis on the improvised and the personal in relation to national or regional images emerges forcefully as well in the remaining chapters of the anthology, ones which focus on the construction of Nordic identities in North America. Here, in an arena of volitional identity—where people can choose to activate or maintain Nordic identities within their personal lives or live perfectly normal lives without them—elements of personal vision, entrepreneurism, and community building come to the fore. Hanne Pico Larsen, who holds a doctorate in Scandinavian studies and folklore from the University of California, Berkeley, explores the attempts of Danish-American communities in Iowa and California to erect and display buildings that celebrate a Danish and a medieval "Viking" heritage. Where the above-mentioned articles on Nordic museums highlight the agendas and values of large-scale state-funded museums, Larsen's ethnographic work demonstrates the "mixture of commercial concerns, individual identities, entrepreneurial agendas and a general feeling of community heritage" that mobilize heritage projects in places like Elk Horn Iowa, where the descendants of a nineteenth-century migration from Denmark struggle to maintain their town's sense of identity and economic viability in the changing landscape of the twenty-first century Midwest. Lizette Gradén, Chief Curator at the Nordic Heritage Museum, Seattle, Washington, and holder of a doctorate in ethnology from Stockholm University, is particularly well situated to contemplate the similarities and differences that obtain in creating a museum of Nordic cultures within the Nordic countries vs. in a location outside of the Nordic region. On some levels, the strata of national interest and top-down agenda evident and expected in national museums within the Nordic countries becomes shadowed yet undermined in an economy of volitional identity and volunteerism of the sort

that characterizes contexts like Elk Horn, Minneapolis, or Seattle. Gradén makes a fascinating case for balancing a trend toward professionalization within American ethnic museums with recognition of "how volunteer efforts constitute a form of cultural heritage that is worthy of respect and preservation in itself" (p. 193). In Gradén's analysis, it is perhaps the individual commitment and the voluntary communal effort of museums like the Nordic Heritage Museum which constitute the most powerful aspects of the museum itself. Ethnic museums become *performances* of Nordic heritage, not mere portrayals. And theirs is a performance that changes over time, as participants age, or are replaced by members of a new generation, leading to alterations in collections or displays that become shared more broadly by the museum's public.

An insightful conclusion by the co-editors Peter Aronsson, Professor of Cultural Heritage and Uses of the Past at Linköping University, and Lizette Gradén completes the volume. Readers will find this work thought provoking, perceptive, and enjoyable. It is certain to serve well as a catalyst for international and interdisciplinary discussions of national and regional heritage politics.

Thomas A. DuBois, University of Wisconsin, Madison

A Southern Swedish Folk Painter

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Bonadsmålningar av Anders Eriksson i Ås. Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2013. 63 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7108-565-8.

■ This little book about a southern Swedish painter of wall hangings has been published by Professor Nils-Arvid Bringéus. He writes here on a theme that he has studied for many years, and with his extensive knowledge he provides us with what we need to gain an introductory insight into painted wall hangings. It is an inspiring presentation, precisely because it tells us more than what we can read on the 63 pages. If the art of southern Swedish wall hangings is a large flowery meadow, Bringéus shows us a colourful flowerbed which he describes in such a way as to give us a picture of the whole by observing a part.

These wall hangings were large paintings which were hung in the peasant home at Christmas and other feast days. They were big enough to cover much of the wall. They were painted in two or three sequences, each of which could have several motifs side by side. The Folklife Archives in Lund have registered more than 3,000 hangings.

Wall hangings were painted in some parts of southern Sweden, especially in districts of Halland and Småland. They followed a tradition which changed very little during the peak period 1770–1870. There were over 100 painters of southern Swedish hanging. Bringéus has chosen to tell about one of them, Anders Eriksson of Ås (1774–1855), who has long been a well-known painter, frequently mentioned in the literature about wall hangings.

Anders Eriksson was born in simple circumstances, and like other painters he did wall hangings alongside his work with tillage and livestock, which was what most people in Ås lived on. As a young man he was a soldier. Many of the painters had been soldiers, and it was probably in the army that they learned how to write, an essential skill because the hangings had texts. He became parish clerk and was a respected member of the community.

The account implies that other southern Swedish painters lived the same kind of life and struggled against the same poverty in similar districts, and painted the same kind of hangings. But Bringéus also tells us that Anders Eriksson had a distinctive character as a painter. Unlike most painters, he signed many of his works with his initials AES. We therefore know for sure that he was responsible for a series of hangings painted in the years 1797–1854.

Bringéus brings in recent research findings to inform us of the painter's use of pigments. We learn that he used stencils when rendering human figures, no doubt to rationalize the work. It is now established that Anders Eriksson had received some professional training, unlike most other painters of hangings.

Not unexpectedly, much of the book is about the pictures themselves. There are many illustrations accompanying the text. There are pictures of complete hangings and of individual motifs. There are secular motifs such as dancing scenes, trips to market, and hunting scenes. Most of Anders Eriksson's motifs, however, are biblical. He often painted scenes from the birth of Jesus, preferably the whole nativity story with the annunciation, the angels singing to the

shepherds, the stable, the three wise men, and the flight to Egypt. Alongside the Christmas motifs, numerous Easter motifs also had a major place in his repertoire.

Some biblical figures stand out. Angels have wings, Christ has his halo, and on Palm Sunday he rides on an ass. But Joseph in the book of Genesis drives like a big farmer with two horses pulling his wagon. The men in the paintings, who are more numerous than the women, have black hats, and most of them seem to be dressed like country people in Anders Eriksson's own time. It is a pictorial world with a short distance between Småland and Galilee.

Bringéus mentions eleven motifs from the Old Testament and sixteen from the New Testament. He retells and explains the biblical story, and if possible he traces the origin of the picture. Sometimes Anders Eriksson copied from the Figure Bible, other times from the woodcuts that people pasted inside chest lids, and often the painter copied what he had seen in wall hangings of other painters.

Inspired by this book, I would like to visit a museum to see an exhibition of hangings in full size, or to see a house decorated for Christmas with rows of painted hangings on the walls. There I might find hangings by other painters too, and discover how amazingly similar they are. But already in the preface Bringéus tells us that there are today no exhibitions of southern Swedish hangings, despite the fact that they are one of Sweden's cultural treasures.

This little book is beautifully printed, with a cover in red, the colour that Anders Eriksson used most.

Tord Buggeland, Lillehammer

Everyday Life in Nineteenth-century Denmark

Dagligliv i 1800-tallets Jylland. Evald Tang Kristensen om mennesker og landskaber. Palle O. Christiansen (ed). Hovedland, Copenhagen 2014. 213 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7070-395-6.

■ The Danish ethnologist and cultural historian Palle Ove Christiansen has devoted great energy to an in-depth study of the Danish folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) and his extensive work. A book that appeared in 2011 was devoted to the people who provided information during the collector's fieldwork (reviewed by this reviewer in *Arv* 2012). In his next book, published in 2013, Christiansen concentrated on Tang Kristensen as a person and the milieu in which he lived (reviewed by this reviewer in *Arv* 2013).

The book reviewed here appeared in 2014 and deals with Tang Kristensen's publications about everyday life in rural Jutland in the nineteenth century. These books were based on material which he collected during his fieldwork, chiefly in the 1870s and 1880s. Christiansen's book consists of nine chapters which deal with different themes of everyday life. The author starts each chapter with an explanatory commentary both on the content of the texts and on archaic words that are now difficult to understand. This is followed by a reproduction of parts of Tang Kristensen's own texts, which appeared over a period of 45 years. The book is richly illustrated with drawings and photographs from the nineteenth century, including a number of sharp photographs of Tang Kristensen's informants, taken in 1895 by the photographer Peter Olsen.

The first chapter provides a survey of working life, homes, foodways, clothing, and gatherings to mark festive occasions of the calendar or the life cycle. The presentation primarily concerns simple people who lived and made their living in the meagre heathlands of northern Jutland. The second chapter considers how the peasants raised and sold castrated bulls (steers) on the Jutish estate of Viskum.

The third chapter concentrates on peasant life in the parish of Brandstrup, where Tang Kristensen grew up in the 1850s, and where he also spent some time as a teacher in the 1880s. The text that is reproduced here was printed in 1923. By that time Tang Kristensen could look back on the great changes that had taken place since he had grown up in the countryside where he later collected his material. The roads in the latter part of the nineteenth century were simple and inadequate. The houses were often in a dreadful state. The old folk costumes of homespun were still being worn. All children, regardless of sex, wore skirts up to the age of three or four. Food was simple or frugal. In the evening people ate porridge made from rye or barley with wooden spoons, and there was no coffee. Lighting was very poor and there were no oil lamps. This was before the heath was cultivated and before the implementa-

tion of a reform which redistributed the common land among the farms. The poorest people had to beg. Beggars could rove around in large groups, acting importunately and maliciously towards the local people. At the same time, some beggars were good at telling stories and singing songs, which Tang Kristensen documented. Some descriptions of people who lived in very primitive conditions are also included in this chapter. There were men who were alcoholics and some who swore like troopers. It is a veritable history of poverty that is served to the reader.

On the margins of the peasant community were the people who wandered around, known in Denmark as *kæltringer*. They swept chimneys, ground knives, and slaughtered and skinned horses, dogs, and cats. The latter work was held in great contempt. Some of these travellers could act in a threatening manner towards the local populace and they had a reputation of being thieves. They not infrequently got into fights with each other. For that reason, people were often afraid when the *kæltringer* came visiting.

One chapter in the book deals with legends that Tang Kristensen heard. There were stories about ghosts in the form of animals or people without heads. Tang Kristensen discusses the basis of these beliefs but does not arrive at any sure interpretation. Beliefs and customs associated with Christmas, on the other hand, could go back to pre-Christian times, in his opinion. Tang Kristensen declared in his later years that the folk beliefs of bygone times, which he had once been able to document, had ceased to exist. To his disappointment, people were now more interested in materialism. Younger people no longer listened to the older people's stories and songs.

Palle Ove Christiansen's three books about Evald Tang Kristensen give posterity a detailed picture of a man who amassed a huge and unusual collection of folklore in the nineteenth century. Tang Kristensen was a gifted fieldworker who listened carefully to his informants' stories and songs. At the same time, he was a good observer of what he saw on his many field trips over several decades. Tang Kristensen's field collecting and his writings are a unique contribution to our knowledge of simple people's living conditions in a part of rural Denmark in the nineteenth century.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Representation of Jazz and Popular Music

Tor Dybo, Representasjonsformer i jazz- og populærmusikkanalyse. Akademika forlag, Trondheim 2013. 129 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-3210-129-0.

■ To start with, this book does *not* deal with the "representation" of identities and ideas in the Cultural Studies tradition. Rather, it deals with the question of how to represent *music* in analytical texts (although the two perspectives may indeed have interesting potential when collapsed). The attention paid to the concept of representation is justified by the fact that "jazz and popular music" do not primarily start from a work fixed in written notes, but are traditions based on playing by ear. There is thus (in contrast to the study of nineteenth-century classical music) no written (re)presentation of the music that can be taken as a starting point for the researcher; for every study, the researcher must construct a representation in order to make references to the sounding music. This makes it clear that the kind of knowledge the study aspires to must determine the form of analysis performed – or that the method of representation determines what forms of analyses are possible to carry through, what knowledge is possible to gain, and what aspects of the music are illuminated. When several models are put side to side with each other as they are in this work, this epistemological aspect comes clear; there is no a-theoretical method that is perfect and generally applicable.

In the first chapter, Dybo addresses the question of how musicology has generated two rather distinct research traditions on jazz music and rock-dominated popular music. His point here is that, compared with classical music and research on classical music (the dominant tradition within musicology), they have so much in common with each other that it is relevant to discuss questions of their representation as one problem.

The two main chapters present the most important analytical perspectives that have been generated in jazz scholarship and in rock scholarship, with discussion of their advantages and weaknesses. For jazz as well as rock, *sound* and *grooves* are two important dimensions for which conventional musical notation is not sufficient. Furthermore, *time sense* more generally is important (especially in jazz) for the discussion of syntagmatic form in the music. But Dybo also highlights analytical models where the

interaction between musicians (or musicians and audience) is given attention, and shows the possibilities of combining close readings of sounding music with general ethnomusicological and culture-sociological observations of interaction and formation of symbols of identity. This is a good presentation and discussion of previous research that helps in making similarities and differences clear.

Where there is no notation, a standard musicological procedure has been to provide one through transcription. This is a common method in jazz studies, where improvised solos by leading musicians have been transcribed en masse. However, this emphasizes melody line (and technical virtuosity) over other qualities, and thus reinforces the aesthetic principles of classical music that produced standard musical notation in the first place. What about the interaction between the soloist and the rhythm section, or the rhythmic patterns and pulse that are produced from the interplay? As an example, Dybo discusses Charles Mingus's piece *All the Things You Could Be by Now If Sigmund Freud's Wife Was Your Mother*, where one of the aesthetic principles at work is the consciousness of time sense. Where the standard number "All the things you are" that has provided the chord scheme is made up of even 8-bar phrases combined into a 32-bar sequence, the standard evergreen AABA format, Mingus expands and reduces form units, making a conscious intertextual relation. Dybo evokes the literary scholar Henry Louis Gates's theory of signifyin(g) as an African American aesthetic principle at work here – and this concept can give more insight into what actually is happening in the recording by Mingus's band, rather than a note-by-note fixation of sounds. In popular music studies, Dybo takes a stronger interest in finding concepts for the dimensions of sound, auditive power, sensuality and "collective energy". As an example rooted in the rock tradition he analyses the British folk-rock band Fairport Convention, not as a standard rock band but on a more specific level where the choice of instruments and individual playing techniques and grooves produce the distinct sound of the group – and the point of having a distinct sound lies in how the group positions itself in the subcultural fields of the post-war generations, which points to the value of theory and method of cultural analysis for understanding the auditive output. As stated later, the choices of study object and methods of analysis are fundamental research policy choices with consequences for musicology and the social functions of music research.

This is an interesting work and an important contribution to the epistemological literature in musicology. The author has a good overview of international research and asks relevant questions that make the scholarly problems visible. Apart from the scholarly value of having a discussion and illumination of different models for analysis, there is also a pedagogic value; style and size make the book suitable for educational use for MA and PhD studies in musicology. For ethnologists with a background and interest in music, there are also many interesting discussions to be found since aspects of musical form are brought together with views of music as performance of ideas and concepts, of music as always reflexive and intertextual.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Making Things Visible

Tingenes tilsynekomster. Kulturproduksjon, materialitet og estetikk. Anne Eriksen, Mia Göran & Ragnhild Evang Reinton (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 235 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-731-2.

■ Material culture is an unusually rich research field. It has developed in different directions in recent years, and nowadays many scholars are inspired by the world of film, theatre, and literature. The stage is once again amongst the ethnographer's stock of metaphors. One of the central concepts in this Norwegian edited volume about the visibility of things is "staging".

The book is a result of multidisciplinary cooperation. The authors have their base in the humanities. In a joint research programme at the University of Oslo they developed their interest in the materiality and aesthetic of culture production. The conversations in the programme served as a source of inspiration and pleasure. Soon they discovered the need for interdisciplinary work and "long discussions".

In ten articles the ten authors write about material objects in society and culture. Meaning making is a recurrent theme, and things are ascribed meanings that vary over time, but also depending on situations and events in everyday life. People create relations to them. The focus of the book is on how things are made visible, as this is determined by "practices,

systems and strategies for staging". Obviously there are several psychological and sociological perspectives within reach which could contribute to a deeper understanding of the topic, but they have to take a back seat. Here it is humanist thinking that dominates, concentrating on the visibility of the objects, their presence and their aesthetic. The editors believe that the aesthetic perspective can give us new insights into the process of materialization, but not without reservations. First the boundaries for the aesthetic gaze must be extended, far beyond classical distinction which concerns the doctrine of beauty. Such ideas about aesthetics are revised in the introduction to the book. Here it is a matter of discovering new areas for cultural research.

The articles are disparate. The topics range from the seventeenth century to the present day. In some of the articles the authors concentrate on early times while others write about cultural phenomena in modern society. This makes the book a methodological collage with several humanistic sciences involved. The editors, Anne Eriksen, Mia Göran, and Ragnhild Evang Reinton, have their scholarly roots in cultural history, musicology, and comparative literature.

The book is divided into three parts with the following headings: "Things", "Installations", "Systems". With this the editors seek to convey some "examples of literary and philosophical" ways of looking at objects. Under the first heading we are presented with some literary interpretations of things. Modern literature with its detailed descriptions of the objects, homes, and settings around the characters functions extremely well as a reminder of the multidimensional material culture. With examples from Borges, Kafka, Benjamin, Balzac, Stevens, and Proust, the transformations of things are analysed by Ragnhild Evang Reinton. In the literary text they served as markers of social divisions and thus became a lasting part of the novel's interpretation of the world. Unlike the worker, who was concerned with the utility and function of things, the author had to be a person who could be described as a deliberate collector of the forms and beauty of things, writes Tone Selboe in her studies of literary London. The literary production of presence presupposes that objects are created and recreated in words – even when their real forms have been ruined or have disappeared completely. The boundary between literature and science was still fluid in the seventeenth century, as Helge Jordheim notes in his contribution. With inspiration from Enlightenment ideas and Bernhard Fontenelle's philosophy he studies how the world was changed, made visible, and began to be perceived as objects.

The next section, "Installations", discusses the relationship between nature and culture. Brita Brenna analyses the aesthetic composition of nature experiences which was a part of the eighteenth-century thematization of the world. Mia Göran writes about the ideal of the English park and the aesthetic thinking developed by Rousseau, Kant, and Schiller. Kyrre Kverndokk writes about monuments, a highly conscious way of making something visible. In the nineteenth century it became common to honour prominent citizens with monuments to commemorate their lives. Democratic ideas broke the long tradition of monuments marking the presence of religion or political power in everyday life. In a beech forest in Halland there are some stones with texts and aphorisms, as Eivind Røssaak tells us in his chapter. They were erected towards the end of the nineteenth century by the politician and estate owner Alfred Bexell at the manor of Torstorp. This was possibly a form of information technology, correspondence with the future, an expression of the new individualism, a manifestation of moral values, or an attempt to break the flow of modernity. The properties of stone, lying or standing, as a reminder of eternity, enclosed in the nineteenth-century fascination with mysterious ruins and remains of temples, is something I myself have analysed in detail in "Det monumentlösa landskapet" (in *Minnesmärken: Att tolka det förflutna och besvärja framtiden*, ed. Jonas Frykman & Billy Ehn, 2007, p. 325).

In the final part, "Systems", Anne Eriksen discusses the special conditions for making things visible that prevail in institutionalized cultural heritage management and museums. The museum stores are a closed world to which only professionals are admitted, whereas exhibitions are aimed at the public. The museums developed their potential to work with exhibitions as a form – large areas and small details, large projections and minimal collages, and the visitors were an audience who had to learn to see the things in the right way. The contradiction between inside and outside, preserving and making visible, is obvious and functions as the starting point for her article, while Inger Johanne Lyngø studies

the process of musealization, based on a small object, a foetal membrane which the owner preserved as a good-luck caul until it came to the Norwegian Folk Museum. The way to the collections represents varying perspectives on making visible and preserving. Anne Birgitte Rønning studies the story of a female Robinson Crusoe in the Amazon jungle and her sudden reappearance. Via the scanty information from the catalogue card in the university library she found reason to check out a popular modern legend with powerful ingredients – shipwreck, heroism, and tragedy – which was widely spread in eighteenth-century society.

Material culture was defined as a research field at the end of the nineteenth century. Many ideas about objects have seen the light of day since then. The profusion of objects available in modern society, and the advertising that stages pleasure, desire, and curiosity, is a well-known theme in cultural studies. People's sense of experience, rather than function, has gradually increased. Design is one of the growing niches in society. The historical articles are of some interest, and I read them with great pleasure and inspiration, but I would like to read more about the late-modern aesthetic which has several points in common with film, theatre, directing, and acting. That would be a weighty contribution to the idea of staging.

People's relationship to artefacts is one of the recurrent questions in ethnological research. Materialization, performativity, meaning making, and interaction are some of the fascinating issues, along with the social and cultural value of objects. In material culture, resetting at zero plays an important part. It is a feature of the life cycle of objects that they are freed from all values, including the aesthetic ones. The last journey is to the recycling station. Researchers stuck for a long time to linguistic analogies, in the belief that things should be perceived as text, and we have heard critique of that limitation many times in recent years. This book is no exception. The editors put forward their ideas about things as activity, action, and doing, but they forget that the same idea was developed in the ethnology of the 1970s, not least in Norway. The architect behind Norwegian ethnology, Professor Knut Kolsrud, who was at the authors' own University of Oslo between 1961 and 1986, claimed that things are not static objects but activities. That comment guided many scholars of material culture in Nordic ethnology.

Yet I would not easily dismiss the framing of the ideas in this book. The more I read, the more interested I become. It is thoroughly well done. The editors' introduction about the history of making things visible and about aesthetics is nicely written and inspiring. As they say: "When we choose to use the concept of making visible rather than materialization, it is because we want to place special emphasis on certain dimensions in the materialization process, namely, the aesthetic ones." In the border zone between the aesthetic and the culture-theory perspectives, there are ample opportunities to expose the complex interplay between the materialization of life's values, making things visible, and attention.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

Women's Violence against Men

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Den usynliggjorte volden. Om menn som utsettes for partnervold fra kvinner. Kjønnsstudier. Akademika forlag, Oslo/Trondheim 2013. 168 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-519-2893-9.

■ Women's violence against men in heterosexual relations is an unknown and unresearched phenomenon. Society, like research, has for decades focused on men's violence against women, while women's violence against men, as Tove Fjell's title indicates, has been made invisible. The attention paid to men's violence against women is not, however, the only reason why violence against men has been concealed. There is a resistance in society to acknowledging men as victims of female violence – a resistance that is also expressed by the men who suffer this violence: "real men" do not let themselves be abused by women. Cultural ideas and expectations of masculinity prescribe that men should be mentally and physically strong and able to control their female partner. Another reason for the invisibility is that there is a resistance to seeing women as users of violence in general, but especially in close relations. Traditional ideas of femininity and masculinity are an important aspect of the invisibility.

Internationally, mainly in the USA and Britain, there has been some research since the 1970s about women's violence, whereas in Sweden the academic discussion is virtually non-existent. There is no consensus as to how the question of women's violence should be formulated, investigated, and theorized.

One controversial issue is the extent of women's violence against men and whether it really is a social problem. Two "positions" have been established in research, advocating partly contradictory stances: family violence (FV) and violence against women (VAW). Representatives of FV claim that women's and men's use of violence is symmetrical, that is, equally frequent and reciprocal, and that women initiate violence just as often as men. Representatives of VAW argue that the violence is asymmetrical; it is men's violence against women that is most frequent, has the most serious consequences, and has other motives and contexts. Women's violence against men, according to VAW, is almost always in self-defence, to protect themselves and the children from the man's violence.

Feminist critique of the symmetry position (FV) chiefly concerns the methodology. These studies are mainly quantitative, using lists to measure the number of conflicts and acts. The measurements usually concern only the last year and they do not bring out the systematic nature of the violence, according to the critics, who advocate a life-cycle perspective using questionnaires and interviews, in other words, a qualitative approach. Qualitative studies show that far more women than men suffer violence in close relations. Quantitative studies, in contrast, show only minor differences in the extent of men's and women's violence and that women's violence against men is increasing.

Tove Fjell's book is one of the few studies to take a qualitative approach to women's violence against men, and it is an important contribution to our knowledge about men who are subjected to violence. The aim is to make the violence visible and to challenge the one-sided picture of a male perpetrator and a female victim. The study has a feminist perspective and the author seeks to nuance previous research by demonstrating the complexity of the research field. Men's narratives about violence against them and the men's own understanding of their experiences are analysed partly with the aid of masculinity theory. How do men talk about the violence committed against them? How do the men react to the violence and how do men break out of a violent relationship? What consequences does the violence have for health and quality of life? Does women's violence against men differ from men's violence against women? The study is not comparative, but the existing knowledge about men's violence against women is used as a point of reference.

The study is based mainly on interviews with men who have been exposed to violence from women, a total of eleven ethnic Norwegian men, eight of whom had an ethnic Norwegian partner. Seven of the men are in their forties, while the others are younger or older. The men have all experienced violence over a long period, and the majority have been in contact with the public assistance system in connection with divorce and custody disputes. The author established contact with the men by advertising on the website of "Reform", a resource centre for men. Fjell has not interviewed or been in contact with the men's female partners or ex-partners.

The author is well aware of the difficulties with the interviews, of which she has a serious discussion. What the men say is not used as testimony or as truth but as narratives about the informant's experiences and understanding of himself as a partner exposed to violence. The author provides many quotations and summaries of the narratives, but I see a danger in the way they are presented to the reader. Fjell mostly manages the balancing act of letting the men's understanding of the violence emerge from the text while constantly pointing out that this is the men's perception of the event, not what might really have happened. In the quotations and paraphrases, however, the men's descriptions of the violent partner are left without comment or question. The women we meet in the book are screaming, yelling, hitting, scratching, kicking, throwing frying pans or crockery, gabby, hysterical, crazy, erratic… By excluding the violent women from the analysis, Fjell's own text reproduces and confirms this traditional negative female stereotype. I shall return to this.

So what does the interview study show? Fjell is able to present results similar to those of other studies of men exposed to partner violence. The violence to which men are subjected is mostly mental, such as verbal abuse, isolation, jealousy, controlling behaviour, threats of injury, physical abuse, threats of divorce, damage to personal property, etc. Some of the men have had to endure physical violence, but not one of them has suffered sexual violence. As with women who are victims of violence, the man does not leave the relationship at the "first" blow; he stays on. Another shared theme is that the man has

feelings of shame and wants to keep the violence secret, finding it difficult to identify himself as a victim of violence.

The comparison with partner violence against women shows that the similarities are greater than the differences. An important feature in men's narratives that is not found in the case of violence against women is that the men never state economic reasons for staying on in the relationship, which is one of the most common reasons for women. Another difference is that the men, unlike women who are exposed to violence, do not say that they fear for their lives and health. They refer to their superior physical strength and tone down the violence, something that is confirmed by other studies. These differences – economy and quality of life – between men and women exposed to violence are crucial to a feminist understanding of violence in close relations since they can be directly linked to an overall gender-power order where violence is merely one aspect of the repression of women.

Fjell believes she can discern a new pattern as regards men's practices in responding to the violence. Several of the men say that they did not defend themselves or hit back. They did not want to, even though they could have. In the men's narratives Fjell sees a passive man emerge. The passive attitude – not putting up resistance to a woman who uses mental or physical violence – "the new passivity", as she calls it, is interpreted with the aid of masculinity theory. The passivity is viewed as an attempt to shift the content of the traditional hegemonic masculinity towards a new masculine ideal. The new passive masculinity is described as a local Norwegian or Nordic variant, characterized by ideals of equality, where all forms of partner violence are regarded as illegitimate. A man who perceives himself as equal does not practise violence against women without infringing this ideal.

Can a new, equal masculinity really be detected in the men's narratives? My "reading" gives the opposite picture. The motives the men themselves state for not returning the violence indicate that they are governed by a traditional masculinity rather than an equal one: fear of not being able to control oneself and possibly killing the woman, and the belief that a man should not hit a woman who hits him. Moreover, the men make fun of the woman, finding her ridiculous and comical. This shows that it is the "trait" of control and fear of not being able to restrain oneself that explains why the men do not hit back, and the fact that they do not take the woman's violence seriously. The men exposed to violence construct themselves in the narratives as being self-controlled and responsible, in contrast to the violent woman, who is constructed as uncontrolled and emotional.

Why are the women violent? Fjell does not consider this question, which I consider absolutely crucial for understanding the violence and the men's actions. The men themselves say that they do not understand why their partner uses violence, which came out of the blue, unexpected, unprovoked, for no reason, or as a response to "he didn't do what she wanted". It is clear from the narratives, however, that the woman's violence was not infrequently triggered by quarrels about money or other matters to do with the family's shared concerns: the woman wanted to have a say in how the family's resources should be used, or have access to the family car, or the woman wanted the man to help out with the housework and the like.

The family situation that emerges from the men's narratives is that of an unequal family where the man is the main breadwinner, if the wife earns any money at all; he takes the car to work and leaves all the housework to his wife. The man is the one who thinks he is entitled to have the last word on economic matters. He calls it "taking responsibility" for the family economy and accuses the woman of being wasteful. The women are dependent on the men's good will to have their wishes and priorities satisfied – the men sometimes use expressions like "manipulation" or that she "squeezes money out of him" to describe the situation. Through their practice, then, the men construct not just gender but also power, gender power. Merely because men refer to the equality discourse, it does not mean that they want to be equal men, or that they perceive themselves as such.

My interpretation is hypothetical since I do not have access to the entire material, but it is scarcely a "new" masculinity that we see if the whole context is considered in the analysis and not just the situation in which the violence occurred. Violence is exercised in a social and situational context, and this context is significant for understanding both the violence and the response to it. Violence must therefore be analysed relationally, contextually, and in its totality. In my reading of the material I see a highly

traditional hegemonic masculinity and a woman who puts up resistance to the gender power by resorting to violence, possibly as a response to the man's violence. To protect anonymity, Fjell can reveal little data about the interviewed men. Apart from their age and civil status, further details are scattered in the text and in the appendix which are of interest for my discussion above and which can help to fill out the context: four of the men have alcohol problems, as many as nine have experienced violence in an earlier relationship (as both perpetrators and victims), and of these nine, two have experienced violence in several previous relationships; some of them have been charged with incest and some have been reported to the police for violence against the partner. A large share of them are or have been involved in acrimonious custody trials. I believe that these factors are not without significance when interpreting and theorizing about these men's narratives of their actions. The men here can be on both ends of violence, as was clear from international studies.

The women's violence is presented in the study as being emotionally driven and individual, not as intentional or as a response to repressive structures. What the women who use violence are doing is to breach the norms for female behaviour by being violent, regardless of whether they initiated the violence or acted in self-defence. The violence must be understood in a larger context of gender inequality. Women's violence may be a response to lack of equality. Unequal power relations are the root of violence, and this applies not only to gender relations. Class, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. are other power orders that are repressive, where violence is used as a tool, affecting women's experiences of violence, and also affecting how and why they choose to or feel the need to use violence. The men's picture of the violence is allowed here to serve as a basis for far-reaching conclusions about structural changes. The shift in the understanding of masculinity towards a new equal masculinity, according to the author, will influence the content of the hegemonic masculinity and the repression of women will no longer be so obvious.

Finally, I would also question the many gender-neutral terms that are used here: crossover violence/categories (violence can be used by both sexes), episodic partner violence (a form of violence without a distinct gender profile, less serious violence), intimate terrorism (violence with a distinct gender profile, mainly perpetrated by men, resulting in severe physical injury), violent resistance (both parties involved, one of them responding to violence), and so on. These derive from the symmetry position and conceal both men's violence against women and women's violence against men. They are therefore not good concepts with which to make violence visible.

(This review is based on a chapter in a forthcoming book by Gabriella Nilsson and Inger Lövkrona, *Våld, genus och kultur*.)

Inger Lövkrona, Lund

An Ethnologist's Autobiography

Anders Gustavsson, Bondekultur i möte med akademikerkulturer i Sverige och Norge. En personlig pendling mellan skilda världar. Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 117 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-728-2.

■ Autobiographies are a great genre. Important fathers and mothers in society, as well as less influential inhabitants, write their memoirs. Biographies are also great material for research. There is a wealth of studies about autobiographical narration both within the study of literature and within folkloristics.

Anders Gustavsson, professor of ethnology in Oslo, Norway, has published his autobiography. In it he describes his childhood on a farm in Bohuslän. He was interested in school and schooling, which took him to university. Ever since then he has earned his living in academia. He was engaged at several Swedish universities, studying in Lund, lecturing in Gothenburg, and acting as professor in Uppsala. The book tells about Gustavsson's position at the universities with both joyful and tragic experiences. Such is human life! After some stressful years he found himself in Oslo, as a professor at the university there. The period there seems to have been a time of harmony and good collegial cooperation.

The most informative parts of the book, however, concern his scholarly work. He covered a great many different topics within ethnology. He mentions maritime studies, research into cultural encounters and borders, and reports on the use of alcohol, besides his deep and learned research about Christian, Lutheran folk religion. His most recent

interest lies in folk art and farmers' worldview. Gustavsson is also internationally oriented and takes part in a fair number of Nordic and European networks to do with his discipline. The third task of the universities is also relevant in his biography: he ponders on the question of how to utilize ethnology for the benefit society.

The process of research as described from his experience is certainly one of the most valuable parts of the book. The chapter demonstrates how a scholar matures to formulate his aims and goals from pure description to more theoretical study. Gustavsson also brings up ethical matters, a field of interest that was not always at the centre of ethnological investigations. All through the book there are photographs, mostly of a very private character.

In Finland it was not unusual for university professors to have climbed the social ladder. Few professors could boast forefathers in the same métier. Consequently, it is interesting to read about this change of status in a personally formulated text like an autobiography. It is clear what the author wants to show, and what he wants to hide. In this case the author was very generous in letting his readers know what happened during his long career. He describes how difficult it was for a person with his background to receive an academic education as well as his joy when he was inaugurated as professor with all advantages and disadvantages connected with such a position. He also mentions all the changes in methods, theories, research material, and technical equipment that happened during his time. And they are really many and far-reaching in all areas of the discipline. All in all, the book is a nice personal document for those who want to know more about how one of their colleagues experienced his life in academia.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Cultural Contacts on the Coast

Anders Gustavsson, Resident Populace and Summer Holiday Visitors. Cultural Contacts between Harmony and Conflict in Nordic Coastal Regions. Novus Press, Oslo 2013. 96 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-736-7.

■ Researchers often have broad expertise in a certain field and publish articles in various journals and anthologies, also in different languages. Anders Gustavsson has decided to collect various partial results of his research on culture contacts in coastal villages in a separate publication in English. The volume is a contribution to the increasing interest among cultural researchers in tourism in modern industrialized societies. Tourists, too, have asked for literature written in English about the coastal region Bohuslän.

Town-dwellers and local populace have met and lived side by side for more than a century in coastal regions, but the context of social and cultural change has varied over time. Gustavsson lead the reader through Bohuslän, mainly, from the late nineteenth century until the present day. The initial phase of summer residence in coastal population centres is based on the growing belief in the salutary effects of nature. Sea breezes, salt water, peace and quiet, were the total opposite to urban life and providing relaxation to exhausted nerves even in 1904. Contacts between the two groups have been externally characterized by relative harmony since social distance was still accepted as a norm in society. Obedience, respect and subordination towards one's superiors also concerned relations to urban summer visitors, especially since the rental income was a supplement to the household finances for the local residents. The social difference was too great, and both groups marked their social position by keeping a distance; if any criticism occurred the summer visitor could complain but the local kept it to themselves.

After the Second World War society started to change and thereby also the relationships. Critical views began to be voiced more openly from the mid-1940s onwards. For example, the summer visitors' clothing, such as bathing suits, was viewed with suspicion, and the youngsters' lifestyle sailing and sunbathing was regarded as laziness. The locals' willingness to rent summer accommodation increased and Gustavsson points out the financial crises that began in the 1930s as a background to this development. Younger people in coastal villages were forced to emigrate or otherwise leave their home districts. The older residents could not cope with the extra work which renting involved, and they wanted their own children, who had moved to town, to use the accommodation during summer vacations. Increased social consciousness and aspirations were also involved in the change. Soon im-

proved educational opportunities in the 1950s and 1960s, and the demand for manpower in cities led to depopulation of the coastal villages. More and more houses became unoccupied and summer visitors began buying old empty houses.

In the next decades the permanent inhabitants saw their local environment change more rapidly. The summer-cottage owners attempted to exert increased influence over utilization of the harbours, bathing beaches, roads, parking places and even over the leadership of local community organizations. The former forms of socializing in the community changed, and older permanent inhabitants felt isolated since many houses stood empty during the winters and only were used during summertime. Also, an increasing amount of recreational fishing in local waters was seen as a threat to the local residents' own fishing. The criticism of summer visitors was even coordinated and organized in the 1970s when the Archipelagic Council of Bohuslän was formed. Among other things the Council wanted the authorities to make an active contribution to stop the trend of non-permanent year-round populace buying residential properties just inland from the coastal communities. On the other hand, the local residents showed no interest in buying the properties and the summer-cottage owners saw it as their mission to preserve the older buildings. Gustavsson shows that the coin often has more sides than one. Not all those who owned a summer house had achieved their dream without saving and making sacrifices in their daily lives.

Soon the archipelago became popular for even less permanent visitors than the summer residents. Statutory holidays for 4–5 weeks and financial growth in the 1960s and 1970s increased boating to the coastal region. As so often happens, two antagonists become united when a third party arose. The local residents and the owners of holiday cottages discovered a common interest in defence, as the harbours and fishing grounds became occupied and suddenly there were queues in the shop and food items were sold out.

Having reached the 1970s, Gustavsson travels back in time by presenting an example from Finland. The fieldwork took place in the 1980s but the historical development described is much the same as in Bohuslän, with local residents renting their houses to members of the urban bourgeoisie. Later the summer visitors bought houses or land to build a summer cottage. Gustavsson is quite unique in extending his research interest to neighbouring countries. The development and social structures are however quite similar in the Nordic countries, and it is easy to agree when Gustavsson calls for more comparative studies in coastal research in Scandinavia – and one could surely add other fields of research.

The local residents complaining in the 1980s about summer visitors picking all the berries is reminiscent of a similar discussion today, as Thai berry pickers are said to empty the woods. The local islanders hardly picked berries for a living as late as the 1980s, and today a majority of us buy the berries we want at the market. But someone has to pick them and it is no longer the youngsters of a local peasant population who do that. The Thais are foreigners in the same way as the summer visitors were seen as foreigners in the mid-twenty-first century.

From Finland in the 1980s, Gustavsson moves on to the present day and the Norwegian tourists in Bohuslän. More and more Norwegians have found their summer paradise on the Swedish coastline. They travel by boat or by car and caravan, but many also own houses and cottages in Bohuslän. Again the discussions seem to be universal. The Norwegians are willing to pay a high price for a property in the area and thereby prices also go up for Swedes longing for a summer cottage. In Finland it is the wealthy Russians who force up the prices in the border region in eastern Finland. Visitors playing golf or staying at campsites do not meet locals in the same way as summer residents; they bring money to the region without conflicts. On the other hand, the border region lessens the difference between what is Norwegian and what is Swedish.

The idea of gathering one's research over time in a volume is good, but the criticism of Eva Wolf's doctoral dissertation on Swedish tourists in Portugal falls outside the frame. Gustavsson, however, ends his detailed comments by referring to the dissertation as an important contribution to research on tourists visiting foreign countries.

The conclusion Gustavsson draws from his research on coastal tourism in the present century is that the acceptance of tourists among local residents has grown steadily. Today tourism is a resource which provides incomes and job opportunities, not only in coastal regions but in many peripheral areas

where the locals nowadays derive their livelihood from other sources than traditional maritime or agricultural occupations. The history of coastal tourism is the history of society in constant change.
Yrsa Lindqvist, Helsingfors

Stockholm's Sporting Public during Two Centuries

Mats Hellspong, Stadion och Zinkensdamm. Stockholms idrottspublik genom två sekler. Stockholmia förlag, Stockholm 2013. 270 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7031-264-9.

■ Today, we expect sport events to draw major crowds, both at the arenas and via television and radio. In Sweden, and Stockholm in particular, several sports regularly attract thousands of people. How did this spectator culture emerge and develop? That is the question addressed by Mats Hellspong in this book.

Hellspong is professor emeritus of ethnology. He has written several books and articles dealing with sports and its transformation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Here, he sets out to analyse the emergence of a Stockholm sport audience, using a historiographical method based on archival sources, literature and press material. These sources are combined with results from fieldwork at different arenas in Stockholm during the period 2004–2009.

After a short introduction, Hellspong's book consists of six chapters. The first is focused on the emergence of a sporting public in Stockholm in the second half of the nineteenth century. The line between the athlete and the spectator had been unclear in older games and sports. But most modern sport builds on clearly separated athletes and officials from a disciplined, paying audience. The first decades of public sport events in Stockholm were characterized by attempts to establish this, often backed by royal and/or noble benefactors. Competitions with paying spectators were held in trotting, running, boxing, ice-skating and rowing, to name a few. The audience roughly consisted of paying (middle- and upper-class) and non-paying (working-class) spectators. This was partly because playing fields, race courses etc. were quite provisional. As the audience grew, special arenas were built.

Olympic and Nordic games are the subjects of the second chapter. The 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games were an important catalyst in establishing a sporting audience culture in Stockholm. North American visitors, cheering their team led by certain cheerleaders, influenced the Stockholm audience and gave rise to a cheering culture that was strong for decades to come. This was an expressive way for the audience to support their favourites, but also a way to discipline and control crowd reactions by using a special cheerleader to direct them.

An extensive account of attendance numbers for certain sports in Stockholm is presented in chapter three. Unsurprisingly, football has drawn the biggest crowds. The golden era of sports attendance in Stockholm seems to have been in the 1950s, while televised games may have had a negative impact on Swedish attendance numbers since the 1960s.

Disciplinary problems with the sporting public are a subject of continuous debate in the press today, but as Hellspong points out in chapter four, this is nothing new. Pitch invasions (e.g. at Stockholms Stadion in 1925) and attacks on athletes (e.g. in Gothenburg, 1916) have a long history. Attempts to discipline the audience have had some success, but have also been countered by the formation of supporter clubs (and firms) to strengthen the voice of the supporters.

Chapter five deals with differences in audience behaviour between different sports. Team sports are said to have a more active audience, which act out and show aggression. Individual sports have smaller and calmer crowds, which in some sports (tennis, golf etc.) are still affected by their aristocratic history.

Hellspong ends with a discussion, presenting some conclusions that are quite interesting. It is clear that a process of sportification, well documented in earlier sports history (by Jan Lindroth, Leif Yttergren, Allen Guttmann *et al*.), has affected the audience. I find it a bit surprising that Hellspong does not explicitly use sportification theories to analyse the development of sport audience, since he shows that many of the characteristics included in or adjacent to sportification theories (medialization, standardization, specialization, rationalization etc.) have affected sports audience culture. Hellspong argues that there was a continuous disciplining of sport

spectators during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This disciplining has been quite successful in some sports (e.g. tennis, golf) but not in others (e.g. football, hockey). In his final chapter, Hellspong argues that the different sociological roots of these sports may be one reason for this development.

This book gives an excellent overview of how Stockholm's sport audience emerged in the nineteenth century and how it has developed since. Hellspong is thorough and convincing in his historical analysis of differences between sports, the importance of class and gender for the behaviour of a crowd, the effects of the medialization on sport events and the possible connections between the behaviour of the audience and their perceived possibility to affect the performance of the athletes. As Hellspong argues in the final chapter, there is a significant difference in audience behaviour in large team sports such as hockey or football and individual sports such as boxing, swimming or tennis. This difference is partly explained by attendance numbers and a form of identification with the team that is harder to get with the individual athlete. Hellspong suggest that modern hooliganism may have similarities to earlier local patriotism, often expressed by youngsters from neighbouring rural villages or urban districts fighting it out at markets, auctions and weddings. If we accept this analysis, then the issue of "football" violence cannot be solved by the clubs and supporters alone. Young, drunken men fighting in the public space is a phenomenon older than the sport of football, and needs to be addressed not only as a sport issue but also as a societal issue.

Some criticism is due when it comes to the analysis of more recent developments. Hellspong has a tendency to lean towards nostalgia in his field studies and is obviously critical towards certain aspects of modern arena sports. He makes statements about the role of music at football games (claiming that it is now common to play music through the speaker system and have the public sing along). While this is common as the teams enter the arena (e.g. as Liverpool FC play "You'll Never Walk Alone" at Anfield), it is not frequent during the game. Instead, singing initiated by the fans is common practice.

Given the atmosphere surrounding games in women's league football, it would have been interesting to have a comparison. Is the lack of violence only due to the smaller crowds, or are there other explanations as well?

It would also have been fruitful to see a deeper problematizing of the audience culture, given the multiple examples of sexist, racist and homophobic abuse analysed by Hellspong. Is there a connection between this abusive, hateful behaviour and outright violence? This debate has exploded among football fans and media in the light of the recent tragic events in Helsingborg, where a Djurgården supporter was killed. That is a discussion that Swedish football must take seriously.

That said, Hellspong has made yet another important contribution to the understanding of early Swedish sport culture. The audience and its culture is a vital part of modern sports, and as such it deserves attention from researchers. A historical perspective can nuance the often agitated debate about the moral collapse of modern sport crowds. With this book, Hellspong has highlighted some important perspectives on how a sports audience culture is shaped and changed.

Daniel Svensson, Stockholm/Hällingsjö

The Folklore Researcher Lauri Honko Revisited

Matti Kamppinen & Pekka Hakamies, The Theory of Culture of Folklorist Lauri Honko 1932–2002. The Ecology of Tradition. With a Foreword by Armin W. Geertz. The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter 2013. 115 pp. ISBN 978-0-7734-4543-7.

■ For several decades Lauri Honko (1932–2002) was a leading Nordic scholar of folklore and religion. Two of his pupils and successors in Finland, Matti Kamppinen and Pekka Hakamies, have published this book in English about the theoretical perspectives that Honko applied in his studies of culture. The authors maintain that their study in the history of the discipline focuses on "theory of culture", which means "what culture is and how it can be studied" (p. 2). Honko's main theoretical concepts were the ecology of tradition, functionalism, system thinking, genre analysis, and process theory. In the book reviewed here the concept of the ecology of tradition is ascribed the greatest significance and allowed to serve as the subtitle on the title page. This concept means that the study of folkloristic texts must relate them to the contexts where the texts

functioned and were recorded. Honko himself wrote these characteristic words in the edited volume *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm*, 1981: "To be able to penetrate a particular setting and gain a place there, folklore must adapt to cultural, social, economic, and physical environmental factors. Investigating these adaptation processes is the task of the ecology of tradition" (p. 47). Functionalism, which studies functional roles, is closely allied to the ecology of tradition. System thinking refers to "the search for systems behind the appearance" (p. 4). Genre analysis means "classifications of oral tradition" (p. 8). The genres are ideal types created to serve as the researcher's tools (p. 46). Folklore process involves the study of "the life course of tradition" (p. 5). The researcher's task is to "identify the dynamics of contents as they migrate from one context to another" (p. 75).

Theoretical perspectives were important for Honko, but at the same time he was anxious to stay close to the empirical in the form of recorded texts as well as oral material collected through fieldwork. The theories always have to be tested empirically. In later years Honko did fieldwork in India, performing an in-depth study of a prominent singer, Gopala Naika. He developed perspectives of performance theory to analyse the songs in widely different contexts. They were performed "in healing rituals, in work songs, and in theatrical displays" (p. 80). The singing and the lyrics are adapted to the context and can vary on different occasions. In his later years Honko was also involved in applied research, in that he acted to ensure that oral folklore all over the world would be saved for posterity and not allowed to disappear. As chairman of a UNESCO committee Honko was active in the formulation in 1989 of the UNESCO Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Folklore.

Honko occupied a leading position in the Nordic countries through his writings and the assignments he was given, chiefly in his capacity as director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF) 1972–1990. I got to know him when I was a member of the board of NIF 1981–1989. After his time as director of NIF, Honko started The Folklore Fellows' Summer School in Finland, held annually from 1991. It was "an international training course for folklorists" (p. 91). This demonstrates both Honko's international commitment and his ambition to train new folklorists who could investigate oral folklore all over the world. It was not only to be preserved but also studied by academically qualified researchers.

Honko was frequently engaged as a referee expert in the assessment of doctoral dissertations and academic appointments in the Nordic countries. When I became professor in Uppsala in 1987, Honko was one of the three referees. In *NIF Newsletter* 1988 nos. 1–2 he described my scholarly work as follows: "His conclusions derive more from grass-roots observation and fieldwork than from abstract theorising, but what he has produced by way of generalising on the regression of custom, cultural contact in processual profile, our cultural barriers in situations of adaptation easily attains theoretic importance" (p. 35). It is obvious here that when Honko assessed other scholars' work, the link between empirical and theoretical was central.

This book ends with a presentation of the many folklorists in Finland who gained their doctorate with Honko as supervisor and were thus inspired by his theoretical ideas. The book is dedicated to one of his pupils, Anna-Leena Siikala, to mark her seventieth birthday in 2013. According to the authors of the book, she can "be considered the most influential student of Lauri Honko, together with Juha Pentikäinen" (p. 96). Pentikäinen was Honko's first assistant and the first of his disciples to gain a doctorate in 1968. In 1970 Honko and Pentikäinen together published the first presentation of cultural anthropology in Finnish.

The authors' aim with this book is not just to survey the history of the discipline but also to look at the future. They wish to demonstrate the relevance of Honko's theoretical perspectives for today's and tomorrow's research on folklore and religion. In their opinion, "if we anchor religion to the belief in the supernatural, then the tools of genre analysis and of folklore process become inevitable in religious studies" (p. 78). When the authors outline future societies and research tasks, they are convinced that "the toolbox for religious studies and folkloristics should include the basic assumptions of Honko's theory of culture and tradition ecology: functionalism, systems thinking and the process view of the world, balanced with bold theorizing and pragmatism" (p. 101). This view of Honko's relevance is contested, however, by the Swedish folklorist Inger Lövkrona in a review written in 2013 of the book *Folkloristikens aktuella utmaningar*. She claims that "tradition ecology today is as withered as the histor-

ical-geographical method – described by Honko as 'the evergreen' – and comparativism and genre analysis" (*Rig* 2013, no. 2, p. 124). This outlook is representative of Sweden, but need not apply to every country.

To conclude, I think that the authors of this book have made an important contribution to the history of folklore studies by giving us a living picture of one of the leading Nordic exponents, who was deeply committed to internationalizing research and research contacts. The book takes its place as a major example of a trend in Nordic disciplinary history, in highlighting the significance of now dead ethnologists and folklorists. Publications with this kind of content appeared in Sweden in 2010 and in Norway in 2013. An obvious advantage of the book about Honko's culture theory compared with the Swedish and Norwegian publications is that it is in English so that it can benefit readers all over the world.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Complexities of Bordering

Anders Linde-Laursen, Bordering. Identity Processes between the National and Personal. Ashgate, Farnham, England 2010. 303 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-0-7546-7905-9.

■ There are words and concepts which are so familiar and so ubiquitous that we almost do not see them or take notice of them. One such word is *border* and the verb derived from it, *bordering*. There is a tendency which has been strong for some time in the humanities and in the humanistic and social sciences and that is either the negligence of the concept of border – as in boundlessness, cosmopolitanism, globalism etc. – or the downplaying or often branding of bordering as something quite negative, off-putting, something a society and a person should do their best to try to avoid or get rid of altogether. The borderless, totally connected dream society in the digital world might be a touchstone for such an imagined future for mankind. In political and moral studies the concept of border has been seen as either a wall or a ditch, the latter being the *Annales* historian Lucien Febvre's famous expression, nations digging ever deeper mental ditches between themselves, resulting ultimately in aggression and warfare. Or the question of, as it seems, the increasingly paranoid postmodern empire of the USA, trying to build a non-penetrable border by way of surveillance and strict border control, now even spying on states and persons who we all thought were some of its best friends. A researcher such as the American cultural theorist Wendy Brown, in her books and texts, has done an admirable job of exposing these kinds of often more or less futile attempts at building a safe state, in which attacks such as 9/11 would be made impossible. And then there is the new Europe, the expanding, if at the moment quite crisis-ridden conglomeration of states which is often referred to as Fortress Europe. What does that metaphor do other than to express a very negative view of the whole idea of border and bordering, with the help of which the EU is supposed to be trying to keep unwelcome guests, transit persons, illegal immigrants, and so on outside its borders. It is a strong picture of European and Western narrow-mindedness and lack of compassion, to be sure.

But quite another way of looking at borders is also possible, and to be honest, even necessary, if the whole problem of border/bordering is supposed to get a realistic and truthful treatment in cultural analysis and cultural history. This is the conception of borders being, in contrast to much of today's dominant speech on these matters, important, and even necessary if an idea of a sovereign, democratic, liberal state is to be upheld. Why is that so?

The Austrian philosopher Konrad Paul Liessmann, who has written a whole study praising borders – *Lob der Grenze* (2010) – notes that without borders there would be no community, no *miteinander*. Without difference, no recognition. In order to be human, Liessmann argues, one has to know from whom one differs. Or to follow the legal philosopher Hans Lindahl's thoughts on *nomos*, the classical Greek concept of both community and law, speaking of the historical Rome in its expansive phases, when the concept of Roman law was being applied to new situations. In Lindahl's view the political domain could arise and exist only within the legal. As he states, given the innate boundlessness of action, *nomos* prevents it from evaporating into an unsurveyable, continuously growing system of relations, thereby ensuring that action conserves the durable form that makes of it a deed that can be remembered and preserved in its greatness, as Lindahl, citing Hannah Arendt, notes. So, the paradox relating to the concept of border is that borders and

bordering create bounded spaces, bounded territories, in which lawfulness and freedoms – but also duties – are made possible for those living inside it, the citizens of such spaces. As Lindahl says, the spatial boundedness of political community is a precondition for freedom. And at a deeper level it suggests that a closed space conditions the very possibility of citizenship. Citizenship depends on *nomos*, he emphasizes, because if there can be no citizens without inclusion, likewise there can be no citizens without exclusion. In that respect citizenship is topical; it always relates to a given, bordered and bordering space.

Now, what the Scandinavian (he has lived and worked in both Denmark and Sweden) ethnologist Anders Linde-Laursen is doing in his extremely interesting study *Bordering: Identity Processes between the National and Personal* is quite a stroke of genius. He uses the double concept of border/bordering as an Archimedean fixed point which makes it possible for him to look at questions of national and personal identity, from as it seems quite a new and fresh angle, since he places border, not identity *per se*, or national, personal identity, at the centre of his study. In this way he opens up the whole question of what identity "really is all about", by looking, in quite a postmodern way, as will be proven in the book, at something he lists as mainly three different modes of spaces: space by prescription, space by negotiation and space by neglect. Although this triad is applied to a contemporary ethnographic field in his study it is also valid to the study as a whole. There are always different forces operating on identity, in the modern maze, as he calls it, and the trick is to look at the results of this "power game", to find out which forces in each of the cases are working on that which we call identity, if we follow Liessmann's idea that borders have something to do with what we can comprehend, what we find familiar and understandable.

The border Linde-Laursen is studying is one which today seems very natural and settled, but one which for a long time further back in history was very unsettled or "hot", to use his own terminology, the strait of Öresund (in Swedish) or Øresund (in Danish), separating today's Sweden at its southern borders from today's Denmark at its north-eastern borders.

Linde-Laursen is an ethnographer, not a philosopher or a theorist of geography or jurisdiction, which must be borne in mind. He applies his analytical concept much the same way as an old bluesman uses his musical knowledge, he learns "his tricks" by doing them and by creating his conceptual framework as his study evolves. So, if one expects a thorough discussion of border/bordering philosophy from a political, legal or geographical angle one will be disappointed. I don't think there is any attempt in his book at a definition of what a border is, conceptually speaking. Not to mention Kant's distinction between *Linien* and *Grenzen*, borders which enclose a territory and borders which exclude something. Both the legal and the geographical aspects of borders are largely left unexplored, with an exception in the postscript in which Linde-Laursen describes quite a Kafkaesque personal experience of bordering when he and his American wife had difficulties in settling in today's Denmark, a country which is applying harsh criteria for citizenship. Only via a detour to Sweden could the Linde-Laursen family finally settle in Denmark, as Swedish citizens!

The study is interesting also because of the long historical period it tries to come to grips with by way of the bordering concept. This means in my view that there are pressures on the concept of being anachronistic, or to put it more distinctly: the question arises if the processes which Linde-Laursen is describing in the historical part and in the contemporary part of his study really all are about bordering, or if the concept he is using conceals a more subtle rift in what is going on in these processes.

When in the first two chapters of the book he is dealing with both Denmark and Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he focuses on almost constant warfare, with a critical point arrived at with Swedish King Carl XI's victory over Denmark in 1657–58 and the resulting peace in Roskilde in 1658 in which Denmark ceded Scania, Halland, Blekinge to Sweden. At a deeper level the question he is investigating is one concerning what he calls a historical window of opportunity, in which the older one-state idea with a power system of a hereditary monarch and a conflation of political, juridical and religious power at the highest level in society is transformed into a cultural community (the more modern variant of a state), seen as an imagined community along the lines of Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of modern states and nations. This

historical shift which he calls a singularity, with the natural border of Øresund as its ideal expression, occurred when borders could be shifted without creating later disagreements between political and cultural conceptions of the nations. If, as he sees it, the question of the shifting borders between Denmark and Sweden were a consequence of two historically formed pools of power, one Swedish around Lake Mälaren (Stockholm), and one Danish at Øresund (Copenhagen), the shift occurred after both these Lutheran centres of power had commenced their transformation towards the European central state. The new type of state presupposed a certain uniformity, an imagined community sharing certain values and often also the language which the people spoke. On questions of language differences, including different writing systems between Danish and Swedish – and maybe especially the regional variant Skånska, what later became understood as the Danish-influenced form of Swedish spoken in the Scania border region – Linde-Laursen does not have much to say. Neither does he explain why he uses the Danish spelling of the name, Øresund, not the Swedish Öresund. Might that be because the earliest known written proof of the name is on a Danish runestone, or maybe because the writer's mother tongue is Danish? An explanation of the etymology of the prefix Øre/Öre in the word Øresund/Öresund would have been helpful. I have to consult a Swedish etymological dictionary in order to understand that the word *ør*/*ör* in the name means a beach of sand or gravel, a sandbank or a small stony island.

The chapter on the Danish-Swedish wars and not least the warfare in the surrendered Scania deals above all with a category of people called the Snapcocks (in Swedish *snapphanarna*), a loose bunch of people variously categorized as social bandits, irregular Danish resistance fighters or common villains. Linde-Laursen notes that although much has been written about the Snapcocks the focus has mainly been on a single person or an event, not on general surveys or systematic investigations of these people and processes. Thinking that Linde-Laursen might be able to offer such a systematic investigation in less than 50 pages is perhaps wishing for too much, but what he gives is a good overview of how the concept of border in these times was manipulated to fit the needs of the persons and groups in question. A focus on border transgressions is almost inevitable, since the border at this time was extremely "hot", Scania and Halland now being, as it was seen by the Danish, on the wrong side of the border, while from the Swedish point of view the Danish efforts to keep the border "hot" were correspondingly looked upon as an act of violation of the country's newly established borders. By shifting focus from the border to the centres of power and to those associated with the centre – such as the nobility – Linde-Laursen is able draw a picture which is of the utmost interest in the book throughout, a problematization of the concepts of nationalism, patriotism and power used to strengthen the state, the centre, seen almost as the forces of history.

After his investigation into this bordering history, with its acute crisis in the seventeenth century, there follows a sort of narrative return or remake of the (hi)story telling by way of a very illuminating discussion of how fiction – both novels and drama – depicts persons and events in those years, Danish and Swedish alike . Since the loser in a war often is the one with a stronger emotional attachment to the events that took place it is perhaps not surprising that the strongest and politically most effective storytelling occurred on the Danish side. For Linde-Laursen especially the Danish author Caris Etlar's novel *Gjøngehøvdingen* (1853) is of paramount interest here. He identifies three themes which are interwoven in Etlar's story, themes also represented in other writings by this author. It should be remembered that Etlar (real name Carl Brosbøll) in the nineteenth century was the Danish author who had the most titles in print, nearly twice the amount of the internationally much better known Hans Christian Andersen. The three themes in Etlar's novel are, according to Linde-Laursen: (1) the transformation of a military defeat into a moral victory; (2) a political unification of the people and the king against the nobility, who fail at the moment of defeat and think only of salvaging themselves and their own wealth; and (3) situating Denmark between Sweden and Germany (the Germans being, in a story written after the Three Years War 1848–1850, that time's enemies of the Danish). So, what Linde-Laursen is able to show in quite a convincing way is that Etlar's novel serves as a model and energy source of Danish patriotism and nationalism through the ages, up to the contemporary stage, including a television series. The fact that this transportation of ideas and personages

from history also risks becoming anachronistic is well understood by Linde-Laursen.

After this historical part of the book the researcher moves towards and into modernity. This he does by introducing one of the most distinctive theoretical moves in the book, the notion of the modern maze, as he calls it, and, from the end of the eighteenth century onward an idea established within people's ways of thinking and practising the nation, as an idea of spatiality. This idea of spatiality, if we follow Linde-Laursen, can both explain and legitimize practices while at the same time it can also generate practices. The imagined community constitutes, he says, a self-referential system of bordering practices and ideas: practices and ideas that presuppose each other and possibly are changed together simultaneously. The conclusion is then that the reciprocity between explaining and generating is associated with a material, geographical demarcation on the map and on the ground, i.e. the country where the people who constitute the nation live.

This is all very well, I think, but a question which keeps popping up in my mind when reading the book is still the one about the centrality of the whole concept as a viable explanation for the processes he describes. The prime example of a division in the way the two nations, in later years, in modernity, have viewed themselves and each other, is for Linde-Laursen the modern breakthrough in architecture, design and city planning. It goes to show that Denmark as a Nordic country has long been the frontrunner of urbanity and of wealth, generally speaking, but also one with a more backward-looking, a more individualistic and paradoxically a more rural conception of itself. Denmark is also in this context a nation in which the state is more powerless than what would become the established fact of Swedish modernity, in the Social Democratic utopia of the People's Home, which actually is a fusion of ideas from modernist intellectuals, not least architects, and the Social Democratic party. At the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 and in the pamphlet *acceptera* (accept) the following year, an example of functionalism and a clean break with history was articulated. But as Linde-Laursen also notes, although the exhibition was a great popular success, visited by 4.1 million people, only 63,882 guides and a humble 5,767 catalogues were sold. So, the popularity of the event was not matched at that time by a popular embrace of the ideology of the whole enterprise.

In Denmark another "test case" concerning the modernity of the nation was a modernistic film documentary by the renowned Danish intellectual and designer Poul Henningsen, the film simply called *Danmarksfilmen* (The Film of Denmark). The film premiered in 1935, presenting the Danes with a self-image which did not fare well with the public. One viewer summarized the reception with the statement that "the design of the picture is a little too modern for my brain". Especially the way the movie showed modern Danish women in places of work outside the home, cycling and moving around, was felt to be problematic. But when a couple of decades had passed, in the sixties, the film was hailed by the public as a masterpiece of Danish film making.

Reading this extremely interesting and quite entertaining book, the question which still bothers this reviewer is the one about how much bordering one will be able to track in these events described so vividly in the book. When Linde-Laursen brings in the concept of the modern maze and connects it to a mythological structure – Goethe's Faustian tale – then the story is further complicated. We learn that the advancement of modernity in a state such as the People's Home of Sweden is one with strong Faustian tendencies. There are in the myth at least three phases which Linde-Laursen, following the modernist historian Marshall Berman, is anxious to bring on board, involving modernity's expansion as a series of transformations on the national level: (1) the dreamer, (2) the lover, (3) the developer/destroyer. In these metamorphoses the twin forces of modernity emerging are the need for development and the execution of power. The dreamer ends up as a destroyer and the utopia of modernity becomes a dystopia along the lines of the lament of the song *Lyckliga Gatan* (Happy Street), chosen as the most popular of all hit songs sung in Swedish, in a television show in autumn 2013. The refrain of the song could be read as an antithesis to the programme of the Stockholm Exhibition and the pamphlet *acceptera*: "The happy street is no more / you have disappeared along with whole blocks. The playground is quiet, as is the song, high above ground the concrete is floating. When I came back everything was changed, trampled down and ruined, destroyed and defiled."

In the penultimate section of the book, on person-

al bordering, there is an elegant dissection of cultural and practical differences between what is conceived as a Swedish and a Danish way of washing one's dishes. The short essay is quite baffling in its depiction of strange intersections between nationality, cleanliness and order, in the kitchen sink. Wonderful stuff!
Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Faces of Death

Bo Lönnqvist, Dödens ansikte. Tro och sed bland herre och folk. Scriptum, Vasa 2013. 216 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-952-5496-99-4.

■ *Dödens ansikte* ("Face of Death") is a thoughtful book, as is right and proper given the topic. It is also almost melancholic in tone, which is not a necessary consequence of the topic. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that the book is dedicated to Christoffer Grönholm, a close friend of the author who died in 2011, or perhaps the reason is that it is at once a book that was completed fairly recently and one that has been in progress throughout a long professional life. Whichever is the reason, the book is well written, fascinating, and almost electrifying in its presentation of a classical ethnological topic like *death*.

Death cannot, as the author states at the beginning, be fully perceived through *die reine Vernunft*. It also resists the purely scholarly, empirical, and analytical paradigms with which most topics in ethnology are tackled. Indeed, death even evades a purely interpretative paradigm, the author claims, although this does not appear to be a problem to him in the book, which, for this reader, is above all else an interpretation of material of the most varied kinds. Yet Lönnqvist is perhaps right, in that – even with such a broad (and interpretive!) approach as the one he applies – there is something about death that evades us and will always evade us. There may, however, be access to different ways in which other people have understood, staged, interpreted, and experienced the death that is the only certain thing for every person. What they have actually felt at that moment, on the other hand, is something only God knows.

So this is what the book is about: different ways of understanding, interpreting, staging, and experiencing death, mainly among the elite and the peasantry in the Swedish-speaking coastal districts of Finland in the time of change from a pre-industrial to an industrialized society, that is, around 1900, with a few decades on either side. Topics include funerals, artefacts, burial customs, feasts, souvenirs, the existence of the dead in the world of the living, and ritualized death, and with a contrastive form of writing and presentation of material we are guided calmly and gently through the topics, with a fine sense of composition and stringency. This mode of writing reminds me of a Danish counterpart in Birgitte Kragh's posthumously published large book about death and the customs associated with it, *Til jord skal du blive… Dødens og begravelsens kulturhistorie i Danmark 1790–1990* (Aabenraa, 2004), which brings together Danish studies on this classical ethnological topic. But whereas Birgitte Kragh views death and its customs through the lens of a rite of passage, Lönnqvist, as I have hinted, has a more polyvalent perspective, which is salutary.

The source material itself is worth the trip. The bulk of the material was accumulated by Lönnqvist in the 1960s through questionnaire surveys compiled for the Archive of Folk Culture, and this approach, well known in ethnology, gives rise to a rather personal postscript, concerning questions about sources and, perhaps most of all, reflections on the feelings aroused in the author by seeing the material again, and the people in it. The chapter could very well be used in teaching about researcher-created sources, questionnaires, and interviews.

The pictorial material, on the other hand, seems to have been assembled solely for this book. It is broad, varied, and occasionally quirky, as when the butterfly *Nymphalisantiopa* appears (p. 8) or a pirate flag from the collections of Åland Maritime Museum fills page 186, creating a delicate sense of reflection and balance in relation to the vast majority of the illustrations, which follow the topics of the chapters in a more traditional fashion, and thus in the true sense of the word *illustrate* them. We are there with the hearse and the coffin, by the graveside and in the church, in the home and at the hotel, with ghosts and with people who found peace in their graves, and the relatively late period covered by the book means that the author can select from a huge range of photographs from the coastal towns, which on their own make the book worth having.
Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

The Life Histories We Are Given

Susanne Nylund Skog, Livets vägar. Svenska judinnors berättelser om förskingring, förintelse, förtryck och frihet. Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Uppsala 2012. 213 pp. ISBN 978-91-86959-04-3.

■ To get to be a part of people's lives through their narratives is something I have always enjoyed in being an ethnologist. It is always unpredictable what kinds of stories you are going to hear in an interview or read from a questionnaire response, regardless of the theme you are working with. Through this close sharing, unforeseen relationships are formed between the researcher and those being researched. These relationships between the researcher, the stories she works with and the people she listens to aroused a multitude of emotions in me when reading Susanne Nylund Skog's research on Jewish women in Sweden and their life histories about dispersion, annihilation, oppression and freedom.

The researcher concentrates on three Jewish women and their stories, and especially in the life history of one of them, that of Rakel, whose story can be followed throughout the research. The two other women, Miriam and Nadia, are only present in some parts of the research. Because of this, all the women take on somewhat different roles in the totality. Rakel's and Miriam's stories correspond more than adequately to the title of the research. Life really has given them very special ways to follow. Nadia's story, her being the youngest of the three and representing different generation, is focused more on the contemporary situation, which does not make it any less important or interesting. I would have liked to hear more about Nadia's life history as well.

Nylund Skog's aim for her research is to analyse what it is like to live in a situation where the women in question continuously have to take in consideration the way they see themselves and how they are seen by others. She seeks to look at the ways their life histories are created in accordance with a possible normative script, and at the premises and restraints in this formation. Operating with the help of Judith Halberstam's concept "life schedule", she wants to see how the stories are guided by temporal and cultural manuals guiding us towards the "right" kind of life.

All this is done in a very professional manner: after introducing the reader to the basics of Jewish culture and history the researcher proceeds to analyse the different parts of the women's stories from various viewpoints. She juxtaposes the life histories with the ways in which personal memories are connected with the collective histories, the ways in which personal experiences have affected how Jewish or Swedish identities are formed, the ways gender is visible in the formulating of the life histories, and how emotions are connected with the sharing of one's life history, among other viewpoints. Even with their very personal features, the stories can be analysed as intertextual products representing different kinds of genres.

In the end it is the actual life histories of the women that catch the reader's attention, however. This is not an evaluative note, but a remark about the fact that sometimes an individual life story can be so forceful that the analytical reader must stand aside.

Actually, what I was wondering while reading especially Miriam's story was the way Susanne Nylund Skog has been able to distance herself from some of the emotionally hard life histories. What to me first appeared as too neutral or non-empathetic an approach is perhaps, in the end, the only possible way to deal with these kinds of stories. The researcher's self-reflection at the end of the chapter, however, shows that the process of analysing this specific life history was not easy.

The theme of this research understandably highlights experiences that are especially moving. It made me think, once again, how important it is, also at a more general level, to be conscious of the strategic choices we make when we decide how to represent the people in our research. What I mean is how close to the reader we want to bring them: if we want to dissipate their experiences in a multitude of examples (which I myself have done with some regrets) or raise some individual stories to represent something more general (which may lead to the story itself being more powerful than the analyses). I understand the choice Susanne Nylund Skog has made with Rakel and Miriam: it is important that their stories are read with as little fragmentation as possible.

Working with questionnaire material, I have until now thought that those responding to the questionnaires are those who have survived the sometimes difficult experiences pictured in the responses. They are just those strong enough to share them with others and to go on with their lives. Reading Nylund

Skog's research, I realized that this is not always the case. What puzzles me is the fact that I needed to hear Miriam's story to understand this.
Pia Olsson, Helsinki

Reusing Textiles

Anneli Palmsköld, Textilt återbruk. Om materialitet och kulturellt slitage. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2013. 126 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7844-873-9.

■ The subject of this little book is highly topical. It is relevant today to ask questions about Western consumer culture, about the interest in recycling, and about how environmental impact and climate change can be reduced – not least of all when it comes to the reuse of textiles: clothes, home textiles, and the like. The textile and garment industry has a range that is wider than the demand, and a production process that causes pollution and is ethically questionable, and mostly located in countries with little regulation of the labour market.

For the same reason, there has been some research and writing on the subject in recent years. This has often been done from an outright political angle, with concrete recommendations to the reader as to how to help assure a better future with solutions for sustainable fashion production, up-cycling of textile fibres and the like. But Anneli Palmsköld's book differs from this predominant kind of literature. The focus is on the reuse of textiles as a cultural phenomenon. Palmsköld is concerned with the meaning textiles have for people today, why it is that many people find it difficult to throw textiles in the bin and what people do instead with these unwanted things. The crucial point is the cultural wear and tear of textiles and the practices and meanings associated with them. The author reveals much less interest in any political agenda than in her own passion for textiles as forms of cultural expression and material objects representing craft traditions.

Palmsköld gets profoundly involved in the reuse of textiles – both as a private person and as a scholar, an ethnologist on fieldwork. It was in the role of volunteer at a flea market in a medium-sized Swedish municipality that Palmsköld did her fieldwork. She was soon put in charge of the sorting undergone by textiles when they are donated to a flea market. It is in the selection processes that cultural meanings are enacted. What is dirty is thrown away; things that can be used for other purposes, for example, net curtains that can be turned into mosquito nets, are passed on to a church organization that sends them to Africa. Sheets and towels are picked out to be given to the homeless, large pieces of unused cloth are donated to a local workshop where unemployed women make children's clothes for the Swedish Red Cross's disaster camps, and then the remaining textiles are sorted by type, by craft quality, and by selling price. It turns out that textiles displaying good craft skills are difficult to handle at the flea market because they are valued highly for their craft qualities but their potential selling price is low. At the moment the demand for that type of thing is small.

But Palmsköld is also interested in understanding the sorting logic that takes place in the home before the things are delivered to the flea market, given away, or simply dumped. In collaboration with the Nordiska Museet she therefore arranged for a questionnaire about the reuse of textiles to be distributed to 94 informants, with an age range from their thirties to their nineties. With the respondents' answers it is clear that, when it comes to sorting things made of textiles there is what Palmsköld calls a predominant philanthropic desire to ensure that the things can be reused in new contexts. And what is not sorted out but kept is the items of high symbolic value for the individual, for example, the children's first clothes, gala clothes, home-made textiles, and textiles that can be used in other contexts – altered or reused to make something new.

The age span of the respondents also gives an opportunity to gain insight into how the reuse of textiles has changed as regards meaning and practice. This confirms what many people know, that up to the 1950s or 1960s, clothes and textiles were reused on the basis of an economic rationale. Textiles were worth a lot of money, although this would be reduced with the increased industrial production of clothes and textiles, which makes this cheap material today, with the result that clothes and textiles are objects that undergo quick cultural wear and tear, unless they are discovered by people, as at flea markets, and thereby take on a new life. With the illustrations in the book, a whole section of which consist of pictures of items of clothing from museums of cultural history, Palmsköld also shows how it used to be a virtue to mend clothes so that they could be used again. It is obvious that a garment belonging to a time long before punk

entered the fashion scene, glorifying holes, stains, and other forms of wear as part of an accepted fashion aesthetic. Before punk, clothes preferably had to be clean and intact if they were to be considered neat and dignified.

In the last chapter of the book, Palmsköld turns to the creative stimulation that people derive from the reuse of textiles. This is confirmed in the questionnaire survey, and also in Palmsköld's fieldwork in connection with state-supported workshops where the reuse of textiles is a way to teach craft teachers and textile designers how to work with reuse. This is the first time the political agenda in this field is glimpsed in the book. We see how reuse, besides being a creative practice, is a political project which is indirectly critical of consumer culture, the explosive industrialization in developing countries, and the debate on environment and climate. Palmsköld holds up the work of the design researcher Otto van Busch and the critical potential that he considers creativity to have, and it seems to be Palmsköld's attitude that it is precisely in that context that the passion for reusing textiles arises.

The book is rather brief. It would be interesting to read and learn more about the reuse of textiles. The research project underlying the book began four years go, but changing work situations have restricted the time available to Palmsköld to finish the project in book form. One can suspect that other points could be derived from the material. One can only hope that Palmsköld will have a chance to do more with this, and in that context it would be good if she could be bold enough to do more critical cultural analysis, as her cultural insight into the reuse of textiles in everyday life can challenge and ask critical questions about the existing political agendas which do not seem to agree on which path we should choose to encourage reuse as a strategy so that in the future we place less of a burden on the climate through our use of clothes and textiles.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Norwegian Ethnologists and Folklorists

Etnologi og folkloristikk. En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie. Bjarne Rogan & Anne Eriksen (eds.). Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 697 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-723-7.

■ The undertaking of writing a disciplinary history of Norwegian ethnology and folkloristics was inspired by the recently published collection of biographies of Swedish ethnologists and folklorists – the comprehensive *Svenska etnologer och folklorister* (2010) edited by Mats Hellspong and Fredrik Skott. However, as pointed out in the foreword to *Etnologi og folkloristikk: En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie*, the end result is nevertheless different in structure and style from the example set by the Swedish colleagues. The Norwegian collection does not only include biographies of individual key figures but also covers important disciplinary themes and presentations of central institutions. The main focus lies on the twentieth century although both earlier research and later developments are covered to some extent. Bjarne Rogan and Anne Eriksen are the editors of this ambitious volume, but a great number of people have been involved in its realization – as authors, advisors or in other capacities. The volume is divided into four main parts, whereof parts one and two consist of portraits of researchers, part three deals with central themes and part four discusses the most important ethnological and folkloristic institutions in Norway.

Disciplinary history can be written in many different ways. As indicated in the title, this is a disciplinary *critical* biography of Norwegian cultural history. In their introductory chapter the editors state that they have set out to explore both the "inner" and the "outer" history of the field of research. Consequently, the aim is not only to follow the developments within the disciplines but also to place them in their larger cultural, social and political contexts. Although this ambition is more apparent in some contributions than others, the chosen approach is one of the reasons why this text of almost 700 pages makes such a rewarding read. *Etnologi og folkloristikk* is far from a mere retelling of anecdotes and listing of names and dates. No living researchers have been given their own biographical portraits. However, as is the case with the Swedish volume edited by Hellspong & Skott, many distinguished scholars have been engaged as authors. A total of twenty-four text contributors are involved, something which has undoubtedly put a great deal of pressure on the editors but ultimately contributed to the scope and interest of the volume.

The first section of the book deals with the nineteenth century build-up to the establishment of eth-

nology and folkloristics as academic disciplines. Arne Bugge Amundsen's concise overview demonstrates how complex, intertwined and, at times, random the disciplinary roots in fact are. Personal conflicts and social contacts often had a profound effect on the development of the field. Amundsen also underlines the importance of networks and external influences for the researchers who laid the foundations of the disciplines.

The following section includes sixteen researcher presentations by various authors. As one could expect, the portraits are somewhat different in length, approach and style. What is surprising, rather, is the coherent impression they still give as a whole, which seems to indicate a clear vision of the project and thorough editorship. It would be difficult to single out any particular author or portrait. Some articles take a more analytical approach, such as Audun Kjus's portrait of Nils Lid, several have an additional personal dimension, such as Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred's article on Svale Solheim, Bjarne Rogan's article on Knut Kolsrud and Anne Moestue's contribution on Andreas Ropeid. The intent to write both the "inner" and "outer" research history is reflected in the portraits, as for example in Knut Aukrust's contribution on Olav Bø and Gry Heggli's contribution on Brynulf Alver.

The section on thematic fields comprises eight compact but informative chapters written by experts in their respective fields. As comes out clearly not least in Torunn Selberg's chapter on folk narrative and Bente Gullveig Alver's chapter on folk medicine, although this is a study of Norwegian scholarship it simultaneously constitutes a guide to Nordic research history in general. Despite the fact that Folkloristics and Ethnology have to a great extent been disciplines concerned with a national dimension, the cross-border contacts within the Nordic countries have been both lively and decisive. However, as pointed out by Selberg, there are certainly also issues and debates that have been singled out as specifically Norwegian (such as the study of historical legends). In his chapter on belief and custom, Ole Marius Hylland considers the challenges of writing a critical disciplinary history and concludes that an analytical approach in fact requires a combination of a diachronic and an anachronic perspective. Hylland's chapter represents a good example of how the research portraits from the previous section are expanded in the thematic studies section. In some cases, the importance of researchers who have not been given their individual portraits is presented in the thematic articles, such as the work of Lily Weiser-Aall in Alver's chapter on folk medicine.

Bjarne Rogan's article on materiality deals with a highly significant and extensive field within cultural historical research. Rogan follows the development from the study of objects to the present perspective of seeing the material and immaterial as two sides of the same coin. By looking, for instance, at topics for doctoral dissertations he unfolds the changes in focus, approach and methodology that have taken place during a period of forty years. Rogan concludes that, unlike in many other countries, most notably Sweden, the interest in the material dimension has been constant in Norway. Perhaps somewhat indicative of this scholarly interest, the theme of costume and textile has been given its own chapter, knowledgeably written by Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen. Hol Haugen outlines the history of costume and textile research as a simultaneously central and marginal field within Norwegian cultural history. He also explicates the multidisciplinary character of this field of research. Another area of study with a strong connection to material culture is vernacular architecture, research on which has an impressive history in Norway. As the author of this subchapter, Lars Roede, points out, the field of study was introduced in the 1860s by Eilert Sundt, who also coined the concept of *byggeskikk* – employed continuously in Scandinavia. A further two informed chapters make up the section on thematic fields, namely Velle Espeland's study of folk-song research and Ragnar Pedersen's outline of research in agrarian history.

The final section with presentations and critical reflection of relevant institutions is a felicitous inclusion. The subchapters are insightfully written and manage to economically shed light on the research institutions as arenas for conflicts, contentions and changes as well as ideals, developments and ambitions (and at times failed ambitions). The section also covers important research and contemporary researchers that have not been introduced elsewhere in the volume. The subchapters deal, respectively, with Norsk Folkeminnesamling (Kyrre Kverndokk), Institutt for folkelivsgransking (Bjarne Rogan), Institutt for folkeminnevitenskap (Arne Bugge Amundsen), Etno-folkloristisk institutt (Hans-Jakob Ågotnes), Instituttet for sammenlignende kul-

turforskning (Bjarne Rogan), and Norsk Etnologisk Gransking (Line Grønstad).

The editors have done a thorough job and achieved a balance between coherence and individual voices in the contributions. The structure and chapter division work well and the extended reference lists at the end of each subchapter are useful. Also helpful is the internal cross-referencing, which could possibly have been introduced more consistently throughout the volume. A rather tedious but seemingly compulsory element in (peer) reviews is the pointing out of what *also* could have been included – and certainly the present research history *could* have included a few additional paragraphs on e.g. the study of Sami culture and central ethnological/folkloristic journals. Still, my overall impression is that *Etnologi og folkloristikk: En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie* is a must-have for any institution with the remotest interest in Nordic cultural history. And, because of its range and readability, the volume makes a useful investment for the private bookshelf as well.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Helsinki

Easter Witches in Sweden

Fredrik Skott, Påskkäringar. Från trolldomstro till barnupptåg. Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Göteborg 2013. 182 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-86959-08-1.

■ Fredrik Skott has written a book about the custom of dressing up as an Easter witch (Swedish *påskkäring*). He follows the conventional approach among scholars of tradition, searching for the historical originals and giving an account of changes and lines of development. The book is not strictly chronological, however, but more interested in displaying the diversity and the similarities and differences in different periods.

Fredrik Skott dismisses Albert Eskeröd's theory that the tradition of Easter witches is a relatively recent custom that at first was only practised in the towns. Albert Eskeröd was critical of the older evolutionists, who viewed all folk traditions as ancient, and therefore tended to interpret many contemporary customs as modern innovations and practices of the urban bourgeoisie. In much the same way, Carl von Sydow explained that the roots of the Swedish Lucia tradition could be found in the German customs of dressing up as Christkind, and that it came to Sweden via the bourgeoisie. Nils-Arvid Bringéus has shown that von Sydow's interpretation cannot be correct. On the contrary, the early Lucia could be burlesque and rustic, and this was just one of many prank disguises. Now Skott has also shown that Albert Eskeröd's theory – that Easter disguises could not arise before the belief in witches had vanished – is wrong. Skott believes that the fear of and belief in witches and other evil beings was in fact essential for the Easter disguises to arise.

In Skott's reasoning the term *ostensive action* is crucial, borrowed from Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi. Ostensive action means that legends, stories, and beliefs can stand as a model for actions. Skott thus thinks that it was the legends of witches that inspired young people to dress up as witches. The people disguised as witches therefore acted like evil beings in order to frighten others. If this is to work in a society, there has to be a belief, at least among part of the population, that "real" witches exist. Alongside this, the other great source of inspiration for the witch disguises at Easter was, of course, the existence of all the other disguise customs that existed simultaneously.

Fredrik Skott demonstrates the great variation of the Easter disguises. The customs involved play, power, entertainment, and putting fear in people; it was a game played between the sexes or linked to beliefs, it was masquerade or organized activity. The custom was thus multifaceted right from the beginning. He also draws attention to all the things we will never know: what the people in disguise and those they visited really thought, what they planned and how they perceived the situation. We can only try to interpret and try to understand. In some places Skott's discussion is packed with details, and there are many repetitions. But the strength of the book is the wealth of diversity. Nothing has been simplified or analysed down to just one "typical" case.

In the introduction Skott poses the question: Do the malicious masked troublemakers of the nineteenth century represent the same custom as today's Easter witches? Skott only provides an indirect answer to the question. I would answer: No, they do not. They have nothing more than the name in common.

Yet it is possible to follow a line of development in the tradition that has been called Easter witches.

But the line could also take a different course, if a researcher ignores the name and instead considers other criteria. For example, dressing up at Christmas and different kinds of name-day traditions in the nineteenth century had the same tradition content-wise as the Easter disguise. Today's Easter witches have points of contact and shared lines of development with many other activities for children as organized by adults.

Fredrik Skott's book thus raises questions about continuity and development. What societal changes and similar surrounding traditions should one take into consideration when setting out to explain a custom in historical perspective? In this respect the book will appeal to many more than just those who are interested in the custom of dressing up as Easter witches.

Anne Bergman, Helsingfors

Making Cultural Monuments

Å lage kulturminner – hvordan kulturarv forstås, formes og forvaltes. Grete Swensen (ed.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 365 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-733-6.

■ In recent decades, questions of cultural heritage have acquired a more prominent role in the public debate. There is a growing interest in bringing history to life outside the specialist field of cultural heritage management. In the wings there is constant reinterpretation and argumentation, differences of opinion and conflicts of interest. Cultural heritage provokes debate.

In this book on "Making Cultural Monuments", fifteen researchers present their ideas about cultural heritage. These are constructive and critical reflections about cultural-historical values. The authors deal with these issues in their day-to-day work, the majority of them in Norway, but the discussion has an international foundation. Some of the authors have done scholarly work in Denmark, Sweden, and England. Together they represent a broad spectrum of research in the humanities and social sciences. The topics covered in the book include archaeology, architecture, ethnology, folkloristics, conservation, and cultural history.

The discussions are about cultural values. The recurrent question in cultural heritage management concerns the principles for selection and preservation. The cultural-historical values are difficult to label as a distinct category alongside the social, cultural, and educational values. This leads to negotiations, cultural heritage is created and recreated, defined and redefined, in a constant flow of arguments. The ambition of the book, as stated in the introduction, is to engage in dialogue about the dynamic cultural heritage, which is governed by ideas prevailing today. The book analyses "cultural monuments" as values that arise at the intersection between politics, practice, and negotiations.

The articles in the book consolidate the picture of cultural heritage management as a living activity, but behind the traditional selection criteria the ideas are changeable. The book does not provide a proper explanation of what civil society and non-profit forces mean for the conservation of the cultural heritage, for example, people who are deeply involved in work with railway history and veteran cars. In this book it is the experts who talk.

A recurrent theme in the book is the difference between the conservation of the cultural heritage in the institutionalized cultural heritage management, which is controlled by political regulations and statutes, and the dynamic cultural heritage which is dominated by contemporary social and political interests. A question that arises in many of the articles concerns the significance of the cultural heritage. Traditionally it has been regarded as a non-renewable resource, according to the editors of the book, Grete Swensen and Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen.

Since the 1970s, cultural heritage issues have provoked debate. The first phase was imbued with a pioneering enthusiasm. The break with traditional cultural policy, the management of the fine arts, and the introduction of the extended concept of culture which shed new light on mankind and everyday culture, was a radical change. It laid the foundation for a social movement in the 1970s, proceeding from the idea of rights, that people are entitled to their own history. Cultural heritage was a democratic movement which had its roots in the events of 1968 and developed into a vital branch of the critical social studies of the 1970s.

The seeds of the museological and culture-conserving tradition were planted in this soil. Cultural heritage was above all a democratic project – the heritage referred to artefacts and ideas that were passed on from generation to generation, whether

they were shipbuilders, small farmers, or cultural minorities on the periphery of society. In this book the editors write about cultural heritage as a movement that proceeded from administrative needs (p. 12) and that "the voices of the others" began to be heard at a later stage, in the 1980s and 1990s. The editors' view is a complete misinterpretation of the democratic essence. It was precisely "the voices of the others" that were the incentive for the interest in cultural heritage in the Nordic countries in the 1970s.

In research on the cultural heritage there are several prominent voices. One can see how the field has come to serve as a meeting place for researchers and practitioners. The discussion of the theoretical and methodological perspectives provides the foundation for lively debates about the presence of the cultural heritage in society. The production of memory is a reminder of the social conflicts taking place in our times. Society's memories are defined in the present. That conclusion is self-evident, and it is difficult to imagine anything else. The cultural heritage is "present-centred" in all respects, as regards both the notion of what it represents and the revisions and reinterpretations it undergoes.

Cultural heritage is a living and changing set of ideas. The articles in this book show how the use of history and the memory context have become increasingly important. Political stances are present, and the book gives the reader a good picture of the historical rhetoric and ideas about the significance of the cultural heritage in our own times. What emerges is a multifaceted picture which also takes in the changing global community. In our days, the experts meet a population with its own knowledge of history. This means that the antiquarian gaze has a greater spread in society, which favours the debate on cultural policy. In line with a good idea put forward in this book, experts and researchers who work professionally with issues of cultural heritage must become aware of their own role as "suppliers" and interpreters of the past.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

The Swedish Province Beyond the Sea

Kari & Ülle Tarkiainen, Provinsen bortom havet. Estlands svenska historia 1561–1710. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Bokförlaget Atlantis, Helsingfors & Stockholm 2013. 379 pp. Ill. ISBN (in Sweden) 978-91-7353-652-3.

■ Sweden, in the days when it was a great power, had several provinces on the other side of the Baltic Sea, on the north coast of Germany, along the Baltic coast, and in the Gulf of Finland. This book – despite the singular form in the title "The Province Beyond the Sea" – deals with three of these provinces, namely Estonia, Livonia, and Saaremaa (known as Ösel in Swedish). "Estonia's Swedish history" here thus includes that of Livonia, or what is now northern Latvia. In 1561 Swedish troops occupied the north coast of Estonia with the city of Reval (now Tallinn), and later in the seventeenth century they extended their rule over Estonia to include Livonia and the big city of Riga. Sweden held these provinces for almost 150 years, but with the Great Nordic War at the start of the eighteenth century these areas came under intensive Russian attack, and after the defeat of Karl XII at Poltava this led to the definitive loss of the entire Baltic region.

The Swedish period in the history of Estonia-Livonia is the subject of this very thorough and interesting survey by the historians Kari and Ülle Tarkiainen. Kari is Finnish (but has also worked for many years at the Swedish National Archives) and Ülle is Estonian, which together gives them a splendid linguistic foundation to stand on. The authors have full command of the Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish literature on the topic. Not least important is their insight into historical research in Estonia, which has become more independent since the liberation of the country from the Soviet Union at the start of the 1990s.

One question that is posed is whether the Swedish period really deserves the strikingly good reputation it has had during recent centuries in Estonia. Another question is whether the Baltic provinces were "profitable" or not. When they were conquered in the days of the sons of Gustav Vasa, it was the customs revenue from the trade with Russia that attracted the kings. They wanted to lay their hands on the Estonian transit towns of Reval, Dorpat (now Tartu), and Narva in order to profit from the trade routes to and from Russia that passed through these towns. A third question running through the book concerns the distinctive position of the Baltic provinces in the Swedish dominion. How did conditions here differ from the rest of Sweden-Finland?

In a way, the first and third questions belong together. The greatest difference between Estonia-Livonia and the other parts of the Swedish kingdom was the more vulnerable status of the peasants in the Baltic provinces. A kind of serfdom prevailed here until the nineteenth century, with the peasants working for a landowner and not being allowed to leave the farm. The manor owners were a Baltic-German upper class, descendants of the Germans who had occupied the country in the Middle Ages, founding the once-powerful state of the Teutonic Knights. Throughout the Swedish period there was a protracted power struggle between these Baltic Germans and the Swedish crown, or in practice the Swedish king. The Baltic Germans had accepted the Swedish conquest in the sixteenth century, provided their own local power was not affected. One expression of this power was their right to have their own manorial courts and the right to impose very harsh physical punishments on their Estonian subjects if they were disobedient. The Germans, significantly, called the rural Estonian population "die Undeutschen", that is those who were not Germans. It was specifically the physical abuse, such as the punishment by whipping, that was sharply criticized by the Swedish kings, chiefly Karl XI. The reputation of the Swedish period as being good for the rural Estonian population may have been due to their perception that the Swedish crown tried to restrain the often hated German landowners and make the serfdom less burdensome. Then, when Karl XI reappropriated parts of the lands of the nobility in Estonia-Livonia after having done so in Sweden, the Baltic Germans were weakened even more. The confiscation created a hatred of Swedish rule in the Baltic German class, whose leading figure, the rebel Johann Reinhold von Patkul, was executed by Karl XII in 1707.

Like all conquering powers, Sweden gradually tried to implant the victor's rules and outlooks in Estonia-Livonia. Swedish courts were established, the organization of the church was reformed, and a new university was founded. The account of the history of the university is exciting to follow. The University of Dorpat was opened in October 1632, just before the Battle of Lützen. But the seventeenth century was a restless time in Estonia, and the university was to have its vicissitudes. In 1656 the university had to be evacuated from Dorpat to Reval when Russian troops came threateningly close. The location of Dorpat near Russia was exposed, and discussions were held about a permanent move of the university to Pernau (Pärnu) or Riga. But Karl XI finally decided that education should be resumed in Dorpat, and this happened in 1690. Since the initial foundation in 1632, two other universities had been established in the kingdom, at Åbo and Lund (besides an older one which was taken over by Sweden, namely in Greifswald). This meant that the number of Swedish and Finnish students was smaller in Dorpat now at the end of the century. At the same time, the German-speaking nobility in Livonia seems to have preferred to study at German universities, for both linguistic and religious reasons, perhaps as a reaction to the Swedish policy of uniformity. But when the Great Nordic War approached, Dorpat once again became an unsuitable place for a university. In 1699 it was moved to Pernau. The following year, Karl XII landed with his army in Pernau, and this town too became unsafe. After the Battle of Poltava the professors moved from Pernau to Stockholm. Among those who landed on Swedish soil was the university librarian, who had already contracted the plague. He brought the dreaded disease with him to Stockholm, where it took the lives of a large share of the population in 1710.

The authors say that the heyday of the manors in Estonia-Livonia began with the Swedish conquest. With the privileges that the Baltic Germans managed to retain – their tax exemption and access to cheap labour through the serfs – they could compete successfully as grain exporters. The Swedish aristocracy, headed by Axel Oxenstierna, who were granted fiefs in the Baltic provinces, would also make huge profits. On the exterior, however, most Estonian and Livonian manor houses were rather simple structures, often two-storey log buildings with a large fenced yard. But they had tiled stoves, glazed windows, and wallpaper, unlike the simple, sooty peasant houses without chimneys.

A particularly interesting feature of Estonia's history, from a Swedish point of view, concerns the Estonian Swedes on the islands and in coastal districts. When they actually immigrated is a controversial issue. The authors point out that it can hardly have happened in pagan times, since there are no pagan Swedish place-names in Estonia. It must instead have taken place in conjunction with the Christianization of the Baltic lands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with more people arriving from

Sweden in the late Middle Ages in the wake of the Black Death. The Swedish immigrants settled in the sparsely populated coastal districts, where they lived on simple agriculture in combination with fishing and hunting for seal and seabirds. They also succeeded in preserving a freer status than the inland Estonian peasants, although the Estonian Swedes also found themselves in conflict with the Baltic German landowners. This is particularly well known from Dagö (Hiiumaa), from where a large share of the Estonian Swedish peasant population was moved under Russian rule in the eighteenth century to what became Gammalsvenskby in the Ukraine. During the Swedish period in the seventeenth century, however, the Estonian Swedes had been assimilated in many ways and adopted Estonian cultural elements such as the chimneyless houses and grain-drying houses. But they also seem to have passed on many originally Swedish cultural features to the Estonian peasants. Using Sigurd Erixon's studies from the 1940s of cultural contacts between Sweden and Estonia, Kari and Ülle Tarkiainen give examples of artefacts that spread that way. They point out that the free status of the Estonian Swedes applied only as long as they stayed in their traditional settlement areas. If they moved to central Estonia they were treated like Estonian serfs. This must have been a major reason why the Estonian Swedish culture was geographically restricted and thus survived through the centuries.

The Swedish period in Estonia and Livonia ended in disaster, not one but several: terrible years of crop failure and famine in the late 1690s, the Great Nordic War from the Battle of Narva to the final defeat at Poltava, the sieges of the Estonian and Livonian towns, and on top of that the ravages of the plague in 1710. The authors relate how the plague in Estonian folk tradition was believed to have been foreshadowed by a little grey old man who was able to enter peasant houses unnoticed and sit silently on a bench by the door. If the mistress of the house did not know the right words to drive away the evil spirit, it was believed that death would strike everyone on the farm. Apart from this, the book reports several interesting legends and beliefs that have survived among the Estonian population since the legendary Swedish period. One example concerns Karl XII as a planter of trees. There are about a hundred recorded tales in Estonia of how Karl XII planted a tree in a particular place, saying that if that tree took root and started to grow, he would return to Estonia and restore Swedish rule. The stories have their background in Karl XII's six-month stay at Lais in eastern Estonia after the Battle of Narva, where he really did plant some lime trees in the vicarage park. This became a symbol of the good old Swedish days, giving hope that they would return in the future.

Kari and Ülle Tarkiainen's book is a true tour de force, a comprehensive, thoroughly thought-provoking, and instructive presentation of Swedish rule east of the Baltic Sea, a nuanced and learned picture of the seventeenth-century Swedish warrior state as a colonist and peacetime organizer. If there is anything to complain about it is the maps, which are very simple. For readers in Sweden who do know much about the geography of the Baltic areas, more detailed maps would have added yet another important dimension to the reading.

Mats Hellspong, Stockholm

Early Auctions in Sweden

Göran Ulväng, Sofia Murhem & Kristina Lilja, *Den glömda konsumtionen. Auktionshandel i Sverige under 1700- och 1800-talen.* Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2013. 201 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7844-832-6.

■ This book is a result of a project that ran at the Department of Economic History at Uppsala University between 2005 and 2009. The book has seven chapters. Sofia Murhem is responsible for both the introduction and the concluding chapter, while all three authors have written the second and third chapters, the former about the establishment of auctions in Sweden and the latter about the premises, questions, and demarcation of the project. Göran Ulväng is responsible for the three empirical chapters, about the character of the studied auctions, about sellers and buyers at the auctions (in collaboration with Kristina Lilja), and about the goods that were sold. Strangely, the authors of the chapters are not stated in the table of contents. The study concentrates on auctions in Stockholm, in Enköping and in the countryside outside Enköping, the latter being an area that Ulväng has shown great familiarity with in previous studies.

The material – extant auction records – is enormous. This applies to the sources from the auction houses in the towns. The authors have therefore been obliged to make strategic selections of certain

years and certain months. The material from the countryside, on the other hand, is more sporadic. Auctions there were run by private individuals who rarely archived records. In this case it has been necessary to use the auction records that have, for various reasons, been kept. The authors have chosen to devote special study to some years: 1690, 1781, and 1870, along with a few other years mainly in the nineteenth century. During the selected years, however, only a few months in the year have been singled out. For Stockholm, for instance, 25% of all the auctions in 1690 have been covered, but only about 5% of the auctions in 1781 and 1870. The aim of these samples has been to ascertain tendencies and shifts in the pattern of auctions in the eighteenth century and mainly – despite the title – the nineteenth century.

The material has been entered into a database and is presented in a large number of tables. The study is predominantly quantitative in character and the text mostly consists of commentary on and interpretations of the tables. The book contains 55 tables (in some cases diagrams), if I have counted correctly.

Let me first sum up some of the most important findings of the study and then move on to some musings and reflections about these and the arrangement of the study. Most Swedish towns have had a special auction house, a few of which go back to the seventeenth century, but the majority to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The official character of the urban auctions has meant that the records have often been preserved, enabling us to study them today. Auctions of different kinds were held: bankruptcy auctions, auctions of a dead person's property, and "voluntary auctions", the latter usually with a mixture of items from different sellers. Purchase in the past was usually on credit, and the auctioneers' greatest problem seems to have been collecting the debts from the buyers, whose credit ran for several months, an indication of the serious shortage of cash that prevailed in Swedish agrarian society. The study concentrates on certain goods such as food, household utensils, furniture, textiles, and clothes, but also on livestock and agricultural implements (common in Enköping and the surrounding countryside but not in Stockholm). The authors have, however, ignored auctions of things such as books and real estate.

The study looks at both buyers and sellers. The former appear to have been relatively easy to identify, the latter more difficult. The authors proceed from data in the records about the titles applied to the buyers, in an attempt to assign them to the different social groups with which they work. In many cases, however, this is not possible and one must have a "miscellaneous" category, which we may suppose consisted mainly of "landless" (*obesuttna*). The role of women as buyers is investigated more closely, an interesting feature in a time when married women in general were not legally capable.

Some of the results of the study can be summed up briefly as follows. The category that the authors call "persons of rank" (*ståndspersoner*) played a dominant role at Stockholm's first auctions in the 1690s, but their role as both sellers and (even more) buyers gradually decreased through time. At the end of the nineteenth century they hardly took part at all in auctions. Instead the bourgeoisie had taken over the dominant role. In Enköping the "landless" also acquired a more dominant role at auctions, as sellers and, especially, as buyers. In Stockholm, however, they lost ground. The authors think that the distance to the auction houses in central Stockholm could be one reason. They evidently imagine that people without property lived far away in the suburbs. This is not a very likely explanation: the working population lived scattered through the city, and moreover they were used to walking long distances, for example, to their places of work in other parts of the city. A more important factor was probably the coming of pawnshops in Stockholm, which were more attractive than auctions to poor people who needed ready cash. In Enköping there was also the important group of peasants, although they gradually disappeared from the scene at the urban auctions. Instead they dominated the rural auctions, which were seldom attended by townspeople.

When it comes to the items sold, the authors observe that there was a shift in Stockholm from household utensils of metal to ceramic utensils during the nineteenth century. Pewter plates were replaced by porcelain. Sales of individual dishes and glasses were replaced through time with the sale of complete services of cutlery and crockery. The sale of gold and silver objects, which for a long time played a central role as objects of financial investment, declined in significance. Furniture had an important place at auctions all the time. The interest in textiles and clothes, on the other hand, decreased radically through time. It seems especially to have

been the "landless" who dealt in clothes. The researchers think they can detect a trend in the purchases, in that people tended to buy items from groups higher up the social scale. Furniture especially was used as a means to buy a desired lifestyle. The authors also think that not only persons of rank but also the bourgeoisie and peasantry in the second half of the nineteenth century abandoned auctions in favour of the rapidly growing ordinary commodity market, leaving the auction trade more as a concern for the poor in society. At any rate this was true in Enköping; the authors even call the Enköping auctions at the end of the nineteenth century "the paupers' market".

This book about "Forgotten Consumption" is a rich study of an interesting topic. There is a great deal for a reader to think about, and sometimes question. One such matter is the authors' division into social groups, which plays a crucial part in the analysis and the findings. How reliable and credible is it? The authors distinguish between "persons of rank", "officials", "bourgeois", "peasants", and "landless", with an additional "miscellaneous" category. In the appendix about the division into social groups, under each category there is a large number of titles which have been decisive for assigning sellers and buyers to the right group. But do these represent all the titles encountered in the material, or should they merely be regarded as examples?

"Persons of rank" is a particularly problematic category. It seems as if everyone with a noble name and senior members of the clergy end up in this category, along with some higher academics. It is notable that all officers down to the rank of lieutenant are placed here, while second lieutenants belong to a different category, that of "officials" (*tjänstemän*). The division is problematic since it is constantly assumed in the text that persons of rank are better off than the bourgeois groups. But why should, say, a vicar or a lieutenant be more prosperous than a headmaster or a public prosecutor in the category of "officials" or than a mayor, a merchant, or a councillor in the category of "bourgeois"?

The category of "landless" is also debatable. It is a designation normally used about people without property in rural Sweden in the nineteenth century, that is, crofters and agricultural labourers. Here it is also used about the poor groups in Stockholm and Enköping. In Enköping this is especially strange, since many poor townspeople in the nineteenth century bought patches of land near the town which had previously been used by the bourgeoisie for the well-known cultivation of horseradish. Through these patches the "landless" owned land. The same category, according to the appendix, also includes *rättare* (farm foreman), which may seem surprising. But this appears to be an error in the appendix, since the text (p. 92) assigns this title to the category of "peasants". It is not clear from the appendix that rural craftsmen were generally reckoned among the "landless", which I think would also be highly debatable. Yet the text (p. 92) states that this is the category to which these craftsmen were assigned.

A problem with the classification into social groups is that it attempts to show the economic status of different groups (differing degrees of prosperity) and their own sense of social belonging. If it is the latter that is crucial, one can understand that all the nobles end up in the category of persons of rank, irrespective of their economic position. All officers probably perceived themselves as belonging to the social elite, but in this case there is no reason to draw a line between lieutenants and second lieutenants. And I can imagine that butlers and gardeners at manor houses, here placed in the category of "landless", would protest if they could. They surely did not feel socially inferior to urban craftsmen.

Another problem is that this whole classification underwent a dramatic shift during the long period studied here, from 1690 to 1900. The economic situation of the nobility became increasingly fragile. The value of titles as measures of social status differs in many ways between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The authors seem to be aware of this but do not discuss the matter in any detail.

It is claimed that there was a general increase in prosperity, which in the nineteenth century made first the bourgeoisie and then the people without property more interested in and capable of dealing at auctions. I would question whether one can talk about increased prosperity for landless groups in the nineteenth century. We should remind ourselves that it was the countryside around Enköping that was the scene of the agitation of the priest H. F. Spak, who drew attention to the destitution in which landless agricultural labourers lived around 1900. True, it was highly slanted political rhetoric, but it did not lack a foundation in reality.

I would rather start by seeing auctions as occasions for people to sell things, either because they

were forced to (bankruptcy auctions) or because the owner was no longer alive, or because the owner no longer needed the items, for example, when moving house or after some other change in circumstances. It is interesting when the authors point out in the text that auctions of dead people's effects may very well have had the purpose of obtaining an objective valuation of the items when a dead person's property was to be distributed among the heirs, which would explain why some heirs bid for the items they wished to inherit. Those who act as buyers at auctions are people who hope to find something useful, preferably at a good price, sometimes perhaps extremely cheap if there is no other prospective buyer to bid higher. If landless people buy clothes it is because they can get good bargains, especially when other groups are no longer interested in buying strangers' used clothes. That strategy works at least as well in times of shortage and low income. People need clothes even then, but are forced to buy them as cheap as possible. It is thus unnecessary to assume that there was any general increase in prosperity to explain the greater interest in auctions displayed by the landless at the end of the nineteenth century. It may have been the reverse.

When it comes to formal matters, there are some blemishes in the text. It does not seem to have been carefully proofread. There are spelling errors (*parantes* for *parentes* on p. 57), typographical errors (Herodotos has become Herotodus on p. 29), factual errors (the great nineteenth-century minister of finance Gripenstedt has become prime minister on p. 32) and incorrect use of the semicolon. But the emphasis is on the figures, tables, and diagrams, and they are well done and instructive.

As I have tried to show, this is a book that raises many questions in the reader. It is in many respects a pioneering work in an interesting research field. The study covers the time up until 1900. As the authors point out, the auction market then changed radically in the twentieth century, with a strong new interest in antiques. This interest did not exist before then, it is claimed, although I would like to see more evidence for that. What I miss in the study is an account of other types of rival auctions, chiefly art auctions. It is said that these were held as long ago as the eighteenth century. Is that where persons of rank went when they left the public auctions in the nineteenth century? Perhaps one may hope that the authors some time in the future will follow up this study with an investigation of the fascinating twentieth-century auction market. It should also be possible to broaden the study from economic history to include cultural history and art history. An interesting problem to consider would be the discrepancy between how the elite (art experts) and ordinary people value art, as this is reflected in the auction prices for art. The latter often, but far from always, follow the recommendations of the official arbiters of taste. Sometimes popular taste takes its own course. A researcher who has explored this field with great success is in fact an economic historian, Martin Gustavsson, whose Bourdieu-inspired dissertation *Makt och konstsmak* I reviewed in *Rig* 2002, no. 4.

Mats Hellspong, Stockholm

The History of an Estate

Johanna Wassholm & Christer Kuvaja, Gården vid kanalen. Strömma gårds historia. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2013. 140 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-263-4.

■ The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland has published an attractive book about Strömma Gård in Bjärnå in Finland, the history of an estate which we follow through the industrial and technical development in the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Particular importance is ascribed to the construction of the Strömma Canal in the 1840s; this ran through land belonging to the estate, and it was to be significant for the estate and for the region as a whole. When steamboat traffic from Åbo then expanded, Strömma also became interesting as a place of excursion and recreation for the general public. In the preface, the historians Johanna Wassholm and Christer Kuvaja describe how this book came about: the sisters Githa Lönnberg, Nonneli Rothkirch, and Chira Kaplan donated Strömma to the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland in 1996, and ten years later this resulted in the decision to write the history of the estate. There is fairly copious source material for the history of the estate and the region, and Githa Lönnberg herself has contributed the fine illustrations.

The present main building was erected in the 1820s, replacing an older building which had been destroyed by fire. The reader can follow the con-

struction of the different surrounding buildings, the people who lived on the estate, and the activities pursued over the years. But Strömma has a much older history that can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century; it was chiefly ecclesiastical administration that set its stamp on daily life and gave the people some form of community and identity. From the 1540s we have the first records of buildings and peasants in the village of Strömma, when it is said that there were three farms in the village. Ownership in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is very difficult to establish, however, since the farms changed hands at intervals, and very little is recorded about these owners.

Economic and ownership conditions were affected with the development of iron production in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The expansion of iron production in the eastern provinces of Sweden in present-day Finland was subject to the control of the economy at the national level. The plentiful supply of forest was one precondition for the extraction of iron ore and for its processing into iron. When the Royal Board of Mines feared that forest assets in the western parts of Sweden would be depleted, they elected to build ironworks in Finland and not just in Bergslagen, which is the reason for the presence of this important industry in this part of Finland.

Agriculture at Strömma receives relatively large coverage, and we are given ample details of the acreage of the farms, the crops and the livestock. Through a map with accompanying description from 1691, for example, we are informed that the three farms (Storgården, Backgården, and Kvarnbacka) tilled 30.5 acres of arable land and saved 20,500 kg of hay. When the history reaches the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it should perhaps be particularly mentioned that there was a change of owners in 1888, when Karl Alfred Wasastjerna and his wife Bertha took over the lands. Wasastjerna came from an important family of merchants and industrialists and had personal experience of linen production and iron manufacture in Tammerfors. He was familiar with the region, and in his time as owner of Strömma the place was a thriving centre of both agriculture and industry. He was also interested in creating a cultural and educated milieu.

The Wasastjerna family later, in 1932, sold Strömma to Daniel Lönnberg and Ethel Alfthan, who would mainly concentrate on agriculture and forestry. When Daniel died in 1937 at the age of just 50, Ethel took over the management together with her four daughters. Then, in 1996, the daughters donated Strömma to the literary society that has now published this history of the estate.

Readers who have a special interest in the farm and its people through the ages will find plenty here to satisfy them. Among other things, we read about the legendary smith Johan Funck and the various canal guards. A lot of space is devoted to the construction of the canal in the 1840s and its significance for communications and industry, and there is a section about the unrealized plans for a railway.

The most interesting part, in my opinion, is about Strömma as a cultural meeting place and a centre for education. The beautiful natural setting has attracted artists and also more casual visitors. In the second half of the twentieth century the Groupe de Canal arranged exhibitions and cultural events, and Strömma has also had a library and a school. Mention should also be made of Strömmanejdens Kulturfond, a cultural foundation established in 1936 by the Wasastjernas with the aim of supporting local endeavours in the arts (especially among the Finnish-speaking part of the population) and local cultural development. The foundation of Strömma's elementary school and public library is explained in terms of the Wasastjernas' sympathies for Fennomania and their interest in public education. There has also been lively artistic activity at Strömma.

One question that arises during the reading of this history of Strömma is: who is the intended reader? If one does not have a special interest in Strömma or this old Swedish-speaking part of Finland, the topic may seem too narrow or excessively local. There is no doubt, of course, that the estate and the region have an interesting and important history, and Finland-born Swedish readers in Sweden can certainly find this historical survey significant, but for me personally the authors have not managed to elevate the history of this estate and its region to a higher level of relevance, and this can make the reading slightly tiring. Nor is it really suitable as a coffee-table book, despite the many beautiful pictures and illustrations. However, there is no reason not to recommend this work to anyone with a special interest in this type of cultural history, and the authors have definitely done important work here.

Henrik Brissman, Lund

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Two themes – belonging and applicability – build the core of this year's edition of Ethnologia Scandinavica.

When thinking of the world as global it seems as if questions of belonging are becoming more and more crucial. Such questions are of course not new, but there are still new things to discover and learn about who we are, where we belong, who is to define this belonging and, of course, how this work of definition is practised.

The second theme dealt with in this edition is applicability. What is possible to do with ethnological knowledge? And what are the consequences of such knowledge? The concept of applicability is not new either but has had a growing timeliness in the last decade in educational as well as research-related contexts. This issue of Ethnologia Scandinavica gives examples of how ethnological research and knowledge can be used in different settings proposed by the researchers themselves.

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