Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME 45 • 2015

Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY
ISSN 0348-9698

Published by
THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Editorial office: Division of Ethnology, Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University, Box 192, SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden.
www.kgaa.nu/tidskrifter.php

Cover illustration: Tjejvättern 2013, a women only bicycling race in Sweden.
Photo: Karolina Kristensson, Nordiska Museet.

Ethnologia Scandinavica is printed with the support of the Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals. The journal publishes peer reviewed papers in English and German based on all branches of material and social culture, and in reviews, biographical notes and reports reflects ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries. One volume of Ethnologia Scandinavica comprises 200 pages, published in one issue yearly. Subscription price for volume 2015 is SEK 350:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to Swedish Science Press, Uppsala, www.ssp.nu

Contents

Papers

Biographical Notes

Reviews

New Dissertations

Book Reviews

Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

Ethnologia Scandinavica is, in a sense, a kind of probe sent into the soil of Nordic ethnological research. Once a year we get a cross-section of what is going on in the ethnological field in the Nordic countries. In 2015, in this issue, we find themes like urban history and development, medicine and health, feminism, indigenous studies, regional identity and food production. But we also find a vigorous focus on methodology, more or less explicit in most of this year's articles. My guess is that we could consider this as a disciplinary stance, that is, a position many ethnologists take and develop.

Anna-Maria Åström begins with a history of two streets, the Northern Esplanade in Helsinki and Bolshaya Konyushennaya in St Petersburg. Her focus lies on spatial practices as expressed in commercial life and the quest for distinction and differentiation. Åström shows how the things on offer in the streets were fundamental factors for appearance and atmosphere: in shops, cultural establishments, hotels, restaurants and cafeterias.

The theme of place is further developed in Hanne Pico Larsen and Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch's exploration of how stories, places and the local add meaning to food and eating. Their cases are collected from Åland and the Danish island of Lilleø, two islands used for the branding of taste. At the same time, stories of taste construct images of these places. Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch refer to the term superterroir as a productive combination of branding stories and the "islandness" of topography.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala writes about dynamics of city planning and participatory actions. She shows how ethnological studies may contribute not only to urban planning processes but to other comparable processes as well. I am thinking of participatory and democratic situations with a plurality of actors and questions of great complexity. Lillbroända-Annala not only gives food for thought concerning conditions for participatory actions in urban planning but also points in a direction towards applicable aspects of our academic discipline. The same could actually be said, at least partly, about Kristina Sehlin MacNeil's article on mining, exploration and power relations between indigenous Sami people and a big mining company. Or, rather, Sehlin MacNeil writes about the *lack* of participation and uneven power relations. She also points out how research can be part of such relations. Research, Sehlin MacNeil writes, is a contested word in indigenous contexts, leading her into a discussion on methodology and ethics.

Tom O'Dell and Robert Willim deliver a partly different take on ethnographic methods and write about rendering and composing ethnography. They consider looping as a kind of everyday working method for teachers and researchers, how different materials, findings, methods and knowledge inform each other and interact. O'Dell and Willim argue for a metaphorical shift when thinking about and approaching cultural analysis – from writing to composing, creating rather than representing.

Ethnography is obviously a moving field, not only inside academia but also outside. O'Dell and Willim investigate some of these moves including diverse phenomena such as new digital tools, the affective turn and applicability. But what incentives are there in a situation where

bibliometry is the career-grounding currency? When communication inside academia builds the foundation for scientific success? O'Dell and Willim not only return to the well-known concept of multi-sited ethnography but also focus on multi-*targeted* ethnography. This demands well-written articles as well as presentations of results that go beyond the written text and a gated academia.

Karoliina Ojanen presents a third take on methodology when exploring how age and gender affect fieldwork in an elderly centre. She works in a tradition of reflexivity, highlighting not only the researcher's own beliefs and assumptions but also how age and gender are two productive categories when doing ethnography. In her article intimacy is an important aspect as well as sexist comments understood as counteractions to regain a partly lost social control.

Michael C. Andersen takes a Lacanian psychoanalytical standpoint when studying patients suffering from stroke and how they and their relatives deal with this otherness represented by their brain after a stroke. There appears to be an other that might be in yourself, but also in someone else, for example a close relative who no longer behaves the way he or she used to because of brain injuries.

Andersen shows a good example of how we as ethnologists are not infrequently pulled into, or rather choose, problematic areas in people's lives or in society. When things go wrong, when we suffer from different injuries, incapabilities or illnesses we also give manifest expressions of perspectives on the body, the self, identity, and so on.

The same could be said about Karin S. Lindelöf's choice to investigate the establishment, conditions and practices for women-only recreational sports races. This empirical entrance Lindelöf utilizes to get hold of bigger themes such as women's sports as something deviant different, the development of individualism, a neo-liberal society and a struggle for gender equality in sports as well as in society as a whole. In her article Lindelöf investigates the creation of specific and other spaces for female athletes as well as of women as active subjects. She finds processes of infantilization of strong, active women. Not least, the naming of activities and teams clearly indicates the otherness of women's sports initiatives. Lindelöf points out the emancipatory potentials as well as the risks of disarming such emancipatory initiatives.

The last article partly connects to this history of disputed feminism. Synnøve Skarstø Lindtner highlights the Norwegian feminist magazine *Sirene* (1973–1983) and finds attempts to redefine and broaden feminist politics outside traditional political institutions. Lindtner underlines the diversity of feminism in the early 1980s and suggests a need for more research on this topic.

Although the articles are presented first in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, the following reviews are no less valued. On the contrary, the two review sections are a backbone of the journal. This year we present 16 reviews of new dissertations and 21 book reviews. If you look for a probe-like function of a journal, the review section is the place to visit.

The Northern Esplanade of Helsinki and the Bolshaya Konyushennaya of St Petersburg

An Analysis of Street Life in Two Central Historical Streets

By Anna-Maria Åström

Visiting and looking at contemporary exclusive streets in the European capitals, the foremost impression is of long-standing prosperity but also of elusiveness. Viewing the pedestrians and shoppers, one is also struck by an impression of wealth and stability, of outstanding well-being. At the same time, the history of the streets seems to be founded more on reputation than on what is articulated in their appearance, which is often a very polished long facade of high-rise buildings of different eras. This has to do with the apparent restoration that they frequently undergo. I am looking for what is behind such scenes of apparent prosperity and possible historical oblivion, taking two streets in two cities by the Gulf of Finland as examples. Do streets have a long history of their own, and can it be captured and given expression both in "practice-describing sequences" and in outlines of disruptions according to the overall history of the cities? And from the point of view of today, how can this interesting phase of late modernity be understood, when it seems that the most central streets in the capitals resemble each other more and more and thus seem to refute or neglect their history? My examples are the Northern Esplanade in Helsinki and Bolshaya Konyushennaya in St Petersburg.

In looking behind these scenes, one could rely on the theories of urban development (Sennett 1992, 2006: Stevenson 2003), of zone building in the globalizing city (Zukin 1995), but even more so on theories about history and amnesia in the modern city (Crinson 2005; Zukin 2011; Boyer 2001). Such streets are regularly to be found in the central parts of the cities and at some distance from streets of lesser reputation. The late modern look can be seen as a result of new stages in the culture of consumption, that of the experience economy, where not only distinguished commodities, but also the appearance of the buying rooms, the stores, and even the social roles in the purchase situation are at stake (Löfgren 2005; Zukin 1995, 2011; Sjöholm 2014). In this article, however, I will choose to search for former stages in the consumption patterns which certainly are one aspect of their history.

For a street to be distinguished and different meant, and still means, taking the challenges of differentiation into its strategy. Staying exclusive poses a challenge to those who "maintain" the streets, to find a balance between *resistance* to change and *resilience* in adopting new patterns of street life. Sometimes it also requires a certain and timely *flexibility*. This project involves – at different historical times − many actors, real estate owners, city planners, shopkeepers, and last but not least audiences, pedestrians and consumers. But in the background there are always organizational strategies that are to be found in both the public and the private sector. Behind the facades actors are working and the streets send out their messages in accordance with the actors' intentions.

In this article I will try to outline the history of the two streets and their street life with the Lefevbrian notion of representational spaces as an underlying viewpoint: the streets seen through their *associated images and symbols, that spring from the activities*, as the spaces of inhabitants and users that these *activi-*

ties and commodities are directed to, and in some rare cases dealt with by witnesses to those streets, as memories that have been given written form (Åström, Olsson & Kivistö 1999). In Lefevbre's theory of the production of space, its three dimensions are crucial: spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces (Lefevbre 1974/1998). The spatial practices are what make the streets living and active places, the representations of the streets are the plans behind them and their fulfilment. The last dimension seeks to embody the experience of space; as this dimension is individual, we can here only look for what is being *offered* to experience. Streets are routes, but also places in themselves, and the urban dweller passes into and out of these realities with a very distinct knowledge of what to find where.

The method of the article is based on the assumption that the *offers of the streets* can be seen to be the most important factors that determine their appearance and atmosphere. Thus, the supplies and offers of shops, cultural establishments, lodging houses and hotels, eating-out establishments and cafeterias which are important for attracting customers and shoppers to the streets, are the keys to their appearances. Together they create an ever- changing urban assemblage that makes the streets and their buildings come alive. This assemblage can be captured through historical and contemporary overviews of the sets of shops and establishments. But the historical flow of such establishments is *not* what I am looking for. On the contrary, it is the overall picture at some important times or in some periods that hopefully will expose the urban composition I am after. Both "*Stills*" and "*Long-term periods*" will then be considered, in comparison and in a succession from about 1880 to 2010, although the founding of the streets will also be presented. With this method I am looking for prosperous periods and stagnation, but also what lies behind them, that is, what (economic and political) system and ideology they are an expression of. What mixture of resistance and resilience do the streets show in different periods? Do certain very flexible eras stand out?

For the last stage or period that I am interested in, the late modern phase, I suggest that two concepts might additionally be of special help. They are *flexism* and *pastiche*, the former alluding to a phenomenon characteristic of "the postmodern urban condition", a heightened form of flexibility, and the latter to certain traits in the look of the streets (Dear & Flusty 1999:75).

Why the Esplanade and Bolshaya Konyushennaya?

As one method in this article I intend to use my own participant observations as a kind of auto-ethnography. My reminiscences of the Northern Esplanade in Helsinki, which is my home town, date back to the early 1960s, and my visits to St Petersburg have included observations of Bolshaya Konyushennaya in 1986, 2003, 2006 and the summers of 2010 and 2012. My interest in the two streets has personal experiences as an outset.[1] In 1986 I was shown a department store at Bolshaya Konyushennaya by a Russian urban ethnologist colleague, who was eager to show me this urban phenomenon. Ac-

customed to the luxurious western department stores such as Kaufhaus des Westens in Berlin and Stockmann in Helsinki, I was surprised by the extremely mundane appearance and interior of this building, but also impressed by its construction. I wondered about the history of the department store. On the other hand I was at the same time also aware of the periodic recession of the Northern Esplanade of the 1980s, although the Stockmann department store was still flourishing. Remembering the Esplanade's deep urban hectic life at one of its end in the 1960s, something was clearly missing in the 1980s. And, as a sudden blooming, two rather luxurious continental cafeterias sprang up at the same time on the Esplanade in the spring of 1990 and since then the street has reclaimed its former glory. In 2003 when visiting and staying in a hotel on Bolshaya Konyushennaya I experienced the same, the street blooming. What was it that suddenly made streets come alive?

In streets dedicated to consumption, and thus not so easily perceived spaces, the consumption patterns differ according to what is on sale, in which framework and who the consumers are. Consumption can be seen as a dimension of both public and private life and even of leisure. But streets can in some way also include not only consumption but innovations, wider international contacts, connections to activities taking place at completely different localities. Thus the tension between the owning of properties, the activities going on in the properties and the level of local or international decision-making also needs to be addressed at least with some words. My suggestion, which I will dwell on further when we come to the part on the "postmodern urban condition", is that we need some new ways of looking at such affluent streets that I will discuss. City life and urbanism take up new traits, which customers, consumers and other actors react to and by their participation are involved in shaping. The long modernist era of the twentieth century focused on complicated relations between the centre and the periphery of the cities that have been dealt with also in Scandinavian ethnology (Ristilammi 2003). At one point the centre lost its attractiveness, but it has also been noted that the extension of the most active areas of the city centres have seriously decreased lately, so that most consumption activities take place in a very limited space. Both the Northern Esplanade of Helsinki and Bolshaya Konyushennaya are situated in areas that are at the same time hectic and village-like today. They are also "historical" streets in the sense that they have a long and fascinating history.

The patterns of late modernity with its deliberate and often banal search for history, and at the same time its fascination with the surface and the superficial, lead to different forms and new kinds of urban spaces. Of course our two streets are the same as before – most of their buildings have been preserved and are still the same as a hundred years ago. But in what sense can we talk of continuity and in what can we gain something from perceiving them as "urban tableaus" (Boyer 2001)? Do the histories of the streets, of The Esplanade and of the Bolshaya Konyushennaya, have any meaning today, except for the art historian, the home-town urbanite, the tourist and the ethnologist? What do long-term

structures on the one hand, and the sudden and rapid changes on the other, mean in their history? What differences do they show in their history? What does it mean that they are once again prosperous streets and can we find an answer to the riddle of their new appearances in the postmodern urban condition?

Capturing the Commercial Life – the Method and Sources of the Article

In analysing the history of streets we need some kind of documentation. Historical first-hand sources are of course to be found, but extremely time-consuming to collect. Concerning the two streets in focus, we are lucky to be able to use printed "street histories" that are based on official documents and narratives. What seems to be the case for such street histories is that they resemble the ways pedestrians look at streets, as a string of shops, the gaze focusing on each at a time. The method of the article will be to catch such sets of shops/establishments from both written sources and my own auto-ethnographical observations of the two streets. In reading the historical overviews I replace my picture of the streets – also from different times – with the historically outlined one and try to characterize the periods mentioned above. The fact that the places are the same and still not the same is what makes the historic dynamic of streets interesting. The object of one's gaze changes with time, but with the help of reconstructions from bygone periods this gaze of one's own is replaced by other pictures and fertilized by their historical depth, hopefully also for the readers. The obvious fact that all streets have histories will be revealed through historical details that help to investigate and uncover different epochs and their underlying activity and economic strategies. The analyses seek to find turning points as well as deep structures.

As an answer to an interest in urban history and one's hometown, new historical publications have begun to appear. Bolshaya Konyushennaya, together with fifteen other streets in St Petersburg, has since the beginning of the 2000s had cultural-historical reviews in the form of small books. A book called *Ulitsa Bolshaya Konyushennaya* appeared in 2003 with a structure describing the street proceeding from its houses or properties, the history of which is then recorded as to their owners, inhabitants and economic establishments (Kirikov 2003). A keen interest in the families, famous personages and firms and shops that the houses provided space for, means that one is able to reconstruct the different stages the streets have undergone through this property evidence. The book is illustrated with fine photographs of the street and seems to be an answer to what the native flaneur is searching for, namely a history behind the facades that seeks the traces directly in different buildings and ultimately their different uses (Crinson 2005:xvii; Tester 1994). Accidentally the little book also shows an interest in the innovations and novelties of the twentieth century, thus picturing the modernist turns, which makes it very suitable for my purposes.[2]

Similar books describing the properties of different blocks have been very popular in Helsinki ever since 1976 when the first, called *From the Buffalo to the Bullfinch*, referring to the animal names

of the different blocks in Southern Helsinki, was published (Ollila & Toppari 1976). This first book also comprises the history of the buildings on the Northern Esplanade by its blocks the Dromedary, the Unicorn, the Gnu and the Gazelle. Since then four similar books (1977–1997) on other Helsinki blocks and districts have appeared. The texts in *From the Buffalo to the Bullfinch* take us to different decades in the history of the street in an unchronological way and focusing on details that are thought to be interesting.[3] The topics are the same as in Kirikov's book: the owners, the people living in the properties and the shops they have housed. These books will be my primary sources. I use them in distilling the commercial side out of them, thus bringing out the symbols and the signs characterizing the streets in different eras.

Urban city remembrances of different parts of the city have been collected and also published (Åström, Olsson, Kivistö 1999). Finally, I use my own observations of the Esplanade from different periods; in the 1990s and 2000s with written notes. During my three visits to St Petersburg in the first decade of the 2000s Bolshaya Konyushennaya has been observed with a similar focus on its offers, also recorded in notebooks. When references are not cited, the observations are mine.

Before coming to this late phase of the histories of the streets, however, their origins will be rehearsed and some periods looked at in more depth. I have chosen four periods: I The original settings or the roots of the streets; II The turn of the century 1900; III The divergent paths in the long period 1917−1990, characterized by national modernity and/or Soviet socialism; and IV The upheaval process since 1990. The first two periods will give the coordinates of the streets and focus on the early commercial and multicultural settings, the third will illustrate continuity and a slow break through consumerism as an aspect of modernism and the last a fragmentation of the city space, with focuses on consumption for a special audience as a leading trait.

I. The Roots of the Streets

Both St Petersburg and Helsinki were in their outset constructed according to imperial plans. Their architecture does not easily lend itself to any romantic upheaval because of the strict neoclassical style that characterizes or dominates the periods. Helsinki was founded in 1550 and moved to its present location in 1640. In 1812 when it was declared the capital of the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland that had come into being as a result of the war of 1808–1809, it was a small town, compared to its Russian counterpart St Petersburg. The latter was founded in 1703 and had then a hundred-year lead in urban development over Helsinki. Helsinki was to have two periods of intensive central building activity, right after 1812 until 1850 with a light, mostly empire look in its central parts, and the late nineteenth century, when the town was industrialized. St Petersburg with its impressive Nevsky Prospekt and numerous buildings from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, also faced a turbulent time at the end of the century, with similar industrial activity to its small cousin.

The Esplanade in Helsinki was constructed as an impressive park and boulevard between two streets, with two rows

of trees in the park in the middle according to plans of 1826. It was supposed to connect the old city of the late eighteenth century, comprising the power centre, with new parts being built at the time. Fifty years later a great change set in. Its northern street was rebuilt in the 1870s to the 1890s, when a new layer of impressive stone houses in neo-Renaissance style was erected. Soon it became the number one commercial street in Helsinki. As there were the most elegant hotels and restaurants of the city, the Esplanade also became famous as a promenade, where the flaneurs and artists of the turn of the century roamed the street. This street was to get the first great department store in Finland.

Bolshaya Konyushennaya, this side street of Nevsky Prospekt, for its part, was constructed in the 1730s and 1740s near the heart of the power centre of St Petersburg, the Winter Palace, but also deliberately as the centre for foreign congregations. Thus it came to embrace the Lutheran churches of that day, the Finnish and Swedish churches (on Malaya Konyushennaya) being amongst them. Another common trait of the Esplanade and its history of the 1880s and 1890s was that Bolshaya Konyushennaya also underwent a similar sudden change, a building process at the same time: five-storey high stone houses were erected, giving the street an impressive neo-Renaissance and national romantic appearance. Bolshaya Konyushennaya did not enclose any park, but it was also later to get a small boulevard of trees in the middle. After its hectic building period it would also house a department store. It looks as if the streets had a long time of silent life and resistance to change until a burst of activity brought them into a new period. It was a wave set about by new groups in society and this new entrepreneurial era in both towns announced a high level of flexibility (Åström 1957; Bater 1976).

The Inhabitants 1880–1915

As both streets resided in the absolute centres of their respective cities, it is no surprise that the number of their inhabitants was high. In the Konyushennaya quarters with Malaya Konyushennaya included, there lived as many as about 40,000 people, a fact that has to do with both the many storeys the houses comprised and the additional houses in the yards (Bater 1976:319). More interesting from a Scandinavian point of view is that the reservation of the area for foreign congregations had made the population clearly multicultural. Around 1900 some 10% of the population of St Petersburg was Lutheran. The Lutheran group included Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and Finns (Holtrop & Slechte 2007). The Swedish congregation consisted of 5,200 members before the First World War and the Finnish Church had over 17,000 members. At most St Petersburg housed 24,000 Finns, which meant that St Petersburg in 1880 was the second biggest "Finnish" city; Turku (Åbo) at that time had 21,500 and Helsinki 38,700 inhabitants. As some of the Finns were Swedish speakers, four out of five members of the Swedish church were actually Swedish speakers from Finland, the Danes and Norwegians also being part of it (Engman 2004:343–349).

All in all this meant a Scandinavian and Finnish touch to the Konyushennaya

blocks. Although only some of the Scandinavian and Finnish citizens actually lived in these surroundings – the Finns for instance 4–6% in the area – on Sundays and at other church times it must have been evident that this was the block for people of this "foreign" faith. The historian Max Engman, who has studied the Scandinavian population of St Petersburg in detail, has argued that the objective landscape set its imprints on the subjective landscape and that the Scandinavians therefore became multiculturally defined (Engman 2004:343). One could also argue that by their spatial practices the Scandinavians made their imprint on these quarters. Of the celebrated families the Nobel family was to become the most famous.[4] The family of Ludvig Nobel, one of the "Brothers Nobel" and an elder brother of Alfred Nobel, the founder of the Russian oil industry in Baku, had had their quarters at 29 Bolshaya Konyushennaya in the 1870s and 1880s. This is thus the site where the whole St Petersburg Nobel family had their origin (Kirikov 2003:93). Because of such "foreign pockets" the mixture of cultural traits was obvious and the result was a very multicultural street. The languages used have also been studied and knowledge of three languages was not rare.[5] This should not overshadow the fact that, as this was a densely populated area, it was the Russian culture that dominated (Engman 2004:359–368).

The population of the Esplanade was also bilingual. In 1890, before the turn of the century the proportions of Swedish speakers and Finnish speakers were even, 45.5% versus 45.6%. Thus it is easy to understand that the language mix at the turn of the century was great. The commercialism of the streets, on the other hand, also contributed to their international stance. That the planned multicultural stance had survived meant that the streets had resisted change. In the case of St Petersburg the planned outset had, on the contrary, been an abrupt but controlled intake of foreign influences according to the master plan of Peter the Great.

II. Glimpses of Commercial life around 1900

To understand the later development and upheavals one must get some more glimpses of the commercial history of the streets. The buildings on both streets were built to house large shops on the ground floor, which meant that they were planned for interchangeability in their establishments. Bolshaya Konyushennaya was (and is) a straight street. At the corner of Nevsky Prospekt was the Dutch Church but it also housed stores of different kind, which must be considered as flexible. This was the busiest part of the street in the same way that the Esplanade had its busy corners. A celebrity place was the Café Dominic in house number 24, which was the first of its kind in Russia in that it contained a hotel, a restaurant, a café, tavern and eating house. It had a long history from the 1840s to the 1910s (Kirikov 2003:72–73). From pictures before the revolution in 1917 one can see shops with spectacular names such as the Moroccan Bazaar, the great Paris Magazine and some hotels such as Medved, the Bear, which made the street into a very lively city passage. The names allude to cosmopolitan but also Russian traits. Modernity came into concrete shape with a shop named "Kodak", for photographic equip-

At the corner of Nevsky Prospekt. The building with the dome is the Dutch Church. Photo: K. Bulla at the beginning of the twentieth century.

ment, bookstores and cinematographic offices (Kirikov 2003:173–174). Altogether the street took on a modern and international stamp, where consumption played a strong part.

In the direction of the Court Stable, from which the street has its name (*Konyushennaya* means "stable") a big department store had been erected in 1908 in a compromise between the Art Deco and neoclassical styles designed by the architects E. F. Virri and S. S. Kritinsky and open to the public in 1909. It consisted of an atrium gallery in three stores constructed for consumption in the latest style of those days. It looked quite new and its enormous gallery window was thought of as being in a dialogue with the outer world (Kirikov 2003:125, 127). The name of the department store was the House of the Economic Society. It had some difficulties in the beginning, but its days of splendour came in the years before the revolution (Kirikov 2003:126). Together with the other shops on the street level the department store created a centre for consumption before the revolution. This department store was a symbolically gigantic step into the future (Kirikov 2003:126) and showed a very flexible attitude towards commercial novelties and fashionable architectural styles.

Interior of the House of the Economic Society. Photo 1910.

The Esplanade, for its part, started to build its commercial life from the old Union Street to the east. This Union street had been the liveliest and most exclusive street, with many shops for consumer goods. As the new house construction began on the Esplanade, replacing old wooden houses, the consumer district was enlarged (Meinander 2012; Åström 1957: 201). The first important shop was Edlund's bookstore, still in a low stone house. It was there from 1862 to 1918. One of the oldest cinemas from 1907 was also situated here. The largest new building was next to it, the Grönqvist building that took up a whole block. It housed fourteen shops on the ground floor: specialists in furniture, textiles, shoes, linen, colonial goods, vines and tapestry (Ollila-Toppari 1976:64–65). A special store of interest was Mother Grape's shop for clothes, which also made students' caps, the mark of university students. The next block housed the famous Kämp Hotel, the equally famous Catani restaurant and the Mercurius building, a great business property. In this house the first large shop windows in Helsinki were built. It also housed the Panorama International, which can be looked upon as the forerunner of the early cinemas in Helsinki (Ollila-Toppari 1976: 87). Readiness to adopt novelties made the street distinguished in terms of a new modernity. In the next block again was a passage, "Wredeska passagen", built in 1892 (80 metres long and 8 metres wide) across the block to Alexander Street, housing several shops: equipment for fireworks and masquerades, a delicatessen butcher shop, Café de Passage and later on variety theatres. The architect K. A. Wrede is said to have travelled to the great European metropolises and especially admired the Galleries Royales Saint-Hubert (1847) in Brussels (Ollila-Toppari 1976: 87). Such a passage in Helsinki took the whole city into a new era and functioned as a mark of Helsinki as the commercial capital. The block had apartments until 1905, when agencies and offices slowly begun to replace them. From 1897 the Argos building in French palace style housed the Wulff stationery and office equipment store that served the growing industrial and trading firms. On the other side of Central Street, the Cinema Kino-Palats opened in 1910 and was a much beloved cinema until it was demolished in 1965 (Ollila-Toppari 1976:86–87).

Well into the century, in 1930, the most prominent department store, Stock-

Fine ladies walking on the Esplanade in 1882. Photo: Nils Wasastjerna. Helsinki City Museum.

mann's, was erected at the end of the Esplanade right ahead of the Swedish Theatre (Finnilä 1993; Kuisma *et al*. 2012). It was designed by the famous architect Sigurd Frosterus, a prominent figure in the modernist movement, which aimed at breaking with the Finnish romantic nationalism in architecture and instead proclaimed a modern European rationalism. At his heart lay the promoting of the modern city and industrial endeavours. According to him change was needed and it had to be carried out with a fixed purpose. The goods offered were of high class and with the building the Esplanade acquired a brand new establishment, with new consumer practices (Kuisma *et al*. 2012).

The Esplanade in Helsinki and Bolshaya Konyushennaya in St Petersburg were rapidly becoming centres for a commercial life with commodities, restaurants and hotels of high standard. They were sites for a modern fashionable urban life at the beginning of the twentieth century. The goods on offer were clearly directed to a wealthy class and the consumers seen in photographs of the times seem to be both such people of wealth and also their servants sent on errands. One also gets glimpses of modern phenomena à la Walter Benjamin: passages, department stores, cafeterias, fashion, photography, office equipment and urban entertainment with a light touch (Benjamin 1990:1–3). An urban flexibility is apparent. A certain intellectual atmosphere also came about, not only with the artists and intellectuals drawn here, but also directly by the offers, the bookstores and stationery stores, the-

The Northern Esplanade about 1905 from the direction of Edlund's bookstore. Photo: Nils Wasastjerna. Helsinki City Museum.

atres and places to meet, notions that the block and street books are keen to report (Ollila-Toppari 1976, Kirikov 2003). What is also very clear is that the agents of these times were the property owners. The buildings in the Northern Esplanade are listed by the owners, Uschakoff, Cavonius, Palmqvist, Grönqvist and Böckerman, or by the hotels and restaurants, Kämp and Catani. They were the great actors as entrepreneurs and in charge of the construction as well as running their great properties. They could select the shopkeepers and they were the ones that hired the architects to build the grand houses. The same seems to have been the case in St Petersburg. The owners and architects are mentioned in the Kirikov booklet as well as the famous persons that lived in the buildings in the 1870s and 1880s (Ollila-Toppari 1976; Kirikov 2003). One could see that it was the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie of the cities that led the development. The affluence and the extravagant goods were signalled through the advertisements and boards and plates which can be seen in the photos of the days. Foreign influences were flexibly accepted and smoothly reorganized to fit the local scenes.

III. Divergent Paths – Long National and Isolated Modernist Eras

The Esplanade

In the First World War a divergence between the streets set in. In Finland the in-

dependence era began and in Helsinki the Esplanade in 1917 was the site where the white side in the Finnish civil war was to re-establish itself ritually under General Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (a Swedish-speaking Finn who had been a Russian officer and had had his quarters on Bolshaya Konyushennaya!), who rode in on a white horse to celebrate the victory won with the help of the Germans. The Esplanade could remain a main street of Helsinki. Now began what I will call the national modernist era, which did not change the look of the street. Both a resistance to change and a flexible turn into something more mundane after the hectic times took place. The Esplanade by and large lost its importance as a fine shopping district. In the 1920s, 30s and 40s the Esplanade thus continued to linger on as a central street but lacking the liveliness of the turn of the century. Helsinki had expanded as the parallel Alexander Street had also been given new stone houses before and at the turn of the century. Also its "side avenue", Henrik Street, later Mannerheim Street, grew in importance as a commercial street as the important commercial and banking activities moved there. This left the Esplanade as a more silent, but respectable street, with somewhat ordinary shops with everyday facilities at one end, and turning more international at the other where the newly erected Stockmann department store closed the whole street with its impressive building (Åström, Olsson, Kivistö 1998:39–40).

The period can be seen as prolonged through the wars. There was a small reminiscence of the old atmosphere and still a small part of the street was one of the most international parts in Helsinki in the 1960s. It was the stationer Wulff, and another well-supplied stationer, Lindell, the Stockmann departments store and the bookstore Waseniuska Bokhandeln, with its international newspapers that guaranteed that. At the other end a pornographic movie theatre manifested that cultural hibernation had set in. When the hectic culture left, nature was to win. The Esplanade changed to being a sunny boulevard in the summers, and an almost desolate windy space in the winters. The hectic activity of the city continued elsewhere.

But the street also gained a reputation as the tourist window of the city. The first commercial block housed the tourist office of the city of Helsinki and the office for the Helsinki festival weeks. The quarter housed the "Jugendsal", a grand room designed by Lars Sonck and Walter Jung, Finnish Jugend style architects. The exhibition rooms for the Finlayson textiles, the office of Scandinavian Airlines, on a side street the Café Fabian in a new modernist building designed by Alvar Aalto in 1965, deepened the influences into and out of the city. The large Grönqvist building now housed the foremost design products of Finland at the time: Artek, Arabia, Vuokko, a photo shop and the last block Hotell Kämp, Marimekko, Finnair, and the National Union Bank of Finland, all icons of Finland. An art gallery named Strindberg and a shop for office apparatus seem to be in the tradition of the street. Some handicraft stores with a national stance such as Aarikka deepen the national picture (Ollila-Toppari 1976:62–67, 86–87). It is very clear that the best of what the nation could offer was situated here, on display for

tourists. This concentration began in the 1960s as an aftermath of the successes of Finnish design in the 1950s. At the same time it was astonishing how deserted the street seemed. The shops served as deliberate marketing of the nation, stubbornly holding on to something that did not attract much interest: an exhibition street with a very small numbers of visitors. A rare witness from an onlooker, who wrote his memories of the 1960s in 1999, gives the following picture of the Northern Esplanade:

> On towards Mannerheim Street. The cinema is now La Scala, a striptease cinema. It runs nonstop, live striptease alternating with films, entertainment for all one is worth, I never tried it. There was this lamp shop Linnoix, but also Marimekko, Vuokko, Aarikka, the one in the middle has disappeared from view, but the two others have even expanded to the southern side of the street. We move forward and pass Kämp and the shop of the Finnish Photographers' Association, where they hade fine cameras and cine cameras; shops for gloves, handbags, leather wares, The Lindell stationery store, and Stella that sold fantastic fancy cakes. Its most famous product was Ellen Svinhufvud's cake, named after a president's wife. Then the Academic Bookstore. The restaurant Royal is in the middle of the park, it changed into a Hot Lips discothèque, that later became Happy Days, an all round restaurant under a glass roof (Technician born 1944, answer to questionnaire 1997).

Bolshaya Konyushennaya

In Russia the red revolution changed St Petersburg into Leningrad in a most radical way and if the development of the Esplanade was overtly slow in the new nation, the development in Leningrad was abrupt and devastating politically, economically and symbolically. The revolution and its symbols replaced the tsarists. Over one million left the city or perished – hunger, executions and emigrations being the causes – in the years 1917–1918 (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:98). The tsarist city died and the population changed; evacuees were replaced by immigrating peasants. Now the state owned all property. In all this turbulence a paradox was that cultural activity was instead almost furious. Very near Bolshaya Konyushennaya, in the House of the Arts, cultural life lived on under the protection of Maxim Gorky. What was almost completely sacrificed when the proletarian ideology took over was the cosmopolitanism and the religious openness of the former century. In the atheistic fervour churches were demolished and given other functions (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:99–101). The deserted central flats were taken over and inhabited by people from suburban industrial slums and in 1927 the housing crisis resulted in the famous *kommunalka* system (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:100–101). In such circumstances it is difficult even to speak of the appearance of some streets, but the details can still be informative and part of the paradoxical situation in the city. One of the paradoxes is that the traditional classical culture and art life survived and found a rebirth in the 1920s and especially after 1937, the centenary of Pushkin's death (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:101–102).

In Bolshaya Konyushennaya, the strongholds of the religious life of the Protestants were degraded after the revolution in 1917 and their churches destroyed for secular and disparaging uses. The once flourishing commercial life was put under state control and the religious life could

not continue. The Finnish church became a museum and the Swedish church a sport school. In the Dutch church a new collective theatre sprang up with the name of Theatre of the Master Actor (TAM), which changed its names several times. Other theatres with variety programmes were also founded in the buildings on the street. In the corner of the Nevsky Prospekt a very popular café bistro with the name of Minutka was established in the 1920s, and also a bookstore. The intellectual stance was still furthered by an art gallery and an antique shop. Not only the department store sold clothes; there were other clothing stores as well (Kirikov 2003:89). Firms that had been owned by foreigners, for instance the Swedish firm The Brothers Graham, which was introducing elevators in Russia, left the country when the revolution broke out, and others, such as a travel agency for the North, were evacuated from the city (Kirikov 2003:96). Only the architecture and the newly erected department store functioned as a reminder of pre-revolutionary times, while the Soviet modernism chose completely different traits. The first bus firm opened here and different cultural clubs, for instance for chess, under the new political order. A League for Culture and Education had also worked here, as well as the board of the society Orion, which was a shareholder society of some kind. The office of "Cinetofon Edisona", which promoted cinematographic development, had worked here, but in the 1920s they were gone. What seems to be clear is that theatrical activity carried on, and that several artists and scientists still found their lodgings here. Some socialist national, political and cultural organizations had their quarters here, and were able to stay here for long periods (Kirikov 2003:162, 174–175).

The department store built in 1908 was to become the first state-owned department store in the Soviet Union. It was first created as a war-cooperative commerce centre that in 1927 was given the name the House of the Leningrad Cooperation, later changed to Dom Leningradskoi Torgovli (DLT) or the Commerce House of Leningrad. Strangely enough, Bolshaya Konyushennaya thus preserved a curious urban flavour that differed from other parts of the city (Kirikov 2003:129). In the reign of terror in the 1930s all the families of the old cultural elite were deported and thousands of politically active people also lost their lives. This period before the Second World War affected most part of city life very severely, and here I will not touch upon the even greater disaster of the blockade of Leningrad in the war. It will suffice to say that 470,000 inhabitants of Leningrad lost their lives in the siege that lasted 24 months (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:101–102).

The cities of Europe are full of very complex and traumatic histories. In Helsinki the fifteen bombings of the city in 1939–1944 did not hit the Esplanade. And after the wars, development was taken up once again. The history of St Petersburg is again and again compressed into myths which honour two aspects, the heroes and the sufferings of the city (Hellberg-Hirn 2003:97–122). In such a structure there are very rapid changes in the collective memory according to the political situation. The collective memories cannot linger freely when they have no certain background or historical evidence to attach

their memories to. Mark Crinson also states that because of unassimilable stimuli, urban memory is affected and a process of both restoration and amnesia can set in (Crinson 2005:xviii). The problem of historical oblivion is thus much greater than in Western development and also in what the theories sprung from it let us suspect.

From the post-war years, records of new activities on Bolshaya Konyushennaya are rare in our booklet, but still to be found. We learn that the avenue of lime trees was prospected in 1951, which gave the street a sober look, and that the Dutch church was renovated in 1969−1971 and the library there changed to a bookstore. In the place of Minutka now resided two cafeterias and a restaurant named "Cricket" (Kirikov 2003:76, 88). From 1944 the street had a house for model suits, a forerunner of the fashion house "Nevsky Prospekt" that later, in 2000, changed its name to "Mertens House" alluding to the former address at Bolshaya Konyushennaya. In 1961 the first office in the Soviet Union for long-distance tourism was opened here, while DLT changed its profile to products for children in the 1970s (Kirikov 2003:130).

National Modernism and International Openings

The streets were still main streets in their cities, but Leningrad was not the capital anymore and Helsinki only a small city compared to other capitals. The long period 1917–1990 for the divergent streets, could also be classified according to what this era paid homage to or honoured most. It seems as if the turbulent years around 1920 gave way to silent and at times strong national sentiments and, on the other hand, a quest for normality in Finland, and in Russia an increasingly stronger state control. National and inward-looking traits characterized the streets; in Finland with an eager will to offer domestic design products and in Konyushennaya as a direction mostly to domestic artistic life and consumers who could afford expensive products like furs. But still a kind of hibernation had taken over, although the streets preserved small openings to the greater world because of their cultural stance.

The periods are long and include very tragic moments. A strange inflexibility had set in, the differentiation was low and the stagnation lasted many decades. Even in the 1970s and 80s both streets were still among the most prominent in their respective cities, in spite of their stagnation. The Esplanade received an Alvar Aalto modernist building of its own, the Academic Bookstore, and Stockmann was given a new annex in modernist styled. Big public quarrels about the facades of both the Kämp Hotel and the Argos building ended in the facades being preserved with slight alterations; here the resistance to change was expressed through public opinion. The modernist flexibility in the architecture was displayed in other parts of the city. This can be exemplified by the great suburban processes and modernist buildings, for instance in the adjacent Mannerheim Street (Kervanto-Nevanlinna 2014). But the deepened modernism would also slowly bring new actors to this urban scene of the Esplanade and the hibernation could slowly end.

In Helsinki it began in the park in the middle with the two established restau-

rants, Kapellet and the Royal, both of which were renovated and the latter got a new name. New inventions – night clubs, lunch food etc. − were enough in the 1980s to broaden the clientele. What was needed was more pedestrians and flaneurs because the tourists were not enough (Löfgren & Willim 2005). An association called Pro Esplanade came about. New offers of experiences with more fancy happenings and gatherings drew more people to the street. The association succeeded in promoting the Fish Market at the end of the Esplanade, so that it survived. The "Day of the Book and the Rose" was another events as were the fashion shows of Marimekko right in the middle of the park. The Helsinki parks department did its best to make the park come out in its former splendour. The Christmas market − not a traditional feast in Finland because of the climate − established in 1990 as "Thomas Market" became immensely popular and the Esplanade was again a boulevard in high esteem, this time full of red wooden cabins. The Esplanade was old-fashioned with its preserved buildings and this could be put to use.

It is difficult to know what happened in Leningrad at these times. My own reflections of the city from this period is one of city life that circled more around the daily provision for a living than exhibiting any experience-oriented turns.[6] The department store that I had visited was to become a shareholding company in 1990 (Kirikov 2003:130). In the 1980s it was planned that Bolshaya Konyushennaya would be the first pedestrian street in Leningrad. In this project the Historical Museum of Leningrad was also involved. In a strange way Bolshaya Konyushennaya had preserved its forerunner status even through this turbulent period. The Gorbachev period, on the other hand, held up *perestroika* and *glasnost* as its foremost concepts and some sort of movement in the socialist society began. Bolshaya Konyushennaya looked mundane, with a focus on consumption of home products and clothes that were a little out of the ordinary. Around the corner one sign that something was going on was the opening of Literaturnaya Café on Nevsky Prospekt with a pre-revolutionary interior. The clientele seemed to be very affluent.[7] Would this be a sign of what was to happen next?

The Streets in Upheaval

The obvious research question would of course now be how the fall of Soviet power in 1991 changed the city and especially Bolshaya Konyushennaya. And how could the obvious similarities of Bolshaya Konyushennaya and the Esplanade of the 1990s be understood otherwise than that Bolshaya Konyushennaya was to be influenced by the capitalist order and its focus on consumption. This is of course true. But a deeper angle of approach seems more fruitful. As Michael Dear and Steven Flusty (1999:74–81) have proposed, there is a remarkable change worldwide as the postmodern urban problematic sets in. If capitalism's incremental changes and even the Soviet parenthesis could be considered as long-term processes, also short-term processes in combination with the long-term ones are evidently what manifest themselves in changes that are very abrupt. What was taking place in the 1990s were parallel changes in the streets, at some-

what different speed but nevertheless clearly discernible. These changes might have a joint explanation.

Dear and Flusty, in their innovative analytical strategy of finding ways to describe the urban processes with a mixture of modernist and postmodern categories, proposed for instance the concept of *flexism* in describing the speed and new ways of creating urban space. They also see urbanism as a process "that occupies and utilizes space, as well as production and distribution of commodities", which depend on "reconfigurations of natural processes and their products" (Dear & Flusty 1999:75). Streets in central urban districts must be ones that constitute the last instance for some commodities when they turn from being on sale to coming into private ownership. As busy streets of commerce such streets will hold an essence of something above their overt materiality, and the activity of the streets and the types of commodities on sale will give some clue as to why the streets have gained the position they strove for. This is the question that I am looking to answer. What happened that changed the two streets in the 1900s and early 2000, what caused it to happen and what kind of manifestations did the restoration and the changes bring about?

To such questions the further inquiries of Dear and Flusty also give hints about the answers. Given the global condition that the global political economy has shaped and the *flexism* of the postmodern capitalism, it is probable that both the Esplanade and Bolshaya Konyushennaya were brought into this flexible system almost at the same time. This flexism leads, according to Dear and Flusty, to a pattern of econo-cultural production and consumption characterized by near-instantaneous delivery and rapid redirectability of resource flows. In the background are highly mobile capital and commodity flows that make it possible to outmanoeuvre fixed labour markets, communities and even bounded nation states. This leads to a possibility of very rapid changes in place-based socio-economics that are not led by national or local decision-making (Dear & Flusty 1999:75–76). One can only imagine how new ways of fast delivery and restoration of the facades of both streets came about through competent direction by global actors as well.

Before I continue to illustrate the leading thoughts of the two urban researchers, I will turn to the appearance of the streets in the process that in one instant took them from their state at the end of the 1980s to the middle of the decade starting in 2000. I will thus turn to today's development and see the restoration processes also as restorations of urban practices, which in the globalizing era we live in, might not only point to upheavals of commercial districts but also change them into places of dichotomies of current marginalizing practices of today.

I will first describe the recent upheavals of the streets. After the stagnation of the 1970s and with new commercial take-overs actively led by a group of traders of the Esplanade, the street was again changed in its appearance. When coming from the direction of Helsinki's commercial centre at the Stockmann department store, the street still opens up as a large boulevard with a splendid park in the middle. The Northern Esplanade houses the

most elegant buildings and luxurious shops as well as a range of cafeterias opening up to the park. Two establishments of importance that have been mentioned must be named again. Helsinki's finest Hotel Kämp – in the 1970s in danger of being demolished – now leads its life as the most elegant hotel in town, owned by a British firm. The other establishment is a new one, the Kämp Galleria, an inner-city mall with the most expensive shops for foreign brands. Especially in summer, the sight and the sites make up a festive urban view with a touch of refinement. Sharon Zukin speaks of a change in the habitus of cities and in their social and cultural environment. In the innermost parts an urban village is recreated and rehabilitated to fit into "interesting" aesthetical visions (Zukin 2011:301). The groups of young people picnicking on the grass in the Esplanade Park seem to be in favour of urban leisure right in the middle of the city, and the urban village is here. What you do not see are migrants and poorer people. The goods on sale along the street are something new for Helsinki, international trend marks and brands: Louis Vuitton, Longchamps, at a time also Meissen porcelain, and Laura Ashley along with the national brands of Marimekko, Arabia, Aarikka and Annikki Karvinen. The Renaissance buildings are polished and illuminated up in different colours in winter. When viewed from a distance, the centrality is clear.

Late modern landscapes are often said to be more like facades of life, and M. Christine Boyer speaks of some perceivable spaces as "urban tableaus", where a centred composition is the leading structure, thus actively ignoring the reality of the contemporary fragmentation and indeterminancies of present-day cities. Such historical urban tableaus, streets with a focus, parts with old buildings nicely fitted together or marketplace areas with a precious background, are predominantly situated in the centres of the cities and seem to be examples of historical preservation intended to give a picturesque impression to the visitors. Boyer, on the other hand, underscores that such tableaus are constructed for the today's uses and as such are new places mentally (Boyer 2001:368–369, 372). She also declares that a well-composed city tableau is itself an incomplete and impoverished picture that can be sustained only by inventing traditions and narrative stories that thus are required for its support (Boyer 2001:440). Some of the invented traditions of the 1980s Esplanade still linger on, but the look is now extremely prosperous and chic. Historical comparisons with the turn of the century and 1900 can be made in the numerous reprints of the Buffalo and the Bullfinch.

Bolshaya Konyushennaya for its part seems to be the result of many restorations of the buildings. Smaller smart hotels, not that expensive, have opened up in the once large flats, small outdoor coffee shops have established themselves in the middle of the street under the boulevard of trees, and a clear influx of expensive shops can be seen: Italian fashion, boutiques for French handbags and some more luxurious restaurants on a side street. A clear corresponding feature to the Kämp Galleria, which is a phenomenon of the 1990s, the department store of Bolshaya Konyushennaya will once more present a

From the corner of Bolshaya Konyushennaya and Nevsky Prospekt. On the corner a bookstore. Photo: Anna-Maria Åström 2012.

splendid appearance. Its restoration work promises a historical renaissance; without knowing its troublesome history of the 1910s, both its difficulties in the beginning and its closure and change into a very mundane though comparatively affluent shopping place in the Soviet system, one could even ponder about its status. Could it be a replica to underscore the historicity of the street or is it a *pastiche* of something that never came true? Its elegance is a strange reminiscence that points to a capitalist St Petersburg wakening up. Newcomers among the shops are the rapidly established Lego, Brunello Cucinelli, Louis Vuitton, Dior, a fur gallery and numerous design shops, for instance an "Interni Salon" with international brands such as Ronald Schmitt, Artemide lamps, Poggenpohl and Kettnaker and in another design gallery Bulthaupt, Grange and Lignet Roset. In Armani Casa one can buy Hermes scarves, Puifurcat kitchenware and Saint-Louis lifestyle commodities. The names of the boutiques such as "Fransuskaya Galleria" and Moderno Bellisimo (Kirikov 2003, 26, 175) seem somewhat spurious. As a national equivalent we also meet with the Russian Imperial Porcelain Factory, which hibernated by the name of Russian Lomonosov Factory in Leningrad, at number 2 Bolshaya Konyushennaya.

Thus we can point to the facts that international commodity flows are apparent, but not just any flows, but those of a very

Small hotels and many shops on Bolshaya Konyushennaya. Photo: Anna-Maria Åström 2012.

high level and distinct design type. The affluence of the commodities and hence the customers is at least one kind of symbiosis that could be found in the streets. Another upheaval and return concerns the Scandinavian presence. The churches have been given back to the former congregations or successors to them, a Finnish House, with trading representatives and a Russian-Finnish Chamber of Commerce has been established in 2009 as a neighbour to the Finnish Maria-church. The small side street Shvedski Perelyok has got a Swedish restaurant named Walhall Due to the small hotels the atmosphere is once again very international.

The publication of the booklet Bolshaya Konyushennaya can also be seen in the light of historical restoration. After the Soviet era, with its official secrecy in all aspects of public and private life, this little book on the street and similar books on other streets are now giving back their official history from the eighteenth century up to the present. The book can act as a "balancing historical evidence" in the up-

heaval process of the street. The former glory comes alive in a matter of fact way. The popularity of the St Petersburg street books and "From the Buffalo to the Bullfinch" and its successors show the huge interest in the history of the cities at the turn of the century 2000. With the two popular books 1976 and 2003 the details have been preserved and the changes in the new millennia can be reappraised from a solid footing.

As streets are public and the streets Bolshaya Konyushennaya and the Esplanade are also passing streets or "route streets" pedestrians of many types also use them. But some barriers are to be seen and the preferable customers are those that can afford to join in the consumption. Even with lesser means it is worthwhile coming here, but the questions is would one feel wanted? As a main street from the harbour in Helsinki the Northern Esplanade is the natural tourist choice for strolling and as a side street of Nevsky Bolshaya Konyushennaya might be the best place to calm down a little. The new hotels guarantee a stream of tourist starting from here and returning for rest. But clearly they are areas directed to a special clientele.

According to Dear and Flusty (1999: 75), this has to do with human action in relation to production, consumption and coercion. With their neologism *flexism* they try to analyse the new patterns of econocultural production and consumption. It is apparent that some kind of systems that combine highly mobile capital and commodity flows are at stake. We can also look at the streets in their new appearances as *pastiches* of themselves. They now seem to have regained their former status as very exclusive and elevated streets, offering commodities to a wealthy class that can buy them to distinguish themselves as the leading and trend-setting groups in their respective cities. For this situation Dear and Flusty would offer yet another neologism: The leading agents are now what they call the *cybergeoisie*, consisting of a class that provides "indispensable, presently unautomatable command-and-control functions". They are stockholders of corporations, freelancers and entrepreneurs and even members of creative professions. The global exchange of goods and information is in their hands (Dear & Flusty 1999:76). At least some of this class must in our cases have established themselves as running firms in the cities and meeting local partners, exemplifying "exogenous investment process inherent to flexism" (Dear & Flusty 1999: 77).

For our purposes, however, it is also tempting to see the bigger outlines not only for consumption but in changing the look of the streets to become more homogeneous areas. As they come to look like one another in different cities, they could thus be parts of what the researchers call Citystat or "the collective world city" that has two types of local connection: *commudities* for the cybergeoisie and *in-beyonds* for the *protosurps*. Thus the commudities, which are "commodified communities created expressly to satisfy (and profit from) the habitat preferences of the well recompensed cybergeoisie" can become some kind of commercial ecologies.

As there is also, at least in the case of the Northern Esplanade of Helsinki, a clear resemblance to the urban village, at least in summer with the park full of pic-

nickers, we can also relate to Sharon Zukin's analysis and confirm that in such renovated districts new areas that consist of shopping streets, combining commercial interests and public parks into clean and safe districts, have been established. In such districts the use of private entrepreneurs is increasingly common and thus the public spaces are more and more taken over by private business. Sharon Zukin is concerned about the authenticity of the districts (Zukin 2011:162). In this article I have been more concerned with how the history of the two streets can be captured behind the exclusive facades. Without knowing the history behind, it would be difficult to concur with the analyses of Dear, Flusty and Zukin. I am not able to tell whether the streets are authentic or not, only that their changes go in similar directions.

Apparently my two examples were well suited for exemplifying changes over time and periods of stagnation, but it remains to be analysed what kind of understanding the inhabitants and the users of the streets – and those who do not use them – have of them. Both streets have had some resistance in changing their entire appearance, but also in the last decade a resilience to change in the direction that obscure their history. The pastiche-like return to the turn of the century and 1900 is no chance – at the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki there is in this spring 2015 a play called *The Esplanade*, reviving the literary circles of the flaneurs – and thus it seems that the slow modernism or the extraordinarily brutal history of the twentieth century are much diminished or even totally neglected today. It may well be that it is the old architecture that is the cause of that. A street as a panorama is easier to capture than the silent or disrupting histories behind it.

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Notes

1 My first cultural-historical review of Bolshaya Konyushennaya appeared in Swedish in 2011 (Åström 2011).

2 The book written by Kirikov has been more complicated to use as my knowledge of Russian is not the best. But here my colleagues have come to my help in checking my interpretations of the parts that have been used. The Kirikov book uses written sources from 1960−2002 and also titles from predominantly three historical periods (two from 1770−1790; four from 1830−1850 and four from 1880−1918). As in the Buffalo and the Bullfinch, the sources are not stated in the text but only in a list of literature. So the reader must totally rely on the interpretations of the authors.

3 The Buffalo and the Bullfinch (1976) was researched and composed by the journalists Kaija Ollila and Kirsi Toppari on the basis of their newspaper articles published in 1967−1970 in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the largest newspaper in Finland. As their sources they mention research monographs on the history of Helsinki, illustrated books, memoirs and fiction. Additionally they have used archive materials on the properties presented and interviews they conducted in the years 1975–76. Although written by amateurs in historical writing, this book is reliable in its use of sources. The reliability of the interviews is the same as in ethnological interviews and will be used in accordance with this.

4 As a curiosity one could list the inhabitants of one building of the adjacent number 3 Malaya Konyushennaya at the turn of the century: the artists V. Paterson and K. P. Maser, the jeweller K. F. Ekstedt, the Bolin family, architect

K. K. Andersson, the industrialist L. Nobel, the tailor Lindvall and K. G. Mannerheim (Kirikov 2003:36).

5 The Finns for instance were bilingual or trilingual, so that those from more Russian areas spoke Russian as a second language, Finns from Finland proper could use Swedish as a second language and Swedish speakers German besides their knowledge of Russian (Engman 2004:359–368).

6 In a two-week stay in St Petersburg I roamed the city, entering shops and a rudimentary network of restaurants. Apart from the department store in Bolshaya Konyushennaya, I visited another and some cafés in Petrogradskaya district. The overall picture was mundane; for instance, the great merchant house Gostinii Dvor housed very elementary commodities and someone acquainted only with the appearance in 2000 would not be able to imagine its atmosphere in the 1980s.

7 It honoured both Pushkin and other celebrities from the history of literary Russia; the authenticity of the café was guaranteed by the furniture being a loan from the Pushkin Museum around the other corner of Bolshaya Konyushennaya. To invite people to such an interior – this was not a museum – was an invitation to another world, which at that time only a few could afford. The actors of these changes seemed to be the consumption providers themselves. With cooperation and a clear plan for restoring the grandeur of the streets, the agents sought to bring about a thorough change.

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Islands in the Sun

Storytelling, Place & *Terroir* in Food Production on Nordic Islands[1]

By Hanne Pico Larsen & Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch

Åland has always had a special status as a group of islands between Finland and Sweden. A matter not always noted is that the Ålandic kitchen constitutes a unique food region in Finland (…) An explanation for this development can be found in a strong attachment to one's own soil, agriculture, the archipelago and the sea. Add a tradition of seafaring, trade and entrepreneurship and the result spells the food destination Åland (Kenneth Nars, *Affärsmagasinet Forum* 27.9.2014 http://www.forummag.fi/matlust-pa-aland).[2]

Food, as defined by Encyclopaedia Britannica, is "material consisting essentially of protein, carbohydrate, and fat used in the body of an organism to sustain growth, repair, and vital processes and to furnish energy" (http://global.britannica.com). However, beyond nourishment food is also many other things, such as business, politics, entertainment – and a common ingredient in the construction of place identity. In this article, we propose that islands as *bordered places* constitute particularly illuminating examples of how food is constructed as local – that is *place-specific* – in the process of food production. Food production, here, is taken to cover the production of raw produce, as well as the production of refined food items (e.g. beer, jam and bread) and ready-made dishes. We will discuss how and to what effect food entrepreneurs on Nordic islands combine story-motifs in the form of images, tropes and stereotypes with present day trends in food production and consumption. Our premise is that stereotypes and characteristics pertaining to islands might yield benefits in this connection. Food entrepreneurs need to distinguish their product and make consumers relate to it. This tends to be done by using established motifs and images evoking a range of consumer values (such as authenticity, artisanship, and heritage). Frequently, these motifs and images have strong moral values connected with them. The so-called New Nordic Food movement is, directly or indirectly, an influence on many food entrepreneurs. We will investigate to what degree the particular kind of storytelling intrinsic to the gourmet side of the New Nordic Cuisine is employed by island entrepreneurs and how food tourism has become an increasingly important niche intertwined with food production. Moreover, we aim to ascertain the various ways in which the themes of place and taste are interrelated, juxtaposed and constructed in this context.

Ny Nordisk Mad II (New Nordic Food II) is a programme under the Nordic Council of Ministers intended to promote Nordic food in the region and beyond. The inspiration for the programme stems from the Manifesto of New Nordic Cuisine that was drawn up and signed by a group of twelve high-profile Nordic chefs in 2004. Apart from the ambition to encourage healthy eating in the Nordic countries, the NNF programme aims to promote Nordic food as an opportunity for marketing and branding.[3] Consequently, the NNF website provides practical advice (even checklists) for how to plan a meeting, presentation or similar event with New Nordic Food catering. Among the tools recommended for the event are concepts, design, decoration – and storytelling. The NNF website states that stories and narratives are shared "in every culture as a means of entertainment, education, cultural preservation and in order to instil moral values". After suggesting different types of stories that could fit the occasion, the NNF

recommendation concludes that "in regards to the meal or food it's a good idea to tell a story that gives the meal some perspective. It can be a story describing the origins of the different courses or the produce used. [But] there is no limit to what stories can be told about the meal. The only rule is to make sure it enhances the guest's meal experience" (www.nfd.nynordiskmad.org).

Stories, evidently, can make eating more meaningful. What humans eat is about availability, but also, as demonstrated already back in the early days of food ethnography, about traditions, beliefs and narratives (Harris 1997). When it comes to eating, culture often takes precedence over pure nutritional needs. If a certain food item becomes associated with a particular discourse, its desirability might change. In the contemporary Western world, where consuming food entails an abundance of options and considerations for the majority of people, the stories and images connected with various foods are frequently decisive for the culinary choices made. Our interest concerns food stories connected with island, and how the "island-factor" (arguably) makes eating more meaningful.

Our case studies are the Åland Islands and the apple orchards on the Danish island of Lilleø. Åland is an autonomous, Swedish-speaking region of Finland, consisting of an archipelago of approximately 6 500 islands and skerries. The population is around 28 600, whereof the majority lives on the main island. The Ålandic economy is dominated by shipping and tourism. Not least because of the semi-independent status, Åland has a strong sense of local identity. Lilleø is situated north of Lolland in the south of Denmark. This literally small island (Lilleø means "little island") is just over eight square kilometres and has seven permanent inhabitants (in January 2014). In spite of its small size the island looms large in the awareness of Danish food lovers. It has a long tradition of growing apples, but in recent years the island has also become known for its affiliation with food entrepreneur Claus Meyer and restaurant Noma. Both Claus Meyer and Noma collaborate with farmers on the island in developing liquid delights such as juice, cider, vinegar and wine. However, due to its small size and few inhabitants, Lilleø is not a main tourist destination such as Åland. Instead the popular produce is exported. Within our study, we have conducted interviews with food entrepreneurs and people in different ways involved in food production on Åland and Lilleø. Those who we have talked to in their official capacity are quoted with their names. Apart from the fieldwork material from our two main case studies we will be drawing upon a broad material of literature, newspaper articles, brochures, and web sources pertaining to Nordic islands such as Bornholm, Öland, Fyn and Muhu. All of these islands have in common that they have been successful in marketing their placeness ("islandness") either in food production or as food destination, or both.

Branding and the Taste of Place

Storytelling is one of the most common strategies for strengthening brands, both internally and externally, to create strong bonds between brand and consumer, and ultimately to secure consumer loyalty. In the Western world, the market economy

increasingly builds on emotions and the pursuit of the ideal life. Hence, the need for good stories become more apparent, and storytelling has been turned into a popular tool for building brands: "as a concept, storytelling has won a decisive foothold in the debate on how brands of the future will be shaped" (Fog, Budtz, Munch & Blancette 2010:17, see also Hansen 2012).

There is a multifaceted relationship between food and branding. On the one hand, branding strategies are employed in order to market and sell food items. On the other hand, food items and food production are increasingly used in the creation of brands. Both of these aspects appear in our case material on Nordic islands. An important part of the NNF programme is to "strengthen the region's competitive edge on the increasingly aggressive global food market" (http://newnordicfood.org/about-nnf-ii/om/) as well as to encourage the use of Nordic food as a tool for promotion. The values singled out in the very first paragraph of the New Nordic Cuisine manifesto, "to express the purity, freshness, simplicity and ethics we wish to associate to our region" (http://newnordicfood.org/about-nnf-ii/new-nordic-kitchen-manifesto/), are cornerstones of the NNF Programme and are frequently suggested being characteristic of the Nordic region as such, thus simultaneously evoking *Nordic* as a brand.

However, combined food and branding projects are not a new concept in the Nordic countries. For example, long before the New Nordic Cuisine manifesto of 2004, the regional development project *Skärgårdssmak* ("A flavour of the Archipelago") used food as a tool for regional branding and regional development initiatives. *Skärgårdssmak* was developed as a regional-political project financed by EU's Interreg IIIA (IIA)[4] and the national governments in Finland and Sweden between the years 1996 and 2006. The *Skärgårdssmak*-area extends across national borders and comprises the greater Stockholm archipelago, the Åland Islands and the archipelago of Southwest Finland. The incentive for initiating the project was to develop local industry and commerce but also to promote regional identity. The plan was implemented by introducing a quality label (i.e. the trademark white wave on a blue background) to be used by the project participants of restaurants, food and raw produce suppliers, artisans and local grocery shops that fulfilled the requirements. The programme on the whole was deemed as very successful (Gripenberg 2006:6, 23). Consequently, after the Interreg IIIA programme ended, *Skärgårdssmak* was continued by being turned into a commercial limited company in 2007.

In her study of regional food projects, Susanne Heldt Cassel names regional branding as the most prominent aspect of the *Skärgårdssmak* project. Promoting the Swedish-Ålandic-Finnish archipelago as *one* region was in line with EU's regional politics and the overarching idea of European integration. However, there are also many examples of regional food projects that have different aims, such as creating local networks (Heldt Cassel 2003:58, 77, 151). Regional food culture has become a favoured strategy to promote economic and rural growth in regions suffering recession (see Tellström, Gustavsson & Mossberg 2006:131). Since the initiation

of the *Skärgårdssmak* project in 1996, the interest in the connection between food and place has reached new heights. Today, "local food" is a catchphrase heavily employed in a wide range of contexts, of which the NNF movement is but one example. While the *Skärgårdssmak* project was marketing the archipelago as a setting in which to experience extraordinary food sensations, the branding message today contains an even stronger intertwining of food and place. "The taste of…" has become a ubiquitous slogan applied to specific localities as well as more unspecific larger regions, in both cases indicating a literal consumption of place.

The idea of "taste of place" is well established in *haute cuisine* through the French concept of *terroir*. A product's *terroir* is affected by everything from the composition of the soil to the local climate, in other words, everything that can be said to add to a distinctive taste and flavour. The American anthropologist Amy B. Trubek has described *terroir* as a story, a narrative, about a product's unique background. These narratives not only lend the product a sense of authenticity but also help the consumer to localize the product geographically and within a system of values and ideals (Trubek 2008). Traditionally connected with French wine production to secure and regulate distinct regional tradition, know-how, soil complexion and quality (see e.g. Høyrup & Munk 2007), the concept of *terroir* is presently used for a wide range of products as a stamp of quality (see e.g. Schousboe 2014). The elite chefs adhering to the New Nordic Cuisine frequently refer to *terroir* in the Nordic context, pointing to the advantages of the Nordic conditions – such as many hours of daylight – for various food produce (Hermansen 2012; Meyer & Ehler 2006). In this context, the concept, "local food" is closely related to and sometimes overlapping with *terroir*. The notion of place-related food covers a plethora of concerns ranging from taste, nutrition and health to patriotism, politics, ecology, and ethics (see e.g. Amilien, Torjusen & Vittersø 2005; Hermansen 2012; Bendix & Fenske 2014). As pointed out by Lucy R. Lippard, "the lure of the local is that undertone to modern life that connects it to the past we know so little and the future we are aimlessly concocting" (Lippard 1997:7).

In the context of food, "local" has more or less become synonymous with reliability and good taste (in both respects of the word). Despite the fact that the interest in local food is often described as a recent fad, this culinary trend can be traced back to the introduction of *Nouvelle Cuisine* in France in the 1960s (Jönsson 2013:56). The strong emphasis in *Nouvelle Cuisine* on fresh and locally produced foods was picked up by Scandinavian chefs, and place-specificity soon came to signal quality. To the point, ethnologist Håkan Jönsson quips, that "reading a menu in a fine-dining restaurant in Sweden has gradually turned into a geography lesson" (ibid.:59−60).

Emphasizing the local yields results in food branding and tends to attract urban consumers who associate the label of "local food" with authenticity (Tellström, Gustavsson & Mossberg 2006:135f., 138, 140). However, the formula of authenticity-through-locality involves a great deal of flexibility. Obvious constructions such as New Nordic Food, representing a huge

geographical area comprising all of Scandinavia including Iceland and Finland, can thus stand for "local food" (Skaarup 2013: 50). Not even geographical proximity is needed for a perceived closeness in food production. As observed by Jon Thor Pétursson, even food that has travelled across the globe can gain the badge of locality and trustworthiness if convincingly personalized (Pétursson 2013).

Brand humanization is a vital part of branding strategy. Marketing scholars Anne-Marie Hede and Torgeir Watne suggest that creating a sense of place encourages consumers to connect emotionally with a brand. Stories drawing upon traditional folk motifs has proved to be an efficient means to promote the consumer's proclivity to relate to the place-consciousness of a region (Hede & Watne 2013: 207f., 211, 218). In the next section we aim to investigate how a focus on place and traditional motifs regarding islands has been employed in this context.

The Island Advantage

Islands, as well as rural areas, are often marginalized and suffer both political and economic disadvantages and distress when people move away due to unemployment, the attraction of urban centres and other reasons (Lyck 2014). However, in recent years, some of the stereotypes and characteristics connected with islands seem to present a place branding advantage to food entrepreneurs. Indeed, not all places are created equal, and even a cursory look at food marketed through place connections demonstrates that some places are more compelling than others (see e.g. Burstedt 2002). Certain places and conditions seem to lend themselves more easily to the building of *terroir*-stories (Trubek 2008:123). Interestingly, regions like islands and rural areas, perceived as marginalized and disadvantaged, often take a central role in food storytelling. In this study, we look in particular at how Nordic islands have used their "islandness" to turn a seemingly unfavourable situation into an asset in both tourism and product branding.

Islands, as pointed out by John Gillis, are perceived as remote, and remote places are often associated with a quality of pastness regardless of their actual history. Consequently, islands are also regarded as older, more isolated, and more rooted than other places (Gillis 2001). Performing islandness is closely tied to heritage production, notes Owe Ronström in his study of heritage processes on the island of Gotland. When island heritage is being produced for tourism, island "qualities" such as remoteness, a slower pace of life and authenticity tend to be emphasized (Ronström 2008:2, 7, 15). The Nordic countries, especially the area stretching from the east coast of Sweden through the Ålandic archipelago to the west coast of Finland, have among the greatest density of islands in the world (Ronström 2009). Questions regarding branding, identity and economic survival are naturally vital to the island communities of the Baltic Sea. The present day interest in artisan and small-scale food production has created new income opportunities for farmers and entrepreneurs in marginalized areas (Bonow & Rytkönen 2013:81). It should come as no surprise that the stereotypes of island heritage production merge with the tropes of the successful New Nor-

dic Cuisine. However, the level of how deliberately and consciously this connection is made and turned into a *terroir*-narrative among the island food entrepreneurs obviously varies.

One example of a conscious performance of islandness, is the apple orchards of the Danish island Lilleø. The owner of the orchard is Claus Meyer, one of the most influential food entrepreneurs in Denmark and co-founder of the world famous restaurant Noma in Copenhagen. Meyer was until recently also the owner of several other food related businesses such as Meyers Madhus and Meyer's bakeries as well as the commercial production of fruit juices and vinegars made from Lilleø-apples.[5] As one of the early and high profile advocates of the New Nordic Cuisine, Meyer is well familiar with the vocabulary of the gastronomic world and the description of the island orchards from Meyer's own webpages is a textbook example of a *terroir*-story:

> The island Lilleø has a unique micro climate and is one the smallest islands in Denmark. It is situated in the sea surrounded by the islands of Zealand, Møn, Falster and Lolland. Since the 1930ties fruit farming has been the main activity of the island which today has more than 25 apple cultivars. There is no irrigation on the island which leads to a smaller yield compared to the traditional orchards. Plenty of night dew, the salty sea air and the smaller yield contribute to giving the fruits a great intense taste. The fruit trees are normally cut down when they are 15 years old, but on this island many of the trees are both 20 and 60 years old which gives them a first class quality of taste. Unique for Lilleø is also its vineyard. Hansen's vineyard produces top quality wines for Noma (http://www.clausmeyer.dk/en/the_island_lilleoe.html).

In this presentation, the island conditions are not only attested to yield high quality products, but to constitute a unique combination of micro factors that suggest, what we have elsewhere referred to as, a Nordic island *superterroir* (Larsen & Österlund-Pötzsch 2013). The island landscape together with the perception of islands as somehow more genuine, remote, natural, and even older, than the mainland, serves as the ingredients for a perfect *terroir*-narrative. The island format condenses, exotifies and lends authenticity – in this perspective even a commercial venture such as large scale growing of apple trees seems closer to traditional forging than modern-day industries. In fact, island stereotypes seem to go hand in hand with a "taste of place"-branding. Similarly, when the Finnish food-critic Kenneth Nars describes the local food on the Åland islands in his food guide to Åland (*Åländsk matguide. Vägvisare till åländska smakupplevelser*, 2009), he singles out the islandness of Åland as decisive: "As all islands, Åland has due to its isolation been able to preserve its food culture in a different way than on the mainland. But at the same time the Ålandic seafarers have throughout history brought impressions, ideas and flavours with them from countries far away. On Åland, food culture has always been a mix of traditional Ålandic and foreign impressions" (Nars 2009). The island paradox of simultaneously being isolated *and* well connected is in other words seen as characteristic of the Ålandic cuisine. In the same vein, assumed island qualities of authenticity, a slower pace of life and a sense of history all go to support claims of a *terroir*-product. From a brand-building perspective there is plenty to draw upon in terms of

perceived island lifestyle and island nostalgia to appeal to a large set of (urban) consumers (cf. Trubek 2008:16, 212f., 236).

However, there are other, and very concrete, ways in which the island-factor can play a significant part in food branding. Locality is frequently used as a framework for food projects. Nevertheless, defining what actually is local is often problematic. What counts as local is ultimately socially constructed and fluid (Østrup Backe 2013: 60). In this case, the clear-cut borders of islands are beneficial. Lena Brenner, developer at the Ålandic Agricultural Centre and Chair of the NNF steering committee, describes the island frame as helpful in arranging local food events such as the Ålandic harvest festival:

> Yes, I do believe it is a huge advantage. I'm in contact with many similar food projects and events on both the Swedish and the Finnish side. And the biggest problem they have, and constantly complain about, is where to draw the line. What is locally produced? When you've drawn a border there is always someone on the other side of it that also wants to come along. This issue always comes up, they say they are a bit jealous of Åland because it is so crystal clear here – the border is Åland. You don't need to discuss it because it is obvious and natural (Interview with Lena Brenner SLS 2014:31).

As noted above, food is often used for marketing place and seems to be a particularly common strategy for marketing islands. Ronström describes how the well-known Gotlandic saffron pancake is perceived as a typical and traditional local dish, although it was in fact a fairly uncommon food until the 1970s. The saffron pancake simply fit the bill for a local delicacy. The dish consequently became "islanded" and part of the Gotland brand – standing for uniqueness, island magic and island *terroir* (Ronström 2012:254f.). On the other hand, connecting a food item to an island might make the product itself more recognisable. The fact that Lilleø-apples stem from an island – a clearly distinguishable area – has greatly benefitted their marketing, as Lilleø fruit grower and vineyard owner Hans Lund Hansen testifies (interview 14.8.2012). Even disadvantages and challenges can have positive consequences. In 2006, Lilleø was flooded and a large part of the island's orchards were badly damaged. However, the media coverage secured nationwide sympathy, which, Hans Lund Hansen recounts, resulted in more attention and interest in the apples from the small island. Narratives of David vs. Goliath and the unlikely winner's success against the odds are common in folk culture and tend to raise sympathy. Consequently, a brand biography of disadvantage and struggle can give rise to an "underdog effect" of increased brand loyalty among consumers (Paharia, Keinan, Avery & Schor 2011:775f.). The relative smallness and vulnerability of islands put into contrast with large-scale national actors may thus have valuable marketing effects for the perceived underdog.

Island Entrepreneurship

Godfrey Baldacchino, scholar of island studies, ponders the problem of how to bring about the transformation from smallness and isolation to becoming a powerful centre for sustainable growth and prosperity. He answers the question by pointing to the branding of niche products. The marketing strategy in this case involves branding goods and services as belonging specifically to a distinct loca-

Apple orchard at Lilleø, Denmark, 2013. Photo: Morten Sørensen.

tion. He identifies breweries as a particularly suitable niche for many small island jurisdictions around the globe (Baldacchino 2010:62, 64). Hede and Watne also single out microbreweries as successful in using a sense of place for their brand narratives. Microbreweries are contrasted with national and international mass brewery brands to the advantage of the former. Increasingly, beer consumers are turning away from national beer brands because of their homogeneity (Hede & Watne 2013:212f.). Microbreweries, for the connoisseurs as well as the general beer-drinking public, have come to represent character, craftsmanship and tradition as well as innovation and novelty. Moreover, beer produced on small islands is often tied to place by the use of local ingredients (Baldacchino 2010:66), which further enhances the uniqueness of the product.

As a case in point, the Ålandic microbrewery Stallhagen has, despite some initial struggles, thus far been a success story. In 2013, Finnish newspapers reported that the demand for Stallhagen beer was greater than the brewery's production capacity (*Ålandstidningen* 8.1.2013, *Hbl* 3.10.2013). Stallhagen beer is mainly sold on the local Ålandic market, but is also exported to the Finnish mainland and Sweden. Stallhagen's main profile is as a microbrewery making "Hand-made Slow Beer" using natural raw products. Apart from the use of local ingredients, there are also several further references to a "sense of place" in their production. For example,

Ålandic apples used as decoration underscoring the maritime theme typical for islands, 2012. Photo: Tobias Pötzsch.

the Stallhagen III lager has an Ålandic flag on its label and the webpage presentation of the beer provides the history of the flag as well as a description of the beer. The brewery produces the annual seasonal beer *Stallhagen Skördefest* in time for the popular Ålandic harvest festival. The autonomous island community and its local practices are decidedly part of the brand narrative for the brewery.

Let us take a few further examples from other Ålandic food producers that emphasize local conditions in their brand stories. The Ålandic dairy, ÅCA (Ålands centralandelslag), describes their location as a boon for manufacturing milk products:

> In the dairy we refine milk from the unpolluted Ålandic nature into delicious and healthy products. We know our farmers well and the milk we receive is always of the very best quality. Moreover, as the transportation distances are short the milk is very fresh when it arrives at the dairy. With such excellent conditions it feels natural to us to be especially careful in manufacturing our products. We are eager to preserve the knowledge we have inherited from the tradition of Ålandic dairy production going back hundreds of years. Since we are a small dairy, we can let the craftsmanship of our staff contribute to the taste as well as the feeling of our products[6] (http://www.aca.ax/mejeriprodukter-fran-alandsmejeriet).

The expected food marketing catchwords of unpolluted, delicious, healthy, high quality and craftsmanship are all there, but the text also makes references to stereotypical island qualities such as smallness and well preserved ancient traditions.[7] The smallness of the place, here, does not only provide the advantage of short distances resulting in fresher milk, but also in the close personal relationships ("we know our farmers well") presumably characterizing a close-knit traditional community. The portrayed island conditions evoke both trustworthiness and nostalgia. Here, it is not just the flavour and quality of the product that matters – but to an almost equal degree all the practices surrounding the food.

Apple farming is one of the dominant agricultural niches on Åland. The conditions on Åland are generally advantageous for apple orchards and certain varieties of apple trees that do not grow well in the rest of Finland can be found here. During the last number of years, Ålandic orchards have produced over sixty per cent of the total Finnish apple harvest (http://www.maataloustilastot.fi/sv/appeltradstatistik). Many of the Ålandic apple growers also produce various apple-based products. In the presentations of some of the largest producers, an emphasis on the "sundrenchedness" of the Ålandic apples is a common denominator:

> Peders Aplagård is the southernmost apple orchard in Finland. We are located in the archipelago community of Kökar. Kökar is one of the places in the Nordic countries that have the most hour of sun per year. This fact gives us thoroughly sundrenched and aromatic apples that we take pride in[8] (http://www.aplagarden.net/).

> A taste of the Sun. Good taste from a farm with a long history. For thirteen generations fruit has been grown on the Karl-Ers farm in Tjudö on the North of Åland. Now we continue this heritage and carefully look after our orchards and the environment. Karl-Ers is one of the largest orchards in Finland (…). Our products get their flavour from the many hours of sun on Åland and are refined with knowledgeable sensitivity[9] (http://www.karl-ersfrukt.ax/).

> Åland is the apple orchard of Finland. The climate is favourable with many hours of sun and an autumn that lingers. In many villages the apple trees are plentiful and here the apples are allowed to ripen on the branches in the agreeable archipelago air. Grannas Apples is one of the larger orchards on Åland and we are located in the village Västanträsk in Finström. Every year we pick large quantities of apples by hand from our trees. Some are sold as they are and others are squeezed into a delicious and natural juice[10] (http://www.grannas.ax/hem.html).

There is no mentioning of the term *terroir* in these texts, neither can any elaborate taste of place-story be found. Nevertheless, the basic ingredients of linking a product to a place and its specific conditions are clearly stated, as are the references to cultural tradition. Both Karl-Ers and Grannas Apples mention that they are quite large orchards, but they also point out that they continue a heritage (Karl-Ers) and that they pick their apples by hand (Grannas). The simple combining of tradition, sun and the island conditions, taken together, still paints a convincing island *terroir* story.

In all the examples above, the entrepreneurs and companies are of course describing the realities "as they are": Åland *is* indeed a small island enjoying a typical sea climate with mild autumns and a statistically high number of sun hours in a Nordic perspective. Our point was to draw attention to how these facts very smoothly become motifs in taste of

place-storytelling. Whereas these stories tend to be fairly subtle, or perhaps incidental in the case of smaller entrepreneurs, the detailed *terroir*-narratives are ample among gourmet restaurants. An example of this can be found on the Danish island of Bornholm, situated off the Swedish southeast coast – and a recent hotspot of gourmet cuisine.[11]

On the welcoming page of the local restaurant Kadeau, we get yet another description of a powerful connection to place:

> In the very periphery of Denmark, on the south coast of the small island of Bornholm, Kadeau is set in an updated beach pavilion – the only neighbours being the forest, the beach and the sea. We love food and wine with a sense of terroir, and therefore we source the best local produce and through old as well as new cooking techniques we turn that produce into modern gastronomy. But really it's all about the forest and the beach. The sky and the sea. Our love of Bornholm and our love of food (http://www.kadeau.dk/bornholm_english.php).

The periphery becomes the centre and the old and the new meet in Kadeau's sense of place story. The theme of exploring *terroir* features heavily in other island gourmet restaurants' statements as well. At Restaurant Alexander on the Estonian island of Muhu, the concept of a common Nordic Island cuisine is developed – the underlying argument being that despite different conditions and geographical locations the islands of the Baltic Sea share many key factors:

> Here at Pädaste Manor we decided to backtrace, to unfold and rediscover along the paths of these traditions and to embark on what we decided to call our *Expedition in Search of the Nordic Islands' Cuisine.* This fascinating venture involves visits to our fellow Island communities and their farmers, artisans, fishermen and hunters and at the same time is also a conceptual journey, discovering our terroir. We offer flavours which get their character from the produce, techniques and recipes originating in the Nordic Islands – the terroir and the seasons are guiding us in our cuisine. Despite their diverse geographical locations, the islands of the Nordic Islands' Cuisine area share many similarities: flavourful meats such as high quality lamb, venison, moose and wild boar, glorious fish such as flounder, cod and whitefish, not forgetting root vegetables, honey, herbs, leeks, wild mushrooms and a plethora of berries. Forests, meadows and the shores of the Estate offer an abundance of wild greens and herbs for daily foraging (http://www.padaste.ee/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/NIC_ENG_2014.pdf).

The various local raw produce as well as refined local products, as shown above, have been conducive in turning disadvantaged islands into profitable holiday destinations. Food production is no longer predominantly for export but an increasingly compelling incentive for tourism. As noted by marketing scholars, the role of local and regional food can provide many benefits for a particular area, not least in reinforcing brand identity and enhancing attractiveness of a destination, but also in supporting local business and generating local pride (Du Rand, Heath & Alberts 2003:100). Tellingly, at the same time as the island-*terroir* stories build on familiar and well-established motifs, one of the main messages the stories aim to communicate is that of uniqueness and difference.

Ålandic *superterroir*. Lamb from the small island of Björkö in the Ålandic archipelago. 2012. Photo: Susannne Österlund-Pötzsch.

Stories of Exclusivity

If one happens to browse through the official Visit Åland website it may come as something of a surprise to see that "Champagne" is one of the featured topics. The Ålandic claim to this famous regionally branded product stems from the 2010 discovery in Ålandic waters of a shipwreck (from the early 1840s) containing several intact bottles of what might be the world's oldest champagne. As observed by Trubek, champagne is not just any product. It comes with an air of exclusivity and enjoys a tremendous symbolic and cultural capital (Trubek 2008:25). The local government on Åland was quick in turning the shipwreck findings into an asset. A number of bottles were sold at high profile auctions and in 2011 an Ålandic stamp had the shipwreck champagne as its design subject. Local entrepreneurs have also picked up on the opportunity. The hotel Silverskär soon offered the possibility of storing champagne in the "ideal conditions" of Ålandic water. Not long after, a co-operation between Silverskär and the French Champagne house Veuve Clicquot was initiated. In order to study the long term effect of storage in different conditions, 350 bottles of Veuve Clicquot champagne have been deposited in the waters outside Silverskär. Could the po-

tentially "ideal conditions" of the Ålandic waters offer a "storage *terroir*"?

Champagne was not the only product to be found on board the remains of the ill-fated ship. Among the cargo were five bottles of beer that have received much attention. The contents of the bottles have been analysed and the Ålandic government gave the local microbrewery Stallhagen the rights to recreate the "shipwreck beer". In 2014, the special edition *Stallhagen Historic Beer 1842* was launched. The product was given a frame of uniqueness and strived-for historical authenticity. As a special edition 2000 brown glass bottles were hand-made and individually numbered. As a final touch, the handmade beer bottles came in wooden cases filled with protective straw.

Exclusivity and high quality are important associative terms in brand stories. The wished for connotation is that consumption of the product signals connoisseurship and refined taste. The Ålandic "shipwreck" branding have drawn upon the already established luxuriousness of French champagne but also the allure of a limited niche product. However, stories of exclusivity may also contain references to qualities more typically associated with islandness such as locality, authenticity and roots. For example, when the butter made by the Ålandic Dairy ÅCA was singled out as "best-in-test" by the Swedish Foodie magazine *Allt om Mat*, the company issued the following press-release: "The secret lies in churning the old-fashioned way, letting the cream mature in a secret way and in using only Ålandic products" (www.aca.ax). The statement refers to the exclusive use of local island milk, but also to traditional practices with a hint of mysterious and ancient knowledge. The bottom line of the *terroir*-esque story is that in combination these practices will inevitably result in delicious and high quality butter.

What once was evidence of poverty in food production is increasingly becoming a sign of exclusiveness and quality for the discerning consumer. Many customers are prepared to pay extra for food that is foraged, homemade and made on a small-scale (see Bardone 2013b). Beyond the perceived benefits in terms of taste and quality there is a moral dimension involved, as well as a wish to experience the presence of a human element as opposed to mass manufactured and generic products (Moisio, Arnould & Price 2004:369; Hede & Watne 2013:212). This clearly offers a marketing benefit to islands, which generally cannot compete with the soil-conditions and scope of mainland ventures. However, the size and qualities connected with islands make them convincing arenas for branding food as, if not actually homemade, at least *as good as* homemade. Storytelling involving "homemade" brings associations to cosiness, closeness, family life and community. Moreover, "homemade" links easily with the theme of nature (Moisio, Arnould & Price 2004: 372), and conjures images of handpicked berries of the forest being turned into tasty jam according to the old family recipe.

Traditional food and dishes have often been dismissed as unsophisticated and have tended not to be held in high regard (Kapner 1996). However, this attitude seems to be rapidly changing in accordance with market trends where tourists want to experience and "taste" the regions they are visiting (Bessiere 1998; Refalo

2000), an underlying reason being that culture is an important motivation for tourism and that food is increasingly recognised as a key element of culture (Du Rand, Heath & Alberts 2003:100). Moreover, a number of particular eating contexts, such as street food and the traditional countryside inn, have recently been re-evaluated from being seen as crude and low class to being associated with nostalgia and cosiness among other things (see Gyimóthy 2005). Still, NNF representative Lena Brenner points out, the lack of pride in local and traditional food products has been seen as typical for the Nordic countries (cf. also Lindqvist 2012:44). Promoting Nordic food products has consequently been a major feature of the NNF programme:

> We have not yet built up the confidence that they have in the rest of Europe, where people are extremely proud over their food products and say that "this is the best ham there is and you can only get it here". But the next village over will say the very same thing – that "this is the best product in the world". We don't have that kind of confidence here in the Northern countries. That's what we want to achieve within New Nordic Food, to build this confidence. Because our farmer will stand and look bashfully at his feet and say that, "well, I might have some kind of sausage here, if you care to try it". It is a tremendous cultural difference between the rest of Europe and the Nordic countries (Interview with Lena Brenner, SLS 2014:31).

That a product (or a cuisine) shifts from being considered modest and provincial into being seen as exclusive and as containing a sense of place, is a scenario devoutly wished for by small time entrepreneurs as well as the local tourism industry at large. The two interlinking concepts of *terroir* and quality play prominent roles in the process of developing new stories and motif-associations around many such products (see Heldt Cassel 2003; Schousboe 2014). The more specific and different the locality or product is seen to be, the more of an advantage there is for marketing and creating a niche. Islands are, as per definition, already separate and "niched". As pointed out by Baldacchino, islands thereby occupy a privileged position for the marketing of identity. Not least when it comes to tourism, where local food and drink go towards enhancing the tourist experience (Baldacchino 2010:64f.). And experiences, as Tom O'Dell remarks, have "become the hottest commodity the market has to offer" (O'Dell 2005:12). Beyond nutrition and taste, food offers entertainment and experiences of a wide variety.

Tourism and Events

> We have been on a fantastic (biking) excursion to Fejø, where we bought delicious fruit to take home. We probably bought too much, but we went all the way to the other end of the island, where there should be a well-known farm shop with price-winning cider, apple juice, fruits, lamb meat AND a cafe, but they were closed! It even says in the promotional material that they are open from Easter to the school fall break, however the apples were ready early this year, so they had to be pressed now. But we did get a bottle of freshly pressed and unfiltered juice, which we enjoyed on a small beach with a blue flag[12] , where we also took a dip. Great day, and tomorrow we are on to Femø (U.M., Danish island tourist, Sep. 2nd, 2014, email correspondence).[13]

Gastronomy is an important field in present day tourism industry (see e.g. Long 2004). As documented around the world, food and drink are vital components of the tourism experience. And they are increasingly cited as prime travel motivators in

their own right (O'Dell (ed.) 2002; Jönsson 2002; Hall, Sharples, Mitchell, Cambourne & Macionis 2003). The strong link between location and cuisine makes food a way for the tourist to get to know a place. Many of the Baltic Sea islands, for which tourism has long since been a vital part of the economy, have picked up on the popularity of food as a theme and offer activities accordingly. Following this trend, food and drink is one of the designated profile themes (among the since long established themes of the maritime heritage and the archipelago landscape) emphasized in the Tourism Strategy for Åland 2012−2022 (http://www.visitaland.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/turismstrategi-2012.pdf). Again, food is not just for the tourist to eat, but also to experience (Burstedt, Fredriksson & Jönsson 2006: 13). As rural traditions and local heritage are turned into commodified experiences, food is featured as a component contained in other activities. However, a service element of commodification may also be added at any phase during the production of food and be turned into an event (Hjalager 2002:21, 27; Bardone 2013a). Food has consequently become the basis for a wide range of different activities (Burstedt 2002; Richards 2002:3–5).

Combining diverse activities and involving more than one local entrepreneur, is seen as especially desirable (see Gössling & Hall 2013:8f; Østrup Backe 2013). A good example of this is the Bornholm Gourmet Route. Bornholm has since long been a treasured tour destination for Danes and Swedes alike. Groups of schoolchildren, families on bikes, as well as retirees have for many years sought out the island for its beautiful nature and famous smokehouses. However, in the wake of the New Nordic food movement, the island has expanded the gourmet dimension in their event tourism and even offers a "gourmet route" ideal for biking, The route is only 23,5 km but takes the bike riding foodie on an amazing tour de force of local gourmet factories producing chocolate, toffee, liquorice, beer, honey, ice cream, smoked fish, wine and gum and, evidently, there is a farm shop as well (http://www.bornholm.info/en/the-bornholm-gourmet-route).

The Bornholm Gourmet bike tour does not offer a particularly extensive trail for the dedicated cyclist. However, what *are* offered are ample opportunities for consuming local delicacies. This type of culinary networks is a common way to enhance the attraction of specific areas, especially rural communities (Østrup Backe 2013:50). Again, this is something that tends to be an advantage for islands where local networks are often already in place and distances tend to be short.

Other versions of culinary networks are of a more temporary nature. The hugely popular harvest festivals and similar large scale food events have been successful in bringing together many different entrepreneurs and creating the much yearned for synergy effects. The harvest festival on the island of Öland is one of Sweden's largest and most well-known food festivals. During a few days in September the island is turned into an arena for art and food experiences. The Öland harvest festival was a source of inspiration for the Åland harvest festival, which since its start in 1998 has continuously grown and is presently one of the biggest public

events of the year on the Åland Islands. Both the Öland harvest festival and the Åland harvest festival have created their own brands and both have their own trademarks – the pumpkin on Öland and the apple and lantern on Åland – which are featured heavily in decorations and visual displays. The requirement that everything sold during the Åland harvest festival is locally produced is part of the festival's brand and, is, according to the organizers, one of the explanations for the success of the event (SLS 2014:31). The fact that the harvest festival is hugely popular among the local Ålandic population has also become a point of advertisement – the festival is described as a way even for outsiders to experience an island community feeling (http://www.skordefest.ax/om-skordefesten-allt-du-behover-veta/).

An event's potential as a visitor experience relies heavily on the atmosphere, which, as Orvar Löfgren points out, tends to be something experienced as an intangible quality "taking form *between* people, objects and physical settings" (Löfgren 2014:255). It does not seem far-fetched to presume that island identity becomes part of the festival atmosphere and acts as a contributing factor in the success of both the Öland and the Åland harvest festivals.[14]

Creating a geographical identity involves convincingly arguing the innate differentness of a place compared with other places. Food constitutes a popular conduit for creating such a distinction (Heldt Cassel 2006:25; Hultman 2006: 43). Thanks to established island stereotypes, island-as-place and island food can easily be made to support each other to build "differentness". "Fundamentally different" is the official tourism slogan for Öland, while the Danish island of Fyn advertises itself as the "Fairytale Island" (with references to native-born Hans Christian Andersen, child friendly activities, and many castles and manor houses). The theme of food is also looming large in the Fyn place brand. "The Taste of Fyn" can be experienced through numerous markets, festivals and special events (http://www.visitfyn.com/ln-int/funen/gastronomy/culinary-fyngarden-denmark). The winery in Skaarup on Fyn welcomes the costumers with an invitation to enter a fairy-tale, a well-known trope in advertising and brand building (Fog, Budtz, Munch and Blanchette 2010). The website entices: "Welcome to a fairytale. To enter the Skaarupøre vineyard is like stepping into a different world. The old farmhouse on the one side, and the giant wine barrel transformed into a shop and gathering place on the other (http://skaarupore-vin.dk/hjem)."[15] In addition to wines, the vineyard shop offers delicacies from other island enterprises, all under the umbrella organization "Smagen af Fyn" (the Taste of Fyn) (http://www.smagen-affyn.dk/). The winery hosts several events and, to top it off, they offer therapy for stressed urbanites in the form of courses in mindfulness and stress management: "We have cultivated wine for many years at Skaarupøre Winery. Here, we have also cultivated the peace, quiet and the special tranquillity and ability to be present in the moment it gives us".[16] The framework for the therapy is the winery's Cittaslow[17] activities as part of the Cittaslow Fyn organisation. The Cittaslow movement's catchphrases of "the

good life", slow pace, quality and locality sit well with the image of the paradise – or fairytale – island.

Pure, Fresh, Simple… and Ethical

> Simplicity. Seasonality. Sustainability. Social engagement. This is what the Nordic culinary lifestyle is all about (Quote from *The Everything Nordic Cookbook*, Diehl 2012:10).

> The New Nordic Food II programme will: (…) Clarify the ways in which the Nordic food culture is linked to traditional Nordic values and culture and thus creates continuity and cultural identity among people all over the Nordic region (http://newnordicfood.org/about-nnf-ii/om/programme-goals/).

Pure, fresh, simple and ethical are four of the main keywords in New Nordic kitchen manifesto as well as in the New Nordic Food programme. Besides being goals to strive for in food preparation, these ideals are said to be actual qualities intrinsic to the Nordic region. Indeed, the vocabulary used to describe the Nordic Cuisine sounds very familiar to the vocabulary in nineteenth century national romantic descriptions of what is genuinely Nordic – centring on folk traditions and the Nordic nature (see e.g. Österlund-Pötzsch 2013). As pointed out by Trubek, at times *terroir*-discourses border on essentialist arguments, which can be interpreted as justifying aggressively nationalistic or racist policies (Trubek 2008:23). A seemingly innocuous rhetoric concerning food may thus be seen to carry sinister associations. Furthermore, without any wish to do so, the predilection of using "traditional Nordic" imagery might work to exclude parts of the population and their realities – as yet another picture of blond apple-cheeked children picking wild strawberries on the edge of a sunny meadow is chosen to illustrate Nordic food. Nevertheless, imagery and references to nature are firmly ensconced in food marketing in the Nordic countries (see e.g. Heldt Cassel 2003:62) and a common feature of place branding. When it comes to branding islands the references to nature are seemingly sine qua non. Our purpose is of course not to insinuate that the theme of nature in the island entrepreneurs' brand stories in any way drive a deliberately essentialist argument. The incentive behind the chosen motifs is more likely to provide a personal and place-related story to interest the consumer. And these stories *do* interest the consumer: The chain of connotations, such as "natural", "authentic", and, indeed, "pure, fresh and simple", that is associated with the concept of nature speaks directly to a wide array of current concerns and values regarding health, sustainability and ethics among other things.

References to the archipelago are a common feature in the marketing of Ålandic food products. For example, the presentation of the popular *Stallhagen Honey Beer* goes out of its way to connect the product with the local nature and, especially, the endeavours of the industrious and healthy Ålandic bees:

> (T)he genuine Åland honey in the beer creates strong links with the nature and wildlife of Åland. (...) Åland honey maintains its uniquely high quality because of the absence of the disastrous varroatosis, which is decimating bee colonies throughout the world. Åland bees remain healthy and productive. The high quality of the honey is also due to the pollution-free environment and limited cultivation of oilseed plants in our agriculture. The locally produced honey is collected by hard-working bees from natural plants in the Åland Islands' flora. The honey aroma is characterised by the flowers from which the honey is col-

lected ... apple, heather, clover... Stallhagen's refreshing Honey Beer leads the thoughts to warm light summer evenings in the Åland archipelago (http://www.stallhagen.com/en/vara-ol-2/stallhagen-honungsol).

Again, without actually mentioning the term "*terroir*", this description decisively links the Honey Beer to the specific conditions of Åland and the specific flavours ("…apple, heather, clover…") of the local landscape. Indeed, the connection with the Ålandic landscape is suggested to be strong enough for a taste of the beer to conjure up the experience of midsummer nights in the archipelago. The local nature has a further importance and influence on the beer produced at Stallhagen. In the description of the *Stallhagen US Red Ale*, "created in the best microbrewery spirit", it is mentioned that the brewmaster found his inspiration for the red-brown colour in the red granite typical for Åland (http://www.stallhagen.com/en/vara-ol-2/us-red-ale).

The catchwords of "pure", "fresh", "simple" and similar descriptions are so frequently used in food advertising that they have the ring of clichés. The same goes for the ubiquitous references to nature and tradition. Clichés or not, reports demonstrate that among small producers the economic future of NNF is very bright (Strand & Grunert 2010). Ecological, aesthetic and ethical values are central to the choices made by present day consumers, ethnologist Yrsa Lindqvist observes (Lindqvist 2012:33). Correspondingly, while the commitment to "pure" and "fresh" ecological local products among island entrepreneurs might be a necessity to find a niche in a competitive market, it is obvious that for many this commitment goes beyond economical profitability. In interviews with Ålandic food entrepreneurs, both the concept of lifestyle and that of quality were prominent in the comments as to why the idea of "pure, fresh and simple" was important in their work. One ecological food producer explained it as a deeply felt conviction:

> [When I was pregnant] it became incredibly important to me what I ate. That's when I became ecological. That's when I became fully aware that what I ate, my children would too. And already then, with my first child, I changed my whole lifestyle so to speak. I became very attentive to the process of growing food and things like that (SLS 2013:140).

Others emphasized pragmatic reasons for choosing local ecological products, as they are easier to work with and simply give a better final result:

> If you want a good raw product you should go for an ecological product. Because it has grown as it should, it is not manipulated nor has it received a lot of additives. You will get concentrated flavours and the absolutely best product to work with – it won't get watery or lose its texture in the frying pan and so on. It is great working with products like that (SLS 2013:140).

Also the aspect of tradition was close to the heart for many entrepreneurs. "The older I get the more I notice that I take an interest in what I ate as a child and what food was served back then […] and somehow I feel I want to bring that out a bit more", one Ålandic entrepreneur commented, while another food artisan expressed her commitment to maintaining traditional techniques, ingredients and dishes (SLS 2013:140; SLS 2244). An interest in cultural heritage might consequently motivate the small-scale food entrepreneur as well as the average consumer (Bardone 2013b) while also being a

trend in gourmet cooking (cf. Larsen 2010). In all cases, the nostalgic streak is often expressed as an adherence to "pure, fresh, simple and ethical", declared as traditional Nordic values by the NNF-movement.

Nordic Superterroir

In 2014, Noma, the New Nordic flagship restaurant was yet again named the best restaurant in the world. The Official Danish travel guide, *VisitDenmark*, was quick to note that this was to be used in Danish marketing strategies in the future, and that even after ten years of New Nordic Food, we are not quite done emphasising its potential:

> The international attention directed at Danish Gastronomy and the new Nordic Cuisine is of great value to Danish Tourism and there are no signs that we have reached a point of saturation yet. On the contrary, although we've used 'Danish gastronomy' in the promotion of Denmark for some years, it still has a lot of potential and is used actively when marketing the destination abroad (Anne Marie Barsøe, email correspondance Oct. 8th 2014).

The novelty of "New Nordic" might be wearing off in gourmet cuisines as other influences and trends take precedence in restaurant kitchens. Still, the interest in local food is, as observed above, connected with a wide array of concerns and is likely to be topical for some time yet. With the exception of extreme circumstances, the rituals and cultural frameworks surrounding eating are more important than the mere intake of food (Bell 1997:143). Stories and story motifs connected with foods is one such significant frame.

As a theme in storytelling, "islandness" offers a place branding advantage in that traditional perceptions suggest islands as simply being *more* local than other places. An island status is conducive in bestowing a stronger sense of identity on a product. In a *terroir* perspective, place is paramount in food production. Many consumers might be opting for generic and mass produced foods for pragmatic or economic reasons in their everyday lives. However, the "taste of place" is becoming an increasingly important selling point, not least in connection with tourism, but also as quotidian fare in the form of "local food" for a wide variety of consumers.

In our study of island food entrepreneurs, we found the themes of place and taste to be a common bedrock in branding stories, frequently combined (and underscored) with motifs connected with both islandness and the New Nordic Food movement. Taken together these story motifs present what we have referred to as an island *superterroir*. Simultaneously, the food stories and their chains of associations are actively constructing the image of (ideal) place. On the other hand, this is an outcome of yet another circumstance of place: that of the small scale entrepreneurs trying find a livelihood in their native or chosen home communities. Nevertheless, more often than not, island food entrepreneurship is a lifestyle choice more than a pure search for economic gain (cf. Bonow & Rytkönen 2013:91). Many of them are, as Trubek succinctly puts it, simultaneously "pursuing a business, a mission and a craft" (Trubek 2008:142). In this respect, the island food entrepreneur becomes the protagonist of yet another island food story.

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Notes

1 Our warmest thanks to those who have generously contributed with helpful comments, suggestions and material for our project: Tine Damsholt, Jon Thor Pétursson, the audiences of several conference panels, two anonymous peer-reviewers – and not least, all our informants.

2 *Åland har i alla tider haft en speciell status som ögruppen mellan Finland och Sverige. En sak som vi inte alltid noterar är att det åländska köket bildar en helt egen matregion i Finland. (...) Förklaringen till utvecklingen finns i en stark förankring i den egna jorden, jordbruket, skärgården och havet. Lägg till en tradition av sjöfart, handel och entreprenörskap blir summan matdestinationen Åland.*

3 One facet of this is the use of Nordic Food Diplomacy, described as a way of conveying the "taste and feel of the Nordic countries". Culinary diplomacy is used by several nations, for example the United States and Thailand, as an instrument in international relations and as a way of showcasing the national brand. The global interest in culinary diplomacy reflects both the growing importance of the food industry and the efficacy of food as a nonverbal means of communication. Nordic Food Diplomacy is a result of the ambition of the Nordic foreign offices to jointly develop this field.

4 The EU Interreg programmes are financed through the European Regional Development Fund and provides funding for interregional cooperation across Europe. The priorities of the Interreg IIIA programme was Economic development (compensating for geographic handicaps by promoting a quality label for local products, basic services and the tourist sector), environmental protection and technical assistance (http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=FI&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=237&LAN=7&gv_PER=1&gv_defL=7) .

5 In November 2014, Claus Meyer made breaking news by announcing that he had sold his culinary empire to British IK Investment Partner, a private equity fund. IK Investments Partners have merged Claus Meyers Brands with that of another Danish food production company, Løgismose. http://www.ikinvest.com/News/Press-releases/meyer-and-logismose-to-combine-businesses/

6 *I mejeriet förädlar vi mjölk från den rena åländska naturen till goda och nyttiga produkter. Vi känner våra bönder väl och mjölken vi får är alltid av bästa kvalitét. Eftersom den transporteras så korta sträckor är mjölken dessutom väldigt färsk när den kommer till mejeriet. Med så goda förutsättningar känns det naturligt för oss att vara extra omsorgsfulla när vi tillverkar våra produkter. Vi är måna om att ta vara på kunskapen som vi har ärvt från den flera hundra år gamla traditionen av åländsk mejerihantering. Tack vare att vi är ett litet mejeri kan vi också låta hantverksskickligheten hos våra medarbetare bidra till såväl smaken som känslan hos våra produkter.*

7 Inevitably, the shared consensus of a certain quality embedded in the descriptions and promotion of various food products grown on islands, and events surrounding these island delicacies leads to the question of what is exactly the shared consensus of quality (Murdoch & Miele 1999). The many references to the Nordic island nature, the romantic imagery, superlatives and adjectives used to describe islands farms, foraging gourmet chefs, beer, apples etc. carries a strong message and in a politically correct manner emphasis the choice of: frugal living, moral consumption, sustainable farming, and the idea that the good life is to go back to nature. The message being that the consumer, through his/her consumption choices, can achieve a good and healthy life. These questions deserve further research.

8 *Peders Aplagård är Finlands sydligaste äppelodling. Vi finns i skärgårdskommunen Kökar på Åland. Kökar är en av de platser i norden med flest soltimmar per år. Detta faktum ger oss riktigt soldränkta och aromatiska äpplen som vi är stolta över.*

9 *I 13 generationer har det odlats frukt på Karl-Ersgården i Tjudö på norra Åland. Nu för vi arvet vidare och vårdar våra odlingar och miljön omsorgsfullt. Karl-Ers Frukt är en av Finlands största fruktgårdar. (...) Våra produkter får sin smak av Ålands många soltimmar och förädlas med fingertoppskänsla.*

10 *Åland är Finlands äppelträdgård. Klimatet är gynnsamt med många soltimmar och en höst som dröjer sig länge kvar. I många byar står äppelträden tätt och här i den sköna skärgårdsluften får äpplena mogna på kvist. Grannas Äppel är en av de större odlingarna på Åland och vi finns i byn Västanträsk i Finström. Varje år plockar vi stora mängder äpplen för hand från våra träd. En del säljs som de är, andra pressas till en god och naturlig juice.*

11 See, for example, The Guardian's travel section of June 2014: "The Danish island of Bornholm is a geographical deviation in the Baltic Sea. It's closer to Germany, Sweden and Poland than to the rest of Denmark, and occasionally gets demoted to a box in the corner of the country map. But Bornholm holds a central place in Danish hearts as a treasured holiday spot: it enjoys more hours of sunshine than anywhere else in the country, and has a dramatic rocky coast with some fine sandy beaches. To round things off, it has developed a culinary scene that punches well above its weight." http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2014/jul/19/bornholm-denmark-foodie-tour

12 Blue flags for beaches and marinas is an international eco-label for high quality beaches: http://www.blueflag.org/

13 *Vi har været på en fantastisk tur til Fejø, hvor vi købte lækker frugt med hjem. Sikkert for meget, men ... Vi kørte helt til den anden ende af øen, hvor der skulle være en kendt gårdbutik med både prisbelønnet Cider, æblemost, frugt, lammekød OG Café, men så stod der ved gud "lukket". Der står ellers i materialet, at de har åbent fra Påske til skolernes efterårsferie, men æblerne var tidligt klar i år, så det var nu, de skulle presses. Men vi fik da en flaske helt nypresset, usiet saft, som vi nød ved en lille strand med blåt flag, hvor vi også lige tog en dukket. God dag og i morgen er det så Femø.*

14 A variation on the successful food festival concept is found on Lilleø, where an Apple flower festival has been arranged for number of years in the month of May.

15 *Velkommen til et eventyr. At træde ind på gårdspladsen på Vingaard er som at bevæge sig ind i en anden verden. Det gamle bondehus på den ene side og den kæmpemæssige vintønde omdannet til butik og samlingssted på den anden side.*

16 *Vi har i mange år dyrket vin på Skaarupøre Vingaard. Hvor vi også har også dyrket freden, stilheden og den helt særlige ro og evne til at være til stede i nuet, det giver os*

17 Carlos Petrini's Slow Food Movement emerged in 1980s and its manifesto asserts that food should be "Good, clean and fair" (Petrini 2007, http://www.slowfood.com/). There are obvious parallels to the NNF manifesto of 2004.

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Doing Neighbourhood

Everyday Life Experiences and Participation in Neighbourhood Planning

By Sanna Lillbroända-Annala

Civic engagement and the use of everyday knowledge – the bottom-up perspective – are parts of a growing trend and requirement within national and global city development. Cities and urban environments are developed according to international, national and local legislation and agreements, but nowadays also more and more with the help of inhabitants and third sector interest groups. This article deals with the premises and the prerequisites for city planning and development in relation to civic engagement and participation. The study behind the article is being conducted in Turku, Finland, and focuses primarily on a small group of town dwellers who are members of the *Skanssi Club*.

The club is a part of an ongoing planning and development project of the Skanssi neighbourhood situated on the outskirts of Turku city centre.[1] The Skanssi Club consists of inhabitants of Turku who are interested in the development of the area, and the goal of the club is to incorporate public opinions, demands and wishes already in the planning stage of the neighbourhood. The club is a new experiment in Turku city planning and has been operating for a year. Therefore, some questions can be answered while others still remain unanswered.

The questions I can discuss at this point of research and of the planning process are the role of the Skanssi Club in the "big picture" of participatory city development and as an example of it in Turku. What kind of a role can a club like the Skanssi Club have in the planning of the neighbourhood and what kinds of challenges and effects are dealt with? Why is it important for Skanssi to involve town dwellers in the planning of the Skanssi neighbourhood? What is their role eventually in the development of the area? Does city development today allow public opinions and to what extent and how are these opinions then dealt with? These questions are discussed on the basis of participant observations at club meetings, as well as interviews with four club members and the town official in charge of the project.

New Trends and Demands in Urban Development

The study of urban development policies has a long tradition in the social sciences, in particular in human geography, planning studies, urban sociology and political science. Theorizing based on the demise of comprehensive planning (Banfield 1978), on local corporatism (Hernes & Selvik 1979), on urban regimes (Stone 1989) and on urban political economy (Harvey 1989) has dominated this field for more than half a century. In each of these research traditions, however, there seems to be a presupposition of a *hegemonic* or dominant actor in public–private relations, most often with private capital as the dominant party (Jessop 1997).

The rapidly growing studies on urban governance bring forth several different perspectives and theoretical positions. Urban governance networks are linked to neoliberal ideas of globalization, where networks are regarded as a response to a competitive inter-urban entrepreneurialism on a global scale (Jessop 1997). In this perspective, governance networks are linked to a shift from the welfare and redistribution concerns of local democracy

to policy formation that stresses flexibility, innovation and entrepreneurship. Urban governance has in this perspective become much more oriented towards the provision of a "good business climate" and the construction of all sorts of lures to bring capital to town (Jessop 1997:55). Therefore, city governments themselves may use public sector resources to support the strategies they adopt, such as building business parks, retail areas and locations for high-tech industries, and investing in cultural arenas to attract the "creative class" (Florida 2002).

In terms of governance, the emergence of various new forms of proactive, collective action between a variety of private stakeholders and public local institutions is important. Commonly, this trend has materialized organically as part of a gradual shift towards more sustainable development trajectories in globally challenged local areas (e.g. Bailey *et al*. 2010).

Looking back, planning strategies in the twentieth century were more inflexible, regulatory, rule-bound as well as procedure-driven (Sandercock 2004:136). During the twenty-first century, in a context of economic changes and fluid networking and collaboration, local government planning has shifted to more opportunistic, non-regulatory, informal and locality-oriented activities. Where once urban governance was state-dominated, market actors and other stakeholders now have a greater role (Therkildsen *et al*. 2009). Governing has moved from hierarchy to "action-oriented network steering" (Hansen *et al*. 2007:9).

Transformations in governance have promoted changes in institutional form and governance, involving new groups and networks of actors and new ways of working together (Therkildsen *et al*. 2009). Traditional welfare policies and land use planning have become integrated within the context of place branding and development (Lorentzen & Hansen 2009: 824). Such strategic governance is associated with planning practices becoming less formal. Municipalities downplay conventional planning, and instead take an entrepreneurial focus (Aarsaether *et al*. 2011).

In the early twenty-first century, the former hierarchical leadership and place-making paradigm has been replaced by a relational paradigm in order to improve the efficacy of contemporary city shaping (Collinge & Gibney 2010). Collinge and Gibney also argue that the emerging leadership model is more broadly place-based than in the past, with key leaders needing to operate beyond their own organizations, beyond formal mandates, with more connectivity across institutions, sectors, stakeholders and communities to achieve an integrated approach to the local development context. They describe this as moving "from integrated thinking to integrated working" (Collinge & Gibney 2010:388).

The process in which Skanssi is being transformed into a neighbourhood expresses the idea of deliberative governance, inspired by the concept of *communicative rationality* developed by Jürgen Habermas (1996), and applied to urban politics by, among others, John Forester (1999), Judith Innes (1995) and Patsy Healey (1997, 2007). Decision-makers must offer reasons for their opinions and strive for decisions that are mutu-

ally acceptable and generally accessible. The decision-making process should take on board the opinions of affected stakeholders and broader citizenry and aim to promote the legitimacy of collective decisions while encouraging public-spirited attitudes to public issues. Bringing a broader range of stakeholders and groups into policymaking is expected to facilitate mediation between interests in the community. Conflict resolution and consensus building resulting from active participation are important functions of deliberative urban governance. It is also a way of building trust and strengthening capacity for cooperative problem solving and increasing the distribution of knowledge among the participants (Innes & Booher 2003:36). There is thus a strong element of learning-by-deliberation in this perspective. Within the deliberative perspective we also find transparency, seen as "one of the purifying elements of politics" (Gutman & Thompson 1996:95). Transparency is considered a virtue in political decision-making, because it has the power to prevent wrongdoing (Sharpf 2003:4) and to make elite decision-makers more "responsive" to the public (Héritier 1999: 272).

Skanssi – Spatiality in Transition

The area of Skanssi, which in this article links global, national and local interests and ideas, lies around 5 km south-east of Turku city centre and consists of an area of 85 hectares. The landscape is characterized by a varied terrain of a gravel ridge, forested hills, open fields, and many sports trails. Until 2007 the environment was mostly undeveloped and in a natural state. The construction work aiming at building a large shopping centre changed the dynamics of the area, incorporating the formerly undeveloped area into the city structure. The shopping centre was opened in 2009. The building of the residential area next to the mall started in 2011 and in 2012 two residential buildings were built next to it.

Within the Skanssi area, a growing number of shops and businesses have been established during the last few years. These are located on the opposite side of the shopping centre and along the highway to Helsinki. When the neighbourhood is finished, the Skanssi area will combine housing, service and business for the Skanssi residents as well as for the inhabitants of Turku.

The next phase of the Skanssi development consists of building the neighbourhood in itself. Altogether 8 000 residents are to be housed there by 2030. According to current plans, a variety of housing will be offered to suit the demands of all ages and target groups. These types are apartments of different sizes, row houses as well as detached houses. For the most parts the building stock will be new but also an old factory building already situated on the premises will be turned into apartments.[2]

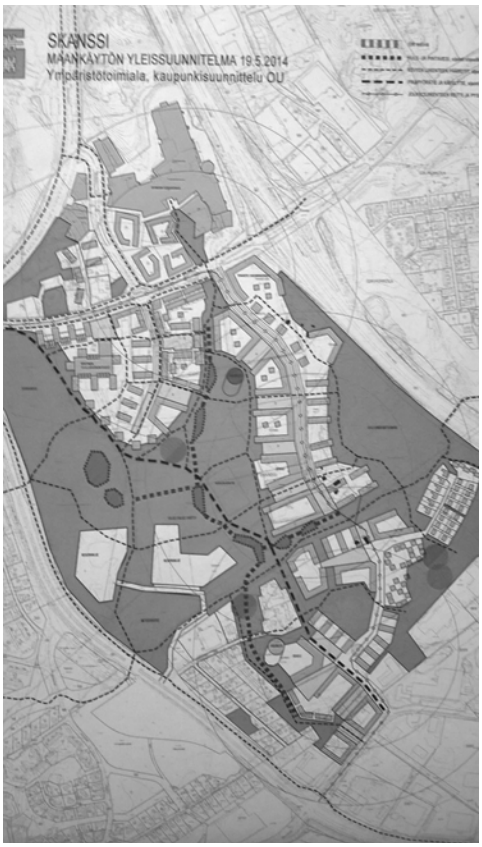
The development process of Skanssi, which is one of the biggest neighbourhood projects in current Turku, is unusual in several respects. First of all, the development of the area, which is mainly undeveloped even today, started with the shopping centre. Secondly, the construction of the residential part of Skanssi began after the mall was finished and not the other way around, which is a more typical order. Thirdly, the planning of the residential

area is done with the help of the Skanssi Club. Oscu Uurasmaa, who is the master plan architect and project manager of Skanssi, explained how the plan differs from typical neighbourhood planning during an interview:

> Right from the start, the planning of the area is different. We have been making a general plan and now, based on that, further plans, which in principle is a new kind of approach. Because we want a new kind of neighbourhood or structure, if feels logical to make it in a different way, so that the neighbourhood will also live up to these expectations. At the same time, the governance and the approaches within the city of Turku have also been renewed. An aspiration for more project-based ways of working is now a common way of operating. That itself is a new approach to the way of working. The Skanssi Club is one of the first things where this approach has been applied. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa 28 August 2014)

This quotation connects to the shift from integrated thinking to integrated working mentioned earlier. Local projects and project-based working habits can function as the initiators of this kind of shift in urban governance and development.

The main goals of the planning and development of Skanssi are eco-friendliness, diversity and a comfortable neighbourhood with good public transport. To achieve this, a set of surveys and studies (e.g. surveys related to nature, environment, technology, infrastructure and energy solutions) have been conducted in order to gain knowledge of the premises for achieving these goals. A plan for the land use for the Skanssi neighbourhood was accepted by the Turku City Council on 6 October 2014.[3] This plan is the starting point for the realization of the Skanssi neighbourhood.



The plan for the Skanssi neighbourhood was approved by the Turku City Council in October 2014.

Place and Space in Planning

According to Robert David Sack (2004: 244) a place is carved out of a space. Skanssi is now being slowly carved out of the urban and unbuilt space and turned into a specific place where buildings, streets, traffic and daily life define and give the place a face of its own. It can also be the other way around, where the place is transformed into a space through human activity.

As Henri Lefebvre (1998:37–38) describes it, space is produced in three dif-

ferent ways: by spatial practices, representations of space or conceived space and through representational spaces. In Skanssi, limited practices can still be performed because the place has not been built. Instead, we can have an idea of the representations this space has and what people can do there. The last dimension describes how the space is perceived and experienced.

Representations of or conceived space is what can be linked to Skanssi. There is a vision and plans of the space based on future efforts towards a realization of the plans. Places and spaces are produced through a combination of social, economic, ideological and technological factors, and each place and space anticipates planning and decision-making based on economic, ideological and technical projection. Through people's lives and living, concrete turns into space with meaning (Low 2000:128). By incorporating town dwellers in the planning of Skanssi, dwellers are able to take part in the production of the conceived space, which is not always possible or meaningful but in the process of urban development an increasingly useful tactic and strategy. According to Elisabeth Högdahl (2003:35–36), the making of place is as important at the planning stage as it is during the actual implementation.

When a place is practiced and used, and when you think of it or when you describe it, it becomes a space (de Certeau 1984: 117). An empty street turns into a space when people and cars invade it. Until the new neighbourhood of Skanssi has inhabitants and activity, it lacks a space of its own, which can be hard to imagine for both planners and the members of the Skanssi Club.

For those club members who have long-lasting connections to the area and memories of the area, Skanssi is also *lieux de mémoire* (as in Nora 1996–1998). Places of memories become *lieux de mémoire* where the sense of continuity is preserved. These are personal compared with the collective memories that museums, archives etc. are (Johannisson 2001:156–158). Places of memories are important for the sense of belonging and community.

According to the plans presented so far, the aim is to develop an urban environment not like a traditional suburb. Instead, the goal is to construct a new type of suburb with a town-like plan combining housing, service and traffic arrangements in a whole new way. This can be understood as a way to profile the Skanssi neighbourhood in contrast to neighbourhoods designed and built according to standardization ideas in earlier decades (see e.g. Jencks 1991). The comparisons between suburbs and the inner city are often coloured by the negative images of suburbs in relation to the positive images of the city centre. Suburbs in Finland have been denounced ever since they were built. With Skanssi, the goal is to plan and build an attractive neighbourhood, and incorporating a club of citizens might be one way to do it.

The Skanssi Club

The Skanssi Club came about through an open discussion meeting where the overall plans for the Skanssi area were introduced. This meeting was organized on 17 January 2013 in the main library of Turku

and attracted about 80 participants. This meeting was the first step towards public engagement in relation to Skanssi. The town officials assigned for the project wanted answers to questions like "What would attract you to move to Skanssi, what kind of activities would you prefer to find in the recreation areas of Skanssi, traffic arrangements and choices of moving around to and from Skanssi?" and "How would you like to participate in the planning of Skanssi?"[4]

According to this first meeting, the master plan architect Oscu Uurasmaa and other town officials decided that a club of town dwellers interested in participating in the development of the area would be founded. Members of the club were recruited by an open request during the summer of 2013. In the call for members, people who shared an interest in the development of Skanssi were encouraged to join the club. The advertisement encouraged participants to give their own input into the planning of Skanssi neighbourhood, for example, by commenting on existing plans (*Turkuposti* 3/2013, p. 3).

Mr Uurasmaa told me later during an interview that a club was not initially meant to be established and to be involved in the planning of Skanssi, but was later on chosen to become a part of it. The idea of the club was originally his idea, an idea he had got from a seminar on participation he had previously attended. The club was therefore not considered a necessity or required by a third party even though the city of Turku is actively working to enable participation in various fields and ways (interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014).

> I got the idea [for the club] from a course about renovation and there was talk about interaction and of a similar group in Helsinki. It felt like a good idea because there are not many residents in Skanssi. This could be the way to hear peoples' voices. It felt logical… We are also pleased about who joined the club even though we received fewer applications than we had hoped for. Therefore, we could not select the members but are pleased with how it turned out and that the members are of different ages and have different backgrounds. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

A total of 12 people showed interest in the club and they were all accepted as members. One of them decided later not to participate. The club consists of 11 members aged from 30+ to 70+. Five of them are women, six of them men. Club members are current residents of the city of Turku, some of them already living in the area, some nearby and others elsewhere. They have different socioeconomic and family relational backgrounds.

The members joined the club for different reasons. Several of them have personal connections to the area ever since childhood, others live there or nearby today and some of the members just have a special interest in the area and the Skanssi Club.

> I am very interested in my own living environment and would especially like to see the great recreation grounds to remain in Skanssi. I also want the traffic arrangements to be as safe as possible for the children. I also cherish the sports facilities, maybe a sports hall could be built next to the school? Or additionally, a swimming area nearby. There is no lack of water. (Application by e-mail from man aged 43, 16 August 2013)

The first club meeting was held on 8 October 2013. All participants received an invitation to this meeting, as to other coming meetings, but the first meeting set the grounds and directions for what was to be discussed during meetings to come. Mr

Uurasmaa told me that the club set goals for the forthcoming meetings by choosing the themes for discussions collectively and with regard to what the members thought were the most important themes. The topics chosen for discussion in further meetings were: (1) building and housing, (2) traffic arrangements, (3) recreation grounds, blocks and yards, (4) services and common facilities, (5) image, brand and the vision of Skanssi.

Four meetings have now been held and at least one or two meetings still remain to be arranged. The club members are requested to prepare for the meetings in advance and with some questions in mind. The topics commonly chosen during the first meeting are thought to be important for the development of Skanssi. The meetings have usually started with presentations by different experts outlining the topics and preparing the club members for the subsequent discussions.

Participatory Activities Promoted as a Practice in City Development

Participatory practices in urban planning represents a move away from conceiving urban planning as a linear process (Albrechts 2005; Lorentzen & Hansen 2009), towards a more creative and responsive style of governance involving multiple parties. This change in tactics relates to changes in internal structures of local government as attempts to move outside traditional decision-making forms by reconceiving the parameters of leadership, governance and cross-territory or cross-sector networking. Secondly, local authorities have been looking beyond conventional land use planning functions to reimagine their city in order to be even more innovative about opportunities (James, Thompson-Fawcett & Hansen 2015).

Our needs and expectations concerning housing have changed and therefore, new models and practices also need to be implemented in the design and production of housing (Lehtonen 2010:9). This requires a new strategy for agency and new agents in the field of housing production and development. Different types of networking and combination of knowledge and experience are increasingly important in urban planning, in policy implementation and in service provision. Networks are believed to produce effective solutions to the complex problems facing modern societies (Agranoff & McGuire 2001; Innes & Booher 2010).

One obvious advantage of networks is that they operate more autonomously and innovatively than a bureaucratic organ. Including stakeholders in the process of governing is intended to facilitate policy solutions of a more relevant and precise nature and to reduce the likelihood of tensions and conflicts disrupting the processes of implementation (Goldsmith and Eggers 2004). In this context, the term "governance network" is adopted from Sørensen and Torfing (2005:15), who define governance networks as "stable and horizontal coupling of autonomous but interdependent actors, working in a self-regulating manner for the realization of some public purpose". Although governance networks have made their way into a range of local policy fields, their democratic legitimacy is questioned because they operate more autonomously than elected representatives and therefore cannot be held equally accountable. Governance networks are not created primarily to

enhance democracy; they are set up because they are expected to be more *efficient and innovative* in the pursuit of some public purpose.

Participatory practices within the Skanssi project have been examined through club meetings and interviews. To get personal insight into the club and its premises and outcomes, I have done both participant observations and interviews[5] to gain as much knowledge as possible about the club and its relation to the planning of Skanssi. I have attended club meetings with the exception of the first meeting. During these meetings I have observed how the members relate to the topics discussed, to each other, to the town officials and what kind of outcomes these meetings have had. I have also conducted interviews with club members and the town official in charge before this paper, and I will continue to do so in order to collect as much information as possible about the club and its functions.

According to Tanja Ahola and Maija Karjalainen (2013), it is increasingly important that civic engagement and involvement in its different forms are taken into consideration and carried out. In Finnish urban development it is also more and more common that residents and inhabitants are engaged in development. Research results from Finnish studies show that, for example, sustainable planning and production of housing depend upon the knowledge of residents and have better conditions to succeed if the public is incorporated at an early stage of the planning (Ahola 2013; Karjalainen 2013).

> Initially I thought that it would be easiest for the club members to comment and to relate to the green and recreational areas and what could be done with regard to them. They are the areas where public activities take place. The other themes are more diverse and challenging and have less effect [on the current plans]... For me and for my job the most interesting of these themes are image, brand and vision and how we can address them – messages that we are trying to deliver to the users, this is where we can get help from the club members. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

This quotation refers to the need to succeed in the planning and implementation through public incorporation, where the responsibility of the neighbourhood is shared between the city officials, the planners and the town dwellers. In Finland, participation is also considered as one indicator of sustainability and sustainable development, which has been considered an important guideline in Finnish city development for some decades. Along with the revision of Finland's national strategy for sustainable development "Towards Sustainable Choices – A Nationally and Globally Sustainable Finland", a national concept of "Society's Commitment to Sustainability" has been launched. It aims at safeguarding the current and future generations with opportunities for a good life. This requires that the environment, people and the economy are equally taken into account in decision-making and activities. A society with participating citizens is considered a very important factor in current and future decision making and the premises for life in our society. According to this commitment, signed in 2013, sustainable development is a globally, regionally and locally ongoing process of continuous and targeted change in society.

The commitment is part of the national and global implementation of the UN RIO+20 process.[6]

In Turku city development, participation has more than a thirty-year history in the form of various projects and activities. Area committees in the 1970s were the start of civic engagement, and during the earlier decades different kinds of partnership projects have also been conducted. However, the efforts to promote participation and to actively use it in city development can be characterized as being too project-minded and short-term. Turku has introduced a new operating model for creating participation and civic influence, which will become an integrated part of the operational and organizational reform within the city of Turku. The promotion of participation by local residents was highlighted as a strategic objective for the city of Turku by the City Council in December 2012.[7]

The Skanssi Club is one approach and answer to the demands of participatory city development. It is also a learning process for the parties involved and for the city officials who in the future are dealing more and more with participation in city development.

> We have learnt during the meetings. You cannot always even notice how we are influenced and how it happens. I would claim that it has an even greater impact when the officials in charge are a part of the [civic] discussion… A typical problem with "experts" is that they have a strong need to tell about things and how they are usually done and how they have learnt that they should be done. Less space is left for discussions. Now we are trying to find something in between. These kinds of projects are learning places for us working with planning and city development. And we are learning how to use this interaction and civic knowledge. This is new for us, even though we arrange all kinds of happenings and information meetings. Plans are usually ready and we only collect comments. Now we are acting in an earlier stage. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

Sharing the responsibility for urban planning and development has transformed the former vertical operating model into a more horizontal way of integrating different parties and actors in urban change. The development of participation and paying more attention to residents when making decisions that affect them is a good and important step in the development of civic participation according to Juha Rantasaari, who is the Chairman of the Participation Network in Turku. The Participation Network has been founded to do work that ensures that the objective of increasing participatory activities will be put into practice. It consists of representatives from all of the divisions of the city of Turku and will meet regularly in the future. In the coming years, the network plans to create favourable conditions and best operating practices for participation in Turku. Furthermore, training is arranged for thirty participants in the network in order for them to become experts on civic influence. The network's term will end in 2016.[8]

Neighbourhood participation is also currently developed through the Eviva Project, which focuses on developing neighbourhood-specific operating models for networking in some of the biggest neighbourhoods in Turku (Nummi, Halinen, Pansio-Perno and Runosmäki).

The aim of participation and civic influence is to increase the interaction between local residents during decision-making processes. Another aim is to support rep-

resentative democracy by increasing interests in issues that have an impact on everyone. The ultimate goal of the participatory activities is a broad and comprehensive partnership with residents, associations and other stakeholders.[9]

The Skanssi Club is a new experiment in participatory practices in city development in Turku and therefore officials are interested in the results of the club in relation to the planning of the Skanssi neighbourhood. Even though participation practices are conducted on a local scale and with local people, the participatory practices and implementations also follow a pan-European idea that planning of land use is a matter which needs to be jointly agreed upon. It has been considered a means to secure a purposeful and sustainable community structure. The zoning of the urban landscape is regulated by national objectives set for land use, as well as by the Land Use and Building Act[10] and by Land Use and Building Decree.[11] Zoning[12] involves planning of how and for what purpose the city's land areas are used. There are three different levels of plans: *regional plan*,[13] *local master plan*,[14] and *local detailed plan*.[15] The more general plan serves as the model when preparing the more detailed plans.

During the different stages of planning, opinions, values, and the anticipated effects of the plan must be gathered and represented. Quite often, conflicts of interest arise in connection with this work. In such instances, different points of view with their positive and negative characteristics are presented to the decision-makers, who are ultimately responsible for finding the right solutions.[16]

Doing Neighbourhood – Many Parties Involved

According to Edward Relph (1976:23), space in planning means the efficiency of land use, not the direct or imaginative experiences of it. Therefore, other perspectives and ideas are welcomed in the planning process to gain more empirical and reality-based knowledge in the planning process.

Community planning culture has shifted in an increasingly communicative direction, but according to researchers, public opinion should be listened to more attentively. In Turku, it has been found that urban spaces work best when the initiatives for their creation begin with inspiration from enthusiastic citizens, according to Katri Pulkkinen. Involving people in the process of change is also important, even when the initiative for the construction of a new urban space comes from decision-makers.[17]

It seems to me that the planners in charge of Skanssi are using participatory practices, the club, to ensure the outcomes of the project and to share the responsibility for the planning of the neighbourhood. Therefore, an important question is: is the club a means of safeguarding more democratic planning and implementation? According to Oscu Uurasmaa, the club is only one phase in a timeline of planning and construction of the area.

> There is a fifteen-year timespan for the development and construction of the neighbourhood. It is such a long time that we do not think we know what the world will look like after 15 years. We have to make plans and solutions that we think are smart and which will leave possibilities for further development work. We must understand to keep the process going during the construction and be open for new ideas along the way… This also

gives a possibility for different kinds of interactions, and for the future residents a chance to influence their own living environment and the processes in redeveloping it. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

What Uurasmaa is saying is that the atmosphere in city planning and development is changing and adapting towards more participatory practices. He also points out that participatory practices are only one link between the planners, residents and neighbourhood and that all parties must equally be taken into consideration during and after the planning. This also relates to the challenges of changing the planning environment and, first and foremost, the public images of suburbs. According to Karin Krokfors (2010), Swedish housing production still bears traces and the legacy of functionalism and standardization policies. This means that we are still creating new urban landscapes and residential areas according to this ideology. The same ideology or legacy influences Finnish housing production. The need for new apartments is directing housing development, and the qualities of living and production are still not sufficiently considered. The pressure to achieve greater variety in accommodation is increasing. It is also always difficult to predict what kinds of qualities are promoted in the future (Krokfors 2010:212). The qualities that are promoted in planning and implementation obviously influence the public's opinions about planning, planners and urban areas.

It would increase the motivation if e.g. the Skanssi Club could influence the traffic solutions in the area or if our meetings could affect something else… With the help of media visibility we can influence people and their attitudes and opinions in a broader sense… Most of us are there to be able to influence the planning of the area. (Woman, age 45)

The shared responsibility for the planning of Skanssi is visible in the quotation. The club members want to have an impact on the development of the Skanssi neighbourhood. But doing neighbourhood is a complex and complicated process which involves a lot of different actors and instances, who have to consider and take into account a set of proposals, drafts, ideas, plans, regulations and legislation. It also involves public opinion. The parties involved in the designing of Skanssi are numerous, and together they sketch a plan for the future construction work. In relation to Skanssi, as in many other urban development projects, doing means predicting what Skanssi is going to look like and what it is going to involve.

Now that we have talked about different things, it has become clear that some things sound good to everyone while others generate more discussion and people have different opinions. These things are not new to us, we are users as well, but at its best it shapes our attitudes and shows us where we have to think more and in detail. The club is only one way and then we also have different interest groups and organizations. They all have a meaning. There are no right answers, you have to be able to combine the right ones. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

Incorporating public insight into the development of new urban landscapes is also a key factor in sustainability. Different actions which contribute to sustainable development in planning, implementation and in people's daily lives depends, according to Ahola and Karjalainen, upon the knowledge of the parties involved. Therefore, sustainable housing and living in Finland can better be achieved by incorporating the public at an early stage of the

planning (Ahola 2013; Karjalainen 2013). In terms of sustainability and a sustainable Skanssi, the members are still concerned about whether they are speaking with the right party:

> Now we are discussing with the city but we should in fact discuss with the constructors so that our ideas can also be transferred to them… [regarding sustainability] many in the group think that technology takes care of everything and that people do not have to change their lifestyles when a certain type of technology and infrastructure is available. Then a neighbourhood is sustainable. We are not expecting people to change their ways of living (which we in fact should do). (Woman, age 48)

Public participation is also included in the sustainable development programme, adopted in Turku in 2001. Within the programme, the goal for Turku is to take into account sustainable development in all the city's activities. Annual reports are compiled to monitor the programme. Ecological, social and economic indicators help in monitoring the realization of the programme. The ecological indicators show the amount of greenhouse gas emissions, ecological footprints, and the density of land use. The social indicators reflect, for example, resident satisfaction, and the economic indicators economic sustainability through environmental investments, profits and costs.[18] In the Skanssi project, the club members are discussing both ecological, social and economic factors in relation to research and survey data as well as their own personal experiences.

> In the development of Skanssi, the most crucial part is that when people start to move in, that they would become aware that environmental issues and sustainable development are to be considered there. (Woman, age 45)

International responsibility also determines the current and future goals for sustainability in Turku, because the city has agreed to function as a pilot city within a global sustainable development project initiated by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) organization as part of their Urban Infrastructure Programme.[19] The aim of this project is that Turku will become a model city of midsize cities in sustainable development. Skanssi is the first area now being developed according to this aim. At the same time a new form of cooperation between energy providers and the business world is being tested.[20]

Towards Network Governance

The Skanssi Club can be seen as a result of the "next step" in the participatory planning strategy in the city of Turku. Public participation in various projects is seen as a "major method for improving the quality of the physical environment, enhancing services, and improving social conditions" (Chavis & Wandersman 1991:56).

Even though the last few decades in the field of urban planning, development and renewal projects have seen a growing interest in the involvement of public opinions, the results and outcomes of this involvement are often undefinable. Involving the local community in urban projects has become an institutionalized practice emphasizing the inclusion of the residents in innovative and democratic ways. According to Giovanni Acerbis, the participatory practices often happen in rather confused ways and their final outcomes are in many cases far lower than what would have been expected. Therefore, the interests in community involvement are more important than the outcomes of it (Acerbis 2014:89).

Skanssi combindes housing and consumption, and the upcoming neighbourhood is also planned in the same way.

It might be that the constructors do not appreciate the ideas and suggestions we have emphasized but instead, water down our ideas. What then is the real benefit of this club? It looks fine [on paper] but it is still the construction companies that build the neighbourhood. (Woman, age 48)

The outcomes of the Skanssi Club remain to be seen and will have to be analysed later on. What can be said at this point is that it seems more important to have a club while less attention is paid, by both officials and club members, to what the club does and says and therefore, what the planners and decision-makers can get out of the meetings and discussions. According to Oscu Uurasmaa, the club meetings could have been designed and carried out to fulfil an even more specific purpose. The topics for discussions were collectively chosen by the officials and club members, but more could have been done to ensure that more everyday life experiences and opinions are taken into consideration in the further planning of Skanssi (interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014).

We have tried to support everyone's statements with the help of different methods but of course, there are members who are more active than others. There are clearly different kinds of people in the club who think differently about the club and its functions and about their own activity. (Interview with Oscu Uurasmaa, 28 August 2014)

The democratic value of the club is that a club exists giving town dwellers, albeit a very small number of them, a chance to be and become a part of the making of the Skanssi neighbourhood. The club functions as a sounding board for the developers. The club members also share, together with all other parties involved in the Skanssi project, a collective responsibility for the area, giving planners tools and ideas to be taken into consideration in their planning work.

One important thing missing in the club discussions, according to my observation, is the lack of definitions of the key concepts, for example, sustainability with regard to Skanssi. What do we mean by planning a sustainable neighbourhood? The term sustainability was never defined by anyone, nor discussed within the group. The lack of definitions of the topics the club has been dealing with has led to a set of problems in discussions further along. The lack of definitions also has consequences for questions such as what planners are striving for, who makes decisions along the way, what is important for Skanssi development and most of all, for whom is the area being planned.

Participatory practices are considered an absolute necessity within city planning and development, and they will require far closer and more comprehensive cooperation between administration, non-profit organizations, companies, researchers and citizens. But we also need to think about what we are discussing and with whom. What can a club like the Skanssi Club achieve and how can we make use of the club meetings and the contents generated there?

I have not had special expectations (about the group). There is a good conversational atmosphere. Members are pulling together and the atmosphere is encouraging for discussions… It was a privilege to join the club. It is also an opportunity to learn… People are receptive even if they should have different opinions, and everybody influences each other. (Woman, aged 33)

The Skanssi Club is an excellent platform for participation, different ways to involve public opinions, to share ideas and responsibility and to influence city planning and the planners. Participation requires a shared desire to solve problems, mutual understanding, expertise and continuous learning, people who share responsibilities, people who bring about changes, adjustment of values and attitudes, more effective and closer cooperation, guidance, and more effective ways of operation. These factors have an obvious connection to the neighbourhood and the club within the "big picture" – the context in which the neighbourhood is planned and where the club is operating.

Participation requires that the parties involved are equally taken into account in planning, decision-making and activities. Questions of who decides and what have to do with power relations and how power is generated throughout the planning. Network governance promotes a wide platform of partnerships, where the various partners share parts of the responsibilities and functions in decision-making, administration and implementation. This model sees the inclusion and mobilizations of resources outside the public sector, including the community of local citizens, as a central way to achieve democratic, efficient and effective government (Swyngedouw 2005:1992–1995).

The starting point for a group like the Skanssi Club is that every one of them is the [best] expert on residence and things associated with it. The purpose is not to make them experts on something else, but we can deepen and diversify their expertise. (e-mail from Oscu Uurasmaa to me, 3 December 2013)

The Skanssi Club means that members and the planners share expertise in an equal way and by learning from each other. This is a part of how network governance works, while it is described as allowing for horizontal interactions be-

tween presumptive equal participants who shape the urban landscape in ways that will favour the collective public interest (Sörensen & Torfing 2005:9). I also feel that hierarchal structures are still followed within city development in Turku and need to be evolved constantly. Therefore, many layers, both hierarchal and horizontal, frame the participatory approach and administration in Turku.

Negotiating Skanssi through Experiental Knowledge

For the planning of Skanssi, the Skanssi Club functions as a sounding board of knowledge and experience. But the results and the meaning of an association like the Skanssi Club remains unknown, at least until the area is starting to take shape and we can experience and see the outcomes of the planning process. Whether the club will have a say in the planning of the neighbourhood, and to what extent and in which matters, is also an open question so far. When striving for more participatory forms of planning and development of cities, for a broader understanding and implementation of democracy, the rules of the game should be set at an early stage in the process, as should the expectations for what a club like the Skanssi Club can, will and wants to do, and how the club can have a role in urban planning.

The main goals of participation and civic influence are to increase interaction between local residents during the decision-making process. In Turku, participation and civic influence has been promoted during the last few years, but the operating models and the implementation of public engagement still needs to be developed.

Interactive working methods are in use at the Skanssi Club meetings.

What kind of a meaning and role the Skanssi Club will have for the development and construction of the Skanssi neighbourhood still remains an open question until the neighbourhood is built. Still, it is important to discuss participatory practices of different kinds to understand how cities can be planned and developed in more democratic ways.

In participatory city planning, the question of what kind of information is valued most, professional or experiential, is also of great importance. The answer seems to be professional knowledge, which would

explain why experiential knowledge still is not used enough. At the same time, the residents are also responsible for creating and maintaining a comfortable and well-functioning neighbourhood. This responsibility has now been given, at least for some parts, to members of the Skanssi Club. But the club is small. Whose experiential knowledge do we reach and what kind of knowledge is left outside and unsaid? How is this experiential knowledge transferred to the planners and builders? And how can we make use of everyday knowledge equally with professional knowledge, or is it even desirable and possible? Hopefully these questions will be discussed during the final meetings of the Skanssi Club and that the outcomes of the club will be analysed for forthcoming participatory activities in city planning and development in Turku. Otherwise, what is the point of having a club like the Skanssi Club if its results turn out to be minimal while they should really be the opposite? If nothing is gained from the club, participatory activities only look good on paper but do not have any actual meaning. This would water down the whole participatory city development.

As Healey (2006:303) acknowledges, network governance is "a complexly intertwined social reality in which integrations and boundaries, cohesions and exclusions cannot be read off from simple 'maps' of organizational structures". However, research by MacNeill and Steiner (2010) suggests that "soft" relational dynamics embodied in such an approach may be more easily achieved at more intimate local scales than at metropolis level because of greater potential to nurture trust and collaborate on future directions.

However, these more ad hoc forms of governance may reduce the opportunities for adequate participation, also raising legitimacy concerns (Therkildsen *et al*. 2009:938). Since the emergence of network governance as a new form of decision-making, increasing attention has been paid to whether governance networks aimed primarily at efficiency can lead to governing democratically (Aarsaether *et al*. 2011; Sørensen & Torfing 2005). Therkildsen *et al*. (2009) suggest that there may be a natural limit to the extent to which governance and planning can be ad hoc and action-oriented. Therefore, a degree of equilibrium between traditional land use planning and new forms of governance may be necessary for long-term success – also in the case of the Skanssi neighbourhood. This experiment with combining planning processes with more interactive forms of civic engagement may even prepare the ground for forthcoming planning projects in Turku. Therefore, the meanings and outcomes of the Skanssi Club in the transformation of the Skanssi area into a neighbourhood are of great importance for city planners, decision-makers and the town dwellers alike.

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Notes

1 The building stock outside the city centre and around Skanssi is diverse and has been constructed during the last 50–60 years. The city of Turku is a typical Finnish town with a diverse building stock. The town itself was founded in 1229 and is the oldest town in Finland. Turku has around 200,000 inhabitants at

the moment and is situated on the west coast of Finland, 160 km north-west of Helsinki. Turku was also the first capital of Finland until 1812 when Helsinki became the new capital. In 1827, two thirds of Turku (then mostly built of wood) was destroyed in a fire. After that, a new, modern and more open plan was drawn up by C. L. Engel who was also the chief architect of Helsinki. Therefore, the oldest parts of the city and the oldest buildings today date back to the nineteenth century. Some medieval buildings, such as the church and the castle as well as some eighteenth-century buildings, did however survive the fire and still stand today (http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=4905&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014).

2 www.turku.fi/skanssi, accessed 1 December 2014.

3 http://www.turku.fi/public/download.aspx?ID=201881&GUID={F5BE6C2A-4AC1-40B0-B973-DE086DAEF8C3}dated 19 May 2014.

4 www.turku.fi/skanssi, accessed 1 December 2014.

5 5The semi-structured interviews (see e.g. Spradley 1979) have been conducted during Autumn of 2014. Semi-structured interviews allow new ideas to be brought up during an interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The interviews were nevertheless conducted using a framework of themes and questions to which I want answers.

6 http://www.findicator.fi/en/kestavakehitys, accessed 20 November 2014.

7 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?contentid=437711&nodeid=12620, accessed 20 August 2014.

8 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?contentid=437711&nodeid=12620, 20 August 2014.

9 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?contentid=437711&nodeid=12620, accessed 20 August 2014. This would strengthen the bottom-up perspective, thinking and acting.

10 http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990132, accessed 20 August 2014.

11 http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990895, accessed 20 August 2014.

12 Zoning is therefore a multi-phase process that can be influenced by acquiring information, participating, and expressing opinions. For each plan, a participation and assessment scheme is drawn up, including a description of how to influence the plan. The progress is done in stages during which a city resident may express opinions of all kinds. In the local master plan for the city as a whole, and partial master plans concerning large areas, the process is more extensive and offers more opportunities for participation, but nothing comparable to the Skanssi Club and the interaction achieved through it.

13 A regional plan is a general plan for land use. It applies to an area covering several municipalities. A regional plan covers matters that are most important in terms of a region, including population centres and downtown areas, major traffic routes, and the regional network of green areas. Regional plans also guide the master planning of municipalities. The regional plan for Southwest Finland is drawn up at the Regional Council of Southwest Finland. The Ministry of Environment ratified the regional plan for the city of Turku region on 23 August 2004 (http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=11978&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014).

14 A master plan is drawn up to generally steer the community structure and land use of a municipality. The master planning process is regulated by national goals of land use, goals of the regional plan, and the Land Use and Building Act. Master planning is done to achieve a desired development of a community. The master plan can be drawn up only to apply to certain parts of the municipality or to certain functions, for example, traffic, in which case the plan is referred to as a component master plan (http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=11979&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014).

15 Local detailed plans and amendments to them provide the prerequisites for construction. The zoned area may consist, for example, of an entire residential area, or one plot only. The City Council, in its housing and land use programme, sets the objectives for the Urban Planning Office. The local detailed plan determines for what purpose an area may be used, to what extent a plot can be used, the height, roof pitch and materials of a building. A local plans also determines the width of streets and street areas, the preservation value of build-

ings and nature as well as location of parks. The Urban Planning Office prepares the local detailed plans. The Board of Urban Planning and Environmental Committee makes decisions regarding the plans (http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=11981&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014).

16 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=11977&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014.

17 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?contentid=441659&nodeid=11826, accessed 26 August 2014.

18 http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=12031&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 17 June 2014.

19 A Solutions Landscape for Turku, pdf accessed 20 August 2014.

20 http://www.turku.fi/Public/Default.aspx?nodeid=18817&culture=fi-FI&contentlan=1, accessed 17 June 2014.

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http://www.turku.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=11981&culture=en-US&contentlan=2, accessed 18 August 2014.

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Shafted

A Case of Cultural and Structural Violence in the Power Relations between a Sami Community and a Mining Company in Northern Sweden

By Kristina Sehlin MacNeil

This article is based on a single case study exploring the various expressions of structural and cultural violence in the power relations between a *sameby*[1] and a mining company in Sweden. It is an ethnological study, focusing on the voices of and experiences held by the research participants, and should be read as a thorough analysis of these experiences. Because of space limitations this particular study does not include further analysis or explanations of the political and historical contexts or discourses in which this case can be located. However, this paper is one part of a research project where these contexts and discourses will be explored more thoroughly. Using Johan Galtung's theories of structural and cultural violence and focusing on the narratives given by two members of Laevas sameby board, I will explore their experiences of the events, in relation to the creation and publishing of the opinion piece. The main research question for this study is thus: How is cultural and structural violence manifested in the power relations between Laevas sameby and LKAB, as experienced by two members of Laevas sameby board?

On August 27, 2013, the Sami Parliament[2] in Sweden agreed on a joint, very powerful statement. The statement declared that the ongoing mining exploitations in Swedish Sápmi[3] were obvious human rights offences and that the Sami Parliament could accept no more exploitation of Sápmi (*Sametinget* 2014). The statement was read to a public gathering in Gállok (Kallak), near Jokkmokk, on August 28, 2013. Gállok had been and continued to be the site for a major confrontation between the mining company Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB and mining protestors, some of whom were Sami people. Three days later, on August 31, an opinion piece was published in the Swedish national tabloid, *Aftonbladet*. The headline read: *We have different interests but we can cooperate*. The subheading stated: *Mines can grow without threatening reindeer herding or tourism* (*Aftonbladet debatt*, August 31, 2013. Author's own translation). There were five signatories to the article, the first two were the chairs of two samebys, Gabna sameby and Laevas sameby, both of which are heavily affected by mining on their lands. Laevas sameby has the world's largest underground iron ore mine on their land. The mine, which is owned and operated by LKAB, a Swedish state-owned mining company, has been in existence for over a hundred years. The town of Kiruna, where many of the members of Laevas sameby live during parts of the year, was more or less built around and on top of the mine. LKAB employs more than 4 000 people directly but also creates jobs for over 54 000 people in the Arctic Circle, and accounts for ten per cent of Sweden's industrial investments (LKAB 2014).

The power relations between a sameby and a state-owned mining company, the size of LKAB, seem obvious. In an era of a fast growing mining boom and increasing exploration and exploitation in Swedish Sápmi, a sameby like Laevas will need to fight for its survival. It can oppose new mines opening, but it does not have the right to decide whether a mine will go ahead or not (Lawrence 2009; Össbo 2014). The sameby members will also still need to deal with the mines already operating on their coun-

try. Reindeer have a particular diet and migratory patterns. Mines, and the infrastructure supporting them, commonly cut off these migratory routes as well as affecting the grazing areas that the reindeer need to forage on (Horstkotte 2013; Brännlund & Axelsson 2011). A constant struggle for the survival of their culture also brings stress to the members of the sameby. A deep understanding of the mining industry, the legal processes around mining, as well as the power relations involved, are necessary in order to challenge the mining companies (Marsh 2013:178; O'Faircheallaigh 1999:64). According to the research participants of this study, gaining this information and staying informed is time consuming and further impacts on members of the sameby, as their time is needed for reindeer herding. Thus it is not unusual for samebys to enter into agreements with mining companies operating on their lands. This ensures that the sameby will receive some compensation for time lost due to the numerous consultations and meetings they must attend and participate in, in addition to compensation for loss of land in some cases.

In 2012 and 2013 Laevas sameby worked on creating an agreement with LKAB. The agreement was finalised in June, 2013. There had never been any previous agreements and the sameby had never received any such compensation from the state-owned mining company before. In August the parties held a planning meeting and at the end of this meeting the sameby members were handed a draft opinion piece by the LKAB staff. They were told that this was part of communicating to the public about the collaboration, something that they should do according to the agreement. The sameby members saw quite a few problems with the opinion piece and made some changes to it. The draft then went back to LKAB and underwent more editing. In late August the board member of Laevas sameby, responsible for the communication about the opinion piece, left for work in remote Norway. The only way that he could be contacted was via satellite telephone after work hours. During this time the sameby members, through their consultant, were contacted by LKAB and were told that the opinion piece had to be published straight away. In order to undertake a final edit, the sameby member working in Norway had the article read to him over the phone. He then had to give his approval over the phone.

Methodological Approach

Throughout my work in this field I am constantly conscious of the power structures that exist within the researcher/research participant relationship. As so succinctly put by Linda Tuhiwai Smith: "The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith 1999:1). This is true also of a Sami context, where memories of race biology and skull measuring live on. In my case there is the added dimension of being a non-Indigenous researcher doing research on issues that relate to Indigenous peoples. Can these seemingly great obstacles be overcome in order to conduct a successful research project for both research participants and researcher? This research project's main methodological framework is founded on Indigenous methodologies as described

by theorists such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2012), Margaret Kovach (2010), Jelena Porsanger (2004), Bagele Chilisa (2011) and Renee Pualani Louis (2007). These methodologies share some fundamental qualities as they work to ensure that Indigenous peoples are active participants in and have control over Indigenous related research processes. In this study I have worked closely together with the research participants who have been involved throughout, knowing that nothing would be made public or published without their consent. We have discussed hopes and fears, both from research participant and researcher perspectives. Through our discussions we have come to know each other, not as researcher and research participants but as individuals and we have built respect for, as well as understandings of, each other's situations and positions.

Using someone else's words to describe a situation is a delicate matter. In an effort to stay as true as possible to the meaning of the research participants' words, this study makes use of direct quotes. The narratives were given in Swedish and the Swedish quotes have also been included as requested by the research participants, who stressed the importance of their own words being present in the article. This is in accordance with the ethical and Indigenous methodology framework that underpins this research, as well as the yarning (narrative) method (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010) and Galtung's models (Galtung 1990b) used to conduct the analysis. Narrative inquiry enables a focus on power relations and positions of privilege as it centres the research participants' experiences, thus it is often referred to as an emancipatory or empowering form of inquiry and can be used to bring out voices otherwise silenced or ignored (Kohler Riessman 2008; Lemley & Mitchell 2012). Lemley & Mitchell suggest that the narrative researcher analyses and presents findings by "restorying" narratives through frameworks that communicate the research participants' meaning as accurately as possible and assert that "using direct quotes is one way that we complete this act" (2012:219). In combination with the narrative approach, the Indigenous methodological framework used for this research rests on four corner stones, "relational accountability; respectful (re)presentation; reciprocal appropriation; and rights and regulation" (Louis 2007:133) and engages the three R's of Respect, Reciprocity and Relationships (Reid and Taylor 2011). Through the use of an Indigenous methodology framework I remain methodologically as well as ethically committed to honouring Indigenous voices[4] (Denzin 2014; Smith 1999; Ivanitz 1998).

This study is based on a set of semi-structured interviews conducted with two members of Laevas sameby between June, 2013 and March, 2014. The research participants have chosen to be referred to as "sameby member" throughout the article, rather than using their names or any other form of identification, this too is in line with the study's ethical and Indigenous methodology framework. The interview method can best be described as yarning (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010), an emerging Indigenous form of data collection. Bessarab and Ng'andu describe yarning in semi-structured interviews as "an informal and relaxed discussion through which

both the researcher and participant journey together visiting places and topics of interest relevant to the research study" (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010:38). Yarning is thus more of a conversation where both researcher and participant actively participate in the process, as opposed to other interview methods where the participant is the main speaker and the researcher the main listener. Using yarning in research means that the researcher does not just take from the participants but gives something in return by means of building a relationship. Bessarab and Ng'andu emphasise this by stating that "yarning is a process that requires the researcher to develop and build a relationship that is accountable to Indigenous people participating in the research" (ibid.). Yarning can be described as a form of narrative method, particularly conducive to Indigenous related research (Lemley & Mitchell 2012). Originally the project aimed to have a focus group of six participants, both male and female and of various ages. However, as the study concerns a specific case, the two members were asked to be research participants because of their involvement in the process around the opinion piece. I travelled to the town of Kiruna to meet with the research participants a total of five times during the period and the narratives used in this article were recorded during group interviews at four of these sessions. The interviews took place at *Samegården*, a guest house and Sami museum in Kiruna and resulted in many hours of recordings that make up the focus of the analysis, which was conducted by applying peace researcher Johan Galtung's theories on structural and cultural violence.

It should be mentioned that even though this article's purpose is to explore the manifestation of structural and cultural violence through the research participants' experiences, I did seek the mining company's comments on how they perceived the process around the creation and publishing of the opinion piece. After making a number of unsuccessful phone calls to LKAB's communications department, I finally made contact by email and posed seven questions including: Who wrote the article?; Who came up with the idea?; Who decided on the headlines and the order of signatories?; and Others have said that LKAB were in a rush to get the article published at that particular time, is this true according to your experience of what happened and if so why was it so important to publish this article at that particular time? I did not receive answers to any of the questions. However, I did receive a one-sentence answer stating that the article came into existence through discussions between all the parties who signed it.

This article is part of a research project, an international comparison of power structures in the relations between Indigenous groups and mining companies through single case studies in Sweden and Australia. The project is co-owned and mentored by the National Association of the Swedish Sami People (SSR). Initially I came in contact with Laevas sameby through a land protection project. The number of mines and exploration permits that Laevas sameby are facing on their land, made their experiences relevant for this study. One research participant was invited to participate in the project through discussions with SSR and a refer-

ral or snowball sampling technique was used where that participant recruited other members of the sameby (Morgan 2008: 815).

Different Forms of Violence

Peace researcher Johan Galtung introduced the concept of *structural violence* in the late 1960s (Galtung 1969). He then introduced the concept of *cultural violence* in the late 1980s (Galtung 1990a). In his discussion about structural or indirect violence, Galtung was attempting to broaden both the meaning of the word *peace* and what peace should reject, *violence*. Thus, structural violence does not necessarily involve a person or group intentionally causing physical harm to another person or group but the "…violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung 1969:171).

In the case of Laevas sameby and the LKAB mining company, the structural violence can be seen as the power inequalities caused by uneven resources. LKAB has a communications department with several employees, Laevas sameby does not. LKAB is a state-owned company with political and financial support at the highest level, Laevas sameby is a Sami community in Swedish Sápmi, an area that is colonised by the Swedish state and they exist under laws created by the Swedish state. In terms of cultural violence, Galtung intends this to mean the attitudes and ideas commonly held in a society that can be used to justify structural or even direct violence (Galtung 1990a:291). In this study the cultural violence involves racism and discrimination against Sami in Sweden as well as common stereotypes and prejudice against Sami in general and reindeer herding Sami in particular (Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008). Also, Sami issues are often thrown in with general issues concerning Norrland (the north of Sweden) and therefore treated as non-issues. Eriksson (2010) points out that there is a colonial discourse present in Sweden where Norrland is commonly viewed as backwards and unimportant, as opposed to the capital, Stockholm, in the south, which is modern and important. This further contributes to Sami people and their history, culture and society being made invisible, which can also be evidenced by the lack of national interest that the Gállok conflict generated during the summer of 2013. The conflict received more attention from international media outlets than national ones. According to journalist Po Tidholm, the fact that mines are opening in Sápmi is a piece of "…non-news. Like that the apples will soon be ripe" (*Dagens Nyheter*, September 23, 2013. Author's own translation).

Johan Galtung is far from the only scholar who has explored power relations and structures of power. One of the more famous scholars who has dealt with the concept of power is Michel Foucault, whose analysis of power relations and discourses (see for example *The order of discourse*, 1984) can be used as a base for understanding this study's context, in which structural and cultural violence exists. For instance, in this study the experiences of the members of Laevas sameby are embedded in many different discourses and many different relations of power affect their interactions with LKAB. Foucault

theorised that there is a relation between knowledge and power and that discourse itself is a form of power struggle (Fairclough 1992). Galtung critiques Foucault's concept of power because of what he sees as a "reification of zero-sum, either or relations" (Kuur-Sørensen and Galtung 2007) where, in Foucault's view, some conflicts are unsolvable. According to Kuur-Sørensen and Galtung, Foucault's notion of power makes conflict transformation impossible. This study deals specifically with the structural and cultural violence experienced by the research participants and does not further investigate the various discourses in which these experiences sit. However, further research into these discourses could certainly shed even more new light on this particular situation.

Public Relations and Power Relations

On June 3, 2013, the agreement between Laevas sameby and LKAB was signed. On August 23, the first planning meeting on how to go forward with the actual work, stated in the agreement, took place. After the meeting was finished the sameby members were presented with a draft opinion piece and asked to put their names to the article. The events that followed, in the lead up to the opinion piece being published in *Aftonbladet*, on August 31, and afterwards, when the sameby members had to face the consequences, are described in the following text, using direct quotes from two of the Laevas sameby members involved.

Next to the World's Largest Mine

The Swedish state-owned mining company LKAB is both an old and very large company. The question is whether there can be room for both a sameby and a mining company in and around the town of Kiruna, where the main LKAB mine is located. It is not only a matter of reindeer grazing lands quickly declining but also a matter of power relations, stereotypes and discrimination that affect the daily lives of the sameby members. The research participants both agree that the situation is better than it once was and that racism and discrimination is less overt these days, yet they still exist in the shadow of the world's largest underground iron ore mine.

> We can't compete and bring out unemployment numbers and financial examples, we don't stand a chance.[5]

The sameby members also discussed how LKAB has an enormous influence on the town of Kiruna and the region. LKAB provides jobs for many of the people that they share their town with. One of the sameby members also emphasised how uncomfortable it can be to be an LKAB critic in his town.

> It's just to choose in what kind of climate you want to live.[6]

The last quote points to an aspect that stands out throughout the narratives given by the research participants. Their daily lives involve a strategic struggle to protect their lands and save their livelihood. They need to carefully calculate how their decisions and actions might affect not only their futures but also the futures of other reindeer herding communities in Sápmi. Theirs is a reality where one small strategic miscalculation can lead to big consequences.

The Timing was Crucial

The sameby members both described how LKAB seemed to be in a rush to get the opinion piece published within a particular timeframe. On Friday, August 23, the sameby members were handed the first draft of the opinion piece. On Sunday, August 25, the sameby member responsible for communicating with LKAB about the opinion piece, left for reindeer slaughter in remote Norway, a place where he could only be contacted via satellite phone. The reindeer slaughter lasted until the following Thursday. During this time the sameby member had to make crucial decisions about his role in regards to the opinion piece.

We found out about the opinion piece on the 23 of August, it was a Friday. We had a first meeting in August about how to shape the work. And when we finished up that meeting we got this script. It was not like this, it was even worse.[7]

The same sameby member questioned why he had not been given the appropriate time to edit the article.

We sort of ended up in a bit of conflict regarding this article with LKAB, how it was used. We had reindeer slaughter in Norway that week, it was one of those unfortunate timings. And there was a real hurry to get it out right then. And there's something in that, why did they want to get it out at that exact time?[8]

He also described how the circumstances had been inadequate to undertake the editing necessary to ensure that the article could not be misinterpreted.

I did not see this article at all, I just had it read to me over the phone and you know how that is, you lose words. I was on reindeer husbandry duty in Norway at the time.[9]

During the first days of the reindeer slaughter in Norway, the sameby members involved in the agreement project with LKAB discussed whether they could put their names to the opinion piece. They decided not to out of apprehension for what the consequences could be. However, after further discussion with the mining company, they went along with the article.

On the Tuesday, I called [another sameby member] and said no, we can't let this article out like this, we can't go along with it. Because I was afraid already then about what kind of message it would end up with. Particularly when there was fighting in Kallak too. And so we decided. But then there was a slight change (to the article) between Wednesday and Thursday and then we went along with it.[10]

The sameby member described how he was concerned about the way that the opinion piece was formulated and how it seemed to indicate that mines did not have a big impact on reindeer husbandry as long as the mining industry and samebys cooperated.

I remember I even said to [our consultant] that this article can't carry a message that it is possible to build mines everywhere, that it is possible to cooperate. But that is how it ended up, that a mine doesn't matter, you can cooperate. [Our consultant] was aware that we couldn't have such a wording.[11]

The same sameby member explained how his community had not been given the opportunity to fully participate in the process of creating the opinion piece, on the same terms as the mining company. They were never given the final version of the article before it was printed.

LKAB chose the final content. There we have the aspect of time entering the picture. We were not allowed to be involved in the details of the content in a dignified way as it was pushed out so quickly.[12]

Both sameby members stressed how they believed that the situation could have been different, had they been given the chance to participate on equal terms.

We worked on it under such different, how should I say, conditions. Had we been sitting down with this and developed it around a table I don't think it would have looked like this.[13]

One of the sameby members concluded his experiences of the process surrounding the making of the opinion piece with the following reflection:

And how it was handled, one could say that we got steamrolled. When it comes to the timing for this kind of article.[14]

Divide and Rule

The opinion piece states that mining companies and samebys can cooperate despite having different interests and that mines can grow without threatening reindeer husbandry. Both sameby members agreed that they did not oppose being involved in producing an opinion piece, but one that carried their message. In the opinion piece that was published, the LKAB mines in question are described as "new" mines. In reality the mines mentioned in the article are old mines that LKAB will reopen, so mines on land that has once been mined and is thus already broken. One of the sameby members explained:

Because the opinion piece, for us it was quite clear. But then there was the use of some obscure words in it and those words they muddled everything. Just like if LKAB is opening three new mines.[15]

The same sameby member stressed how important it is to differentiate between old and new mines in this case and how the message brought forth in the opinion piece could be a potential threat for other samebys.

I have made that clear, here we have to distinguish between new and old mines. They are completely different things. You can't just open a mine in some other sameby and say that it's possible to coexist.[16]

The sameby members further discussed the different situations experienced by different samebys. There are 51 samebys in Sweden and not all of them have mines operating on their lands. According to the sameby members, the traditional Sami livelihood of reindeer husbandry will struggle to continue under the conditions suggested in the opinion piece, where mines and reindeer husbandry would be expected to coexist simply by cooperating. Their sameby has had no choice but to exist next to one of the world's largest mines for over a hundred years as stated by one sameby member:

You need to be aware that this is the world's largest mine that we are dealing with.[17]

The sameby members spoke of their experiences of unequal power relations between their community and LKAB, as well as other authorities in the region.

If we are to coexist, if we are to live together here, you know if we go against this, then we'll get the entire region, the whole municipality against us. What will the consequences for reindeer husbandry be then?[18]

One of the sameby members also emphasised his concern for other samebys in the current mining boom.

We know what happens to a reindeer husbandry area when a mine comes in. And I don't wish that upon other samebys, that the same would happen to them as has happened to us.[19]

Finally, the sameby members questioned why the timing was so crucial, why the opinion piece had to be published at that exact time and whether the timing had something to do with the Gállok (Kallak) conflict and the Sami Parliament's statement, which was published only days before, as well as whether the opinion piece was designed to create an internal conflict among Sami people in Sweden.

I think that it was to calm down the Gallók fight, they wanted to kill off the debate a little and put a wedge between us.[20]

And

I don't think that LKAB's local management are interested in such things. It would have to come from LKAB's Group Management or even higher up, so the government.[21]

Both sameby members said that the opinion piece led to some severe consequences for them. After it was published they were inundated with phone calls and incredulous messages from various samebys who could not understand how they could have supported the views expressed in the article. One of the research participants felt a need to approach local media outlets in order to attempt public explanations of the situation. The ordeal was both stressful and time consuming as well as damaging for relationships.

We've taken a beating for this, it did cost us, we've had to pay for it.[22]

Violence Present in the System

Peace researcher Johan Galtung coined the concepts of structural and cultural violence in order to expand not only the concepts of violence and conflict, but also the concept of peace. By using his theories we can view and name the many layers that interplay and make up situations of conflict. Galtung also believes that the conflicting parties' different cultures and worldviews must be taken into consideration when analysing conflicts and he criticises those who believe that one (most often Western) solution fits all (Galtung 1990b; Walker 2004:527).

According to Galtung (1969), structural, or indirect violence, as opposed to direct violence, is the type of violence inflicted on living things through discriminatory systems or structures. One way of describing the different forms of violence can be "the distinction between direct violence (children are murdered), structural violence (children die through poverty) and cultural violence (whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it)" (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall 2005:10). For this study the concepts of structural violence, the discriminatory structures that inflict harm on people, and cultural violence, the common attitudes and behaviours in a society that serve to justify the structural discrimination, are particularly useful. Galtung's model is a triangle, where direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence are all present and always at interplay with each other. However, this triangle can be positioned in all possible ways creating all possible expressions of conflicts (Galtung 1990a:294).

In this particular case we might imagine the triangle placed on its direct violence tip, so that the structural and cultural violence tips are positioned on top (see Figure 1.). For, in this case, there is structural and cultural violence at play with a possible outcome of direct violence. An example close at hand can be found in the

anti-mining protests in Gállok (Kallak) during the Nordic summer of 2013, where force was used to remove protestors from a proposed mining site. The proposed mine would be situated on the reindeer grazing lands of two samebys, Sirges and Jåhkågasska, and would have severe consequences for their livelihoods. Both Sami and non-Sami protestors barricaded the road leading to the site where test drilling was to be conducted and clashed with police when the latter cleared the way for the mining company's vehicles. Media reports showed how the clashes grew more and more violent and although the protestors used non-violent methods, police were filmed using force, including the use of dogs to intimidate protestors and tearing down towers with protestors still inside.

Figure 1. A Version of Galtung's Triangle.

In the sameby members' narratives there is a strong focus on the aspect of time and the lack of time given to edit and think through the opinion piece. One of the members stated that they were not allowed to participate "on equal terms" due to this. They both say that if they would have had sufficient time and an opportunity to sit down together and work through the article, the outcome would have been different. They also talk about not being involved in decision-making about the final content and how the headlines and order of signatories were not communicated. Galtung talks about violence as being the difference between the actual and the potential: "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Galtung 1969:168). In this case the sameby members were not given sufficient time or opportunities for participation in editing and decision-making around the published article and thus the outcome was not what they wanted. Structural and cultural violence can be evidenced by the lack of time and insight into the process given to the sameby members by the mining company. In addition, the article carried a message that the sameby members do not agree with, even though one of them found his name amongst the first on the list of signatures on the published article, making it seem like he was one of the primary authors. Furthermore the sameby members talk about how one cannot criticise LKAB without consequences and how, if they do not cooperate to some extent, they fear that the conditions for reindeer husbandry will become even worse. All of the above mentioned aspects can be seen as structural violence according to Galtung, who states that "If insight and/or resources are *monopolized* by a group or class or are *used for other purposes*, then the actual level falls below the potential level, and violence is present in the system" (Galtung 1969:169). He goes on to make the distinction between "violence that works on the body, and violence that works on the soul; where the latter would include lies, brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats, etc…" (ibid.). I argue that there

are inbuilt threats in the power relations between Laevas sameby and LKAB, evidenced by narratives taken from the two sameby members. When there is a concern that if one does not cooperate it will harm one's entire culture including all members, not only of one's own community, but possibly also other samebys, there is, as Galtung puts it, violence present in the system.

Galtung defines cultural violence as being that which justifies structural and direct violence. "The study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered acceptable in society" (Galtung 1990a:292). In this study cultural violence can be seen as the aspects of Swedish majority or dominant society or culture that serve to make Sami culture invisible or to shape Sami culture in a way that fits with the majority society. Examples of this are the lack of information about Sami history, culture and society taught in Swedish schools (Omma 2013:35; Ledman 2012:157), Swedish laws such as the Mineral Act that enable mining companies to break ground on reindeer grazing lands (Liliequist and Cocq 2014, 2), as well as racist and discriminating attitudes towards Sami people in Swedish majority society (Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008).

In Sweden Sami people are often consulted at the last possible moment when it comes to matters that concern them. This could be anything from research projects to cultural or political events. Being invited to participate at a late stage in a process gives the semblance of consultation and collaboration but in reality means Sami people have less power to determine the course or outcome of the process, as well as being completely excluded from the planning stage. I argue that cultural violence can be evidenced through this unreasonably late engagement with Sami people, as described by the research participants. It reflects a broader discriminatory attitude towards Sami people in Sweden that shows up in various ways, including a general lack of knowledge about Sami society, history and culture (Omma 2013:35; Sköld 2005:15), the lack of specific research ethics protocol for Sami-related research (Ledman 2007:55; Lawrence 2009:66) and Sami people and issues often being ignored or ridiculed in various forms of media (J:son Lönn 2014; Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008). This attitude seems to convey that Sami people do not necessarily have to be asked, consulted or invited to participate when dealing with issues that affect them. It treats consultation as a privilege and not a right of the Sami people. Several scholars, among them Lantto (2012), Mörkenstam (1999), Nordin (2002) and Åhrén (2008) have pointed to this attitude being linked to the colonisation of Swedish Sápmi and how these discriminatory positions were constructed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the colonisers believed Sami people not fit to take care of their own matters. The discriminatory attitudes live on in modern Swedish society and can then be seen as cultural violence toward Sami people, which serves to legitimize the structural violence experienced by the two sameby members in the events around the creation and publishing of the opinion piece.

Conclusions

This paper centres the voices of two members of Laevas sameby in order to analyse the manifestation of cultural and structural violence in their interactions with the Swedish state-owned mining company, LKAB. It is a single case study, focusing on the sameby members' experiences of the creation and publishing of an opinion piece that appeared in the Swedish tabloid *Aftonbladet* on August 31, 2013. To be able to convey the research participants' voices as accurately as possible a number of direct quotes have been used, outlining the series of events. Their experiences are analysed through Johan Galtung's conflict triangle and the concepts of structural and cultural violence are applied in order to view the situation from a new vantage point. The narratives given by the research participants clearly show that they were not given the power of insight or the opportunity to participate in the process in a way that would have enabled them to have any real power over the outcome. The result was a published article with a message they do not agree with but with one of them displayed as a primary author. I argue that there is both cultural and structural violence present in this situation and that these expressions of violence are manifested in particular ways. Cultural violence can be evidenced through the general lack of knowledge about Sami matters in Swedish society, as well as the attitude that the sameby members did not really need to be involved on equal terms. Structural violence can be demonstrated through the lack of influence over the content of the opinion piece. The concepts of cultural, structural and direct violence are valuable for a deeper understanding of the sameby members' experiences, which in turn can lead to more successful conflict management between mining companies and Sami communities. In Swedish Sápmi many samebys are facing similar situations due to the expanding mining boom. There is an obvious increased stress for reindeer herders as well as a risk of cultural and structural violence turning into direct violence. This study demonstrates a need for further research into the power relations between Sami communities and mining companies in order to create stronger foundations for conflict transformation.

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Notes

1 *Sameby* means Sami village in Swedish, however it is not a village as it is much more complex. Similar to ethnologist Hugh Beach, who has produced numerous works about Swedish Sápmi, I have chosen to use the word sameby (samebys in plural) rather than an English translation (Beach 1981). A sameby is both an economic association and a specific geographical area. Members of a sameby can engage in reindeer husbandry within the specific area. A board that is elected at an annual meeting runs the sameby and each sameby consists of several different reindeer herding companies with one or more owners. You must be Sami to exercise reindeer husbandry in Sweden. The samebys and reindeer husbandry is regulated by the Reindeer Herding Act 1971:437 (Löf 2014:45; Sápmi 2014).

2 The Sami Parliament is regulated by the Sami Parliament Act 1992:1433. The Sami Parliament's primary task is to oversee and promote Sami culture in Sweden. The Sami Parliament is a popularly elected parliament as well as a state administrative agency and its tasks are thus legally regulated by the Swedish government (Lundmark 1998:130).

3 Sápmi is the Sami homeland and spans over four countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Sami people are the Indigenous peoples in these countries (Lundmark 1998: 11; Sápmi 2014).

4 As my PhD project investigates power relations between Indigenous groups and mining companies in Sweden and Australia I am, during 2014-2015, a Visiting Scholar in the David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research at University of South Australia in Adelaide. It is interesting to note the stark difference between the Swedish and Australian academe in the field of Indigenous related research and should be emphasised that within the Unaipon College I would not have passed the ethics reviews had I not been ethically and methodologically committed to honouring my research participants in terms of respect, reciprocity and relationships.

5 Original quote: "Vi kan ju inte hävda oss och ta fram arbetslöshetssiffror och ekonomiska räkneexempel, vi har ju inte en chans."

6 Original quote: "Alltså det är ju bara att välja i vilket klimat man vill leva."

7 Original quote: "När vi fick reda på om den här [debattartikeln], det var den 23 augusti, det var en fredag. Då hade vi i augusti ett sådant där första möte om hur vi ska lägga upp de här arbetslinjerna. Och när vi avslutade det mötet då fick vi den här skriften, den var inte så här, den var ännu värre."

8 Original quote: "Vi hamnar ju lite i konflikt gällande den här artikeln med LKAB, just hur den användes. Vi hade renslakt i Norge just den veckan, det var ju en sådan där olycklig tid. Och det var jättebråttom att få ut den just då. Och det är där det ligger någonting i, varför ville de få ut den just då?"

9 Original quote: "Alltså jag såg ju inte den här artikeln alls utan jag fick den ju bara uppläst över telefon och då vet du ju hur det blir, då tappar man ju ord. Då var jag i renskötseltjänst i Norge."

10 Original quote: "På tisdagen ringde jag till [en annan samebymedlem] och sa att nej, vi kan inte släppa ut den här artikeln så här, vi kan inte gå med på det. För jag var rädd redan då för vilket budskap den skulle komma att få. Just det här när det var strider i Kallak också. Och så blev det. Men så kom det en liten ändring där mellan onsdagen och torsdagen och då gick vi med på det."

11 Original quote: "Jag kommer ihåg att jag sa även till [vår konsult] att den här artikeln får inte få ett sådant budskap att det går att bygga gruvor överallt, att det går att samverka. Och det var det den fick sedan, att en gruva gör ingenting, man kan samverka. [Vår konsult] var ju medveten om det att en sådan formulering får det inte vara."

12 Original quote: "LKAB valde det slutgiltiga innehållet. Där har vi också tidsaspekten som kommer in i bilden. Det detaljerade innehållet fick vi inte vara med på, på ett värdigt sätt i och med att den gick ut så snabbt."

13 Original quote: "Så vi jobbade ju fram den med så olika, hur ska jag säga, förutsättningar. Hade vi suttit med den här och tagit fram den runt ett bord så tror jag inte att den hade blivit så här."

14 Original quote: "Och hanteringen där, det kan man väl säga att där blev vi överkörda. Just tidsmässigt med en sådan här artikel."

15 Original quote: "För den här artikeln, för oss var den ju tydlig. Men sedan användes det väl lite otydliga ord i den och de där orden de vände ju på alltihop. Precis som att LKAB öppnar tre nya gruvor."

16 Original quote: "Och det har jag tydliggjort här, här måste man skilja mellan nyetableringar och gamla gruvor. Det är helt skilda saker. Det går inte att smälla upp en gruva i någon annan by och säga att det går att samexistera."

17 Original quote: "Man måste tänka att det här är världens största gruva som vi har att göra med."

18 Original quote: "Om vi ska samexistera, om vi ska leva tillsammans här, går vi emot det här vet du, då får vi hela regionen, hela kommunen emot oss. Vad blir det för konsekvenser för renskötseln sen?"

19 Original quote: "Vi har ju facit i hand vad det blir utav ett renskötselområde när det blir en

gruva. För här vet vi. Och jag önskar inte det åt andra samebyar, att de ska råka ut för samma som vi har råkat ut för."

20 Original quote: "Jag tror att den här skulle gjuta olja på Gállokvågorna, man skulle döda debatten lite och slå en split mellan oss."

21 Original quote: "Jag tror inte att LKABs lokala ledning är intresserad av sånt inte. Utan då måste det komma från LKABs koncernledning eller ännu högre upp, så regeringen."

22 Original quote: "Det här har ju tagit stryk på oss, det kostade ju, det har vi fått betala för."

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Rendering Culture and Multi-Targeted Ethnography

By Tom O'Dell and Robert Willim

All too seldom do we acknowledge the classroom and our engagement as teachers as integral parts of the research process or catalysts to the ethnographic analyses that we produce. But in what follows, the classroom has been central to the development of our thinking, and particularly our engagement in a Master's program of Applied Cultural Analysis (MACA). Our engagement in MACA has been facilitated by the insight that throughout Europe and North America students completing graduate level degrees in ethnology and anthropology are moving, more than ever before, to the world beyond academia to find employment and apply their skills (Sillitoe 2007: 149; Wright 2006). At the undergraduate level we find a growing cadre of students who think instrumentally about their educations and aim at educations that lead to specific (imagined) career paths (O'Dell 2009). Simultaneously, partially as a consequence of this movement, but even due to governmental pressures, ethnologic research and educational programs are under pressure to legitimate themselves in terms of their usefulness and the employability of the students they produce. As a result, even if ethnologists have found employment in such places as museums, archives and the sector of cultural heritage in the past, we find ourselves working with students to prepare them for jobs in the public and private sectors to an extent that was unheard of ten to twenty years ago.

From this position, two questions have provided a new trajectory for our exploration of what happens to ethnography when new relationships between academic practice and institutions beyond the university are formed. The first addresses the juncture of cultural analysis and pedagogy, and concerns the question of, how is it possible to teach a rather diverse group of students, in a short period of time, the art of doing applied cultural analysis. Indeed, what is "*Applied* Cultural Analysis"? And secondly, how can ethnography be mobilized in different ways to affect and engage very different publics both within and beyond the university?

MACA has been running since 2009, and we have been working with students from very different scholarly contexts coming from countries as diverse as Armenia, Ethiopia, China, Brazil and The United States. The challenges and opportunities of working with this program have been an immense source of inspiration. It has facilitated us to reflect upon and to think about the direction in which ethnology is moving and to contemplate the possible futures ethnology and cultural analysis might be envisioned to meet. Parallel with the development of MACA and the teaching of the program we have conducted research exploring the methodological dimensions of what it means to work ethnographically beyond the academy, as well as in the shifting world that constitutes academia today. In the following article we draw from this research that was conducted between 2010 and 2014 and was based on interviews and observations of people working with ethnography in North America, Europe, Australia, and Scandinavia. These were ethnographers who worked as consultants, in larger marketing companies or who were moving in and out of academic contexts depending on the projects they were involved with. For clarification, throughout the text we use the word "we" or refer to "us", in so

doing we are primarily referring to "us the authors," and not some larger imagined community of scholars.

To Re-frame Ethnography

As part of our study of the shifting ways in which ethnography is employed within and beyond the academy, we have felt a need to re-frame the concept and to explore the potential it has to be stretched in slightly new directions as well as to reflect upon the question of where the ends of ethnography might lie. We have done this in part by striving to frame ethnography as a compositional practice (O'Dell and Willim 2011), and by arguing for a need to regard ethnography as a process of rendering culture (O'Dell and Willim 2014). Our objective in this text is to begin by further developing our ideas on what it means to render culture, and to explicate why we believe it is important to strive to actively push ethnography in this direction. In doing the latter, the article argues that the emphasis in ethnology and anthropology has been to frame ethnography as an accumulative practice, but that it is perhaps time to more clearly even emphasize its distributive dimensions. In doing this, the article closes by arguing for a need to more explicitly think of ethnography, and to teach it, in terms of it being a multi-targeted practice.

The most basic premise which lie behind our attempt to re-frame ethnography was grounded in Arjun Appadurai's writings on the biography of things (1986) and an acceptance of the idea that as things move the significance attributed to them and the manner in which they are perceived may change. This point of departure was further supported by George Marcus' writings on multi-sited ethnography – a mode of research practice through which Marcus espouses a stance in which the researcher follows things and phenomena through time and space to analyze what happens to the people and cultural processes involved. As Marcus explained:

> I focus on the various mapping strategies evident in this mode of ethnography and on the challenges that it poses for the assumptions and expectations embedded in the ethnographic method itself. Of course, the intellectual capital of so-called post-modernism has provided ideas and concepts for the emergence of multi-sited ethnography, but more importantly it arises in response to empirical changes in the world and therefore to the transformed locations of cultural production…(1998: 80).

Both Appadurai and Marcus were interested, in rather different ways, in the question of what happens when people, things, and ideas move about in the global ecumene. And as we viewed the world from the horizons of MACA, it was evident that there were "empirical changes in the world" to quote Marcus again, occurring around us, such as the movement of large and growing numbers of anthropologists and ethnologists from the employment folds of academia to those beyond it (Borofsky 2012; Pink 2006). At a time in which research financiers and political leaders are asking scholars in the humanities and social sciences to legitimate their work in terms of its benefits for, and usefulness to, society, we find that our knowledge, methods, and modes of working *are* being mobilized outside the academy in very different ways and by very different groups of people.

Admittedly, a great deal has been written and debated about the practices, meth-

ods and outcomes of applied research (see for example Jorgensen 1971; Kedia 2008; Partridge & Eddy 1987; Sillitoe 2007), and we appreciate these debates. But there has been all too much finger pointing and moralizing over what constituted "good anthropology" in many of these debates (Ingold 2014; Wright 2006). Rather than becoming entangled in what has by and large been an oversimplified polemic, we see the potential to learn from the diverse ways in which ethnography has been implemented and justified in varying contexts of its practice. Our own point of departure lies in a curiosity over what happens in the processes of travel, translation and re-appropriation – as a methodological stance moves from one sphere of inquiry to another (O'Dell & Willim 2011). What can we learn by turning an interested ear in new directions?

Moving along with Ethnography

Speak of ethnography and one enters an ambivalent world constituted through a unique sort of meeting between individuals bearing such titles as ethnographers, subjects, informants, collaborators or "epistemic partners" (Lassiter & Campbell 2010:760). But more often than not, the realm of ethnography seems to address issues of representation and writing (Calzadilla & Marcus 2006; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Macdonald & Basu 2007; Schneider 2008), or questions of methods of investigation (Davies 2008; Handwerker 2001; Sunderland & Denny 2007). To be sure, they are both intimately entangled, but the manner in which we talk about this entanglement is often contradictory. On the one hand, the past few decades have seen a methodological movement resisting linear and positivist-flavored models and presumptions about ethnography and cultural as well as social research (see Faubion & Marcus 2009; Schneider and Wright 2013; Thrift 2007; Wilk 2011 to name just a few examples). But on the other hand, our research applications quickly revert (explicitly or implicitly) to variations of the Gantt chart in which methods and processes of analysis are laid out on a unilinear time line (moving from a date of funding to the completion of the project's main monograph), and we conclude our applications by summarizing (with a prognosis of) the potential outcomes of a study, long before it is funded, let be, conducted (Coleman and Collins 2006). In a parallel manner, methods courses at both the graduate and undergraduate levels work in a similar fashion, teaching students methods, sending them out "into the field" for a smaller project, and encouraging them to come home, write-up results, and hand in their papers.

We often find ourselves, in short, trying to explain ethnography in a simplistic manner (to students in the classroom, as well as peers from other disciplines reviewing our applications), as a straightforward process of collection and observation followed by presentation. The trope of ethnography being based on a temporal structure through which fieldwork comes first and is then followed by writing (often in separated contexts) might obscure the fact that much ethnographic work takes place through movements in more complex ways. As a part of our discussions of ethnography as an act of composition we have advocated teaching and talking about ethnography more explicitly as practices of looping, splicing, layering which might

challenge preconceived timelines of a research process (O'Dell and Willim 2011). This stance also advocates an appreciation of the potential irregularities of the research process. This is in line with Kim Fortun's argument that we might consider ethnography as something that "loops", and that we might use…

> … ethnographic techniques to discern the discursive risks and gaps of a particular problem domain so that further ethnographic engagement in that domain is responsive and creative, provoking new articulations, attending to emergent realities. Ethnographic findings are thus fed back into ethnographic engagement. This mode of ethnography stages collaboration with interlocutors to activate new idioms and ways of engaging the world (Fortun 2012:460).

By seeing ethnography as compositional, and what we shall describe below as multi-targeted, we wish to destabilize any remaining simplified ideas about the linearity of research by arguing for a need to understand the way ethnographies evolve as compositions, not produced in any one place, but developing out of activities occurring through multiple overlapping events: ethnography not as a final outcome of a scientific process, but as a mobile force of engagement moving through differing contexts and touching multiple audiences in different ways.

Long-term fieldwork projects (working in the field for a year or two) may be an important part of the anthropological habitus as well as an idealized practice and potential rit de passage. The reality facing a growing number of anthropologists and ethnologists attests to the fact that ethnography is increasingly finding its way into vastly different types of research projects and institutional settings. Nowadays, fewer and fewer of these projects are anything like the long-term Malinowskian-style fieldwork projects associated with classic anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski or Edward Evans-Pritchard who in the mid-20th century could spend up to a decade working on the same study of a society (Hannerz 2003: 201f; Lassiter & Campbell 2010). Instead, a growing amount of the ethnography that is conducted today is, as Ulf Hannerz describes it, "an art of the possible" (ibid: 212), an outcome of the ethnographic work that we, in light of our teaching responsibilities, administrative duties, and other constraints of daily and working life, are capable of pulling together (for longer, but all the more often, shorter periods of time).

In contrast to the traditional anthropological modus operandi of conducting long stints of fieldwork, there exists in Swedish ethnology a slightly different relation to fieldwork than many more traditional educational programs in anthropology. Fieldwork is usually not done in distant places, and nor does it come as the ultimate rit de passage in the making of a professional. Students, from the very first semester of their education, are expected to conduct (and struggle with) ethnography in their immediate surroundings. They do this at the same time that they read and learn about the history and genealogies of fieldwork as well as the many forms ethnographic practice can take. Theory, methods, "the field", the classroom, and text production lie continuously jumbled and in juxtaposition to one another. Working in this way students' understanding of ethnography is framed as "the art of the possible" and not some holy grail that the student is first allowed to come in contact with after years of train-

ing and reading in the classroom. This fosters a reflexivity over, and competence with, the variations and context dependencies of any empirical and analytical work. Swedish ethnology is not unique, and similar relations to fieldwork can be found in many ethnological programs as well as a growing number of anthropological programs. What is lacking in all of this, however, and what we must address more explicitly, is an explanation of the implications of "the art of the possible" as well as a (pedagogically oriented) mobile performative stance that consciously undermines, and illuminates the problems with, linear representations of ethnography.

Beyond perceptions of the imagined linearity of ethnographic practice, however, another factor inhibiting the development of a broader understanding of ethnography and its potential lies in the fact that from the get go, students of ethnography are encouraged to sharpen their skills at producing thick descriptions and empirically anchored texts. But the act of producing thick description has all too often emphasized an overly observationalist stance – as though a good thick description were merely a matter of getting all the details down on paper. Echoing this perception, we all too often meet comments such as this from political scientist, Chad Cyrenne, who, in a review in *Anthropological Quarterly*, writes "The problem with such thick description is that there are no stopping points, no way of knowing when the description is thick enough" (Cyrenne 2006), as if the objective of ethnography and thick description were to observe and describe "it all". In writing about thick description, Geertz himself warned, from the very beginning, of the propensity for the anthropological endeavor to be construed in this oversimplified manner (1973:9), and he worked to emphasize the complex web of activities that went into the making of ethnography. But a fundamental problem here, we argue, is the manner in which ethnography has come to be so metaphorically, practically, and emphatically aligned with writing, and the art of authorship which themselves are presumed to be (or at least metaphorically framed as) the outcome of observationalist practices. The work of producing a cultural analysis is, consequently, taught and framed as a very cognitive process of thinking through one's empirical materials (once they've been gathered) through a set of theories in order to arrive at a final analysis – ending with the rather static entity called the monograph, or a number of formalized journal articles. We need to rethink this process as not only a combination of methodological, theoretical, analytical and representational activities, but even an embodied mobile disposition that requires honing on several different levels.

Cultural Renditions and the Parameters of Ethnography

We've struggled with "the crisis of representation" and debated the limits of "writing culture" (Clifford & Marcus 1986). Nonetheless, writing still remains the preferred mode of representation for anthropologists to use and discuss within the academy. As we moved into the field of applied cultural analysis and began speaking and interacting with people who used ethnography beyond the academy in places such as Chicago, Palo Alto, New York, Melbourne, Stockholm, and Copen-

hagen, it quickly became apparent that the logocentric parameters of ethnography were defined very differently. In line with our original assumption, we learned that the context in which ethnographies were being assembled did affect their compositional characteristics. Texts were important, but they were only part of the ethnographic project at hand.

The conditions of applied research had both apparent and subtle effects on the forms and rhythms of ethnographic practice. Some of the most obvious changes that were immediately visible, such as the fact that the length of fieldwork conducted by applied anthropologists was much shorter than the traditional Malinowskian ideal, were factors that we were aware of from the very beginning (Pink 2004:9; Sillitoe 2007:156). And we were well aware of the debates and criticisms that this stirred about the degree to which such short stints of fieldwork in applied contexts led to superficial and atheoretical analyses. Not surprisingly, the reality that we met was more complicated than this. A number of the people we met (such as Sarah Pink, Jo Tacchi, Timothy Malefyt, Melissa Cefkin, Patricia Sunderland and Rita Denny) used applied research projects as a means to generate scholarly publications, make advances in cultural theory, and develop new methodological approaches to cultural research (cf. Sunderland and Denny 2014). Others specialized in specific fields (foods, mobile telephony, public media), which they returned to repeatedly. So the amount of time they spent working on a project may have been short in comparison to the anthropological ideas of spending a year or two "out there", but their manner of working allowed one project to inform another. In many ways we saw parallels to the manner in which we as ethnologists worked – ever looping around through classrooms, field sites, and newly purchased books, sewing together our analyses against an unending background of administrative duties and e-mail correspondences with colleagues.

In certain genres of music (from electronic music to pop) loops of sounds are used to create extended patterns. Looping can involve segments of sound that are repeated and modulated to create rhythms or textures. Ethnographic looping is a tactic we use to achieve "an art of the possible"; outside the academy it is used to increase analytical depth as materials, findings and knowledge gained from one project come around to inform another – and perhaps even some of us within the academy are familiar with similar ways of working and allowing projects to interlink and build upon one another, even if we do not often enough acknowledge how this functions. Ethnographic looping is in this sense a practice used in slightly different ways to bring materials together – to make ethnographic connections and in the process make cultural patterns more perceptible.

In compositional terms looping facilitates an appreciation of the different types of rhythms and textures that can be involved in the production of cultural analyses. But it should also encourage us to problematize the manner in which rhythms and textures create feelings and emotions, and can move people. In this sense, composing ethnography is a practice that involves more than the cognitive and logical processes of putting an analysis together. It involves the senses and thus places the body and corporeal experi-

ences in the center of the analytical process. And here there is a methodological motivation for us to argue for a shift in the metaphorical register with which we think about and approach cultural analysis – moving from writing to composing (O'Dell & Willim 2011).

The individuals we spoke and met with repeatedly pointed out that the end result of their work had to be something very different than an ethnographic monograph. As applied cultural researchers, the people we spoke with had to do more than provide an "interpretation" or "representation". This was a world in which cultural analysts spoke at times about "actionable deliverables". Ethnographic materials became forms of "evidence" which were used to back up arguments. But in order to work and gain acceptance the ethnography had to be more than logically convincing; optimally it had to touch and move those partaking of it. Or as Sarah Pink simply phrases it, "The results of applied work need to be represented in easily accessible forms that will engage otherwise busy professionals and decision-makers" (2004:10). Or as anthropologist Katarina Graffman explained in a recent article, the people she works with and for are looking for "cool quotes" the emphasis here not being on properly transcribed interview materials, but on the emotional charge and impact of those materials (Börjesson & Graffman 2011). Success in many environments beyond the seminar rooms of academia necessitates the toning down of the role played by textual representations (although texts were and are important here) and re-orienting the ethnography towards a stronger emphasis on digital and sensory methods and pursuant modes of engagement. Powerpoint slides, digitally edited films, photographs, and audio files were the chosen first lines of communication. The text (or PM summary) was the secondary product that was left behind, and hopefully read if the initial presentation was sufficiently engaging and convincing. Meetings with clients and/ interested partners were described almost in terms of being well choreographed performances as much as presentations of research findings. And in this sense we think it might be useful to think of them as cultural renditions. And we have begun to reflect upon other directions and ways in which we might be able to rethink at least some parts of what we do in terms of rendering culture.

In moving in this direction, our ambition is to push the boundaries of how ethnography is and might be perceived at a time in which new forms of sensory, digital and multimodal ethnography are gaining attention and currency. As such it is a move that intends to push ethnologists and anthropologists from a frame of mind accustomed to regarding the ethnographic process in terms of writing and in terms of automatically presuming that the written text is the final outcome of the cultural analysis and the project as a whole.

Rendering culture emphasizes ethnography as a creative, affective and relational process more than as a logocentric representational practice. It opens up the possibilities for experimentation with the framing of research practices and to create connections to artistic practice. During the last decade Willim has been working in this vein by producing artwork that speaks back to his practices as an ethnologist and a cultural analyst. Works like *Fieldnotes*,

Imaginary Venues: Washington Park, *Possible Worlds* and *Close to Nature* all address notions of rendition. While all of these works operate at one level with different forms of representation, they make no claim to being documentary, or to approaching a completed level of understanding, but rather challenge by posing questions rather than providing the semblance of answers.

We are arguing for a notion of rendering culture that moves beyond logocentric cognitivism and towards a non- or more than-representationally oriented research practice (cf. Lorimer 2008; Thrift 2007), that is aligned with the realm of affect (O'Dell 2010; Pink 2007, Willim 2008). Practices of rendering culture aim, in other words, to move through corporeal affect as much as cognitive awareness.

Rendering fits well in this sense with seeing ethnography as a sensory practice. Here our thoughts resonate with the approach Phillip Vannini took in his book *Ferry Tales*, where he wrote that:

> I am less interested in ethnographic representation than I am in ethnographic creation. (...) because research is more than representation, my writing and analysis aims less at explaining "findings" and more at rendition – aiming to create new stories, rather than replicate old ones (Vannini 2012: 28).

By using the concepts of composing ethnography and rendering culture we also address a number of changes in the micro-practices of ethnographic work. These changes have occurred subtly but surprisingly rapidly, and are the result of the integration of new ethnographic working tools like digital cameras, audio recorders and smart phones (which integrate a number of interfaces for capturing, creating, and processing information). These tools are now incorporated into many ethnographers' work practices. Parallel with this, the computer has become the major working platform for ethnographic researchers, and as we have argued in other places (O'Dell & Willim 2011 & 2013) a number of software tools and network services (like Google docs, Evernote, Endnote, Facebook, Twitter, Academia.edu, Adobe's Creative suite and Apple's suite of software integrated through iCloud to just name a few of the ones being used at the time this was written) have been enmeshed in the micro-practices of ethnography. These are tools that in part have come to automate parts of the ethnographic process in novel ways, but they are also tools that have even provided ethnologists with new opportunities to assemble alternative multi-sensory and affective forms of ethnography. Through the uses of new technologies possibilities have been opened to reach audiences beyond academia that have not traditionally been the primary audience for ethnologists. Communications that occur through digital platforms also open the way for new opportunities to share compositions and renditions to audiences and collaborators (inside and outside the academy) at multiple stages in a project's life. A blog entry, or other kind of networked communication can be utilized swiftly at numerous points in the research process, and not only to disseminate the final results of a study.

The plethora of tools available to ethnographers is changing rapidly, and as new ones are added to the toolbox, others are abandoned and forgotten. The implications these changes have for the practices of ethnography and cultural analysis is in

need of further theoretical development and reflection. Consequently, our methodologies and methodological stances need to be problematized and made the subject of new forms of research that dare to move in more experimental directions.

Rendering Culture and Public Engagement

In a recent article entitled, "What Will We Have Ethnography Do?", Luke Eric Lassiter and Elizabeth Campbell note a growing tide of activist oriented anthropology, and in line with this argue for "generating better, more collaboratively attuned, more nuanced, and, ideally more effective activisms…" (2010:765). As part of their argumentation they outline two ethnographic imaginaries (or modes of fieldwork) which have existed over the past century, and which they concede do overlap at times. On the one hand is a dominant imaginary that is based upon a tradition of Malinowskian-style fieldwork involving long stints of unbroken ethnographic work, by the lone anthropologist in distant places and trying circumstances. "In the Malinowskian imaginary," they write, "an ethnographer braves and conquers a strange world to build knowledge about humankind" (2010:763). On the other hand they point to a Boasian imaginary that has a secondary (or weaker) significance in the anthropological community. Within the Boasian tradition, they lift forth a greater propensity for anthropologists to collaborate with the people they studied (diminishing the self/Other distinction in comparison to the Malinowskian imaginary) – and at times, even going so far as to include their collaborators as co-authors (Lassiter 2005:87). There is even a stronger political and activist propensity and desire to engage and make change in society in the Boasian tradition that included such things as the Boasians fight against social evolutionism and racism. As Lassiter and Campbell summarize, "in the Boasian imaginary, ethnographers collaborate to mobilize knowledge that challenges us to build a better world" (2010:763). Now, there is a risk that the distinction between the Malinowskian and Boasian imaginaries is overstated in Lassiter and Campbell's account, and we're not interested in creating a reified typology of modes of fieldwork (and neither are Lassiter and Campbell for that matter). But we do want to point out that there are different ways of defining and envisioning what good fieldwork and ethnography are and can achieve. In imagining ethnography as a compositional practice, we are envisioning an ethnographic and analytical disposition that is more closely aligned with the Boasian mode of engagement than the Malinowskian.

The students we work with in MACA, once again, have very different backgrounds and vastly different goals for their education, and visions of what their futures hold. While some may want to work with, or start their own consultancies oriented towards helping private businesses, others have much more pronounced activist ambitions. And very often, we find ourselves working with students who want to continue their studies, and earn an academic Ph.D. Helping students to think in compositional terms is a manner of highlighting the ways in which cultural analyses can be produced in the meeting of very different kinds of empirical materials and theoretical perspectives, through

varying rhythms of work experience (and demands). Moving a step further and facilitating them to ponder the possibilities of rendering culture, is meant to illuminate the very different ways in which the juncture between ethnographic materials, digital technologies, and the sensory world, can be arranged in order to find the best ways of communicating with different audiences and move/affect them (whether this be in corporate board rooms, community based projects to advance women's rights and gender equality in rural Latin American villages, or in academic contexts).

While our academic careers are usually based on our ability to write and communicate with one another, it is our hope that thinking of our work (and teaching our craft) in compositional and "rendering" terms will facilitate our propensity to pose questions such as, for whom is ethnographic work being done? How might it engage society, or even contribute to processes of change? In what ways can academic work be participatory? This is a move which we see as being in line with the work of people such as Robert Borofsky who have tried to forge a new role for anthropology as a form of public engagement. As something he calls "public anthropology" and explains:

> Public anthropology seeks to address broad critical concerns in ways that others beyond the discipline are able to understand what anthropologists can offer to the re-framing and easing – if not necessarily always resolving – of present-day dilemmas. The hope is that by invigorating public conversations with anthropological insights, public anthropology can re-frame and reinvigorate the discipline (Borofsky 2011:1).

From the perspective of Swedish ethnology this argumentation for a public conversation is provocative. Ethnologists, since the early 1970s, have based their careers on the production of scholarly texts, articles and ethnographies (written in an accessible style), but any Swedish ethnologist of merit has also a presence in both local and national media as well as community debates. Yet, nonetheless, we rarely frame this work in terms of a public conversation or collaborative effort involving a number of interested parties who invest not only their time in our work, but more often than not even a personal (if not political) engagement in it. At a pedagogic level, our generation of ethnologists were never taught how to do this, and in the classroom no one ever encouraged us by saying that perhaps, we should work in this way. At this point in time, with the digital and methodological developments that are occurring around us, we see the possibility for a repositioning and re-functioning of the ethnological endeavor (in the classroom and beyond the university) as one that may provide actionable solutions to problems, or provoke people to ask questions, to bring people together, or to cause them to reappraise social "facts" which they have taken for granted. But there is a problem here, it's hard to gain tenure, or obtain sought after academic positions with a CV that points to cultural renderings and engagement with actors outside of the academic community. Bibliometrics matter more than ever. And we're not arguing for a stance that prioritizes practical/public engagement over intellectual/scholarly advancement, but a stance that consciously reflects over and weighs in the potential of both these endeavors as an aspect of ethnographic work.

Multi-Targeted Ethnography

The composition of ethnography can lead to very different forms of 'deliverables' depending upon the context. Composing ethnography is not an activity done by academics or practitioners in isolation; it requires a relational appreciation of ethnography as being something which must take different forms and make use of different utterances in varied contexts. It requires a bricolage approach to the melding of analytical/theoretical perspectives with materials, but it also necessitates the development of performative techniques often not addressed in traditional anthropological courses: including, but not limited to the oral and visual skills needed to engage clients and communicate results, the ability to translate concepts and explanations in ways that make them relevant in different contexts, and a belief in the ability of cultural analysis to provide solutions (and in this way to provide deliverables that are more than just representations).

The movement towards a compositional ethnography is an intentional and explicit attempt to emphasize the manner in which ethnographic representations can be put together in very different ways to produce different understandings depending upon the requirements of the context at hand. Our own work spans the continuum from highly experimental artistic forms of digital evocations or probes (such as Willim's art projects, see Willim 2013 or www.robertwillim.com for elaborations and info on these projects), to more conventional documentary style ethnographic video, which is becoming an increasingly common mode of representation used by both students and scholars. But it also includes our participation in the production of 'popularly accessible' talks broadcast on national television, and engagement in events like 'Innovation camps' and 'knowledge slams' that throw academics, artists, local politicians and entrepreneurs into cocktail party like workshops and performances to stimulate dialogue and the sharing/development of ideas and innovations around specific themes. These can be encounters in which ethnographic video, sound recordings, slide shows and staged performances provide a backdrop for the conversation that develops. In many of these cases, the ethnographic presentation is part of a process of stimulating ideas and offering solutions as it moves through (and with the help of) very different aggregations of collaborators and vested interests. This being said, however, it is important to emphasize that the mode of rendering culture that we are advocating here does not simply work to smoothly meet the demands of various stakeholders through their preferred styles of presentation. It is also a way to challenge taken for granted "truths", and to create new opportunities to pose new questions while using ethnography exploratively in collaboration with stakeholders.

Applied Cultural Research is evocative and sensory, it engages audiences in ways that go beyond the realm of the cerebral. To be convincing it has to make the self-apparent seem enticingly, or disturbingly, new. Compositions have to engage the specific audience they are addressing. We are arguing that applied cultural analysis has to do the same. Where George Marcus helped us to re-think ethnography and fieldwork as a multi-sited practice, we are arguing for the need to even consider

it in terms of multi-targeted renderings. Thinking in terms of targeted outcomes of ethnographic work is more processual, and as something which can be given, not only multiple forms, but even multiple directions, destinations and engagements. It also forces us to more exploratively consider how different ethnographic collaborations might be aligned as one targeted ethnographic cultural rendition might inform, and shape another based upon the input and reaction, a rendition receives. Ethnography is not just something that takes place, nor is it something which necessarily ends with the text and the author's voice. It is, as Tim Ingold argues (2013), transformational, and something that has a direction, and thus should be understood as having a velocity. In line with this, thinking in terms of multi-targeted ethnography facilitates us to rethink ethnography, not just as an accumulative practice (a practice of gathering materials, bringing together information, and illuminating cultural patterns) but just as importantly, as a distributive process beyond the production of the final word of a text, a process through which we animate our knowledge. To some extent, it might be argued that the post-modern critique was a critique of the distributive side of ethnography, but still, the methods we articulate and teach in the classroom are overwhelmingly biased towards accumulative strategies and have little to say explicitly about distributive strategies, and nearly nothing on distributive strategies that go beyond logocentrism.

At a time in which scholars in the humanities and social sciences are being challenged to explain in what ways their research is beneficial to society, a re-thinking of our work in terms of multi-targeted ethnography forces us to actively think how ethnographic renderings can be composed and put together to reach out, challenge, and engage different audiences. In so doing it also simultaneously forces us to actively reflect upon the mode(s) through which we choose to engage specific publics. This is not a move that denies the power of the written text, but one that reminds us of the potential for audio, video and other performative renderings of ethnography to affect audiences within academia, but perhaps more importantly, beyond academia.

In this vein, we are arguing that knowledge isn't static but is transformational, or at least should have the potential to be transformational. The role of the ethnographer is, as we see it, one of moving along with the processes of conducting research, in a compositional spirit that actively encourages and seeks collaborations with others. But it is also one in which – in the name of collaboration – the ethnographer must be prepared to relinquish the driver's seat at times. The processes of composing ethnography have similarities to a number of other creative practices that can be likened to the making of a 'journey'. In Ingold's words '...knowing is a process of active following, of going along' (Ingold 2013:1). Within the rhythms and flows of projects knowledge is generated and renditions take form partly according to our scholarly intentions and plans but more often than not, through constant interactions with and adaptations to various changing conditions. Relinquishing the driver's seat in this sense does not mean abdicating responsibility, but daring to let others have input, and to

make changes that we take responsibility for through new projects and publications… but also daring to accept the fact that our work can produce journeys that we cannot fully foresee.

Not all ethnographies are/will/or should be multi-targeted but we believe that we live in a time in which the targets of our ethnographies and the directions we give them will increasingly have to be taken into consideration. The point that we are trying to emphasize here is that composing ethnography requires us, in part, to continue to consciously push our work in different directions, and to different ends in the spirit of ethnology (that has developed in Sweden at least since the 1970s), but it also, in part, challenges us to dare to move in different directions (and modes of rendering) than anthropologists and ethnologists have usually done before. Applied Cultural Researchers have to be highly competent writers. But they also have to train to present their work orally and visually in a manner that speaks to (and with) the specific client/audience in question. They also have to dare to engage in new forms of collaborations with professionals outside the world of academia. Thinking in terms of composing ethnography forces us to acknowledge that the 'representation of culture' is an important aspect of what we do, but what we do can be much more than this.

And while we at Lund University do, at the end of every year, have to report to the university on our research and publication activities, as well as the manner in which we have engaged society. We do concede that it is not the latter that is rewarded with tenured positions or the equivalent of bibliometric points. But in a time in which we are challenged to explain the usefulness of our research we do see a need to engage society on multiple levels for political as well as ethical reasons – but also, quite simply, because we can.

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Acknowledgements

The research which this article is based upon has received funding from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for the project, "Runaway Methods: Ethnography and Its New Incarnations" and from Erik Philip-Sörenssons stiftelse for the project "The changing micropractices of digital and sensory ethnography".

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"This Kind of an Old Man and a Young Pretty Girl Like You"

Understanding Ethnographic Fieldwork through Reflexivity

By Karoliina Ojanen

I have spent my day in the day activity group in the Elderly Centre. After I come back from the gym where part of the group is exercising, I go to their 'living room' where they eat, play, converse, and generally socialize or relax. Ensio is there, reading a newspaper. I have not met him before but the staff has told me that he is kind of a 'manly man'. I introduce myself to him and tell him that I am conducting this research, blah, blah, blah, and that I am especially interested in men's experiences. Ensio replies, 'Well, that is good; I am especially interested in women'. I answer quietly, trying to laugh at the same time: 'That is good then'. Ensio continues reading. He does not look at me or say a word.

(Field diary 31.1.2013)

How should I interpret this excerpt from my field diary? How do I address the situation that I, a relatively young woman, study relatively old men? When and how are the categories of age and gender significant considering the knowledge that I produce in my research project? In the above example, our social interactions are connected to our gender and age. While Ensio represents himself as a masculine heterosexual male who according to traditional masculine stereotypes is not to talk too much, I conduct myself as a 'quiet and nice' girl. In this article, I focus especially on how age and gender affect the fieldwork and how these are made during the process: when and in what ways these social categories shape episodes in the field and my interpretations of them.

One starting point for this article is the feminist research idea that emphasizes the importance of situating the researcher's self in the research and to reflexively account for how knowledge is produced (see Sandberg 2011:69). Since the research also describes the relationship of the researcher to the phenomenon under study, the researcher must state clearly the methodological choices she or he addresses, and examine the personal attachments to the particular object of study. Reflexive discussion is essential in order to evaluate ethnographic knowledge. It usually demands distance from the field in order to be able to analyse the data in a way that challenges common sense understandings. To do this, one must let go of the emotional connections to the object of research. Or to put it better, replace those emotions with another kind of effect.

In this article I examine reflexivity in relation to intersectional categories, particularly in relation to age, gender, and sexuality (about intersectionality Brah & Phoenix 2004). The article is part of my ongoing ethnographic research project, *We're still men anyway or what's left of it: Interpretations of old age and gender in the narratives of old men*, in which I examine how old men structure their present lives, and especially the ways in which they construct their manhood in relation to the cultural conceptions regarding old age and gender. I have interviewed and observed men in different contexts related to some kind of assistance. The data consists of interviews with 39 men (11 who use home care; 10 from day activity groups; 9 from a discussion group, and 9 from residential care homes) and participant observation in these settings, mainly in the residential care homes. The men's ages range from 71 to 95 years, representing both the so-called third and fourth ages; that is, people living the early years of retirement and those who are older; also, people who tend to be widowed and live dependently to some extent (Gilleard & Higgs 2000; Powell 2006:36). Most of the

men are from 80 to 88 years of age. All the men who took part in this study are Finnish white men who speak Finnish as their mother tongue. They have different backgrounds and their situations vary in regard to their family situation, education, religiousness, economic situation, social class, and health. Apart from one individual, the men who participated in this study were heterosexual. The spectrum of professions varies from attorney to builder, from artist to business manager, and from taxi driver to journalist. Some of the men live in a sheltered home within the city without much social contact; some live in residential care homes; some are in a relationship or live alone in their own homes. Some of the men have made a career in influential positions in our society, while some have been unemployed and even slept under bridges at times.[1] These differences do have a role in the ways men constructed gender and age.

First I briefly define what I mean by reflexivity and situated knowledge. Then I move on to discuss reflexivity and doing of age and gender from different viewpoints during my fieldwork with elderly men. I consider the old age stereotypes and the issues of cross-gender and cross-generational interviewing through discussing situations from the field. Towards the end I focus on the question of doing (compulsory) heterosexuality.

Defining Reflexivity

"The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular" (Haraway 1991:196).

Reflexivity is closely connected with the idea of situated knowledge. Scientific knowledge is always situated and should be carefully contextualized. Overall, reflexivity implies the ability to assess the researcher's own beliefs and the methodological and epistemological assumptions on the research questions, field events, what she or he observes, and how the interpretations are constructed. Ethnographic knowledge is always partial, and that is why situating the data plays a key role in the scientific understanding of the study. This does not mean that 'anything goes'; otherwise, interpretations would be completely arbitrary, or could not be compared with each other. According to Helen Longino, objectivity is not something that an individual scientist can achieve, but rather the collective norms, practices, and values of the scientific community. Objectivity, a certain universality of knowledge, is a practice of science, but it is not anyone's private involvement with the research data (Longino 1990:76–81, 216).

Feminist ethnography is based on the assumption that different social categories affect the production of knowledge. At first, the focus was on gender, but later it began to be associated with other social categories, such as social class and ethnic background. Situating a study requires a researcher to reflect on personal matters in respect to what she or he assumes to be essential for the particular research, but also to illustrate the field of science by accurately presenting the methodological solutions by which the research is carried out (see Liljeström 2004:11–13).

Reflexivity and situating the knowledge should not only signify rhetoric practices whereby a researcher says something about herself or himself, as is too often the case. Neither does it mean that a researcher's self should be explicit throughout the

text since also implicit reflexive practices increase the validity of the research (Coffey 1999). The focus of the study must remain on the phenomenon examined. Reflexivity illustrates more the attitude to conduct research; its focal point is to describe and situate interpretations as carefully as possible. The researcher must understand her or his deeper connection to the phenomenon that she or he has chosen to study, and thus illustrate the framework on which the research subject is situated. This raises many questions; for example, how many and what kind of questions should a researcher pose for reflexivity to be productive? For instance, if I tell you that I am a heterosexual white woman, is that enough (see e.g. Rolin 2005:102)? How much of this should be written in the final reports if at all, what is the relationship between explicit and implicit reflexivity?

Reflexivity is understood as a communicative process. It refers to the world between 'us' and 'others' (Hervik 1994:91–92). This interactive 'middle world' is what research can achieve. If this is the case, perhaps the more reflexively data is analysed, the subtler the phenomenon appears. In addition, through this practice it may become clear to the researcher which interpretations in the field diary are inadequate for understanding the phenomenon or the structures involved. Reflexivity provides access to what is shared in a social experience, and thus to a broader cultural understanding.

It may be worthwhile to teach reflexivity more carefully at the undergraduate level, and to develop reflexivity to the extent that it is a consistent and more cohesive method, because its significance in forming information is so central. It is exactly the reflexivity that turns the fieldwork notes and diaries into analytical knowledge, but its sensible use would require more exact instructions and practical examples of how to use it in a fertile way. Both students and researchers could benefit from more consistent practices and instructions.

Stereotypes of Old Age in the Fieldwork

Since antiquity, old age[2] has been connected either to experience and wisdom or to mental and physical decline, losses, and illnesses (de Beauvoir 1992/1970:34–57; Hazan 2000; Kirk 1995). To stigmatize old age as a negative phase of life has been interpreted as expressing the fear of or disgust with growing old in Western culture (Calasanti & Slevin 2006:3). Old age is easily defined as an exception from the normal (middle-aged?), active way of living (Alftberg 2012:14; Andrews 1999: 306–313; Sandberg 2011:49). Old people have been characterized as representing the (or one of the) 'Other' in the modern day (Lundin 2007:197). For example, the sexual activity of old people and their sexuality in general tend to be seen as uncomfortable issues.[3] Old age is regarded both as asexual and infantile (see Connidis 2006:123, 127; Ojala & Pietilä 2010:342). This may illuminate what occurs in the next excerpt:

I sit in the living room of the old people's home. There is Matti in the dining room, sitting in his wheelchair. He comes to me and says: 'A young pretty girl like you should not be alone.' His feet touch mine, he says he is sorry and I say that it is all right. We talk about the weather and food, once again like many times before. He starts to reverse, goes further away, and then says something but I

cannot hear him. I go to him and ask him what he said. He replies:
Matti: Sit here on my lap, will you?
Karoliina: No thank you, even I am not that light.
Matti: Yes, and wouldn't it be quite indecent and dirty, this kind of an old man and someone like you, a young pretty girl.
Karoliina: Don't know about that.
I go back to where I was sitting. I want to leave but I cannot because I don't want Matti to think that he said something inappropriate, though he actually made me feel a bit uneasy. Partly it is because he presented this request right after the previous incident with another resident, Johannes, who hugged me and leaned his face very tightly against my shirt, kind of between my breasts. At that moment with Johannes, my feelings were quite consistent with the stereotype Matti articulated. These kinds of incidents have not happened before. Has something changed? Been here too long? Long enough?

(Field diary 9.11.2012)

According to Katherine Irwin (2006:171), in ethnographic fieldwork we should focus on how our relationships (intimate or distant), emotions (love or hate), writing (traditional or non-traditional), and other choices are constrained by, work against, or reinforce social structures. Research should be evaluated also from the viewpoint of 'doing structure'. This is an interesting point: what and how structures actualize in an encounter. It was difficult to respond to this kind of intimacy since stereotypical preconceptions regarding gender, sexuality, and age affected the interpretations and actions, both on my and Matti's part. Although I had thought through different stereotypes regarding old age, it still surprised me that, yes indeed, old men also actively yearn for intimacy and touch.

Linn Sandberg (2011:18) has argued in her research on old age masculinities and intimacy that there are two prevailing discourses on old men and sexuality: 1) old age is seen as an asexual phase of life but sexuality is seen also as part of healthy ageing; 2) on the other hand, there are strong discourses on male sexuality as assertive and penetration focused, and discourses about 'dirty old men' who are inappropriately sexual. In this excerpt, the latter discourse became active: Matti says it aloud and I think about it silently. Ideas concerning gender and age are actualized and reproduced in these kinds of field encounters. Though I was very conscious of the negative presumptions and stereotypes surrounding old age and wanted to work against them, I sometimes noticed that I actually thought and acted according to them. For example, I realized I talked loudly and enunciated more clearly when communicating with residents in care homes. Reflexive examination of field encounters is a way to grasp how deeply within us the cultural constructions and assumptions regarding old age may be situated. Actually, these preconceptions have sometimes evolved into embodied ways of acting and behaving. Partly because of their embodied character, they are difficult to challenge even though one is conscious of them. Our interpretations, thoughts, and knowledge about our culture are embodied. They are intertwined with our bodily practices, bodies and materiality (see Price & Shildrick 1999:19; Trinh 1999). Our bodies are intertwined with cultural and social norms and practices, as well as emotions and ideas: they intra-act with each other and cannot be separated (on intra-action see Barad 2007).

In my study I focus on men's interpre-

tations of gender and intimacy, but am also more generally interested in how the men narrate and analyse their everyday lives, past and present. In each interview I enquired about a range of things: childhood, youth, working life, family relations, everyday practices, thoughts and experiences of old age, plans, and expectations of the future. Towards the end of each interview I also asked about the men's romantic relationships, sexuality and intimacy, but these themes were not emphasized. What I did highlight at the beginning of each interview was my interest in the ordinary everyday practices of these men's lives. In general, I pointed out that I was interested in the men's experiences but did not explicitly tell them that I was conducting "gender research" or that my focus would also include the issues concerning sexuality. The exception was the discussion group for which my interest in gender was more explicit. At the first meeting, one of the members introduced me to the facts he had learned about me from the internet. They were somewhat aware of the kinds of themes I had been working with. At two meetings they actually emphasized my role as a 'gender researcher' and were amused about how they should be their masculine self because a 'gender scholar was present'.

Crossings in the Field: Negotiations of Gender, Age and Sexuality

In my doctoral thesis which dealt with girl culture in the horseback riding stables, I discussed issues concerning reflexivity in fieldwork since it became poignantly clear that my age, gender, and especially my past as a member of the same girl culture affected the research (Ojanen 2011). Though there was an age gap between the girls and me in the thesis, this was not a point of interest for other scholars and no one asked me about the issue. In this current study, I have often been asked how a young woman can examine old men and why I am interested in the subject. Although I do not see age or gender differences to be of crucial significance in every interaction in the field, this question is important to consider and it exposes something about the assumptions and stereotypes regarding age and gender orders. How do my gender and age affect the production of knowledge? How are the categories of gender and age made in the field?

Many female scholars have paid attention to the potential delicacy and vulnerability of women researchers interviewing men. Women social scientists who have examined the issue of studying men have identified several difficulties, including power struggles, feelings of unease and powerlessness, heterosexual tension, and male domination (Arendell 1997; Foster 1994; Lee 1997; Soilevuo Grønnerød 2004; Willott 1998; see also Koivunen 2012). It has been shown that cross-gender interviewing differs from woman-to-woman interviewing (Lee 1997:554; see also Manderson et al. 2006); for example, male interviewees may project their sexual needs onto the woman interviewer which makes her a potential object of sexualization (Arendell 1997; Grenz 2005: 2093; Koivunen 2010:685). Michael Schwalbe and Michelle Wolkomir argue that an interview can present a threat to a man's masculinity because the cultural ideal of manhood consists of control of people and the world, autonomy, and be-

ing active (Scwalbe & Wolkomir 2002; see also 2001a:92). This view has been criticized; not all men are the same or feel their masculinity is threatened (e.g., Grenz 2005:2097). However, following Schwalbe and Wolkomir's line of thought, in a context where a man is being interviewed by a woman, the traditional gender order is contested; for instance, the idea of active versus passive is subverted. This may possibly cause the feeling of being threatened, and that is why the interview situation may cause power struggles between the female interviewer and the male interviewee.

Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001a:94, 2001b) interpret sexualization in this kind of research setting as an attempt by a man to exercise control. It may contain flirting, sexual innuendo, touching, and remarks about appearance. They give some instructions on how a woman researcher may decrease the possibility of being sexualized. One of these is that a woman should 'Dress in a style – befitting local culture and circumstance – that conveys a business like seriousness of purpose, without crossing into off-putting formality.' In addition, other women writers have suggested that special attention should be paid to appearance and clothing (e.g. Lee 1997). These instructions tend to assess men in a position where their primary role is as a heterosexual male who is used to sexualizing women as a means of power. In my own work, I noticed that during the field period, I paid careful attention to my appearance and, like Sandberg (2011:99), 'dressed down' when visiting men. It sometimes felt unnecessary since I did not feel particularly vulnerable, but I always wore jeans and a loose shirt or something similar to minimize any sexual connotations and avoid being evaluated primarily as a representative of my gender.

As a woman, my own fieldwork experiences with men differ to some extent from the methodological literature that explicitly discusses women interviewing men, particularly concerning issues of power or threat. Sandberg (2011:97) has pointed out that most of the literature is written in an Anglophone context, which might explain some of these findings and why they do not fit very well into a Nordic context. Much of the methodological literature discusses how this kind of research interaction is shaped by asserting control, or even by physically threatening or intimidating behaviours. At times, I did encounter misogynistic attitudes, but these situations were hardly threatening. For example, one male resident in the nursing home often told me that I had the "right curves". Sometimes he expressed these opinions while at the same time comparing me to the "fat and big ass" nurses. Some of the male residents regularly evaluated female nurses according to their appearance, loudly and in public. This was confusing; I was interested in their doings of gender, but their emphasis on the heteronormative structure and their way of reproducing stereotypical assumptions and culturally crystallized ideas, as well as their behaviour with respect to gender order and gender difference, was sometimes hard to bear. However, I did not interpret these moments as indicating that the man in question would have more power or a higher status compared with women in general or me, although he may have wanted to reinforce his position as a male who has the right to judge a woman's ap-

pearance (cf. Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001b:208). In the context of residential care homes, the interaction and the positions are more complex. There, both men and women residents must get used to a form of being dismissed and underestimated. It seems that demeaning expressions as mentioned above represent to men a way of becoming a socially recognized subject in a context where they are deeply dependent on the (female) nurses (see Ojanen 2014). The men's life situation may appear to be a "threat" to their constructions of manhood and the cultural masculine ideals of being independent, in control, active, and capable, which they strived to minimize by behaving in a condescending way toward female participants in the situation, constructing themselves as representing the "male gaze" in the context of institutionalized care (about male gaze, Westlund 2007:111; Bartky 1990:72).

Anyhow, I seldom experienced that I was sexualized. The occasions that did occur, such as the one described earlier, were rare. More often the men presented their sexual interest in a subtler way. The following excerpt is from an interview transcription.

Karoliina: Well, is there anything you would like to ask me, something you would like to know?
Tapani: Well, because you have a ring on your finger, I don't want to know anything (laughs).
Karoliina: Okay, hmm…
Tapani: If you were not married, I might have some questions to pose.

(Tapani, born 1923, date of interview 9.2.2013)

In many instances, I was given personal compliments and men flirted with me, such as asking me my phone number or my age, and quite clearly, but yet jokingly, stating that they would be interested in me if they were younger. To hide my confusion, I responded to these comments by laughing or smiling (see also Arendell 1997:358). Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001a) emphasize that all flirting or remarks about appearance may appear innocent, but actually express the gendered power relations. To some extent, this is so, but on the other hand, I interpreted these actions as the men's practices to pass as valid subjects in spite of their age or illnesses or holding a marginal position in our society. I did not personally experience these actions as sexist, and thus, did not interpret them as such either on a structural level (see also Arendell 1997: 362). However, these kinds of actions could be interpreted as expressing "gendered power relations" and to some extent, I do agree with this: the compulsory heterosexuality (see Rich 1980; Jackson 2006) and power structures involved with it affect how the men behaved with me. However, I did not feel that these kinds of insinuations were particularly directed toward me. I did not perceive the men in these situations as acting out a kind of male domination or exerting control, but rather understood that flirting, for example, presented a tool for these men to pass as heterosexual, socially coherent subjects in a situation where their illnesses and ages limited their everyday practices in a crucial way (see Butler 1999, 2004). What they strived to socially *control* were the changes that they had encountered, namely becoming dependent on others and feeling powerless. However, this does not erase the structural connotations the situation entailed.

In addition, it could be argued that the stereotypes regarding old age and old men are crucial contexts to consider in relation to these kinds of incidents. According to these stereotypes, old people are understood as somewhat 'silly' or 'goofy', as people not to be taken seriously. Moreover, a persistent stereotype exists about old men being interested in (younger) women. It might be that because of cultural ideas and assumptions regarding age and gender, many of the men in my study were able or felt culturally required to flirt with me in such an open manner. I will return to the issue of compulsory heterosexuality and passing as a coherent subject later.

However, on the other hand, the way I interpret the men's actions may partly result from the fact that the men were old and relatively powerless. Thus, my interpretations also take part in the doing of the categories of gender and age: men's insinuations or flirting did not appear disturbing or I didn't want to understand them in that way because of their old age and social situation. I did not want to perform the discursive power that the theories in a way provide. Because of their age and situation, I could overlook their sexually-laden actions more easily and dispel the structural level and more theoretical readings of these kinds of situations.

Next, I discuss one incident that made me feel more uneasy. A physical gesture made by the man was too familiar and gave me a fleeting feeling of powerlessness.

Troubled Feelings: Too Close, too Far

Along with a nurse, I went to meet Jukka, a 73-year-old man who was using home care. He was waiting for the nurse to help him moisture his legs. That is why he was not wearing trousers, but only socks, underpants, and a shirt. Though he had promised to take part in my study and had given written consent that I could follow these practices, it felt intrusive and I tried to look elsewhere. After the nurse left, I stayed to discuss the interview, the time and place that would suit him, and so on. He offered me coffee which I accepted. It was rather nice to talk to him, although he did not put on his trousers the entire time I was there. I wrote in my field diary:

> Maybe his self-image has somehow changed along with his aging since he did not feel a need to put trousers on during my visit? Does he feel a proper subject? Or did I represent one of the staff since I came to meet him at the same time as the nurse?
>
> (Field diary 26.11.2012)

We made an appointment for the interview and it went well; I felt Jukka liked talking to me. Among many other things, I asked about sexuality and he replied that he had forgotten about it: 'If you don't do it, you won't remember it', he said. After the interview, he asked me if I could come and meet him again, and I promised that I would. I felt it would have been harsh to decline since he had given me his time and told me about his life quite openly. I went to see Jukka the following Tuesday morning at 10 am. I rang the doorbell, he opened the door, I entered his one-room flat, closed the door behind me, and as I turned around, Jukka put his two hands on my cheeks and gave me a kiss on the lips, using his tongue. I instantly grabbed his arms to disengage and gently pushed him away. He said it was a welcome kiss, but I

replied that I had not come for this. I felt angry, stupid, and embarrassed at the same time. How immature and naive must I be not to have prepared myself for something like this? How can things go wrong concerning research ethics? Did I try so much to avoid gendered stereotypes guiding my thoughts and actions in the field that I had not really thought about these kinds of events in advance? These kinds of intimate feelings commonly develop during fieldwork between the informants and scholars, and thus I should have thought about these in advance. It would have had nothing to do with stereotypical prejudices, but rather something that should be considered quite ordinary, or even likely to happen.

Jukka invited me to have coffee and I sat in the same place where I had interviewed him. I noticed that he had been drinking. He was not drunk but not really sober either. He started to ask me about my everyday life, and I replied as though nothing had happened. He suddenly interrupted me and told me that he was in love with me and said: ‘There is nothing dangerous in that, is there?’ I replied that it was not dangerous, but that I was unable to respond to his feelings, personally or professionally. He said that of course he understood. As I went to leave after the coffee, he asked me to come again.

This sexualizing was troubling, but any gender signifying behaviour is data and reveals something about my and his doings of gender (Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001:209). This was a very clear example of how I, as a researcher, had an impact on the knowledge that was produced during fieldwork. Jukka’s behaviour and feelings toward me became somewhat accidentally a direct object of my study since I was interested in men’s lives, including their views on sexuality, intimacy, and romantic relationships. It should be noted that the interview, and particularly the fact that we discussed his experiences of intimacy and romantic relationships, might have affected what he did and how he described being in love with me. It is possible that because of the issues that arose in the interview, he felt that he could express himself in the way he did. On the other hand, I must emphasize that we did not talk about these particular issues at length, but perhaps me asking about them was enough for Jukka to behave toward me in the way he did. In addition, in the course of our meetings, he shaped his image of himself to me (from a work-centred bus driver to a family man who emphasized gender equality), and at the same time, he imagined me as someone who he had longed for. On one hand, gender and age were crucial categories that provoked this kind of interaction in this particular setting. On the other hand, the whole situation may not have happened because of our genders or ages, but because Jukka felt that somebody was listening to him after living alone for ten years. He was a lonely and depressed man who hardly met other people or who had a chance to converse with others, according to his own words. Thus, he may have felt important and accepted during my first visit and the interview situation, and became confused about me, my role, and the kind of relationship that could develop between us. However, the situation and my reactions to it also represent the doings of gender, sexuality, age, and probably also social class: I belittled the situation partly be-

cause of his age and his poor social and economic situation.

Terry Arendell (1997:361) describes a situation where her informant put his arm around her and started to warm her up and how she instantly replied, 'Thanks, but I don't think so.' The situation and the feelings she describes felt familiar to me, especially in this particular case with Jukka. According to Arendell (1997:362), such physical gestures are inappropriate, and to varying degrees, convey the message of dominance: superiors tend to touch subordinates. Arendell emphasizes that tolerance is needed in fieldwork, but where to draw the line is a question that everyone has to decide for themselves (also Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001b:209). Arendell (1997:362) stresses that even then the difficulty remains: 'how does one sufficiently anticipate such encounters before they are experienced?' According to my experiences in the field, this is a central question; I was absolutely unable to imagine or work through such incidents beforehand. Only after it had happened did I know better how to draw the line and where I wanted it to be.

After this incident, I encouraged Jukka to take part in different social activities designed for elderly people in his residence. I suggested that he might find someone special there since there are many single women living in the same building. He told me that he does not want to date women of his age: they are 'grannies' he said and smiled. It is interesting how Jukka projects ageist views on old women while positioning himself differently. One could ask if there is a conflict between active sexuality compounded with 'successful aging' (e.g. Holstein 2011:227) on one hand, and the prudish expectations concerning the sexuality of old men (Calasanti & King 2005:20). How is this encountered in men's lives? In the earlier example of Matti, it seems clear that stereotypes of old men's sexuality affect the lived realities of men (and also how I in the field responded to them: my reactions and interpretations became doings of gender and age). Matti interprets his wish about me sitting on his lap according to those cultural conceptions and defines his needs for intimacy and touch as something that is typical for 'dirty old men' (see about the discourses on old men's sexuality, Sandberg, 2011:18). Jukka, on the other hand, negotiates his longing for intimacy and a close relationship with more respect towards himself, as something that is not 'dangerous' in the least. He performs actively, and is aware of his masculine desires, even insomuch that he declines to meet old women, 'grannies'. He separates and withdraws himself from being old in this sense, or not being sexually desirable and attractive. His conceptualization of his age and the meaning of belonging to the 'category of old' differ from the cultural stereotypes, which he finds more consistent in relation to women.[4]

I went to see Jukka one more time. Now I was more prepared and the meeting went well. He did emphasize his feelings again, but now in a more reflexive sense, saying that I had given him hope to live. He asked me to visit him again, but this time I said that I did not think I would be able to meet him anymore. After this, he began calling me weekly, asking me to attend his birthday party, offering to pay my taxi fare to visit him, and

so on. Sometimes he said that he was worried that he might call me while I was at home with my husband and what he would think of him calling. I replied that I did not understand what he is talking about. I began to realize that the situation had become quite serious. I should not have met him outside the interview context, but in the very beginning, it was difficult to reject him after a successful interview. He continued calling while I was at work, and I started to feel somewhat powerless (see Koivunen 2012:686). One time, I chose not to answer the phone, but sent him a message advising him to call a number directed towards the elderly who may feel lonely or who needed to speak to someone. Though it was slightly harsh and insensitive to send him this message to which he never replied, I felt that he, too, had been insensitive towards me (see Lee 1997:562). It must be emphasized that the ability to leave the field and return to the academic world is a significant power distinction between researchers and informants (Irwin 2006:166). Though I momentarily felt I was not in control over the situation, I still had more power in the situation than the informant.

The ending of research does mark a significant structural dimension between researchers and informants. Katherine Irwin (2006:166) emphasizes that the real risk is not the ending of the research, although there can exist a feeling of abandonment, but when researchers and the setting members attempt to carry on close relationships after the end of the fieldwork. Because I did not want to hurt Jukka, I accepted his invitations after interviewing him. I should have realized that I might hurt him more this way because I must have known that I would need to stop the relationship at some point.

Another question that arises is where does the field or fieldwork end? The field in the research, the reality that it describes, gains its shape from the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The phenomenon under study does not exist as a research field before the interpretations are made (see Davies 1999:213). The field is a process intertwined with the research questions, the construction of data, the interpretations, and the ethnographic writing, rather than a simple cartographic place or group of people (Söderholm 1997:111; see also Davies 1999:8). Where the field and fieldwork ends is somewhat illusory since the researcher has the power to withdraw from the field, and, on the other hand, to decide what material the field actually consists of. For example, the interview with Jukka did not become the primary material for this article, but everything that happened afterwards did. Thus, the boundaries where the field ‘is’ or what it consists of, and when the fieldwork ends, are actually quite unclear.

Distance from the field allowed me to eventually conceptualize this case more analytically. After the incident, I first decided that I would not talk about it for both Jukka’s and my sake. Nevertheless, after I gained some distance from the field experiences, I realized that the incident was important in order to understand the interplay between gender and age in the fieldwork, despite the dissonance that this encounter might have caused in me or the ethical dilemmas and difficulties it entailed.

Cross-generational Relations in the Fieldwork

Jaakko is telling me about how he was discriminated against at university because of his political beliefs.

Jaakko: You are so very young and you have lived in a completely different society. It is hard for you to understand how difficult the political battle was (Jaakko, born 1925, 9.2.2013).

In addition to gender, age is considered a significant factor in the production of knowledge. The age difference between me and the informants is approximately 50 years. Social gerontologist, Simon Biggs (2005:120), has argued that "it is hard to enter the life world of a person at a different stage from oneself without considerable effort" and that " it is difficult to see beyond the perspective characteristic of one's current age". He concludes that cross-generational research is difficult in as much as it can be "illusory", and this raises the question of whether research should be conducted only by people of the age group studied (Biggs 2005:124; see also Biggs & Lowenstein 2011). The main idea is that it might be difficult for younger researchers to examine later life since the researchers have not yet experienced that phase. Though it is relevant to consider how age differences (or gender) affect the research and how those categories are handled through these processes, this argument does not convince me that it would be too difficult or invalid for younger to research older or older to research younger age groups despite the generational differences. In the above excerpt, the interviewee challenges my ability to understand, and not his interpretations or narration, but rather the different political atmosphere and how it affected people's lives.

Biggs' argument does not take into account other differences in social categories (e.g. social class, religion, ethnicity) that might shape the research. His thinking raises the question if only demographically similar people should be involved in a particular research; for example, should working class phenomena only be examined by scholars of the same class background? Can middle-aged researchers say anything about the present youth? They have experienced the life phase, but like old age, the cultural meanings and contents of youth are in constant flux (cf. Biggs 2005:119). Where lies the 'authentic' experience and whose is it to catch?

It is more important to be conscious of the different social categories, and explore how they affect what is happening in the field and the kinds of genders that are pursued. I was aware that the age gap (and gender difference) between me and my informants might produce knowledge that is different but not necessarily less valid (see Sandberg 2011:74). Actually, at times I felt that the personal distance and age difference made it especially easy for men to speak quite openly about their experiences and views on life.[5]

From very early on, it became clear to me that I, a 33-year-old woman, was perceived as a girl in many instances in the field. Many of the men actually called me "girl." This categorization was most poignant within a men's discussion group, although they never directly called me "girl". In this context, the playful flirting was quite straightforward and intertwined with remarks about my young age. When I was present in their meetings, I got the

impression that they were expressing more enthusiasm for my research than they actually had. This is only my impression, but I interpreted it as somehow underlining their gratification for being involved in my study in order to appear polite.

The discussion group consisted of nine members. The group was formed after two men's initiative to invite men they knew from work-related contexts to join. The group had met for many years, usually once a month. I observed their sessions three times in the spring of 2013 and I interviewed the men individually, but one member three times. When I first met the discussion group, I was waiting for them in a third floor lobby in the Elderly Centre. When they arrived, I was surprised as I was expecting to meet a group of 'ordinary' men. Instead, the nine men who exited the elevator were all wearing suits and some were familiar from the media. The members of the group are affluent and well educated (some hold doctoral degrees), and all had been or still are in influential positions in our society. This group seemingly highlighted and appreciated intellectuality and knowledge. They were polite to me, but at the same time, somewhat jokingly addressed me as 'Miss Doctor of Philosophy Ojanen,' which felt slightly awkward. At times, I felt their overtly polite tone was actually expressing the opposite to a degree. I laughed at their flattery because I wanted to be polite, but also knew that they were not really serious or perhaps wanted to represent how politely men used to address women in past and to make me realize how much less I had life experience compared to them. One member told me in the interview that usually they discussed political issues; he added that there had been one exception when they discussed the meaning of old age in our society. His description vividly captured how central position intellectual debate on political issues had in this group.

One of the men told me that he was a feminist, but two turned out to be slightly misogynistic. During an individual interview, one man said to me that their group is not against women joining it, but "there are not many women of our age who have interesting thoughts." These kinds of views on women have to be understood in relation to their life history; for example, when they were younger, women did not have access to the same positions as men, and it was extremely rare for women to hold influential jobs in any sector. Gender equality has gone notably forward during their lifetime. Some of the men stressed in their interviews that it is actually the men who are the marginalized group nowadays, since women have taken over. For example, one of them said that many civic organizations once led by men are now dominated by women, but men have not entered the women's sphere in Finnish society. Some of the men were arguing for men's rights and political superiority although I did not ask for these views. The Finnish atmosphere of gender equality steered the men's arguments, and I as a young gender scholar represented a target for their societal frustration.

During the fieldwork, I felt the most unease around this group. I think it was because of their clear emphasis on intellectuality and upper middle class backgrounds, and because the group had a long history. They all knew each other quite well and

constantly told jokes or made humorous references which I could not understand. Since intellectuality held such a significant position in this group, clearly one would want to appear intellectual or, at least, be able to get the jokes. This social and historical gap between us was constantly present, and to some extent, I felt I was seen primarily as a representative of my age and especially my generation (about generational significance, see Biggs & Lowenstein 2011:x). My perception is that these men emphasized my young age and inexperience because their interaction with me as a group was also representative of their interactions with our society and its age order.

Generally in our society, old age is stigmatized with negative implications. According to my interpretation, these men were frustrated about this situation in some sense; they felt that they could not share their experiences and knowledge with the younger generation and they could not influence our society in the way they once had. Things had changed: younger people and women had taken over. In the interview, one of these men described how he was personally sad about what he and his reference group had gained concerning equality and anti-racism, and how this development was now in danger. He felt his work was being destroyed. That is, most of these men saw themselves as having been really fundamental and influential in the development of Finnish welfare society.

This group of men can be said to represent the upper middle class though "social class remains a contested category with its meaning varying with different theoretical and political perspectives" (Brah & Phoenix 2004:79). However, among these men it became poignantly clear how gender and age were intertwined with social class. Their ways of doing gender highlighted characteristics that I did not come across in other fieldwork contexts. One of the members also doubted if he could be part of my research because he is not like "the ordinary old people". The difference that he was referring to was that he was writing and publishing books, even though he was over 80 years old. Because of his social status, he interpreted himself as doing age differently than the cultural stereotypes would assume. The constructions of gender, old manhood, are intertwined with age and also social class.

Homosociality and Compulsory Heterosexuality

Besides being overly polite, these men in the discussion group also playfully flirted with me, and, for example one member winked at me when I shook his hand. Most of them behaved more playfully when I was attending their meetings, but were completely different, much more decorous, when I interviewed them in their homes. Thus, the group was enormously significant in how they acted out their gender and masculinities. The homosocial relationships in men's own groups have been identified as spaces for defining, maintaining, and negotiating what it means to be a man (e.g., Houston 2012; Jokinen 2000). Homosociality usually refers to the fact that men socially favour the company of men that they find similar, and can refer to male friendships, competition among men, or old boy networks (Tallberg 2012:233). Men shape their ideas of manhood by comparing them-

selves with other men and making a clear distinction from femininity, and thus homosocial relationships regulate the construction of masculinities. These relationships have been described as male bonding where men emphasize solidarity among men and strengthen their own masculinities (Jokinen 2000:222; see also Sarelin 2012:6, 42). According to several studies, homosociality is a way of doing masculinity which also allows for the hegemonic ideas of masculinity to flourish (Connell 2005; Bemiller 2005; Flood 2008; Houston 2012; Jokinen 2000; Sedgwick 1985). In a sense, in these group sessions I sometimes got a feeling that the men were not just gathering together but that these gatherings also served their past experiences from work-life: discussing and deciding with other men pursuing a particular kind of gender.

Often men in homosocial relationships tend to emphasize heterosexuality and homophobia to reinforce their masculinity, which I found in this group to some extent (see Jokinen, 2000:222–227, 68; Sedgwick 1985). I felt that their complimenting me was a way for them to emphasize their masculinity and heterosexual orientation as a group. During the sessions which I attended, many (not all) of them hung on to the cultural model of "all old men are (or must be) interested in younger women and this has to be articulated". The bolstering of this stereotypical idea occurred (almost) only during the group meetings. In the group, the cultural story of heteronormativity (and especially old men's sexual interest in young women) became so compulsory that not to take part in it could, according to these men, be considered impolite or rude behaviour. These men are politically conscious and intellectually active in our society, and one-on-one, they behaved quite differently than in the group. Their flirting was hardly directed at me, but it was more a cultural code of heteronormativity they had to follow in order to pass as gendered subjects and as a valid group of masculine (and polite) men. It was important for them that they were seen as heterosexual men. They demonstrated how aware they are of cultural and social norms and how fluently they 'did' their gender and negotiated these norms. This happened especially during the group sessions. I interpret these actions as a doing of gender, a kind of quality and capacity that men have to signify being fully creditable men (see Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001:204). In addition, their behaviour was also probably partly influenced by their experiences in the past where "women were secretaries, not thinkers" (quote from an interview), which brings forth the social positions they had had or at least the idea of the gender order in the past. Overall, their innuendo during group sessions tells more about our past and present cultural norms and orders concerning gender, age, and social class than about the men themselves.

By doing masculinity, a strict code of behaviour and emotion is enforced among men (Connell 2005). Sharon R. Bird (1996) argues that there are three shared meanings that are generally perpetuated via male homosociality and these are emotional detachment, the sexual objectification of women, and competition. According to her, these meanings characterize hegemonic masculinity but are not always internalized as central to individual identity. She concludes that hegemonic mascu-

linity is maintained as the norm to which men are held accountable despite the individual conceptualizations of masculinity that depart from that norm. In Bird's study, this was also the case in an academic community where gender equality is generally promoted. Following her interpretation, it seems that male homosocial groups cannot deviate from these ideas of hegemonic masculinity. According to my data, these views seem too rigid and somewhat contradict my findings. The discussion group of old men did, as a group, deviate from these norms and, for example, express feelings. To express feelings was not a sign of weakness but rather for some of them something to pursue (cf. Bird 1996:122). Bird's analysis fails to take into account intersectional issues, such as how age or education affect the norms and masculine ideals in male homosocial groups (about variety in masculinity and hegemonic masculinities in male homosocial settings, see e.g. Houston 2012; Sarelin 2012). Types of competition also appeared within the group in the form of intellectual debate, but the group sessions yielded different practices as well.

Practices that controlled intimate emotions surfaced in this group, but there were also possibilities to express feelings (see also Houston 2012; Jokinen 2003:240). I witnessed very emotional sessions; hence, the constructions of masculinity vary and there are more alternatives than the stereotypical ideas tend to promote (see e.g. Houston 2012). One member, Pekka, repeatedly told me (e.g. 15.4. 2013) that I had had an enormous impact on the group; first, he said that when I am in their meetings, the men behave very differently than usual and, according to Pekka, this was because they were trying to impress me. Pekka added that the topics of their sessions had changed and men have opened up since I came to observe the sessions. Once when I had not attended their meeting, one member jokingly said to me that they did not know what to talk about since I was not present. This was a joke, to be sure, but I felt it illustrated some of the internal tensions among the members. It might have been that not every member in the group wanted to emphasize my role the way Pekka did.

The first meeting I attended was quite formal and the subject matter was political. However, once I had personally interviewed each of the men, the theme in their meeting changed from political to personal in one of their sessions. They talked about what they have lost and what they have gained while aging. In turn, everyone told the others about the meaningful things in their lives. One man cried while he told about losing his hearing and sight, little by little, and how important it was to have contact with others, while living home with his wife who suffers from severe dementia.

It could be that the topic of my research, the everyday lives of these men and being old in our society created expectations that pushed the men to express feelings and address more sensitive or intimate issues during the sessions. In addition it has been noted that men may find it easier to talk about personal issues and display feelings to women scholars, since women are often connoted with emotions, and there exists the widespread assumption that women are better listeners than men, thus enabling more space for men to speak and help the flow of men's talk (see Grenz

2005:2103–2104; Sandberg 2011:100). Anyhow, their doings of gender in a group setting were influenced by the research.

On one hand, it is clear that I affected the behaviour of the group; they were not behaving as 'usual'. One of the objectives of my research was to examine the everyday lives of men, which I did not achieve as the men obviously changed their behaviour. On the other hand, the change can be interpreted as significant and interesting doings of gender. From the very beginning of meeting this group, I thought that they emphasized their gender and their societal position. They used highly polite and intellectual conversation; they told me what they had recently written or read, and at the same time, they wanted to pass as potential heterosexual lovers; they had a twinkle in their eyes and flattered me constantly. They were doing gender by emphasizing being rational, intellectual, and polite, but also emotional and aware of their charms. Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001b:211–212) argue that one problem when interviewing men can be men's tendencies to exaggerate rationality, autonomy, and control as part of signifying a masculine self. This did not appear as a problem to me, but rather as an interesting viewpoint to address how gender was made during the fieldwork processes, and the way that social class and age affected and were intertwined with these doings.

Their behaviour illustrates how they explored the fact that a young woman is interested in old men. They might have found the situation to be somewhat extraordinary, at the very least. To some extent, the gender-stereotypical behaviour of these men may have increased because of my role as a relatively young female researcher (see also Grenz 2005:2111). In this situation, it was indeed the social distance that provoked this kind of behaviour. Thus, one kind of behaviour is not better or more genuine than another; rather, they are different reactions in different settings.

Like Researcher, like Field?

According to Arendell (1997), the relationships in the research process are dynamic, complex, and multifaceted, and are influenced by the identities and histories of those involved in the study. Gender and age (or sexuality and social class) are major factors in the field interaction and are also constructed and negotiated during the fieldwork. That is why we must pay closer attention to the analytical scrutiny of ethnographic data since this can offer us greater understanding of how these categories work generally and in research, more specifically (Arendell 1997:364–365). I completed the fieldwork in the spring of 2013; perhaps as these experiences grow more distant, the situations I have described here will unfold again in new ways. Therefore, it could also be noted that the end of fieldwork is somewhat illusory; the interpretations can change and evolve with time.

Katherine Irwin (2006) argues that we should focus on how our relationships, emotions, and other choices in the research process are connected with social structures. Our research should be evaluated also from the viewpoint of "doing structure" (Irwin 2006:171). Some of these aspects open up through reflexive pondering and examining the field situations. The point in reflexive writing is to better contextualize the interpretations en-

hanced in the study and become conscious of the grounds on which each interpretation is constructed, beginning with the field diaries. The aim is to gain new knowledge on the subject and to understand how in multiple ways the knowledge is situated (see e.g. Coffey 1999; also Myerhoff & Ruby 1982:18). In many ways, researcher positioning is a crucial factor to consider since it affects the study in a palpable way. The interpretations and experiences are grounded in specific situations and standpoints. According to Ellingson (2006), we should not apologize for our subjectivities or simply state the social categories that define us; rather, we should consider how our embodied selves influence our research processes. The ethnographic research does not describe the world around us, but more likely, the world between 'us' (the researcher and the phenomenon under study), and therefore, it is deeply intertwined with the researcher's thoughts and actions in the field. To understand cultural phenomenon as thoroughly as possible, one must strive to be conceptually close to it in the field. When returning 'home', it is crucial to distance oneself from the field experiences in order to be able to interpret the everyday understanding of the encounters. To make sense of it, a critical distance must be created by becoming aware of one's personal background and methodological and epistemological choices. At this point, one has to consider, at least implicitly, how different actions and interpretations from the field relate to methodological choices, as well as personal and autobiographical factors, and how these are connected with cultural and social structures in our society.

How are the characteristics of the field presented in the field diaries and research reports connected to the researcher's self and methodological background? First, my ethnographic study on old men has forced me to ponder reflectivity and reflexivity by focusing on how the researcher's self affects the processes in the field, especially doings of gender, age, and sexuality, and how I as a researcher participate in these doings. How is the social category of an old man made in the fieldwork? What meanings does this category entail? Second, I have discussed how the researcher's methodological and cultural background affects the interpretations produced during the field process.

Female scholars have focused on the potential delicacy and vulnerability of cross-gender research, especially women researchers interviewing men. They have identified several difficulties, including heterosexual tension, male domination, and, for instance, how all flirting expresses the gendered power relations (Arendell 1997; Lee 1997; Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001). Though I only rarely wrote in my field diary about problematic feelings regarding sexual and gendered issues, a closer look further away from the field enforces other interpretations of the situation, too, although I didn't personally experience being sexualized. The gendered power relations were present; however, I did not find these disturbing. The reason why I did not find these incidents difficult was partly because of the old age of the men, which caused the social and generational distance. In these interpretations in the diary, it is brought forth how I was doing age in the field encounters: what meanings old age implicitly entailed. The age difference affected the fact that I did

not, at times, consider disturbing incidents with men problematic. The stereotypes regarding old age sexuality did play a part in my field diary despite the fact that these cultural ideas were exactly the ones that I wanted (and still want) to contest.

The stereotypes regarding gender, sexuality, and/or age also affected situations in the field in the ways the men behaved and how I interpreted their behaviour. For example, a cultural composition of "old men are interested in young women" and "men are heterosexual unless proven otherwise" came very much alive during the fieldwork period, as in the example in the very beginning of this article. In the field, such as the excerpt about sitting on Matti's lap or my interaction with the discussion group, we were all doing, constructing, and bolstering cultural ideas and structures regarding gender and age: what it is to be an older man or younger woman in our society and how they relate to each other. The different stereotypes and structures are quite strong; when I was working in the field, every now and then, I was surprised at how similar my views and feelings were to my informants'. There were sudden moments when I saw that gender or age did not have any significance; that for a split second we encountered each other beyond these categories (cf. Biggs 2005; Biggs & Lowenstein 2011:42). I am not saying that these categories would not matter to one's experiences or that generational differences would not exist, but I want to emphasize that many mutual experiences and emotions also exist. In these situations, it also became lucid to me how fully age and gender are culturally constructed conceptions (in addition to being material reality). While researching old men (or some other group), we will not only learn about old men, but also about the processes through which we create them and how substantially the ethnographic knowledge is situated (see Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2001b:218).

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Notes

1 Differences in health and well-being may actually become more pronounced as people age; an individual's position depends on how he or she is situated within various social categories (e.g. Baars et al. 2006:6–7; Calasanti & King 2011; Holstein 2011; Slevin & Linneman 2009; Torres & Lawrence 2012).

2 I use the terms old age and old people instead of speaking, for example, of seniors. According to critical gerontology, euphemisms paradoxically increase the discrimination of old people. To remove the category 'old' does not eliminate the discrimination, but rather may intensify it (Andrews 1999: 301–302, 311; Calasanti & Slevin 2006.)

3 The meanings of sexuality and intimacy for old people in long-term care and how the professionals address these issues have been mapped (e.g. Bauer et al. 2007; Everett 2008; Haijar & Kamel 2003; Irni & Wickman 2011; Nay 2004; Rautasalo 2008; Reingold & Burros 2004; Roach 2004). It seems that in practice it is still challenging for professionals to address the sexuality of old people.

4 Many men I met did not define themselves as 'old' apart from the physical changes, and yet old people have been said to represent the 'Other' in our time (e.g. Andrews 1999; Calasanti & Slevin 2006; Hazan 2000; Lundin 2007). Thus, it is no wonder that many elderly people do not consider themselves old and want to avoid that category. According to Molly Andrews (1999), this can be under-

stood as representing ageism. Because being old is considered to be mostly something negative, it is no wonder that so few people want to belong to that category.

5 See also about men talking more freely to women scholars (Grenz 2005:2103–2104; Sandberg 2011:100).

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This "Other" Brain of Mine

By Michael Andersen

Hans Nielsen had a stroke nine years ago. Besides the physical repercussions of his stroke, Hans changed radically in the months following the stroke. He went from being outspoken and generally satisfied to becoming aggressive and inherently discontent. His wife Gertrud is acutely aware of this change and has tried to deal with it in her everyday life throughout the past nine years. Something changed when Hans had his stroke and Gertrud now finds herself married to someone that she attempts to recognize:

(Gertrud) You turn into another person [when you have had a stroke] […] if Hans asked me to marry him today, I would say "no", because the person I married back then, is not the person I'm married to today. It really isn't and Hans knows that. Hans has changed so much…

(Gertrud) It's strange what such a brain can do. I know that it's not what Hans means…

As the quotations illustrate, Hans is Hans, while Hans is also someone else – someone other. In this article I explore the conception of the brain among people who have had a stroke and their spouses. I argue that the informants presented in the article operate with a distinction between their "brain" and their "self". By turning to the psychoanalytical notion of the "Other" I discuss how my informants try to handle the brain through different practices that render the brain, as an Other, manageable in their everyday lives. In effect, I present how this essentially Cartesian dualistic notion of the brain and the self (Merleau-Ponty 2002 [1962]) is incorporated within the life of my informants, and how the brain is both an invading force on one's sense of self and an integral part of this self.

The fieldwork presented in this article has been conducted during the years 2010−2013 as part of a PhD project on fatigue in everyday life conducted in collaboration with Glostrup Hospital, Copenhagen. The PhD project was initiated due to a lack of knowledge about the relationship between stroke survivors and their experiences of post-stroke fatigue. Seeing that the medical sciences have failed to account for any necessary link between the subjective experiences of fatigue after stroke and the size or location of a stroke, the ethnological PhD project focused on the locations of fatigue in everyday life among people who had had a stroke (Andersen 2014). The fieldwork mainly consists of semi-structured interviews lasting from thirty minutes to three hours along with participatory observations. Twelve key interviews have been held in the homes of my informants, along with seven days of fieldwork at the outpatient clinic at the neurological department at Glostrup Hospital, where I observed around thirty formalized ten-minute conversations between the nurse and patients. This article is primarily based on five of the twelve interviews, two of which were conducted with the informant who had had a stroke and his spouse.

Strokes have been described, since the sociologist Michael Bury and the anthropologists Gaylene Becker and Sharon Kaufman began using the word, as a disruption with an emphasis on the disruptive (Becker 1993; Bury 1982). This means that life after stroke is characterized as an uncertain and variable time, in which frustration is a constant companion (Becker & Kaufman 1995). As Becker notes in her work *Disrupted Lives* (1997), which deals

with stroke patients' experiences, they all attempt to create meaning in this new and uncertain time. However, as Becker also notes, this meaning is not found in a "normative definition of disablement" (Clarke 2009), but rather in relation to their own perceptions of what is important in their lives. Numerous studies have since addressed this point (Clarke & Black 2005; Lister 1999; Pound, Gompertz, & Ebrahim 1998b; Doolittle 1990); in one study, it is argued that stroke survivors assess their "disabilities against a variety of benchmarks" that relate to the survivors' lived experiences as opposed to those of a formal assessment (Gubrium *et al*. 2003), while another study argues that the stroke survivors operate with individual and personal yardsticks that relate to their lives before stroke to assess their current state (Dowswell *et al*. 2000), something that is also taken up by Kaufman (1988). As a part of identity work post-stroke, it is often argued that certain acts performed pre-stroke become more important and accentuated. Although the actual physical performance of these acts post-stroke may be impossible, other links are established, which ensure the "maintenance" of an identity (Becker 1993). This article attempts to engage in this discussion by highlighting my informants' management of the brain and the self post-stroke, and by adding a psychoanalytical perspective to the analysis, in which the figure of the Other is central.

As the Other is a central term in this article, along with the notion of "selfhood", I try to clarify these terms in the immediately preceding sections, so as to pave way for the empirical analysis. Furthermore, as the article also represents an attempt at presenting the possibilities of applying psychoanalytical perspectives in ethnological analyses, which has been done only a few times previously (e.g. Johansson 2010), an introduction to psychoanalytical theory is incorporated within the sections "The Other" and "The Self and the Other".

The Other

The concept of the Other has been widely used in a range of theoretical contexts. From G. W. F. Hegel's dialectics (Hegel 1998 [1807]) to Edmund Husserl's phenomenology (Husserl 1947 [1931]), the Other has had a prominent place in continental philosophy. With the notion of the radical Other as expounded by existentialism (Levinas 1979 [1961]) and psychoanalysis (Lacan 1999 [1966]), the concept was transformed to the Other that is now an established feature of the major branches of gender studies (Butler 1999 [1990]) and post-colonial studies (Said 1979). Within ethnology, the concept of "the Other" has also had a significant part, in particular in studies dealing with nationalism and nation building (e.g. Kratzmann 2004; Bendix 2003; Hauschild 1997).

Nonetheless, it is the psychoanalytical notion of the Other, as conveyed by Lacan, which is central to this article. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the possibilities of viewing the brain as an Other through the lens of psychoanalysis. There is mainly one reason for this; i.e. that psychoanalysis deals with the Other as an intrinsic part of oneself. This repressed part of oneself serves as the explanation for why things are as they are. In essence the Other is a matter

of the unconscious. Being of the unconscious the Other is also exotic. It has another language, other customs etc., which are immensely difficult to decipher, but seeing that it is part of oneself, it can either be attempted to be deciphered or repressed. According to psychoanalysis, the latter is most often the case (Freud 2003 [1919]).

A central premise of psychoanalysis is that the subject is *split* (Freud 2003 [1919]). Also presented as the mirrorstage in the writings of Lacan, the split of subjectivity occurs at the moment when the experience of the body as fragmented is replaced by the experience of the body as an entity (Lacan 1999 [1966]: 92–99). As an entity, subjectivity is created. In that sense the split of subjectivity arises with subjectivity. This is not far from the Hegelian dialectics concerning the subject's emergence from the object, but the essential point, which separates psychoanalysis from Hegelianism, is found particularly in one important distinction: the incorporation of the Other in the construction of subjectivity, which means that the Other is always already in I. To better understand why this is so, one may turn to Freud's notions of the *heimlich (concealed)* and the *unheimlich (uncanny).* While the mirrorstage discloses the fragmentation of the body (*heimlich*), it does so by repressing the fragmentation (*unheimlich*) (Freud 2003 [1919]). This is why, according to Freud, the uncanny (*unheimlich*), always seems familiar. I am always already Other, and the sudden occurrence of I does not change this fact, but represses it so that I can appear as I. It is exactly in this description that we find how the Other, being in fact I, presents the unresolvable as well as constitutive point of subjectivity.

In order to fully understand how this Other is incorporated within the life of the split subject, it is necessary to look at how the subject, from a psychoanalytical perspective, interacts within different modes of reality; more exactly three different modes of reality: the symbolic order, the imaginary and the Real. To put it simply, the symbolic order is that which provides an immediate identity to the subject; it is the name, the age, gender etc. that represents the subject within society (Butler 2005:90). However, to be one's name, age or gender does not necessarily provide a locus through which the subject can understand him/herself – one is always something more than one's symbolic identity (Butler 2005). This, something more/locus, is provided by the imaginary. The imaginary is the locus that supports one's symbolic identity. It is what allows an assemblage of the subject as difference in the symbolic order (i.e. being a name, a gender, an age etc.), and thus the imaginary is the true "self" that connects one's symbolic existence (Kay 2003:54). In that sense the imaginary is what fills in the gaps of the symbolic order, and it is that which produces subjective meaning from the symbolic order. Yet the imaginary is not a stable entity but lives by the insecurity of the split subjectivity – thus it is what points towards resolving the split, and in doing so it becomes the place where the psychoanalytically important concept of *desire* (jouissance) is to be found (Daly & Žižek 2004:3). In short, this desire is a desire towards solving the split of subjectivity, but as a central maxim of psychoanalysis, desire is always

facilitated by its own impossibility. Finally, what may disturb this quest to solve the split of subjectivity is the negative impact of the Real, which is that which is impossible to integrate within the symbolic order, and as such un-representable. The Real is what points to the randomness of the symbolic order, as well as to the disintegration of the imaginary; to the disintegration of reality and subjectivity (Daly & Žižek 2004:4).

The figure of the Other is configured within, and configures, these three dimensions of the symbolic, the imaginary and the Real. The Other may be perceived as a threat to one's symbolic and imaginary place in society, while it simultaneously is that which makes the specific organization of enjoyment possible within a symbolic order, or within a community (Žižek 2003:203). In that sense, the Other may be comparable to the Lacanian *objet a*, the character of enjoyment that interrupts one's unique fulfilment of enjoyment in the world, but at the same time confirms the existence of enjoyment and thus the potential of solving the split of subjectivity. However, the Other may also be a figure that is closely associated with the Real, as will be further explored later. Most importantly the Other, on the symbolic and imaginary level of subjective reality, confirms the possible existence of a subjectivity that is not split; of a united self.

The Self and the Other

In the above-mentioned description of the psychoanalytical Other, there is a constant presence of an I or of a self, which the Other relates to. In *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power and Personhood* (Rose 1998), the Foucauldian sociologist Nikolas Rose presents the concept of selfhood as relating to the idea of an autonomous subject, exploring and potentially finding him/herself. According to Rose, contrary to popular conception, the concept of selfhood is more historical than ontological; this is the premise for his book containing numerous genealogical essays, amongst which many are very critical of the historical role of psychoanalysis in the creation of selfhood. Challenging the construction of the conception of selfhood as being a regulatory ideal, Rose sets out to denaturalize the regime of the self, which is presented as inescapable in reference to the contemporary individual (Rose 1998:2). However, as Rose also argues, this notion of selfhood is such an established phenomenon in contemporary Western society that its existence in the lives of people is inescapable. Similarly, in "Neuro: The New Brain Sciences and the Management of the Mind" (2014), Rose and Abi-Racheed point out how the brain sciences have been positioned as crucial in the makings of the self – a topic which has also been dealt with by the ethnologist Niclas Hagen in his work on the representations of Huntington's disease (Hagen 2013). Thus, in an interesting inversion of Rose's deconstruction of the psy-disciplines – as Rose calls them – as having discursively created a specific notion of the self, one could easily argue that psychoanalysis is even more relevant to incorporate in the analysis of the self.

If we try to turn to the notion of selfhood in relation to the body, the feminist philosopher Margrit Shildrick, who has published widely within the field of disability studies, argues that the sensation

of unity in one's body can be ascribed to the Western notion of person as the "possessor" of a certain materiality (a term borrowed from the English philosopher John Locke) (Shildrick 2001:48). As Shildrick points out, even in a phenomenological framework, this notion of a certain unity is constantly asserted as that which promises selfhood. Although phenomenology underscores the constancy of an openness in which the construction of selfhood may take place, it contains a "solidification of perception such that we can reflexively experience our embodied selves in more or less consistent ways" (Shildrick 2001:49). It is for this reason that the body stands out, as the phenomenologist Drew Leder puts it, as something *other*, something suddenly "remembered" in the case of disease or molestation (Leder 1990:91). To that extent there is, as Shildrick notes:

> … a sense in which embodiment, in being symbolically associated with the disruption of the subject, runs the same risk of being ontologically devalued, being seen as potentially monstrous, in phenomenology as it does in more conventional philosophies (Shildrick 2001:49).

Shildrick argues that this is due to the question of the constitution of an autonomous subject, as it is unclear what to do if one cannot be distinguished from the other, as she shows by analysing the separation of conjoined twins. In essence, to be accepted as a self with a selfhood is basically to be distinguishable from the Other, and thus to be secure within the body – not being the body (Shildrick 2001:50). Paraphrasing the feminist writer Julia Epstein, this obsession with our body is intrinsically tied to the way we construct our subjectivity and selfhood (Epstein 1995). The "monstrous" body according to Shildrick is what challenges not only the selfhood of the person as the body, but also the entire symbolical order of distinctions between mind and body and bodies between. As Julia Kristeva (1982:71) argues, the appearing body is an ugly body, and quite an opposite to the notion of the self's clean and proper body. Such a body is *abject*, meaning that it disturbs the symbolic order and identity formation of the norm. In that sense, the monstrous appearing body is somewhat ambivalent as it is not only the binary opposition of the "normal body", confirming the selfhood of the normal body, but at the same time it is also so human that it is in fact threatening to dissolve this binary opposition. Thus the abjection does not mean total exclusion, but is rather the position of being an Other, though not an absolute other.

In the following section I will present how the brain appears as an Other in my empirical findings. With the help of psychoanalysis, I will portray how the relationship between the brain and selfhood may be analysed. I will argue that the notion of the self structures the conscious management of the brain for my informants, and that my informants draw on the notion of selfhood whenever they experience their brain as an Other. As will be shown, this self often becomes somewhat of a consolation in an environment where one's autonomy may seem to have disappeared.

The Other Brain of Connie Petersen

(Connie) In the beginning I had both lights on my table turned on as well as the television. It was like I had to make my brain focus on the television

sound, because when there was complete silence, I just couldn't sleep.

Connie Petersen's brain is a central figure in her everyday life. In talking about how she has difficulties sleeping at night, her brain is a contributing factor, if not *the* factor, which causes her to find it difficult to get any sleep. The agency of the brain becomes poignant in this case, as the brain is the feature which Connie has to deal with. She becomes aware of how it is not possible "to turn her brain off" as she expresses it, so that she can sleep – something she used to be able to do quite easily. This very much relates to the retrospective construction of the brain as an Other – an Other whose existence Connie only recently has become very aware of, but who has previously been there in a somewhat peaceful and obedient coexistence with selfhood. Her brain needs a certain amount of noise to keep focused on something else, in order for her to be ensured sleep.

At the same time as Connie's brain makes it difficult for her to focus, and she thus explains how it has become dreadfully difficult to read, her brain is also causing her pain. Commenting on how her brain has stopped producing endorphins, she presents a similar picture of a brain working against her self:

(Connie) …I have "restless leg syndrome" Do you know what that is? It has something to do with your brain not producing endorphins or something else… I can't remember. It's something in your brain, which your brain does not produce, and which causes your muscles to spasm.

That she experiences her brain as dysfunctional is indicated not only in how it limits her possibility of sleep, but also in the sense that it causes her to feel that another part of her body does not do what she wants it to. From a psychoanalytical point of view the stroke is an element of the Real i.e. something *unheimlich* that draws attention to the fragmentation of Connie's body – here in particular the fragmentation of her brain. In trying to return to the symbolic order, the brain naturally becomes an Other, integrated within the symbolic order as that, which is causing her self to have to behave differently. The Other is thus a figure that has to be circumvented. However, circumventing her brain as an Other seems to be presented as an established practice for Connie ever since she had a whiplash injury as well as a minor brain injury after a car accident some years before her stroke:

(Connie) If too many things are jumbled together, then I can't focus on anything. Then I forget half of what I have to do. I have had to buy a stamp for three days now, and I haven't bought it yet, and it's goddamn important.

(MA) Have you always felt like that?

(Connie) No…no of course there's been…I had a minor brain injury in connection with my whiplash injury, which means that my short-term memory and my concentration isn't great…I have papers that confirm that. In time, I have learned that if I'm going shopping or something like that, then I write down "1 litre of milk" and "1 litre of milk". I can't write "2 litres of milk", because then I only get one. It has something to do with the fact that when I'm out shopping with my shopping list then I count the stuff on the list, and it has to match the items I have put in my basket. If it fits, then I've got the stuff I need. If I don't bring a shopping list, then I don't get the things I need. […]

Once again, we see how Connie's brain has become a retrospective Other, i.e. her brain was always an Other, Connie was just not as aware of it pre-stroke as she is now. Rather, she was able to manage the

Other through a range of different practices to such an extent that the Other disappeared completely, e.g. the extremely detailed shopping list. This list is an illuminating example of such practices as it makes the appearance of the Other less visible. Because the Other was always there, her previous effort to control the Other is put to the test by the stroke's placement of the Other as a more defining character of her self within the symbolic order. To that extent, the previous Other could be viewed as a less invasive character, retrospectively constructed as someone that did not necessarily stand between one's self and the potential solving of the split of subjectivity – rather it confirmed the existence of a subjectivity with a split that could be solved.

As the quotation also illustrates, Connie is attempting to manage her brain as well as managing other parts of her body; e.g. her legs that need to exercise. But Connie's brain doesn't really rest, and so having to manage her brain is a relentless task. Her brain appears as opposed to her self in every waking moment and is even causing other areas of her body, which she would otherwise be able to manage, to become unmanageable, e.g. the muscles in her legs getting spasms. This highlights how it is Connie's brain which is causing her to experience a fragmentation of her body. In this fragmentation a self is of considerable importance, as it can manage a brain that may feel as if it holds the body hostage.

The Other of John Jensen

John Jensen has had seven strokes in total, the final one causing him partial paralysis. Since the seventh stroke, his wife Bodil has had an extremely hard time dealing with John, whom she felt had been transformed into another person.

In the following quotation, notice how the explanation of John's brain provides comfort for Bodil, but also how this description is interesting, as it is somewhat similar to the explanations offered when explaining the customs and habits of an Other:

(Bodil) Before the stroke John was a happy and outgoing person, and then it all turned topsy-turvy and he became mad and grumpy after the stroke, and now everything is wrong. I was just told [by the doctor] that I had to live with it, but you learn a lot underway […] Nobody tells you what can actually happen. I was told that John having had an injury in his head was the reason why he had begun to steal. He started going into people's purses, and I was very shocked by that and I had no idea how to cope with it, and so I told our doctor about it, and John was well aware that something was wrong […] Our doctor didn't know anything about it and had never experienced it before, and so he sent John to a psychologist in town, but that didn't really help much. Our salvation, if you might say so, was that John was hospitalized due to some problems with his coronary artery, which they initially wanted to operate at the hospital but which they found was too risky. So when he was discharged we had a conversation with the doctor and I told him about the problems with John's stealing […] So she says that we have to look at it right away and calls a neuropsychologist; a week went by and she spoke a bit with John and after a couple of minutes she says to John that she thinks she ought to speak to me instead. So I went there regularly for a couple of months, and she told me about everything and showed me the scans of John's brain…how it looked with all the spots and explained to me that "here and here was this and that, which affected behaviour and speech and how damaged these parts of the brain were". […] It was like that, that I began to become aware of how things are located in John's head now […]…but it was simply because I didn't know where to get help, and it was difficult because he

stole from our kids and friends, and then having to tell them to hide everything away because I am bringing a person who steals […] The neuropsychologist also told me that it is not unusual for people to get such behavioural issues. Some become arsonists, and others become sexually deviant, but it's always horrible when discovering something like that, and how do you deal with it?

In trying to understand John's behaviour, Bodil refers to the neuropsychologist, who explains to Bodil that John's brain is the cause of his sudden change of behaviour – in essence, why John has become an Other. As the quotation illustrates, there is always someone who has a more direct access to the Other and thus a better understanding of this Other; in this case it is the neuropsychologist.

John has changed after his stroke, and the people around him, especially Bodil, attempt to get accustomed to this change. In effect John has become an Other, who is inherently unreliable, not only on account of his stealing, but on account of his Otherness, which is explicitly apparent in his stealing. Almost as an ethnographer describing and explaining the rituals and customs of an alien tribe, the neuropsychologist explains why John is doing what he is doing and needs what he needs – basically why he is behaving like an Other – and in the process of doing so, Bodil begins to understand John as something else. He is now truly an Other; not only his brain but also his self. In effect, Bodil tries to control and construct John's self. Aided by Bodil, John attempts to "take back" his selfhood; this is reflected by the way in which, during the interview, he disassociates himself from his brain and in particular from what his brain has caused him to do – to steal. In that sense, for John, it has become a question of managing his brain, and his ability to do so becomes visible through putting an end to his stealing:

(John) It was the thing with the stealing, so we really didn't dare to go (to a treatment centre in Montebello). At that point I hadn't got over that.

As John puts it in the quotation, his former inability to control his stealing caused him and his wife to avoid seeking further treatment at the Montebello treatment centre for his paralysis, as he was scared that he might steal from the other patients. In essence, an Other (his brain) was restraining him from seeking further treatment. Whereas John says that he is beyond this period of stealing, Bodil is not entirely convinced but follows John around to make sure that he doesn't steal anything:

(Bodil) It was hard when we were anywhere telling other people [about John's stealing], and at the same time to tell John that it was not to observe him that I always followed him around, but that it was to help him. It took some time for him to understand it, but now there's hardly anything anymore, but that's also because I have to help him to the bathroom and such stuff, but it was a huge shock. But we are in control of that now, aren't we John?

The example of Mr and Mrs Jensen portrays the subtle nuances that are at play. Bodil sees John as an Other but helps John (re)construct his selfhood, so that he can control his brain, which he sees as an Other. She supports him with his narratives, and assesses his current state/otherness through his ability to reproduce certain narratives agreed upon. At the same time, it is apparent how Bodil, being distrustful of John, manages his otherness by allying herself with John's (re)constructed self; in this alliance she monitors John and

is vigilant that his (re)constructed self remains in control – a large part of this is making sure his (re)constructed self does not change. In that sense, as Bodil explains it, the self of John is that of an "Other" who cannot get too close. Lacan touches upon this issue in his seminars on ethics, arguing that one can only love one's neighbour as long as the neighbour is at a proper distance (Lacan 1997 [1955–1956]:186) – and similarly John's self is constructed to provide this distance, as proximity reveals the unnerving cracks in the surface – essentially the disintegrating potential of the Real. To that extent the (re)construction of a self of John plays a part in keeping John within the symbolic order, although not as a constitutive Other, but as an Other threatening the deformation of the symbolic order; i.e. his self is an Other of the imaginary real, which as the symbolic real is that which is so unbearably close to the Real that it almost negates the symbolic order. In that sense, seeing that this Other is on the verge of negating the symbolic order, the task is to constantly integrate the Other as an Other within the symbolic order.

With the Nielsens, whom we met in the introduction, we can add to the nuances of the brain's relation to the self:

(Gertrud)…If there is something that interests Hans, it's Copenhagen, and he can remember everything…there's nothing wrong with his head. That's the odd thing, and I think a lot of people think that and they are awfully wrong.

In the quotation Gertrud says that Hans's head or brain is constantly switching between being the diseased part that is not working and, which has caused his selfhood to be altered, the locus of his former identity – as if a part of his selfhood is locked inside him. This approach is something I often encountered from the spouses, as they would assume that their "former" husband was still "in there", and argued that his real self would sometimes emerge. On the other hand, the informants who had had a stroke were often confused by how their spouses would reduce their selfhood to their brain and would have a hard time trying to deal with the othering of their spouse. This illustrates the fluidity of the notion of selfhood among my informants' spouses. A self may be othered through the brain, and thus necessarily constructed in order to control the brain (as in the case of the John and Bodil), while the true self may sometimes emerge in certain circumstances.

What the cases of Mr and Mrs Nielsen as well as Mr and Mrs Jensen show is that the construction of the self is distributed among different actors, and constructed by these with very different intents; essentially that selfhood is a social affair.

The Integration of the Brain – Karen Henriksen

After her stroke, Mrs Karen Henriksen tried to create a new relationship to her brain by allowing her self to listen to her brain:

(Karen) …All in all it's about listening to yourself. I can just feel some things in my head that indicate that now I just have to slow down.

Karen is now taking her brain into account in a way she hasn't done before. In her case, the brain represents something that she has lost a relation to, a relation that she is attempting to re-establish. The use of a phrase such as "listening to yourself" thus indicates how Karen's notion of selfhood is tied to her reestablishment of a relation-

ship to her body. In this reestablishment with her body, the brain plays a significant yet tricky part, sometimes being a part of her body, at other times closer to her notion of selfhood than her body – "my brain tells my body to do as I want, but my body won't comply" – and at other times as something that just won't do as she tells it, thus comparable to an Other. Her brain is configured in relation to the specific situation that she is in, as can be seen in the following quotation:

(Karen) It's an anxiety related to things not succeeding, and that I'm left with a problem where I begin to think "how do I solve this". It's not always that I can find it in my head. Then you could say "well everyone feels like that once in a while", and I'm sure they do, I've just never felt it. I've always found a solution to any problem.

The quotation is illustrative of the way in which Karen's retrospective relationship to her brain causes her to be disappointed with her current lack of ability – not being able to do as she used to, although her former capabilities exceeded those of others. This sense of a former self is manifested in many of her narratives and may seem somewhat exaggerated. All of a sudden her former self is not only performing normally but is reconfigured as having performed extraordinarily. One can only speculate as to whether this directly reflects the dialectic opposite of the experiences Karen has now, but it nonetheless seems to be a recurring figure expressing a point in time in which her self was in a satisfactory relationship with her brain and body – working as one unit towards the same goals. Re-attaining this relationship is only possible if Karen allows room and space for a re-assemblage of this relationship, and much of her daily life is centred on doing so. In that sense the self of Karen is not an Other through being the occurrence of a "new" self, but rather because of its appearance as a self; an appearance which is visible because it contrasts with her brain and her self. Karen tries to blur the contrasts, and in doing so, she makes listening to her brain a large part of her everyday life. This everyday life is particularly structured around an experience of fatigue, and she portrays this structuring as the most significant remedy in her re-assemblage of the relationship. Fatigue is to that extent a signal as much as it is a tool in the re-assemblage, becoming the sign that she is listening to her brain when she plans her activities in accordance with her sensation of fatigue, and stops her activities whenever she experiences fatigue. Nonetheless, she does not feel that people, except her closest relatives, understand how she is in need of special care, as the immediate visibility of her condition is non-existent.

(Karen) No, but it's difficult. It's much easier breaking a leg or your back…people understand that. They don't understand if you tell them it's your head, but you know that. For instance, I was at a fiftieth birthday party in February, and thank God I was seated next to a person who had had a stroke and who had become partially paralysed by it. She also had some difficulties concentrating and we sat and talked. Then suddenly she said "you are getting so quiet", then I told her "I'm really tired right now…just used up".

As Karen tells the story about the birthday, she emphasizes how she was very happy to sit next to a person who had had a stroke, and thus possibly understood how fatigue was a central part of her re-assemblage. In that sense, whereas physical damage is often portrayed as necessitating rest, Karen says that the invisible

mental fatigue which she is experiencing does not translate as easily. In this case, Karen is attempting to allow her brain, as an Other, room in her everyday life. She seek to re-integrate this Other but can only do so if she listens to it and behaves according to its wishes. At the same time, this might also be because there is no doctor who can affirm the existence of the Other of Karen's brain. She has received no formal diagnosis, and thus her way of integrating and allowing space for the Other is the only way for it either to appear more obviously, so as to become medically recognized, or to eventually transform it and her self, in order for her to get a new everyday life. With Karen we thus see how she has to balance the Other. On the one hand Karen's Other is what verifies her experience of illness to others, while it is also what may make her entire being an Other. In that sense the Other of Karen is welcomed by her, as this welcoming facilitates both an eventual re-integration with her self and a recognition of her disease that simultaneously affirms the existence of the Other.

The Disciplined Other – Linda Krogh

While the case of Karen represents an attempt at re-assembling her brain to her self, the case of Ms Linda Krogh represents an extremely separate notion of the brain and the self, where both her self and her brain are presented as Others. In that sense they are seen as entities that have to be kept in a balance more than re-assembled:

(Linda) I have an aneurysmal bone cyst [in the leg], and here's the issue, because the brain has to have peace, and the legs have to move. Then I have to find a balance where I don't get tired.

There are three different actors at stake in the above quotation: her brain, her legs and her self. Her self gets tired, her legs need activity, and her brain needs rest. In order to trick her brain into being active, she has created different rules and dogmas, which she has to follow, and that force her to be active. She has unplugged her fridge, partly due to an ideological conviction, and also because it necessitates her getting out of the house when she is hungry:

(Linda) Yes I'm out every single day. I aim at getting out, because I have to buy my groceries. I have turned off my fridge and my freezer, so I have to get out every day to buy my groceries and decide what I want to eat.

(MA) Why are they turned off?

(Linda) It's a practical matter, because I started thinking about how my mother was capable of not having a fridge, and we were six people. We always had lovely food. Then I began thinking, if my mother knew how to do it, then I would try it for a while, also because, frankly, I was rather tired of looking at, and listening to, it. But I think I'm the only one who feels that way […] It doesn't have anything to do with… I can pay my bills I just have to see how creative I can be. It becomes a sport. I hardly throw anything out compared to others, and I'm really happy about my system. […] It's also the fact that one's stomach is shocked when you pour all that cold stuff down there, because then the body needs energy to warm it up. There's a system. I feel really great about it.

As she explained earlier in the interview, she feels that she gets strange if she doesn't go out every single day. And although there is not necessarily a social aspect in getting out, it is as much a regime that she follows. This is exemplified when she tells of a trip to the entertainment park Tivoli, where she was supposed to go with her two sisters. Both her sisters cancelled

due to illness, but Linda went anyway – an accomplishment that she emphasizes that she is very proud of. Getting out is in itself a goal, and the fatigue that follows is thus justified by the goal that she has achieved when she has been out:

(Linda) If I have been to the public swimming baths, then I have to walk half of the way, because it's over the railway and over the hill and so on. So I'm really tired when I'm at the public swimming baths. That's once or twice a week…that's what I aim at, because I can feel that it's the right thing.

The regimes allow her to take control of her brain, her self and her body, and provide her with the sense that she is in control of her body and her brain. Fatigue is a signal that she is mastering the relationship between her self, her brain and the rest of her body. To that extent it is not her self which is mastering her brain and her body, but rather the regimes. She manages her self, her brain and her body through an othering in which the regimes take over and decide for her.

At night, Linda exercises her hand, which was partially paralysed after her stroke. As she explains it, an especially dedicated physiotherapist, filling in for the regular personnel, spent a lot of time stimulating her brain into recognizing her hands' sensory capabilities. Now in order for these capabilities to remain, she continues her exercises, though she has no hopes for any further recovery:

(Linda)…I have to…when I sit and watch television at night…then it's hand gymnastics, because it sort of just stopped its progress (the hand). Nothing really happens with it any longer.

(MA) *So you don't experience the progress you experienced the first fourteen days any longer?*

(Linda) No, and I have been told that it's pretty normal that it stops there, so I have to live with that. But I try with exercises and different things, because it ought not get any worse. It has to be exercised. It quickly becomes like that (flaccid)…it doesn't like the cold. It doesn't like that at all.

In short, the exercise of regimes sustains a relationship between the different parts of who she is: her self, her body and her brain. While Linda is quite clear in describing her regimes and is detailed in her description of how her everyday life is structured, she nonetheless insists that her everyday life is not that structured but dependent on how her body feels:

(Linda) I have slaved away in my time, so now I've said that my body has to be allowed to decide on its own. Because of this, it can vary when I get up, like today, when it was very early, but most of the time it's half past eight and then breakfast takes me a couple of hours, writing in my diary and reading the newspaper.

This picture of a body deciding on its own seems to be in stark contrast with the way she is constantly administering and managing her body, and in particular regulating the relationship between her brain and her body. It nonetheless presents the way in which she is trying to obtain a balance between her brain, body and self, although this period of listening is constrained to specific periods of time as well as situations.

Linda's regime relates to almost all aspects of life, and the following quotation illustrates this point quite well:

(Linda) I can't have too much liquorice, so I've put a quota on that. If there's liquorice in the house, I can have two a day. I hold on to such things, but otherwise I try to get all the way around in terms of food. I also bake my own bread, but that's because I want my hand to get moving. It's a good thing for it to do some work.

Everything seems as if it's placed within a certain rationale that portrays a sense of control. These concepts of disciplinary regimes and control, allowing one to feel in control of one's body, are well studied within medical anthropology (Scheper-Hughes & Lock 1987). However, one could argue that the case of Linda presents how a disciplinary regime may also be a matter of controlling and sustaining a balance between the brain, the body, and the self. In this disciplinary process, no attempt is made to resolve the separation between the different parts; rather the parts are increasingly fixed as specific entities hopefully being able to work together. At the same time, one could argue that the degrees of separation go even further, as the regimes also relate to specific body parts, and not just her body as an entity e.g. her hand. She initiates regimes that go beyond her selfhood – to control her selfhood and simultaneously her brain. These regimes are what one could call "regimes of the future self", and thus not as autonomous as one might think them to be.

Linda is not only presented with an Other, being her brain, but is, through the regimes, confronted with three different Others: her brain her self, and her body. These are Others that she controls partly by listening to their demands, but for the most part by subjecting them to a disciplinary regime.

Conclusion – Me, My Self, and My Brain

This article has explored the way in which the brain may be located as an Other by analysing the ways that the informants presented in the article are struggling with the appearance and management of their brain after stroke. All of the informants are acutely aware that there is something wrong with their brain, or their spouses' brain. From a phenomenological point of view, their brain has come to appear as an organic entity in and of itself. However, this appearance is different from the appearance of another part of the body, in that the brain is conceived as an extraordinarily central part of selfhood. In most cases, this is reflected in my informants' ways of distrusting their brain, while simultaneously having to rely on it. I argue that the brain may present itself as an Other, not only through its appearance but through its opposition to selfhood and constantly posed threat of robbing one of selfhood. Thus a construction of a sense of selfhood that is not defined by the brain is increasingly important for the stroke survivors as well as their spouses.

This is seen in how the role of the brain is inherently tied to it becoming separate from the self, as the unification of the brain with the self threatens to collapse the boundaries between self and Other – the brain, though it is a part of me, is also not me. In the same way as conjoined twins are forced to construct their personhood individually, the appearing brain is that which has to be separated from the equation in order for there to be order to the notion of selfhood.

Just as the empirical analyses gain from the psychoanalytical concept of the Other, they also add to this notion by showing the integrative potentials of the Other, as in the case of Mr and Mrs Jensen, and the use of the Other to obtain a certain goal as in the case of Karen. With Karen the Other is a figure that confirms her experience of illness, essentially making it a disease, and

with Mr and Mrs Jensen the Other is a figure constructed to manage the "true" Other, i.e. the Real. The Other always exists; it all depends on where you find it.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Tine Damsholt, MSO, Associate Professor Mark Vacher and the late Associate Professor Lene Otto for their support and assistance in developing the manuscript for this article.

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Interview. Date: 24 May 2011

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Lady Långdistans, Ladylufsen and Kvinnor Kan

Ethnological Perspectives on the Rise of Women-Only Sports Races in Sweden

By Karin Lindelöf

How, when and why were special recreational sports races for women, such as Tjejmilen (running) and Tjejvasan (cross-country skiing), established in Sweden? Today, hundreds of thousands of women take part in such women-only races every year, but what conditions in society triggered the need for these races and what arguments were used as motivation? Who were the actors involved in these enterprises and how were these initiatives received by people who were interested in physical training, by the organizers of other races, and by media and society in general? How have the women-only races affected gender relations, the recreational sports movement, and the possible ways to be a woman and to engage in physical exercise? In this article, these questions will be studied through examples from Lady Långdistans and Ladylufsen (Lady Long-distance and Lady Tramp); the former organized training courses in running for women, at the beginning of the 1980s, and the latter was the first women-only race in Sweden, starting in 1982. The purpose here is to provide a longer perspective on Swedish women's races of today.[1]

Theory and Method

The theoretical platform for this article is poststructuralist and feminist, with feminist and intersectional discourse analysis as a basic perspective, and method, in our ambition to study the cultural significance and conditions of recreation sports for women (Butler 1990; Mouffe 1995; Fraser 2003). The approach to history is genealogical (Beronius 1991; Foucault 1979; Grosz 1999; Rabinow 1991), which enables a rereading of the customary history in which women's races are highlighted as the logical outcome of a linear, natural and sensible development. How has the view we have today of women's sports and women-only races been formed during the course of time? The genealogical method leads us to find out what events, actions, ideas and conflicts – some forgotten or intentionally silenced and some emphasized and made symbolically important – have turned the women's races into what they are today. On the one hand, they are regarded as clearly commendable social occurrences with positive effects, for example, on public health. On the other hand, they could be seen as problematic, since they risk reducing women's sports to leisure events without any expectations of achievement. The basic questions in this article ultimately aim to connect the past with the present: to write the history of our present day (Beronius 1991: 50).

The main empirical data for the article consists of interviews with three pioneers within Swedish women-only sports races, who were "key persons" in Lady Långdistans and Ladylufsen, and the archives of Lady Långdistans that one of the interviewees provided me with. These archives encompass minutes of meetings, invitations to courses, schedules for and reports from the courses, lists of participants, letters from Lady Långdistans and Ladylufsen to sports associations, cuttings from newspapers about the courses and races, along with letters and postcards from course participants and other women who were interested in physical training and wanted to establish contact with the organizers. The interviews have been transcribed, and the transcripts have been read together with the archive materials in or-

der to reconstruct *one* (not *the*) version of the history of the early women-only races and running groups in Sweden, but also to find out what kinds of conditions set the scene for these activities. The interview material and the newspaper cuttings speak interestingly to each other, even though almost thirty years have passed between them, as the newspaper articles are filled with quotations from the organizers – i.e., the women that I now have interviewed.

In addition I have used some other mass media sources from the Swedish context, and have interviewed one woman who participated in the classical cross-country ski race Vasaloppet "under cover", during the time when this was forbidden ground for women; this is also an important part of the history of women-only races in Sweden. In order to relate the Swedish women's races to an international context, I have used some website materials from the USA. This article constitutes a first delve into this material and my ambition is to sketch out and illuminate some important aspects of how Swedish women's races were established and developed. The article is also an attempt to add a new piece of knowledge to the history of the women's movement and emancipation in Sweden, a specific narrative of female bodily emancipation from the 1980s that has not yet been written.

There are certain aspects that must be taken into account regarding the choice of theory and empirical materials. First, the theoretical perspectives used in this article operate on an overall *macro* level, while the interviews and some of the archive materials are located on an everyday *micro* level, and the press materials are somewhere in-between, representing public debate and discourse in Swedish society at the time. However, a general strength of ethnological research and analysis is that we can transform knowledge from the macro level of philosophical concepts and overall cultural patterns, to everyday cultural practices and meanings of discursive acts and signs on a very detailed level, and back again. Through these analytical operations it is possible to establish connections between the different levels – seeing the small in the big and the big in the small (Ehn & Löfgren 2001). This is also the case in this study. The feminist poststructuralist thinking of Butler, Mouffe and Fraser is here used directly on the micro level to discover performative and heteronormative gender acts, intersecting axes of power and identity, as well as discursive struggles of meaning and "the right way to be a woman and do running". The genealogical approach, on the other hand, is in this article more of an overall perspective that sets the framework for what kinds of actions and interruptions are considered important for the emergence of women's races in the Swedish context.

Background; the Boston Incident and the New York Mini 10K

The New York Mini 10K, which started in 1972, is usually considered as the world's first women-only race. The background to the race was the ban at the time on women participants in long-distance races, particularly marathons. More specifically, it was the result of an event in 1967 that has been called "the Boston incident". The runner Kathrine Switzer ran the venerated Boston marathon, but a male official of the race – the race manager himself – discovered her after a while and tried to pull

her off the track (Kathrine Switzer's website). In 1972, the Boston marathon was opened for women; in the same year, Kathrine Switzer was an initiator of the New York Mini, which became a manifestation for the right of women to perform in running events (New York Mini's website). This race then became an example for women-only races all over the world, in Sweden and other countries. Here, the Finnish-born cross-country skier, cyclist and long-distance runner, Meeri Bodelid, after having participated in one of the races in the American women's series in Boston in 1981, started the idea of road races and jogging events for women only:

> Some 7,500 women took part from start to finish. I had never heard of anything like it before. There were just as many people as there were in the Stockholm marathon the same year and that was … a great crowd. I sat there on the grass after the event, the race, and thought "we must do this, we must have this in Sweden too!" (Interview with Meeri Bodelid, 31 May 2011).

No sooner said than done; Bodelid went home and started to propagate for races and running events open only for women.

> I have always been an eager kind of person and when I have decided to do something, I want it to happen just *like this* (snapping her fingers). But this time, it wasn't that easy… (Interview with Meeri Bodelid, 31 May 2011).

Even if Bodelid initially experienced a certain degree of slowness, within a few years several Swedish women's races started up; amongst others, Ladylufsen in 1982 (Karlstad), Tjejmilen in 1984 (Stockholm) and Maja Gräddnos-loppet in 1985 (Uppsala). Jogging and exercising was a strong trend in society, as it is today. The Stockholm Marathon had started in 1979 and long-distance races, even marathons, were organized in many towns all over Sweden. Books and magazines about long-distance running were published on a broader market and many running or athletics clubs were growing, as new members were recruited. At this moment, the phenomenon of *föreningslivet,* the widespread culture of joining associations, organizations and clubs for all kinds of activities, which had been growing in Sweden during the 1900s, was still strong within the sports movement (cf. Lindroth & Norberg 2002).

In the 1980s, women were also organizing themselves around many different kinds of activities, partly inspired by the sisterhood of the women's movement, but not necessarily under the banner of feminism (cf. Hedlund-Ruth 1985; Eduards 2002). In contrast to the 1970s' collectivism, the 1980s was becoming the time of the individualist, the entrepreneur, the businesswoman. One example is the establishment of the women's organization Kvinnor Kan (Women can do it) in 1982 and the first Kvinnor Kan exhibition in Gothenburg in 1984 (Kvinnor Kan's website). Another is Ruter Dam (Queen of Diamonds), a business network and a leadership and mentor programme for female business leaders, established in 1987 (Ruter Dam's website). The women-only running events can be interpreted as another example of the same kind; women doing things together, acting for their own sake, in fields (such as business, long-distance running, etc.) that until recently had been all-male arenas.

Although no incidents in Swedish running events have been given so much attention or triggered action in the same way as "the Boston incident", similar things

have occurred in Sweden too. The most noticed cases were in the national skiing feat, the Vasaloppet, in which women were not permitted to take part during the years 1924−1980. In one case in 1968, ten women did the race by starting an hour earlier, just beyond the start area, so as not to be discovered. They were harassed in various ways along the track by certain (but by no means all) male skiers and officials, who did not think that "damn women" had any business to be in the tracks. However, many other officials (especially women) served them blueberry soup and other refreshments along the way (Interview with one of the ten women, anonymous, 25 August 2011). The event was widely noticed in the press, with pictures of a young female skier who was lifted off the track (*Bild-Expressen*, 4 March 1968). One of the women who took part told me:

> It was not until we came to Mora that they were able to lift us off the track, where there were fences along the track and such like. At least they could carry our skis over the finishing line, otherwise we would have put them on again and carried on (Interview with one of the ten women, anonymous, 25 August 2011).

Other well-known cases during the 1970s were women who participated in the Vasaloppet, passing as men, with or without a false beard (SVT Play's website). In all these cases from the 1960s and 1970s, the actions of the women involved can be interpreted as meaning that they were "misrepeating" the prescribed gender script, while performing female gender in a non-expected (and in this case even officially forbidden) way. According to Judith Butler, the repetition of certain stylized gender acts (within a heterosexual matrix where men and women are imagined to be "opposite sexes", desiring each other), is the basis of construction of comprehensible genders (Butler 1990). Here the women skiers (as well as the runner Switzer) were challenging the norms both of women and of Vasaloppet skiers (or marathon runners), simply by misrepeating, and misbehaving. In this way they were also suggesting other possibilities which *could* (and eventually actually *did*) lead to changes of participant rules, norms about gender as well as about participants and ideas about which actors that could be comprehensible at all in the context of Vasaloppet, and other similar endeavours.

Meeri Bodelid's impression when she saw all the women after the race in Boston in 1981 can also be interpreted in accordance with this. Suddenly thousands of women were acting in a way that was (at least to her) non-expected. There and then was a massive, collective – and to Bodelid herself *new* – repetition of the way to be a female long-distance runner. This was a new setting that was both attractive and appealing for her and opened up new discursive possibilities for action.

Lady Långdistans: Courses in Running, for Women by Women

In July 1983, four female long-distance runners gathered in Meeri Bodelid's home in Delsbo, Hälsingland (Interview with Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson, 10 October 2011). Apart from the hostess, these were Siv Pettersson, active in the Swedish Marathon Society and one of the earliest female marathon runners in Sweden; Ann-Katrin Walstam, diet specialist and columnist in the running magazine *Springtime*; Rose-Marie Östberg, econo-

mist. They all belonged to the elite of Swedish long-distance runners. Together, they drew up a scheme for the first running courses for women, under the name of "Lady Långdistans" (Lady Long-distance). The first course took place at the development centre of Riksidrottsförbundet (The Swedish Sports Confederation) on Bosön outside Stockholm, 11−13 November of the same year (Minutes from meeting at Delsbo 18−19 July 1983, Archive of Lady Långdistans). The course was aimed at female long-distance runners on all levels, attracting about thirty participants from the whole country, from recreational joggers to elite runners. The days of the course were filled with running, strength training, water workout, lectures on diet, training schemes, stretching and injury prevention, along with discussions, meals and general socializing. Those who wanted could take part in Stockholm's Winter Marathon or 14 K race – with a follow-up discussion in the sauna on Bosön (Invitation to course in basics of long-distance running for women 11−13 November 1983, Archive of Lady Långdistans).

The course was regarded as a success by the organizers and it was decided that two courses a year should be held henceforth, a basic course and a continuation course. The next course was planned for the beginning of May the following year, and was to be held in Dalarna. However, the place was changed to Hindås near Gothenburg, because the first Kvinnor Kan (Women can do it) exhibition was arranged in Gothenburg the same weekend (3−6 May, 1984). At the same time, one part of the race series Ladylufsen, which some of the organizers were also involved in, was to be carried out there. "Of course we will appear in this context, to show who we are and that we love to run" was the wording of the invitation that was sent to earlier participants and others who might be interested (Invitation to continuation course for female long-distance runners, 4−6 May 1984, Archive of Lady Långdistans). Through the lens of feminist discourse theory, this statement, as well as the actual presence at the Kvinnor Kan exhibition, can be interpreted as a way of constituting a space for women runners, a possible subject position and identity as woman *and* long-distance runner.

At this stage, cooperation with sponsors had also been initiated on a small scale with the shoe company Leijon. Furthermore, media had started to take notice, largely because of the renowned organizers, led by Meeri Bodelid. After an article in the periodical *ICA-Kuriren*, in August 1984, women from the whole country got in touch with the foursome, wanting more information about the courses and asking about training groups in their own home towns (*ICA-Kuriren,* 2 August 1984). The contents of postcards and letters from many of these women show that an identity as a long-distance runner was slowly taking shape as a possibility in their minds and actions: the women wrote about quitting smoking and starting jogging, as well as of taking their running to a higher level, preferably in the company of others.

The third course held by Lady Långdistans took place at Skålsjögården in Hälsingland, less than a year after the first course at Bosön. The local press were enthusiastic about the event "that attracted 34 participants from Kiruna in the north to

Lady Långdistans, the four course organizers are running in front. Newspaper cutting from *ICA-Kuriren*, 2 August 1984.

Skövde in the south", arranged "on their own initiative, entirely without subsidy" (*Ljusdals-Posten,* 5 November 1984). The point is emphasized that "the women on the course are not only elite runners but also runners who […] are simply aiming to get better". Further, they mention that "to be a woman and sportsperson is not always easy" (*Ljusnan,* 5 November 1984). According to the newspaper cuttings, the view of the organizers is that courses of this kind are needed for sporting women to be able to exchange experiences with each other and not always be in minority. For instance, Ann-Katrin Walstam is cited, saying "We discuss how women can make themselves heard and hold their own in a sporting Sweden dominated by men" and "as long as girls do not have the courage to apply to ordinary courses, these courses with only women participants are needed" (*Ljusnan* and *Ljusdals-Posten,* 5 November 1984). The organizers of Lady Långdistans were here performing something else, creating their own spaces, and thereby clearly challenging the male sports norms and the various dimensions of how women are usually excluded from sports (Davis & Weaving 2010).

The local press wrote about the insub-

stantial support and lack of backing from the official sports associations in Sweden, which was experienced by the organizers, also mentioning how much of the work they did themselves. They received no money from Riksidrottsförbundet, there was no association or club to back them up and the participants paid all the costs themselves. "The only support we had was a small contribution from a shoe manufacturer, but that only covered postage and telephone calls." The organizers held lectures themselves, based on their own knowledge and experience of elite sports, diet issues and teaching in physical education (*Ljusdals-Posten,* 5 November 1984). The do-it-yourself attitude is emphasized in the articles and depicted in a slightly hearty way, writing about how the "girls" (even though several of them were 35 years of age and upwards) were doing this on their own. For example, *Ljusdals-Posten* wrote that one of the organizers of the Skålsjö course, Eva Jansons, "taught her friends how to become strong and supple". Moreover, they are described as cheerful and open to advice from various experts; "it is rewarding to work with girls", as an invited male lecturer expressed himself concerning the first course on Bosön (*Jogging*, (no date) 1983).

Such infantilization and trivialization of female athletes is a well-known and well-documented pattern (see e.g. Tolvhed 2008; Messner 1994; Dowling 2002). Research on sporting women also shows that they have almost always been represented as problematic; either they are not regarded as "proper" women or else their sporting is not considered as "real" sports (cf. Young, 2010 [1979]; Cahn, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994). The organizers of the Lady Långdistans courses are to some degree presented as a group of clever and plucky schoolgirls, who arrange their own leisure activities with naïve enthusiasm. Looking through Lady Långdistans's archives, however, it is clear that the organizers were thoroughly competent; moreover, that they had a far-reaching network of contacts in the sports movement.

> We had a remarkably substantial programme for the course […]. But we were clean-cut idealists. We did this for our own sake and because it was great fun for us girls to get together (Interview with Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson, 10 October 2011).

The word "girl" ("*tjej*" in Swedish) is a central point here; it puts a finger on the connection to youthfulness and playfulness as a way to make women's sports understandable, also when referring to adult women (cf. Tolvhed 2011). Linguistic research also show that *tjej*" has strong connections both to the context of sport and to other active, action-oriented, and to some extent masculine, arenas. It is also a term that girls and women often use to refer to themselves (Magnusson 2013). During the 1980s the connection to sport was especially strong, while later materials (newspaper corpuses in Magnusson's case) show a more widespread use. In relation to the women-only sports events studied here, it is also obvious that *tjej*" is more related to context, activity and to some extent identity, rather than to a certain age (Lindelöf 2013). Later in this article I will come back to this word, as *tjej* through the years has become the most common term for naming women-only sports events. However, initially the term *lady* was also popular, as we have

seen in Lady Långdistans and Ladylufsen.

Ladylufsen: Sweden's First Women-only Running Event

In 1982, the first Swedish book for women about running was published; this was Britt-Marie Nordquist's *Kom loss tjejer! Joggningsråd för kvinnor i alla åldrar* (Get a move on, girls: Advice on jogging for women of all ages) (Nordquist 1982). In the same year, Britt-Marie Nordquist, who was more of an enthusiastic jogger than an elite runner, was one of the organizers of the first Ladylufsen, a ten-kilometre running event for women, arranged in Skåre near Karlstad. Around 60 participants joined in. Meeri Bodelid, who was setting things going to start up women-only races in Sweden, caught on to this initiative together with her running mates. Already in the following year, the race had grown to 500 participants. In 1984, it was carried out in several places in Sweden, for instance, in connection with the Kvinnor Kan exhibition in Gothenburg. The finals in Karlstad then attracted a thousand participants. Bodelid tells the story:

> But we had very few sponsors, and [that is needed] if you want to organize something, I mean, we could have had a great breakthrough. We talked to the Stockholm Marathon, but they said "No, no, girls are not worth investing in. Nobody will come, the girls won't run if there are only girls, no it won't work" […] But then they started [Tjejmilen] themselves later. They didn't want to join in on the Ladylufsen series; that is understandable today. […] They arranged Vårruset later too and now that has expanded tremendously. However, the idea of having it at several places throughout Sweden, that actually did come from the four of us. […] In its day, there were thousands of runners there [at the Ladylufsen race in Karlstad], in Sandviken when it was at its best, 1,500 started, and in Borås we had over 1,500−2,000 participants (Interview with Meeri Bodelid, 31 May 2011).

In this quotation, there is a large degree of criticism towards the established organizers of running events, i.e. Stockholm Marathon. This can actually be interpreted as an accusation of having "stolen" or appropriated the idea of women-only races, race series etc. At the same time, there is ambivalence in Bodelid's statement, as the initial, more idealistic goal of having more women running has been achieved through the giant success of Tjejmilen and Vårruset.

Unfortunately, only a few years after the start of Ladylufsen, problems arose. Disney objected to the name, which is similar to the Swedish translation of the film *Lady and the Tramp* (Lady och Lufsen), even if the name really referred to the long tramp involved in the race. The race thus had to change its name (in Karlstad it was named Ladylunken, "The Lady Plod", until 2006, the last year it was held), and slowly the whole business petered out. However, in the middle of the 1980s, several other women's races had started, the trend spreading to other sports too; the skiing race Tjejvasan started in 1988 and the bicycle race Tjejvättern was introduced in 1991. "It is wonderful that Vårruset and Tjejmilen have grown into such large events, with over one hundred thousand women joining in," Bodelid concludes (Interview with Meeri Bodelid, 31 May 2011). The idealistic approach that characterized the original initiative seems to have stayed with her, even though commercial forces, such as Stockholm Marathon, which is now a wealthy company organizing many races, obviously have taken over the events themselves. It is also

obvious that the very low expectations of the interest in women-only races, that e.g. Stockholm Marathon initially expressed to the Ladylufsen organizers, has changed over time – partly because of the actions of women themselves.

It is also interesting to note how the first women-only races were described in the media, compared with today. The public "naming" of the events and the words and pictures used to describe them are important parts of constituting the races and their participants (cf. Butler 1990). Just as the *actions* of organizers and participants are part of the discursive field of power within which the races and the racing women are created and understood, so are the *descriptions* of them. Going through newspaper cuttings from the first years of Ladylufsen, one finds reports covering a wide spectrum of the participants – recreational joggers as well as the elite. There are formulations like "party-time for the girls" that are similar to those of the women's races of today, for instance, Vårruset (Lindelöf 2013). However, more serious words such as "elite runners competing" are also used, as are terms such as "sports-for-all-races" and "fitness races". It is important that these include achievement, exercise *and* recreation – not just the social, recreational aspects that are so common in media reports from contemporary women's races. The early women's races in Sweden, as well as the participants, thus seem to have been constructed as (potentially) more serious in the public discourse than is often the case today.

The newspaper *Nya Wermlandstidningen* wrote "an impressive display of Swedish women's sports" and *Ljusnan* compared Ladylufsen to "a national championship for women". The competitive features of the races, particularly the team competitions, appear to have been an important part of the success. Temporary teams of ten persons could be assembled for this race (since it was considered difficult to gather so many women runners from the same running association). This promoted such constellations as the elite team of "Meeri's Mix", including the organizers of the Lady Långdistans courses and others. Other teams were amateur teams with names like "It is possible". In the latter case, a woman who had previously only been jogging at the most 3 kilometres had gathered her friends and relatives to do the race together (*Nya Wermlandstidningen*, 26 September 1983).

Here we see similarities as well as differences in comparison with the kind of prompting seen today to enter the races as a team, for instance, in the form of a "Tjejmilen quartet", with the possibility of winning lottery prizes such as a start ticket for the New York Mini 10 K (Tjejmilen's website). Vårruset can be entered as a "picnic team" of six persons, which is an entirely social arrangement (Vårruset's website). Friendliness and the emphasis on companionship and enjoyment were prominent already in Ladylufsen, but in this race, there was also a marked competitive aspect. The eight best results (of ten) of the team were counted, along with individual achievements. Even if the line-up for the race comprised the elite as well as ordinary joggers, no division of the race was made into competitive categories and non-competitive categories. Everybody participated according to their own ability and all were included in the list of results. The actual achievement was thus under-

stood as important for all participants – not only for the top runners. This seems to have been commonly left aside in contemporary women's races with emphasis on enjoyment, companionship and having a pleasant time. There were also finals in Ladylufsen, "for the best girls" as *Ljusdals-Posten* expressed it, even if the qualification largely was a case of having taken part in a certain number of races in the series. At the same time, however, qualities assumed to be typically feminine were accentuated in the newspaper articles, such as cheerfulness and playfulness – as well as a particular kind of stamina, of struggling on without concern for outer circumstances. *Nya Wermlandstidningen* writes:

> Girls are tough-minded. Even though Saturday provided foul autumn weather with rain and strong winds, most of the 558 girls who had registered for this year's Lady Lufsen in Skåre turned up for the start. There was certainly no sulkiness to be seen; on the contrary. The winning team, Meeri's Mix, danced around to Leif Eriksson's Trio, while they waited for the prize ceremony. In the pouring rain (*Nya Wermlandstidningen*, 26 September 1983).

It is worth noting that the names of these events were so clearly gendered from the start, *Lady* Långdistans, *Lady*lufsen and *Tjej*milen (The girls' 10K). Naturally, this was a simple and efficient way of marketing the event and catching the interest of the group they were aimed at. Nevertheless, from a feminist discourse-analytical point of view, the prefix also marks that it is a *particular* event, *deviating from the norm* – in this case, a running and sports norm that was essentially defined by men. "Ladies" and "girls" in these contexts gives the same kind of connotations as ladies' football and ladies' ice hockey, as in the Swedish terms *damfotboll* and *Damkronorna*" (the Swedish national ice hockey team). That is to say, it signals that this is something that may not be as good, interesting, serious or important as the "real" sports (read male or male-coded equivalent).

The words "tramp" (as in Ladylufsen) and "plod" (as in Ladylunken) also indicate a lower ambition and level of achievement than e.g. "race" or "run". Consequently, there is a risk that women's activities are played down, in the same way as they have been many times throughout history (cf. Hirdman 1988, 2001). This is still a risk today, particularly concerning the shorter versions of races that are specifically for women, for instance, the relation between the series of races in different disciplines (running, cycling, skiing, swimming) called "The Swedish Classic" and the "Women's Classic". The latter series is only one third of the distance of the former (En svensk klassiker's website). With Nancy Fraser's terminology this can be understood as a consequence of the lack of *status* and *recognition* that ascribes to women, being socially subordinated to men and denied full and equal participation in society (Fraser 2003). The women-only races, designed as shorter and on a lower level of ambition, thus indicate the level of participation in sports that are within reach of women (in general).

Moreover, the terms *lady* and *tjej* both signal something which is *not* threatening to the male norm and patriarchal society. Even if the *actions* themselves, such as arranging and participating in these races, courses and events, have the potential of pushing the limits of what can be understood as a woman – or a runner, skier,

cyclist, et cetera (and in a historical perspective indeed have), these terms tend *not* to challenge the sexist and heteronormative structures, neither within sports nor in society at large, but rather risk strengthening them. The right way of being a woman and doing running, i.e. within the women-only races, thus parallels other social events termed as *tjej* something: girlfriend dinners, girls' nights out, girls' weekends, and so on, which are phenomena that seem to be a female *parenthesis* neatly fitting within patriarchal structures and the heterosexual matrix, but *not* questioning them (cf. Butler 1990).

Women Can Do It (Kvinnor Kan) – and Want To

In the news reports from Lady Långdistans and Ladylufsen, there were also many formulations of the kind "the new women's movement" (e.g. in *Springtime*, (no date) 1983 and in *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 5 May 1984). Indeed, this is the writers' and headliners' play on words – about women's running as women's movement. Nevertheless, the organizers as well as participants and journalists articulated the running courses and races as an emancipation and equality project (albeit safely situated within a heteronormative context). The newspaper *Hälsinge-Kuriren* cites the organizers:

> Our idea was that girls should meet, they should train together and feel how nice it is to get into the sauna after the running. […] Imagine seeing so many girls feeling so thoroughly healthy. It is a shame that more girls have not discovered the great fun of running. […]. women have no sporting traditions. Men have always been able to play tennis or go out for a run in the forest with their friends. But women always had to look after the household and children. These things are slowly changing. We hope that these girls will pass this on to others and talk to other women, etc. […] Girls like us do not follow the example of men but of other women. We want to read about strong sportswomen. They are not given the attention they deserve. Sporting young girls should have someone to look up to; they need something more than pop stars (*Hälsinge-Kuriren*, 7 November 1984).

The female sports journalist also adds:

> You men who do not want to be overtaken by a woman in the running track had either better change attitude, and quickly. Or start training like never before. Now the girls will be coming along like lightning. Today's daddies will just have to get used to looking after the children when it is time for mummy's training. And when she is in a race, just take the children by the hand and get out into the forest to cheer mum along… (*Hälsinge-Kuriren*, 7 November 1984).

In connection with the Kvinnor Kan exhibition, a good deal was also written about the Hindås course and Ladylufsen. "Women can do running, if everybody did not already know," *Göteborgs-Posten* wrote on their sports pages under the headline "The Kvinnor Kan exhibition" (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 5 May 1984). Lady Långdistans's invitation to the Hindås course stated its ambition to be visible at the exhibition, which was on the theme of "what women can do and want to do, today and tomorrow"(Invitation to continuation course for female long-distance runners, 4−6 May 1984 and Leaflet/invitation to Kvinnor Kan, and idea and business exhibition 3−6 May, 1984. Archive of Lady Långdistans). Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson also tell me, "We were there at the women's exhibition in Gothenburg" (Interview with Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson, 10 October 2011). Participating in this action-oriented

and practical concept, focusing more on *doing* than speaking, probably suited the athletes in the Lady Långdistans group perfectly.

Moreover, many of the statements concerning Lady Långdistans in the press illuminate inequalities in sports, showing that women, at the time, did not have the same possibilities of creating a sporting tradition and did not have the opportunities to exercise and keep up training on the same terms as men. According to the organizers, women's awareness and self-confidence needed a boost in sports contexts. One of the participants of the Bosön course said that the "sporting trend was the best thing that had happened for the women" (*Springtime*, (no date) 1983). *Göteborgs-Tidningen* writes "This is simply a new movement that is developing. More and more women are doing long-distance running and need education, they need to meet" (*Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 5 May 1984).

All the letters and postcards sent to Lady Långdistans after the article in *ICA-Kuriren* show that the enterprise was significant and long sought after by many women. The letters came from women who were interested in running, young and old, experienced and inexperienced from the whole country (The archives of Lady Långdistans). The fact that it was an arrangement specifically for women is also emphasized. In the wording of the organizers of Lady Långdistans, "We cannot – yet – manage to arrange something together with the boys."

> We felt that we need to meet. Girls like us, who do sports, often do it on our own – it is easier for the men. They gather together naturally and then sort themselves into groups according to their level of training. It does not work like that for us. Almost all of us do our training alone. But we are putting an end to that now (*Hälsinglands Tidning*, 6 November 1984).

However, the association with the women's liberation movement seems to have been somewhat problematic for the organizers. In the interview, Ann-Katrin Walstam comments on the heading "The new women's liberation movement" in *Springtime* in the following way.

> I was a bit niggled by that heading, because I did not consider it as liberation. But in a way it was. And it was a way to increase the number of women interested in running (Interview with Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson, 10 October 2011).

In several newspaper articles, this is clearly expressed, "it was not at all our purpose to start a new women's liberation movement" and "we haven't anything to do with feminists or redstockings" (*Borås Tidning*, 5 May 1984; *Göteborgs-Posten*, 5 May 1984). Why was this so important to mention? At the same time, they were obviously trying to carry out a real change, making things better for sporting women. Was it a sign of the times, implying that feminism was so completely "out" in public discourse and debate during the 1980s? Or was it because of something else? One interpretation is that it was necessary for these women to keep on good terms with the rest of the sports movement, possibly also with sponsors and other important connections, which were all entirely dominated by men. It would not have been possible, given the conditions at hand, to do anything whatsoever if any criticism of these contexts was uttered openly from a feminist perspective. Instead they had to perform respectable,

comprehensible femininities, although athletic ones, which would not reveal the intersecting axes of power at play.

Another possible interpretation is that these specialized sportswomen were simply not *aware* of the corresponding patterns between sports or long-distance running and many other social contexts. Perhaps they were not aware that they might have benefited from exchange with other kinds of women's movements. In the interviews, when I have asked whether Lady Långdistans could be regarded as a feminist project, the interviewees have said that this was not anything they had reflected on at the time. In any case, their contemporaries regarded the new women's races and running courses as a manifestation for all levels of women's sports. *Nya Wermlandstidningen*, co-organizer of the second Ladylufsen race in Skåre, 1983, wrote:

> This is a triumph, not only for the organizers, but also for the girls. On the day when Lady Lufsen is run-walked-or-plodded, well, then it is the men's turn to hold on to the clothes and little children's hands. Go for it, Mum… (*Nya Wermlandstidningen*, 26 September 1983).

In descriptions and statements like this, it is clear that the women's races create the opportunity – time, space, and motivation – for women to take exercise, to train, and to compete. Women's races can then be seen as "a room of one's own", to speak in the terms of Virginia Woolf (1929). This room can of course be empowering in many ways – but perhaps not always. The development of women's races in Sweden can also be seen as in some ways *confirming* a masculine sports norm; making the participants feel that they are in some way *limited* to these arrangements, instead of taking part in the mixed-gender races with higher status and a greater focus on achievement and results. Also, as always, gender must be studied with reference to the interaction with other categories such as race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, etc. (Mouffe 1995). What kinds of women were actually included in the early women's races and running courses (or today)? White, middle/working-class, young/middle-aged women with a (presumed) heterosexual lifestyle are visible throughout the historical material, while e.g. black, lesbian, old women are not. Also today, much of the same pattern is visible, especially regarding class and whiteness in relation to cycling and skiing. The liberating and incorporating potential is thus just one side of the women's races – they also have a limiting, norm-setting and excluding capacity (cf. Bordo 2004).

Why Arrange Races and Events Only for Women? Why Then? Why Now?

So, it is time to return to the questions asked in the introduction of this article: How, when and why were women-only races established in Sweden? What conditions in society triggered the need for these races? Who were the actors involved and how were the initiatives received? And how have the women-only races affected gender relations, the recreational sports movement, and the possible ways to be a woman and to do physical exercises? One part of the answer is that the widespread trend of jogging and running in the early 1980s corresponded in time with the general exhortations of the day in favour of personal development and self-improvement. Another side was that

the second wave of the women's movement had provided positive experience of organizing separate events for women, at the same time as feminism had started to become an impossible concept (cf. Hedlund-Ruth 1985; Wikander 1999; Faludi 1993). Kvinnor Kan and Ruter Dam were two examples of women's entrepreneur and business networks established during this period, and sports and exercise networks and events can be understood as part of the same phenomenon.

Simultaneously, dedicated sports women such as the elite runner Meeri Bodelid and the recreational runner Britt-Marie Nordquist had an idealistic aim to promote and spread long-distance running amongst women. They saw a situation where running, like many other sports, was still a domain of men that women to a large extent were excluded from. They wanted to create a physical space and a social context for women to take part in this activity, to *create themselves as active running subjects*, to speak in poststructuralist terms. Furthermore, there was financial incentive for the organizers of, for example, Stockholm Marathon and Vasaloppet, to increase the numbers of women participants. Thus, there were aspects of *both* idealism *and* commercialism involved in the establishment of these new events and activities, and perhaps the combination of the two contributed to their success.

However, during the 1990s the women-only races slowly became routine, as the general interest in running had cooled off in favour of other activities. Around the turn of the century, many of the smaller races, which depended more heavily on idealistic initiatives, could no longer be arranged. In some cases, the local races such as Maja Gräddnos-loppet and Ladylunken were superseded by the gigantic Vårruset, which had advanced along with Tjejmilen, Tjejvasan (skiing) and Tjejvättern (cycling). Today, all kinds of races (competition as well as recreation) in endurance sports such as running, cycling, skiing, and so on, are extremely popular, and for the most popular ones the starting lists are fully signed in record time. This also affects the women-only races, which have been experiencing a renaissance during the 2010s, also with some new races starting up.

There is also another interesting development happening now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Similar initiatives to that of the Lady Långdistans group have started to appear in various contexts. Some of them are primarily on a recreational level: Training groups and women-only training camps and courses in running, cycling, skiing, etc. But others are competitively oriented and serious arrangements for women who want to achieve results (on different levels depending on their ability); these are not primarily social events. One example is the bicycle enterprise Team SubXX, the fastest ever women's bunch in the Vätternrundan (300 K cycling around Sweden's second largest lake, Vättern). A broader network is Biking Girls! (Cyklande Tjejer!), which is on Facebook and has thousands of members on all levels, both elite and recreational cyclists. They organize training camps and ride in groups in various cycling events and races. Another is the Bike Academy, who arranges mountain bike courses for women.

All these organizations have the pro-

Tjejmilen today. Photo: Karolina Kristensson, Nordiska museet.

nounced aim of getting more women to find their way to cycling (see SubXX's and Bike Academy's websites, Cyklande Tjejer! on Facebook, and Robin 2012). Even though gender is partly still included in the names of the organizations, as in Biking Girls! and "XX" in Team SubXX, a move away from the clear statement of gender can be discerned; for example, in the name Bike Academy, in which women are not marked out as an exception but instead constitute the norm, *without being labelled*. These women might participate in the women-only races as a tune-up in preparation for longer mixed races. They may be taking part *despite* the fact that it is a women-only race (with all that means in the form of male speakers and entertainers, pink t-shirts, charity and a goodie-bag), not necessarily *because* of it. In these cases, women organize themselves separately in order to take part in mixed races, where the achievements are noticed and counted. The women-only races have lost much of the achievement aspect that was part of Ladylufsen during the first half of the 1980s. Even if both Tjejmilen and Tjejvasan have a competitive category, the organizers are not primarily oriented towards the elite; these events are more for wider groups of women.

What kind of a purpose do, or did, women's races serve – today and in the 1980s? What was – and is – the attraction of races only for women? Ann-Katrin Walstam answers:

Well, I think it has to do with the sisterly companionship, *sisterhood*. If you think of those coming from afar to the Tjejmilen; they travel by bus

together, they have been training for a common cause. […] And I think it has something to do with the [women's races] being accommodating for *femininity* and *sisterhood*, actually (Interview with Ann-Katrin Walstam and Siv Pettersson, 10 October 2011).

Perhaps it is as simple as that. The women-only runs (and other kinds of women-only races) serve as celebrations of women as active sports subjects, joining in a common physical and social activity, occupying public place and space (cf. Fasting 1995). Just like other kinds of women's organization, they compose a possible way to individual and collective empowerment, defined from a specifically female horizon (cf. Eduards 2002). In this respect, the women-only sports events have a potential for liberation and creating a room of one's own, away from the masculine sports norm. This was needed in the 1980s and seems to be needed and appreciated still today. But, as mentioned above, these kinds of celebrations *also* have other political implications, as the women-only events (be it sports races, exhibitions, networks or girls' or ladies' dinners) easily can lose their emancipatory power and be transformed into a disarmed women's movement that does not threaten either the men or the social order. This is a complex point, both empirically and theoretically, that the entire project is circulating around and that will be discussed in more depth in forthcoming publications.

In addition, today "the right way of being a woman" implies a healthy lifestyle. Health has become a moral imperative, creating notions about what behaviours, attitudes and lifestyles are good/right or bad/wrong (Björklund 2008:195, cf. Lupton 1995). Personal responsibility for lifestyle and health is ascribed to the individual (Nettleton 1997); a healthy lifestyle is associated with happiness and self-fulfilment. We are committed to the "obligation" of keeping fit and taking care of our bodies and health through firm self-discipline (cf. Rose 1999; Nilsson 1998; Dworkin & Wachs 2009). Matters concerning the body, and women's experiences of their bodies in connection with training for sports events, are important issues that will be analysed in coming publications (cf. Young 2000; Dowling 2002; Redelius 1998). Finally, another relevant point is women who have a responsibility for a family and their possibilities to exercise and train as much as they would like to (Henderson 1995). The discussion in the newspapers, referred to in this article, of the jogging movement as liberating women from some of their family duties, and daddies who take their children out to cheer mummy along, is of course interesting from such a perspective.

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Notes

1 This article is based on research within the project *Women's Races as a Cultural Phenomenon: Conditions for Women's Exercising*. The project, which focuses on the races today and in the past, is carried out at the Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University, in collaboration with Nordiska Museet and the Swedish Sports Museum, with support from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences) and the Swedish National Centre for Research in Sports. A shorter ver-

sion of this article has previously been published in Swedish in *Idrott, historia och samhälle*, the annual for 2013 of Svenska Idrottshistoriska Föreningen.

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"Instead of Burning those Magazines, Maybe We Should Bring Them Home and Discuss Them with Our Husbands?"

The Feminist Magazine *Sirene*'s Critiques of the Politics of the Norwegian Organized Women's Movement

By Synnøve Lindtner

This article examines a feminist critique of the politics of the Norwegian Organized Women's Movement, through the debates in the feminist magazine *Sirene*.[1] In order to theorize the alternative political project promoted by *Sirene*, the necessity of redefining the disciplinary boundaries surrounding the field of feminist print media will be outlined. The context discussed is mainly Norwegian. *Sirene* contributors' unease with the politics of the Organized Women's Movement started out as a dislike of the unity line promoted by radical-socialist women's organizations, in particular the Women's Front (*Kvinnefronten*). Believing that the movement demanded obedience from women that would scare them away from the movement, the feminism voiced within *Sirene* stressed that a feminist magazine should provide for a public dialogue between "ordinary" women and men about their roles and lives. In order to contextualize *Sirene*'s contributors' unease with the politics of the Organized Women's Movement, the feminist arguments based on the concept of "women's interests" in underpinning appeals for radical reforms will be examined. The debates reveal a conflict among Norwegian second wave feminists that has had insufficient academic attention, between identity politics and politics of authenticity. Whereas the first project refers to a reformist concept of politics, the latter favours a definition of politics as originating outside the formal institutional sphere.

Producing Feminist Media History: Methodology and Context

The Norwegian feminist magazine *Sirene* (1973–1983) is one example of a wide range of feminist periodicals published in Western countries between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s that was imbued with the manifold ambition to discuss "the personal politics" of women's lives, and to offer a wider public of women what the gender historian Joan B. Landes has described "a public language for their private despair" (Landes 1998:3).[2] Even though *Sirene* gained national success when launched in 1973, and still is the most widely read feminist magazine in Norwegian history, it is striking that this extensive body of documents have existed for a long period in relative obscurity. A reason for this may be that the numerous feminist periodicals published in this period have been of interest primarily to researchers engaged in the field of feminist and gender history. Being entangled with the movement's internal ideological struggles, this field of research has had a tendency to frame feminism within narratives privileging the issues and agendas of the leading stratum of this movement, whereas projects and affiliations working at the margin of, or even upsetting these agendas often have been overlooked and sometimes distorted within existing narratives (Lindtner 2014).

Scholars dealing with the second wave feminist movement in Norway have often provided a narrative privileging an image of it as representing a development from a liberal, social reform-oriented movement to a more grassroots-based one. The movement has often been described as a move from "equality feminism" to a radical, anti-capitalist demand for changes in the social arrangements structuring both public and private life based on the political recognition of "women's privatized

experiences and interests" (see for instance Haukaa 1982). Within this narrative the second wave feminist movement from the outset consisted primarily of two antagonistic groupings: the anti-patriarchal, non-socialist New Feminists (*Nyfeministene*) and the Leninist-Marxist, hierarchically organized Women's Front (*Kvinnefronten*). Recent narratives have challenged the liberal/radical division of this narrative and argue that this feminism was above all a social reformist movement whose demands and agendas were being increasingly institutionalized and "met" by official political authorities from "above", which resulted in a successive implementation of several political reforms concerning women's participation in education, economic life and politics, as well as their bodily and sexual rights (see e.g. Hagemann 2004; Danielsen, Larsen & Owesen 2013). By conflating second wave feminism with the agendas and goals of the Organized Women's Movement, however, both narratives tend to put most emphasis on the organized activities and activities tied to formal political institutions. Certainly many non-organized forms of feminist politics are obscured by this categorization. As the ethnologist Ingrid Müftüoglu has shown, the feminist movement of this period consisted of several cultural and aesthetic practices, tied to consciousness raising, opinion making and counter-cultural criticism in both the public and the private sphere (Müftüoglu 2013).

Sirene had a print run of 35,000 magazines per issue at a time when the Organized Women's Movement never reached more than 5,000 members. This indicates that the feminism afforded by the magazine is likely to have played an important political role both for public debates and in people's private lives in these years. In order to argue the political role played by *Sirene*, it has been necessary for me to redefine the disciplinary boundaries surrounding the field of feminist politics, however, and focus on *Sirene* within the context of the larger field of the role of print media and cultural criticism in social and political change. Rather than seeking to change women's political and societal role through organizational engagement and formal institutions *Sirene* attempted to stir cultural norms through public dialogue. Rather than being political in a narrow sense of the word, focused on the movement's success in effectively pushing through its own political agenda, *Sirene* was oriented towards long-term cultural changes. The contributors, as I shall argue, raised an existential feminist debate among a wider public of women (and men) at a time when the mass media were seen as a central means to enhance enlightening public debate and civil engagement among the general public. Not least of all, mass-mediated print periodicals were seen as important means to link the personal and the political in these years.

In order to bridge the gap between "traditional feminist history" and what may be labelled as "media and cultural history" I have had to draw from and build on various disciplines, including "media, press and book history", public sphere and social movement theory, Discourse, speech act and cultural-historical analysis (such as Fraser 1997 [1990]; Warner 2005; Briggs & Burke 2002; Delap 2005; Giddens 1991; Skinner

2002; Farrell 1998). My study primarily attempts to situate *Sirene* historically and theoretically, and thereby to historicize contemporary feminist and media studies. My central sources of inspiration have been the Canadian/British feminist media historians Maria DiCenco, Lucy Delap and Leila Ryan, who – through their studies of feminist print media emerging up to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British suffrage campaign – have argued that studies of specific feminist periodicals may provide important historical evidence about the historical ways various feminist activists and reformers in complex and often conflicting ways have engaged with one another and with a wider public in order to make political and social change (DiCenco, Delap & Ryan 2010:2−3). Reading the *Sirene* debates on the basis of this understanding means I am focusing not only on how *Sirene*'s contributors expressed feminist politics within the columns of the magazine through political arguments and conceptual resources, but also on how it was possible for them to write what they wrote when they did it within a certain political, cultural and media landscape.

"Let a Thousand Flowers Bloom": *Sirene* in Search of a Public Debate

When launched in 1973, *Sirene* was imbued with the ambition to compete on the newsstands with other popular women's magazines in order to reach women across the nation and connect them to a national community and discourse of feminism (*Sirene* 1/1973:1). *Sirene* promised to be an "open forum" in which all women (and men), including those who were not "saved" by the feminist movement, could put their personally experienced oppression into words, through readers' letters, poems or short stories. This ambition gained a lot of sympathy, and the magazine became an immediate success. It doubled its print run seven times within weeks, and the daily press referred to it as "the new feminist magazine" selling "like hot cakes" (Lindtner 2014:136). *Sirene* stressed it should facilitate a wide feminist debate involving the whole spectrum of the new feminist movement and not be merely politically inclined. Despite this intention, *Sirene* both implicitly and openly challenged the politics of the Organized Women's Movement that were to emerge in the same period. This started already by the mid-1970s when the Women's Front (*Kvinnefronten)* pleaded for the whole women's movement to organize in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. In the course of the decade *Sirene* came to attack the Organized Women's Movement as a whole. In what follows I look at this contention first through the specific attempts to provide for a wider feminist debate made by the magazine, and the criticisms made by *Sirene*'s contributors of the organization of the Organized Women's Movement. Second, I look at *Sirene*'s rejection of the radical concept of feminism supported by an increasing number of feminists in the late 1970s. As I shall argue, *Sirene*'s development of an existentialist politics of authenticity represented an important critical aspect that tends to be ignored in existing historiography due to a conflation of feminism and radical-socialist feminism in this period.

The editorial staff of *Sirene* initially consisted of six female journalists, writers

and artists with connections to the New Feminist Movement (*Nyfeministene*). The intention, when publishing in 1973, was to test whether it was possible to sell a commercial feminist magazine in Norway. Even though both editors and publisher believed there was a big market for a feminist magazine adopting the style and rhetoric of the women's magazine, they had not envisioned the success to come. Initially the magazine was to be edited through flat structured meetings, mainly taking place in the private homes of the six editors, who were to produce *Sirene* voluntarily with good help from other writers affiliated with feminism. Due to the immediate popularity, however, Cappelen decided that *Sirene* should have its own office at the publisher's house and a full-time-employed editor assistant (Lindtner 2014). IdaLou Larsen, former sub-editor at the New Left publisher Pax was hired in 1974. As most of the initial editorial staff left for various private reasons during the years to come, Larsen was soon to set the agenda of the magazine. Larsen was an uncompromising feminist, out of the ordinary in a Norwegian context. Raised in France, she had a more cultured orientation to politics than several of her contemporaneous fellow-sisters, which she combined with a journalistic style, open to readers. In 1970 Larsen published Simone de Beauvoir's feminist classic *The Second Sex* for the first time in Norwegian, and she was strongly inspired by existentialist feminism. A central point made by Beauvoir was the idea that women should oppose not only legal and economic restrictions on their freedoms, but also the very definitions of womanhood, femininity, marriage, family life and sexuality – anything that constituted the reality of their personal lives and existences in order to be liberated (Beauvoir 1949 [1994]). *Sirene* promoted a similar idea. Women's perspectives were in general seen as being culturally repressed. Women thus had to gather, and on the basis of their experiences create new cultural categories through which they could recognize the political aspects of their situations and thus make "truer" choices in life (Lindtner 2014). Not unlike Beauvoir, *Sirene* stressed the importance of women writing about their lives and experiences, as sincerely and autonomously as possible. This idea, however, rested upon a discrepancy between feminists who believed that women, by expressing their inner feelings, would find that they were not alone in their anger, frustration and despair, because the same inner feelings and experiences marked the lives of women everywhere, and those who those who stressed the individuality of every woman.

In line with Beauvoir, IdaLou Larsen stressed the importance of women criticizing each other, and daring to think autonomously. "We cannot expect everybody to agree in everything. We are different, and we have different opinions", Larsen stressed in an article in *Sirene* in 1976, introducing a feature informing about the different women's organizations constituting the Norwegian Organized Women's Movement (Larsen 1976:8). Larsen made it clear that she would oppose "those forces" aiming to make feminists conform within one organization. Between the lines, "those forces" referred to *The Women's Front*, who by 1975 was a "front-organization" of the Norwegian Workers Communist Party (AKP). Lar-

sen's article was titled "Let a Thousand Flowers Bloom", a paraphrase of Mao Zedong's well-known slogan from 1956. Ironically, the slogan became widely used within feminist milieus stressing pluralism rather than hierarchical unity throughout the 1970s (Müftüoglu 2013:165). The slogan referred to the need to afford a critical and enlightening debate about feminist issues, liberal-democratic style. In Larsen's vision this would challenge the "politically correct" truths established by the feminist organizations and visualize the many-sided aspects of feminism − even the negative consequences of it (Larsen 1976). The author Bjørg Vik, who also initiated *Sirene* and was a part of the editorial staff, described this vision in a similar way. "A magazine like *Sirene* must tolerate that people criticize them, the subscribers are preferably energetic; someone slams the door, others flock in" (Vik 1977:7). When Vik withdrew from *Sirene* in 1977, in order to focus more on her professional writings, she claimed that the feminist movement had grown to be a "narrow-minded", dogmatic entity that lacked openness to different interpretations and visions of freedom. Besides, she was tired of the grassroots, and missed the individual voices "blooming", she said (ibid.).

Freedom of speech clearly was an ideal within the columns of *Sirene*, despite the fact that the political landscapes of the 1970s were more and more oriented towards consensus. During the last half of the 1970s *Sirene* often interviewed individuals who spoke up against the so-called political correctness of feminism. Several strands that were seen as controversial to this feminism were illuminated, including "anti-abortion", pornography and pro-housewife activism. In *Sirene* 7–8/1977 the magazine provided a long anonymized interview with a prostitute's client. According to Larsen, listening to people's arguments and perspectives, rather than condemning and silencing them, was vital in order to elicit a proper debate. The landscape of periodicals surrounding *Sirene* offered few opportunities for this kind of "open forum". The feminist paper *The Women's Front* (*Kvinnefront*) was a mere propagandist organ supporting the organization of the same name, and saw political debate as something to be endured within the organization and its internal periodical *We are many (Vi er mange*). The Women's Council (KjerringRåd)[3] was primarily interested in feminist theorizing and was closely attached to the newly established academic field of feminist research. The literary and intellectual journals affiliated with the political Left, such as *Kontrast, Bazar* or *Profil*, had some of the same problems attached to them. They did pay some attention to feminist theorizing and debates, but were far too academic to be able to catch a general public. They were also likely to take a patronizing stance on feminism.[4] *Sirene* thus occupied a unique space of publishing in this period, mixing techniques and styles from the woman's magazine format and that of the "open review", bringing it to an overall feminist and female readership. Even though several feminist periodicals of the past had sought a similar debate format,[5] the efforts to communicate feminism to a wider public, and to mix intellectual debates with the more popular, "personal" tales, was innovative and must be understood in relation to the specific ideal of

communication gaining terrain within the context of the magazine in the history of ideas and media.

Larsen's emphasis on a communication ideal that combined critical autonomy and cultural liberalism with journalistic populism mirrors her past with the pioneering New Left publisher Pax in the 1960s (Helsvig 2014). Pax fought against censorship and cultivated an ideal of radical enlightenment and authenticity. Being a part of the anti-authoritarian revolt of the 1960s, Pax had faith in people's abilities to change society from "below". Enlightening debates and counter-expertise would stimulate such changes. This also was a period when "openness" and freedom of speech gained terrain as a journalistic ideal. The New Left called for intellectuals, journalists, artists and young and radical academics to engage in public debates in creative ways in order to reveal the truths that had been hidden by ideology. "Reality" was to be revealed, and the public sphere was to be the site for the revelation (Mills 1966; Rem 2011). As Jürgen Habermas has argued, several of the new conflicts were not ignited "by distribution problems but by questions having to do with the grammar of forms of life" (Habermas 1987:392). By focusing on women's personal and sexual troubles, feminism found itself at the centre of the new social movements. Crucial to the political ideal of the New Left was a wholly new media situation, emerging during the 1960s, as new broadcasting and print technologies opened up for new forms of public debate, not least by challenging the relationship between the public and the private (Lindtner 2014; Gripsrud 1999). Central to Pax was the "quality paperback" – a relatively new invention in communication technology that allowed the wide spread of new ideas that was cheap to produce, and easy to distribute. The publisher allowed for several new book genres to evolve, in particular "the debate book", problematizing current issues and agendas. The quality paperback paved the way for a new "political" public to evolve, consisting primarily of young intellectuals and radical students who saw literature as an important means to stir up traditions and norms and change the world both politically and culturally (Dahl 2012).

As a material-structuralist theory of patriarchy gained terrain during the 1970s, several feminists dismissed existentialist and "personal" approaches to politics (Lindtner 2014). The sections of readers' letters within *Sirene*, however, represent a rich and extensive body of documents that bear witness to an alternative feminist affiliation in this period. Even though *Sirene* may have been marginal within the Organized Women's Movement, its feminism was not a "marginal" feminist affiliation. During the first months after the launch, the six women editing *Sirene* have described that they felt bombarded with letters from female readers from all over the country, and throughout its existence *Sirene* strongly valued the section of readers' letters. Besides opening up for several new voices and topics concerning women's bodily health, personal feelings and sexuality, the readers' letters provided women with an important meeting place where they could discuss the future of feminism. The letters emphasized both individual liberty and the shared sisterhood of all women, but often they pointed to the problematic, conformist aspects of the

feminist movement. "Is being a feminist compatible with being a housewife"? one reader asked in *Sirene* 4/1975. Some feared that feminism would push them away from their husbands and children, and some felt that it imputed a repression on them that they did not feel. Others feared that the economic-political inclination of feminism would render it boring and narrow-minded. Several readers implied that the Organized Women's Movement demanded obedience from women that was antagonistic to the ends of feminism. They argue that "feminism" was to be a project open to multiple interpretations, and that no feminist "dogma" could tell women how to live, dress or act. Towards the 1980s, and in line with an even increased liberalist mentality permeating the context surrounding *Sirene*, the editors frequently stressed that feminists were to have more faith in the judgement of the individual woman. The individual woman often was to be conflated with the individual reader, and the editorial made more and more efforts to please the readers, by publishing issues that might be their liking. Despite this, the number of subscribers decreased rapidly in this period. Larsen worried that this was due to the Organized Women's Movement developing of an attitude strongly hostile or even malicious towards men. "Today many women feel estranged from feminism. They accuse feminists of being whining and of hating men. It's about time the women's movement took these accusations seriously", she wrote in the article "Misandry and Women's Culture" ("Mannshat og kvinnekultur") in *Sirene* 1/1983 (Larsen 1983b:9).

Supporting the Interests of Women? Identity Politics vs. the Politics of Authenticity

The end of the 1970s was a time of united campaigns and heated public discussions concerning the past and the future of the Norwegian women's movement. In this period the feminist organizations lost members, and many activists saw the movement as declining. However, this was also a period when several issues and debates tied to feminism were being institutionalized within official politics and organizational life, or even absorbed by "the mainstream public" (Danielsen, Larsen & Owesen 2013). The feminist analysis gaining terrain in this period took a fairly draconian turn, and seems to have had a lot in common with the radical feminism developed both in the American Women's Liberation Movement and for instance by Swedish feminists. Radical feminists came to see the division between the private sphere and the public sphere as a major threat to women's liberation. Male was to public as female was to private, many radical feminists claimed, and the division could thus help explain the subordination of women cross-culturally. In this context, private meant domestic spaces and functions, and public referred to contexts in which men spoke and made decisions (Warner 2005:32). Further, they stressed the material-structural reasons for the oppression of women, and dismissed existentialist explanations. Based on the view that the division between private and public was virtually synonymous with patriarchy, feminist activists and researchers now became concerned with the politicizing of women's private sphere (Holst 2010). Politicizing now came to mean

something more than making women aware that what women wore, what they ate, how they acted, all related to the way in which "femininity" had been constructed through roles and institutions that they could oppose. Politicizing also came to mean something more than women discussing the politics of their personal experiences in order to transform private experiences into public concerns, thus making them aware of the extent to which they shared common problems, which had to be solved in public, feminist-political forums as opposed to private ones – a notion that would be in line with a New Left vision (see for instance Mills 1966). More frequently politicizing now came to mean not just public opinion but state intervention in things like abortion rights, spousal abuse, divorce, etc. Feminists became more oriented towards political authorities and state intervention in the private sphere and less concerned with freedom of speech.[6] Whereas the public examination of women's sexuality became a hot topic in both the commercial press and popular culture during the 1980s, both liberal and radical feminists now aligned against the sexual oppression of women and demanded a ban on pornography. Clearly, the broadened, existentialist notion of politics that *Sirene* had promoted, which mostly based its politics on consciousness raising, was now rejected by the feminist organizations. The former founder of *Sirene*, the journalist Bitten Modal, defended this disgruntlement in an interview in *Sirene* in 1979. In her view *Sirene* had played a significant role in the early 1970s, in spreading the new feminism and mobilizing women. However, it was time to be of political significance, she believed. In order to push through political reforms women had to organize and reclaim power in a more "hard core" manner. In her view *Sirene* had played out its role. The magazine's was nothing but a harmless women's magazine, "Pax-style", she claimed (Modal 1979:45).

An interesting feature of the *Sirene* debates that has received little scholarly attention is the contributors', especially IdaLou Larsen's, engagement with the substance of the certain kind of feminist analysis and claims held up by the allegedly radical feminism permeating the Organized Women's Movement by the late 1970s and early 1980s. In this period *Sirene* fell even more out of line with the Organized Women's Movement, as is clearly expressed through several critical articles printed in the magazine between 1981 and 1983. The articles were all signed by IdaLou Larsen, and in April 1983 several leading feminists, provoked by the accusations, called *Sirene* to a meeting at the Women's House (*Kvinnehuset*) in order to discuss them. The meeting caused an acrimonious media debate that was to last for weeks, in which *Sirene* was accused of voluntarily harming the feminist cause. Bitten Modal, now leader of the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights in Oslo, pronounced in the daily newspaper *Dagbladet* that *Sirene* no longer worked for the improvement of women's lives and would be "better off dead" (Modal in *Dagbladet* 14 April 1983). On the other hand, Larsen claimed that the leading Norwegian feminists had tried to censor *Sirene*. She got support from some free-standing public intellectuals, for instance Syphilia Morgenstierne, an-

archist and publisher, who saw the attacks on *Sirene* as a token of the moral authoritarianism that was about to destroy the Norwegian Women's Movement entirely (Morgenstierne 1983:1–2). In the wake of the debate the print run of *Sirene* decreased markedly, however, and the iconic magazine was forced to close down.

In feminist historiography the closure of *Sirene* has frequently been explained as a result of the magazine's apolitical, individualist approaches to feminism – and its lack of ability to pay attention to the revelations about men's abuse in the private sphere (Lønnå 1996:278). What such an account fails to recognize, however, is the political arguments in Larsen's attacks. In particular IdaLou Larsen expressed a deeply sceptical attitude towards radical feminist claims that patriarchal power pervaded relationships between men and women, and the idea that patriarchy had to be tamed by official politics, which has received insufficient attention. Just as the principles of hierarchical organizing were based on a problematic lack of trust in the judgement of individual, ordinary women and men, so was the concept of politics developed by "radical feminists", she believed. This view she promoted, for instance, in one of the articles that would cause notoriety, entitled "On Mice and Elephants" ("Om mus og elefanter") (Larsen 1982). The article responded to a feminist trade unionist, Margit Glomm, who in an article printed in *Dagbladet* had argued that the union should interfere when women felt sexually harassed by men at their workplaces. In Glomm's view "sexual harassment" included sleazy comments, lustful gazes into a plunging neckline, pinching and smacking someone's behind, or the boss demanding sexual intercourse in a threatening manner. This upset Larsen. To compare "a mere flirt" with "the act of forcing someone into sexual intercourse" was almost the same as to compare mice with elephants, she wrote. If feminists did not distinguish between "sexual harassment" and "forced sexual intercourse" the movement risked criminalizing even the slightest forms of flirting, and would scare "ordinary" women away from the movement (Larsen 1982:3).

This was not the first nor the last time that Larsen played "ordinary" women off against feminist activists. In the last issue, published in September 1983, she accused the Organized Women's Movement of having dealt the final blow to *Sirene*. In her view the movement was permeated with "lesbianism" and "misandry" and no longer served as a magazine addressing feminism for the general public of women (Larsen & Korbøl 1983:5). Her criticism had some interesting historical resonances. The notion of "misandry" has been attached to the feminist discourse since the nineteenth century. Initially it implied a negative description of feminists. "Misandry" connoted the unladylike behaviour of feminists but also a fear that feminine values such as care and love would vanish when women entered the public sphere (Hellesund 2003). However, several early feminists were also self-declared manhaters, as this position symbolized a vision of a society in which men's values no longer ruled (Ibid). During the early twentieth century, "misandry" was devalued within the feminist movement, however, as discourses related to family norms and

the heterosexual, married woman gained terrain within the movement. From now on "misandry" came to connote suspect and separatist sexuality, as the ethnologist Tone Hellesund notes (2003). This coalesced with the emergence of feminism as an important contributor to the building of the welfare state (Danielsen, Larsen & Owesen 2013). The leading figure in the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights from the mid-1930s, Margarethe Bonnevie, stated for instance that women should be able to combine work and marriage, and that true womanhood would be best realized through motherhood (Bonnevie 1932). The activity within women's periodicals and women's organizations in the aftermath of the Second World War challenges many assumptions about the feminist movement going through a depression in this period. A public debate on women's emancipation took place in academia, in literature, in popular culture and in politics. What is striking about these debates are attempts to combine liberal claims to female participation in economic and political life, with a political and economic recognition of women's bodily differences from men. Much in line with Simone de Beauvoir's well-known claim from 1949 that one is not born female, but rather becomes one, these debates challenged first-generation feminists who had primarily focused on the vote, and the unmarried women's right to enjoy education and enter economic life. Feminists like Bonnevie challenged the dichotomy between "difference feminism" and "equality feminism" and claimed that the whole of society had to be rearranged in order to make women and men capable of combining family life with working life (Bonnevie 1955:10).[7] Bonnevie sought to combine a call for women's economic independence with demands for contraception, sexual enlightenment, free abortion and equality-based marriages. The existentialist assertion to combine economic and egalitarian claims with appeals for women's rights to unfold authentically were expressed among feminists in both the US and Europe in these years (see for instance Holter 1974 [1962] and Friedan 1967 [1962]). Even though this feminism is often referred to as liberal, it seems to me that it actually opposed a liberal idea of "self-interest". This was a politics of authenticity; the task was to find truer ways to live and act.

When *Sirene* was launched the editors were all in their late thirties. Several of them had solid careers within the field of media and culture, and they had all been socialized within the political environments of the early 1960s. This may explain why the radical feminist strand developed within several feminist movements of the 1970s was almost rejected in the columns of *Sirene*. Rather than perceiving *Sirene* as a naïve, non-political feminist project, it is more plausible to read the magazine as promoting an alternative vision of politics than the one promoted by radical feminists. The magazine sought to render women and men conscious of the degree to which their longing and needs were mere products of consumerist ideology alienating them from pursuing their own authentic needs and dreams. Whereas the radical feminists stressed a materialist-structural analysis for women's oppression, and saw "politics" as the task of securing women's interests through the legal system, the 1960s

feminism to a large degree relied on an existentialist vision of liberation, stressing the need for consciousness raising for both men and women, and their capacities to improve on their lives from below. Women and men were to explore their experiences together in order to find truer feelings, more sincere relationships and egalitarian forms of intimacy and love. In an article printed in *Sirene* in 1977 Larsen suggested, in response to the large anti-pornography campaign, that women "instead of burning those porn magazines should bring them back home and read them together with their husbands" (Larsen 1977).

This view of politics was not liberal in the sense of self-interestedness. Rather than encouraging women to pursue their individual careers, *Sirene*'s ambition was to make women and men realize that they had to change themselves from within in order to oppose consumer culture and shape a better world. In this respect, what Larsen reacted to when opposing radical feminism seems to have been the concept of identity politics evolving during the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to her existentialist, utopian version of feminism, neither men nor women were born "molesters" or "victims", but were in process, always able to change themselves and the world. The public sphere was thus the proper arena for the feminist politics envisioned, not the state apparatus, as consciousness raising seems to have been seen as the most important means to improve on the lives on women. Her articles may be read as reactions against what she saw as an increasing tendency to treat relations between men and women having as to be regulated by the law and the state. This doesn't mean she was against laws. Whereas forced sexual intercourse was a crime to be judged in court, sexual harassment could be morally judged by civil society and clamped down on by feminists in public discussions, she argued. Like the New Left, Larsen seem to have argued against building a Leviathan state, and feared that the developments in political economy and the welfare state would render democracy and citizenship obsolete. In opposition to this she held up values supporting co-determination, everyday democracy and freedom of speech. The task of making the personal political in this light was to elucidate the degree to which people's everyday problems were caused by political structures and institutions. Values such as sincerity, solidarity and authenticity were set up against rationality, instrumentality and efficiency. This was in line with the critique of positivism and instrumentalism permeating intellectual debates during the 1960s. In *Sirene*, sexual liberation was presented as a path to release both men and women from the straitjackets of society that prohibited them from experiencing "true" feelings. Sexuality was a way of caring and communicating across gendered borders. In this sense, sexual revolution also meant an emotional revolution and the coming of age of a society wherein both men and women were to obtain truer and more sincere relationships and work together – not against one another. In line with the critique of positivism (*positivismekritikken*), this means that they perceived sexuality not only as an instinct, but also as a quality that had to be developed and interpreted by the subject (Lindtner 2014). In the aftermath of the *Si-*

rene debate, Pax published "Men! 13 Contributions to the Debate on Misandry" (*Mannfolk! 13 innlegg om mannshat)* (Bjerck *et al*. 1983), a book containing articles written by Norwegian feminists, IdaLou Larsen included. In it Larsen elaborated on her accusations raised against the Organized Women's Movement and radical feminism. The problem of not distinguishing between sexual harassment and forced sexual intercourse was that it served to support an understanding that the hatred against women was seen as an underlying structure permeating society as a whole. The theory thus rejected the possibilities of women to raise objections to, or to even have influence, on their own lives, she argued. It also promoted a notion that men are inherently immoral, inferior and unable to end sexist oppression. In consequence such a vision would render feminist politics useless – men and women could not change themselves in order to improve on their lives (Larsen 1983a).

Concluding Remarks

Regarding its clear attempts to direct feminism to a wider public, the feminist magazine *Sirene* represented an interesting element in the history of Norwegian feminist print media, and the second wave feminist movement's "personal politics". *Sirene*'s articulation of an existentialist feminism does represent an important critical aspect of Norwegian second wave feminism that has been ignored through a conflation of feminism and the radical- feminism in this period. By examining whether and how *Sirene* was motivated by democratic ideals, I have shown that the magazine sought to redefine and broaden "politics" as something taking place outside the formal institutional sphere, primarily engaging ordinary men and women in public dialogue and deliberation. This notion of politics saw the public sphere as an important site for feminist liberation, and stressed the importance of political independence and freedom of speech in a period when the majority of feminist organizations became increasingly committed to formal political institutions and the inclusion of women within the state and the implementation of sexual and intimate politics. Within *Sirene*, feminism was about seeking authenticity in both private and public life. My reading may challenge the narratives about the decline of second wave feminism by the early 1980s, as it suggests that feminism in these years should not be approached as a unified movement but as a diversified project that should be approached through a perspective that is methodologically and theoretically open. Whereas some feminists oriented towards the state, others were likely to seek truer choices in life in other arenas. As my examination stops here, the complex connections between existentialist feminism and late-modern discourses of existentialism are yet to be explored.

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Notes

1 In this article I draw from and build on findings from my Ph.D. thesis "A Spanking Breeze through the Living Room" – The

Feminist Magazine Sirene (1973−1983) and the Broadened Notion of Politics (*"Som en frisk vind gjennom stuen" – Kvinnebladet Sirene (1973–1983) og det utvidete politikkbegrepet*) (Lindtner 2014).

2 For instance *Ms. Magazine* launched in the US in 1972 (Farrell 1998). In Great Britain they had *Spare Rib* (1972–1993) and *Trouble and Strife* (1982−2002) (Todd 1999; Thomlinson 2012; Cameron *et al*. 2010). In West Germany the feminist magazine *Emma* was launched in 1977 (Korsvik 2010; Frank 1977). In Denmark there was *Kvinder* (Dahlerup 1998:570). In Sweden they had *Kvinnobulletinen, Hertha* and *Vi Mänskor* (Isaksson 2007).

3 KjerringRåd has a twofold meaning in Norwegian, referring both to "old woman's advice" or "home remedy" and a council or a forum for women.

4 *Kontrast* stood out as more open to feminist agendas than the other intellectual periodicals, which may be because several members of the editorial staff were women and feminists with affiliations to radical socialist circles (Helsvig 2014).

5 In Norway periodicals such as *Nylænde* and *Urd* were important predecessors of Sirene (Vibe 1993; 1994; Lindtner 2014).

6 In these years one can see the foundations being laid for what the political scientist Helga Hernes later labelled "the Norwegian state feminism" (Hernes 1987:9–29).

7 Bonnevie referred to Beauvoir in her book *Fra kvinnesak til menneskesak* (1955).

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Biographical Notes

Asko Vilkuna, 1929–2014

Asko Vilkuna, professor of ethnology at Jyväskylä University 1964–1993, passed away on 13 December 2014. He was born in Nivala in Ostrobothnia on 17 November 1929, belonging to an old farming family with several famous political and cultural figures. His father, Professor Kustaa Vilkuna, was an influential person among the cultural ideologists of the Agrarian Party and in Finnish cultural policy, a close friend of President Kekkonen. But he was also a leading and inspiring figure in Finnish ethnology, highly productive in most fields of culture as a researcher and popularizer. It was thus no easy task for his son Asko to create a profile of his own, especially when his scholarly interests followed in the direction of his father's.

Asko Vilkuna nevertheless managed to assert his independence, despite other people's preconceived notions and despite serious physical difficulties due to a paralysis contracted at an early age. His ability and energy were dedicated to two completely different sectors: research, in which he chiefly engaged in his youth during the 1950s and 1960s, and his involvement in university politics in the 1970s and 1980s.

He defended his doctoral dissertation, *Das Verhalten der Finnen in 'heiligen' (pyhä) Situationen,* in 1956, aged just 26. His interest in the human life cycle, in birth and death, resulted in *Die Ausrüstung des Menschen für seinen Lebensweg* (1959, Finnish edition *Tavan takaa* and other texts 1989) and other studies, including *Das Begräbnistier* (1958) about cows as payment for funerals, and *Valkoinen liina, vainajan liina*, about funeral towels (1960). He became docent in Finno-Ugrian ethnography at Helsinki University in 1961. Vilkuna did not, however, pursue these lines of research in folklore and religion, since he wanted to earn qualifications for the new chair of ethnology that had been established, through Kustaa Vilkuna's influence, at Jyväskylä in 1964. Instead he turned to studies of material culture, especially animal husbandry, where he could use material from his home district. In 1960 he published *Zur Geschichte des finnischen Viehstalls* and in 1961 *Sommerkuhstelle und Weidegangsitten in Ostbottnien*. His method was historical-geographical, but with a good eye for human geography, function, and innovation. Vilkuna's interest in the *Wörter und Sachen* method stayed with him all his life, and his derivational skills were displayed in *Kalannimistä kulttuurintutkimuksen lähteinä* 1965 ("Fish names as a source for cultural research") and *Hurri-pesye* 1952, an early study of language boundaries and identity between Swedish and Finnish in western Finland.

The new university demanded Asko Vilkuna's interest, energy, and organizational talent. This gave him a strong position in the students' union, as dean, through the construction of a university campus together with Alvar Aalto, as a member of the national Higher Education Council, the Council for Science and Technology, and bodies for cooperation with the Soviet Union and Hungary. He had studied in Austria, Hungary, and in other Nordic countries. He continued to emphasize and cultivate his Nordic interests; he had worked as lecturer in Finnish at Lund University 1955−62. He became a member of the New Society of Letters in Lund in 1969, the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in 1986, and the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters in 1987. He was a member of the editorial board of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* from the start in 1971 until 1994. Lecturers were often invited; Asko and Irma Vilkuna's home was hospitable and the discussions, where the interest was focused on people, were witty. The lecturers' texts were published.

Asko Vilkuna's prime achievement as regards scholarship was the foundation of the Department of Ethnology at Jyväskylä University. He understood that ethnology, folkloristics, and cultural anthropology in combination, but with separate posts, consti-

tuted the necessary base for the development and continued existence of scholarship. The strong position in Jyväskylä led to three professorships, a result of Vilkuna's ability to combine a broad scholarly outlook with political influence. For this work he was honoured on his seventieth birthday in 1999 by pupils and colleagues with the course book *Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot* ("The changing face of culture").

Bo Lönnqvist, Helsingfors

Aagot Noss, 1924–2015

The former chief curator at the Norwegian Folk Museum, Aagot Noss, passed away on the night before Easter Sunday, after an illness, at the age of 90. Aagot was born in Ål in 1924, and having graduated as a philologist she was employed by the museum in 1956, tackling the task of documenting and assembling knowledge about folk dress and how it was used. From 1957 she had a research scholarship, and in 1961 she was appointed to a newly established post as curator. In 1975 she became senior curator and remained at the museum until retiring in 1994.

Aagot Noss quickly found out what was needed to gain a general grasp and understanding of folk-dress traditions. It was important to make a distinction between the use of dress in living folk tradition and the "modern" use of reconstructed and composed dress for festive occasions. The many pictures that existed of folk dress were an invaluable source, but because many artists had copied each other it was important to ascertain which were the primary sources. It was not just the garments themselves, but also how they were worn, that interested her. Aagot maintained this focus throughout her life in research, even though the concept of intangible cultural heritage had not yet been invented.

Aagot Noss had an outstanding ability to gain people's trust; they showed her their clothes chests and storage houses, and they told her all about them. She expertly advised people who wished to reconstruct costumes, and she was an authority in the work of the council for folk dress, Bunad- og Folkedraktrådet, for many years. She passed on her knowledge through films and lectures. As a pensioner she continued to publish books of the material she had collected. She has left behind a solid foundation of source material which will last for a long time for researchers who come after her. We shall miss her.

On behalf of the Norwegian Folk Museum, Oslo.
Kari-Anne Pedersen, Inger Jensen, Olav Aaraas

Stein Roar Mathisen, Professor at the UiT – The Arctic University of Norway

Stein Roar Mathisen earned the title of Magister Artium in 1983, as a student of Folklore at the University of Bergen. From 1983 to 1989 he worked as a Research Assistant on a project called *Ethno-Medicine in Health Care: Belief Systems and Choice of Treatment Options*, and then as Research Fellow in another project, *Ethnic Categorization and Ethnic Boundaries*, both funded by the Norwegian Research Council. In this period, Mathisen was affiliated with the University of Bergen's Department of Ethno-Folkloristics. In 1989, he took up a position as Assistant Professor (Associate Professor from 1993) at Finnmark University College in Alta. He has remained attached to this institution, which merged with the University in Tromsø in 2013 to become UiT – The Arctic University of Norway.

In his first years in Finnmark, Mathisen developed a one-year, later a two-year, course in Cultural Studies, drawing on his understanding of Finnmark as a multicultural area, located far from what elsewhere in Norway is considered to be the national and cultural center. As he saw it, the region would provide an ideal environment for students to examine cultural processes occurring in their everyday life, as many of them would have first-hand knowledge of key course issues such as ethnic processes, indigenous mobilization, cultural marginalization, colonialization and the relationship between center and periphery. Later on, Mathisen played a key role in developing a Master in Tourism and a Bachelor in Media Studies, and helped to introduce Cultural Studies as an important element in both these programs.

Stein Roar Mathisen has also been instrumental in creating a lively environment for cultural research in Finnmark; shortly after he arrived, he initiated research groups and scholarly seminars, and continues to do so in the context of the research group *Narrating the Post-Colonial North*. Mathisen has also directed several research projects financed by Norwegian and Nordic funds, and colleagues have greatly profited from his wide national and international networks in Folklore and Ethnology – clearly boosted by his flair for Finnish-style tango dancing. Mathisen is frequently invited as a guest lecturer and has, among other such appearances, lectured three times at the Folklore Fellows Summer School in Finland.

Mathisen has published profusely, with a large body of research drawing on empirical work in Northern Norway and Finnskogen, the border areas between Norway and Sweden populated by Finnish migrants, studying ways in which ethnicity and identity are constituted by narratives. Of particular importance are also his many studies of Norwegian-Sámi relations in the heterogeneous border zones of Northern Norway, showing how old narratives persist but are transformed an re-articulated when they meet new contexts and power relations in contemporary society. These studies draw on a rich and eclectic framework of archival material, film, newspapers and oral traditions. Another field that has been central to Mathisen's academic career is the functioning of folk medicine and healing in a multi-ethnic context, which typically combines a thorough command of historical literature and archival sources with a lucid analysis of the contemporary context, demonstrating how folk medicine and traditional healing are being coopted by New Age movements and other present-day discourses.

These concerns have all informed Mathisen's contribution to yet another key area of North Norwegian cultural research: the contemporary impact of cultural heritage and contemporary representations of the past. Here, he examines how the different but intertwined Sámi and Northern Norwegian narratives of cultural heritage are shaping contemporary identities, not just by being em-

bedded in the commercialized field of tourism but also by serving to legitimate political claims. Mathisen aims to pursue these issues even further during his sabbatical leave starting in the autumn of 2015, as Visiting Scholar at the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley.

Kjell Olsen, Stefan Holander, Alta

Tine Damsholt, Professor in Copenhagen

Tine Damsholt studied European ethnology at Copenhagen University. In 1997 she defended her Ph.D. thesis and started as an assistant professor. Since 2001 she has been lecturer in ethnology at the same university.

She began by studying political cultures in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Denmark, analysing discourses of patriotism and citizenship, which became the theme of her dissertation, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerånd*. Here she explores the ways in which Danes were transformed into modern citizens with not only duties but also new rights, and how this change had a strong emotional dimension of a new patriotism, expressed in many social situations as well as ritual occasions. Since then she has broadened this interest in political culture into a study of contemporary political rituals in a fascinating comparative project on the ritualization and materialization of citizenship. She has studied the ceremonies celebrating citizenship for immigrants in different national settings, from Australia and Britain to Scandinavia, as a kind of "ontological choreography".

Tine Damsholt was quite early in introducing both the material and the affective turn in European ethnology, arguing for the need to see how affect and materiality work together. She co-edited a collection of essays on new perspectives on materialities in 2009, and her interest in the study of emotions has benefited from the ways in which she moves between cultural history and contemporary ethnographies. The cultural analysis of the senses and the body is another focus in her research.

Through a number of projects she has furthered the study of consumer-driven innovation, exploring the potentials and problems of doing applied cultural analysis. She has researched consumer habits and also everyday student life and learning processes at the university.

She has constantly broadened her analytical and empirical scope. She has convincingly argued for the analytical importance of using a historical perspective in studies of the present, applying Michel Foucault's genealogical approach. Another striking characteristic of her work is the elegant combination of different theoretical perspectives with everyday ethnographies, bringing in emotional, sensual and material dimensions. The point of departure for her analysis is often a mundane situation: a visit to a Turkish bath, a heated debate in a consultancy meeting or the soundscape at a citizenship ceremony.

Tine Damsholt has played an important role in developing European ethnology at Copenhagen University over the last two decades, not only as an inspiring researcher and teacher but also as a leader and administrator. She had a crucial role in the making of MACA, a joint master of applied cultural analysis, in cooperation between Copenhagen and Lund universities, and also in establishing a Centre for Cultural Analysis at the Saxo Institute. Last but not least, she has for many years been a key figure in furthering cooperation among Scandinavian ethnologists.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

Outi Fingerroos, Professor in Jyväskylä

Outi Fingerroos, Ph.D., was appointed professor of ethnology at Jyväskylä University in 2014 after having functioned as a lecturer in ethnology since 2007. Her dissertation *Haudatut muistot: Rituaalisen kuoleman merkitykset Kannaksen muistitieodossa* (Buried Memories: The Meanings of Ritual Death in Karelia) in 2004 presented her findings on the subject from the point of view of burial rituals and their modernization in this border area. Her work took on a special depth in her analyses of the ways that one side, the red socialists, in the Finnish civil war of 1918 was deprived of chances of mourning and burial sites of its own in the town of Vyborg.

Since then her work has continued to focus on repressed and displaced memories, the place of Karelia in the Finnish mindset, but also on the multicultural problematic in Finland. Her major works follow up the dissertation in *"Karelia Issue": The Politics and Memory of Carelia in Finland* (2009), *Places of Memory in the Red Vyborg 1918* (2008) and "Karelia: A Place of Memories and Utopias" (*Oral Tradition* 2008). Another theme of hers concerns methodological questions in memory sources mainly published as articles (for example "Fundamental Issues in Finnish Oral History Studies" published in *Oral History 2012*, in which she shows her profound knowledge of the Finnish folkloristic tradition). Together with other scholars she has edited a textbook on ethnological methods (*Muistitietotutkimus: Metodologisia kysymyksiä*, 2006), which is found on all university curricula. Her works are always dedicated to reasoning about the source material and doing fieldwork. A book on ethnological interviews, *Äänia arkistossa: Haastattelut ja tulkinta,* makes her an expert on archives and interviews.

Outi Fingerroos is thus a reflective scholar who combines a great sensitivity to the traditions of the field with an open mind to changing focuses in ethnology. This includes an interest in microhistory and new ways of making ethnology useful. Coming from Turku, but already with firm roots in Jyväskylä, she will now take charge of the ethnological development as a professor in this inland town.

Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

New Dissertations

Muslim Motherhood

Jenny Ask, Lyssna till ditt hjärta. Muslimska moderskap och modrandets villkor i Sverige. Stockholms Universitet 2014, 211 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-013-6.

■ In this qualitative study, the ethnologist Jenny Ask focuses on the challenges of Muslim motherhood in a non-Muslim society. The aim of this dissertation is to examine the significance and conditions of mothering for a group of Muslim women in Sweden (p. 13). The analysis is mainly based on sixteen in-depth interviews with eight women, the majority born in Sweden and all residing in Stockholm, aged 21−45 at the time of the interviews (p. 35). Ask met these women over a long period of time, 2003−2014, but the majority of the interviews were conducted in 2003−2008. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, the material also comprises notes from one field trip when Ask visited one of the participating women during her summer vacation in Morocco.

Ask's dissertation revolves around several interesting questions, all important to shed light on. Muslim women's experiences of mothering in a Swedish geographical context is an area that has not before been in focus within research on mothering practices. The dissertation highlights these women's experiences of migration and processes of transnational migration in relation to mothering. Ask emphasizes the women's intentionality in their mothering practices, and contrasts the concept of "mothering" with "being a mother", as a way to bring forward agency as an important analytical concept for understanding these women and the reality of their everyday life.

Ask identifies three main themes which became visible in the material: gender, religion and place. These three themes function as keys to answer the initial questions and aim, and they recur in all of the dissertation's six chapters. These three main areas are dealt with throughout the chapters, studied from different angles and perspectives. In chapter 2, which is where we as readers get to meet the women in the study for the first time, the idea and the concept of "the mother" within Islam is in focus. Ask shows here that the interviewee constantly deals with being in the midst of reproducing gendered stereotypes of "the mother" based on patriarchal interpretations of Islam, at the same time as the women express their power to shape their lives as Muslim women. In this chapter the women's families and the relation to their own mothers are essential. It is a private sphere that the reader is brought into; in chapter 2 we stay within the walls of these women's homes. In the next two chapters we follow the interviewees outside and explore how they speak of motherhood in relation to professional work and in relation to the surrounding non-Muslim society. In chapter 3, where the focus is on work and career, a class aspect is brought in to show how highly educated women are more prone to be positive towards working outside the home and combine this with being mothers. Here Ask also show how these women reflect on mothering as a female gendered practice. The fourth chapter focuses on these women's experiences of being singled out and stigmatized due to markers such as the headscarf. Following an orientalistic and racist logic, these markers limit the women's possibilities to be seen as "Swedish", since Swedishness is connected to a specific image and idea of whiteness that does not include a woman with a Muslim identity. The women's experiences of being stigmatized as Muslims impacts their mothering practices, as it creates a fear of their children being exposed to this discrimination, a discussion that is extended in the following chapter. In chapter 5 we thus step back into the family sphere once more, and focus on child rearing. The writer takes a closer look at the conditions and difficulties in raising children to be "good Muslims" in today's Sweden. We get an insight into how the women actively have to respond to an underlying notion that Muslim families (mothers) force their children to practise religion, or that they presume to stand in their way when it comes to attaining "[secular] "freedom". This chapter in particular shows how individuals who confess to a religion in many ways are discredited and deprived of their credibility.

Ask highlights constructivism as a central ontological point of view, and she understands identities and identity formation as ever-changing processes. *Motherhood* and *mothering*, which are the two analytical concepts at the core of this dissertation, are thus understood as changeable and conditioned. However, as a theoretical starting point Ask stresses the importance of the concept of *agency*. When

dealing with Muslim women's experiences and statements about living in a non-Muslim society, this concept is of the utmost importance. The concept of agency highlights these women's ability and inability to act due to the normative social, cultural and historical contexts and circumstances. The women in this study live their everyday lives in a secular society, conditioned by the normative notion that being a woman and a Muslim cannot be a choice of their own – which, of course, it can. At the same time these women have to relate to the given theological frames that in many ways could be described and interpreted as patriarchal and oppressive. But oppressive interpretations by the religion of Islam do not make the religion oppressive in itself, which is why it is so important to underline agency and the complexity in the empirical material; the interviewed women are not victims or winners, neither only active nor passive. They are women in Sweden, with an Islamic belief. By using postcolonial (and) feminist theory Jenny Ask draws analytically on this duality of simplicity and complexity from the material, and this forms the basis for what makes this dissertation politically driven with an aim to nuance the understanding of our society. Following that aim, it would have been analytically interesting if Ask had related her material to development in Sweden during the years of her study. During the last couple of years we have seen increasing xenophobia which has particularly targeted women categorized as a part of a religious minority.

Jenny Ask places her study in the traditional ethnological frames of everyday lives and identity work, and uses tools from narrative theory as well as concepts from discourse theory. Ask briefly explains that her use and understanding of discourse is ontological. The conversational interviews and the interviewees' self-presentations are thus important ways to interpret agency. Ask uses the terms "narrative self" and the "dialogical self" in order to distinguish between the self-presented self and the self that is constituted through ongoing power relations. This means that this is a study with specific respect to intersectional power relations, where Muslim women in Sweden have to actively change their "self-positions" depending on context (p. 17). The theoretical framework in this dissertation is extensive within a limited space, and sometimes rushed through as in the case of presenting the understanding and use of discourse and discursive theory. Nevertheless, this dissertation is more of a theoretical exposé and can be read in an almost encyclopaedic way. Reading Jenny Ask's study, you get a sense of how postcolonial, feminist, intersectional theory has emerged (both internationally and especially) within Swedish academia during the last decade. This creates fine lines between theory, earlier research and Ask's own bulk of material, and the analysis is a delicate balancing act on the verge of having one theoretical perspective too many. But Ask manages to avoid passing that limit, and instead I feel enlightened and educated when reaching the last pages of her dissertation.

What I do miss, however, is not a theoretical clean-up or a more substantial body of ethnographic material, but instead I notice the lack of discussion about the balance between empirical material and theory-based discussions. As a PhD student, in the midst of an ethnographic field quite similar to the one we meet in Ask's dissertation, I know that the field of religious minorities can be very difficult to gain access to, even more so if you are not part of that religion. I thus miss a problematizing methodological discussion about Ask's experiences of trying to enter a field that might have become even more complex as racism and hate crimes have increased in today's society. A methodological discussion combined with a contemporary timeline, relating dramatic political changes in our society to her fieldwork and struggles within Ask's specific field, would have created an interesting and valuable document of our present time.

When reading this study, it occurs to me that it could be academically fruitful if we started to look upon Sweden as non-secular or as a nation where a process of secularization is still going on, alongside a process that praises Christian values (but often speaks of the latter process in terms of "culture"). Studying (minority) religion and religious practices in a society where the idea of secularization holds a dear place in the self-perception of what it means to be "Swedish" is, to say the least, precarious. And – when reading this study it becomes very clear to me that studies such as Jenny Ask's are profoundly important, and her dissertation will be used as a reference point in many ways in this research field in years to come.

Sofia Jonsson, Uppsala

Disco as Ethnography, History, Nostalgia

Liisa Avelin, Kåren Kellari. Karhulalaisdisko ja sen yhteisöt 1969–1979. Nykykulttuurin tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 117. Jyväskylän yliopisto 2014. 621 pp. Ill. English Summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-39-5962-3.

■ The thesis written by Liisa Avelin on the disco community in Karhula, an industrial parish in the vicinity of the city of Kotka in south-eastern Finland between 1969 and 1979 is an interesting, if slightly odd piece of work. What makes the thesis special is that it is a blend of several research genres which try to mix somewhat uneasily in the book. Partly this mixed character can also explain the format of the book, it is quite large, consisting of some 620 pages.

Thus one could view the book as almost an autobiography of sorts, perhaps a collective biography outlining the life of a group of Finnish youth in which the author herself is heavily involved, a life which, due to the possibilities of the time in question, was more than before an era when young people came to the forefront not least in areas of entertainment and pleasure seeking. It was the era of rock and pop, also in Finland, when this new type of entertainment venues emerged, from around 1968 onwards, with a string of dance clubs of a new type in cities and their vicinities. Correctly speaking these were not really just dance clubs, if one looks at the conditions at the new discotheques or discotheque clubs as they were often called. The new places of dance entertainment were indeed heavily youth-oriented, they combined music with dance, the music being played from vinyl discs with a disc jockey operating in the premises. The clubs had small tables and they served light beer, called *keskiolut* in Finnish, *mellanöl* in Swedish, which was liberated from sale restrictions at the beginning of 1969, the same year as the discotheque started in Karhula, soon to be called Kåren Kellari, the Cellar of Kåre, Kåre being Kåre Larsen, a Norwegian entrepreneur who had ended up in Karhula through marriage to a Finnish dentist, starting a discotheque enterprise in the cellar of a modern two-storey building in the centre of the community of Karhula.

This is the world Liisa Avelin lived in during her early years and youth, and the massive book is thus also an homage both to the disco era more generally and to the youth group or groups which frequented this particular disco.

And the disco era in this case is really about rock and pop, not disco in the sense of later developments in music genres (*c*. 1975−1980), but an early manifestation of how rock culture spread around the world and got hold of certain urban youthful milieus like the one in Kåren Kellari in Karhula.

This insider position of the writer makes it both an advantage and a challenge for her to come to grips with material which is very rich, very detailed and quite disparate when it comes to writing it down as a history of the discotheque, as this thesis in a way can be read. Thus we are faced here with a kind of cultural history written from the inside which opens up many quite interesting and useful observations and insights into a life form which, at least in Finland, has not been the object of such a microscopic study before. This is the first thesis on Finnish disco culture, obviously. So from this point of view we are dealing with a pioneering work which is all the more important since this kind of culture has largely become obsolete or at least transcended into other forms of live music entertainments, which perhaps still owe something to this particular form.

Another observation which is important to make is that Avelin here also dissects the whole community of Karhula at this time, an industrial community built on the shoulders of a couple of big industries dominating the whole community, the paper and metal industries of Sunila and Ahlström, which set the stage for an interesting microhistory of a society with a distinct and quite hierarchic class structure, which is partly reflected in the clientele of the discotheque, with the important addition that one of the main "system changing" practices of the disco was indeed a new fluidity among the local youth when it comes to questions of class and traditional family values.

If one looks at the thesis from a methodological and theoretical point of view it must be said that this is a rather strange hybrid, an investigation with quite a diverse set of methodological tools, some of which can only with difficulty hold their own in this context.

To put it more directly, here is a thesis combining aspects of cultural history with a rich field of information and knowledge about the discotheque both as an enterprise and as a cultural force in the local community and with a very detailed ethnographic investigation into the discotheque milieu, which the writer of the thesis sees as a form of microhistory.

Add to this an extensive memory or oral history study involving both deep interviews with persons having participated in different functions in the disco environment when it happened and not least a blog kept by the writer for one year in 2006−2007. On the blog old disco acquaintances were invited to take part, yielding material Avelin then can use in order to try to understand what the disco meant for quite a large group of people who are now in their sixties and seventies, still and perhaps more than ever expressing some sort of community feeling, of being, as the thesis would have it, "Kårelaisia", Kåre members, persons with a strong attachment to the culture and values which were upheld in this milieu in the late 1960s and 1970s.

If viewed as a cultural history the thesis functions quite well in part, due to the expertise of the writer in the whole spectrum of different practices related to the disco milieu, from dance to music to questions of social behaviour, including fashion, clothing, drinking, encounters between the sexes etc. From this point of view the thesis can also be read, at least partly, as a kind of microhistory. The problem with the microhistoric point of view here is one of a rather too ordinary, too mainstream bias in the execution. The disco thus becomes wholly typical both of the era and of the larger cultural milieu; it looks like a miniaturization of certain values held dear in this time – a certain cosmopolitanism with a bent towards Anglo-American popular culture, a sense of freedom and independence experienced by the disco-goers, and a sense of stronger generational power than earlier Finnish generations might have experienced.

At the same time it must be said that the problems facing the thesis have to do with a lack of theoretical and methodological reflection, which gives the thesis a rather odd character. It is quite well written, it gives the reader an understanding of the disco milieu which is both detailed and extensive, but questions of what the thesis is really about, what the research questions are in this case, keep popping up, without being given any quite satisfactory answers. Avelin herself states that she is combining a cultural-historical approach with one involving microhistory, mental history and oral history. The problem is that this kind of statement is not enough if it stands on its own, if there is a lack of understanding as to central concepts being used in the thesis. These kinds of concepts with which the writer deals only by referencing them, not by using them actively or discussing them more extensively are, for one, questions of community: What kind of community is the disco, seen from different time angles? And how much of the communal is there really in this so-called community? And why is it that the people who are given voice here mostly are persons who, so to speak, "made it" or saw the disco as helpful for their own identity formation? Where are the less fortunate ones, those who didn't become part of the community as a memory institution? Those who perhaps never were part of the inner crowd of the disco?

Due to the rather weak theoretical grounding of the thesis it does not progress in any systematic or logical way, but instead becomes more and more redundant as the journey progresses. Questions of place, identity and time are not dealt with systematically. When an ethnographic approach, which is quite strong at the beginning of the book – and perhaps its core merit from a research point of view – later on is challenged by quite another type of approach, one which underlines the value of nostalgia in the understanding of identity, place and practices, the result is that the thesis has a central problem which is to decide whether it is to be seen as a mainly ethnographic study, a cultural-historical or microhistorical study or a study of nostalgia.

Questions of identity are central to the thesis, but unfortunately they are not dealt with in any theoretically challenging or systematic way. On the contrary, identity here becomes quite a monolithic concept. Especially the Kåre membership is given a status which seems to overstress its value both historically and for today's Kåre members. An intersectional approach might have given the writer more leverage in valuing the different aspects of identity, their connections to gender, age, and generation, social hierarchy at the time of the disco and after.

The writer resorts to giving the thesis a narrative push, in order obviously to overcome some of the difficulties she is experiencing when handling the questions of identity and locality. This means in this case that the memory work involved in both the blog writings and the other remembering by both Avelin and her interviewees construct a kind of *Bildungsroman* out of the thesis, a great narrative, as she herself calls it, of freedom, modernity and increased tolerance. Somewhat paradoxically, this description is given a rather strong nostalgic colouring, by way of e.g. stating the importance of pop songs such as

Yellow River and *Those Were the Days*. When the thesis starts with citing a poem, Ode *to The Kåre Cellar*, by one of the writers on Avelin's blog and ends with a final chapter by Avelin called *The Song of the Sirens*, this means that the whole enterprise is embedded in quite a strong nostalgic discourse.

Questions of time are understood in this thesis as nostalgia, retro, oral memory and history (both collective and individual), but no theoretically informed new knowledge is offered here. Questions of internal conceptual differences of nostalgia and retro – dealing with relations between present and past – are not addressed at all.

A strength of the thesis is its broad view on questions of cultural distinction which it sees in a larger context than simply as a matter of musical taste and the preference for certain rock or pop styles. Avelin shows in this lively and well-written thesis that questions of distinction in the disco milieu are coupled to music, dance, clothing, make-up, smoking and drinking. She also gives some room for explanations concerning the identities of and differences between generations (seen as "small" ones in the disco, often no more than one or a couple of years are enough to mark out a new generation), and of hierarchies and equalities mixing on the disco floor and at the tables. But one might ask whether she is loading the disco with too much innovation value in order for the picture to be believable. In the disco there are still quite a lot of older forms of dancing and social gathering being actualized. Many of the features of the sociality of the disco are rather close to old-time outdoor dancing and dance halls, and even to a certain degree to dancing in restaurants.

As noted, Avelin also mentions the history of mentalities as one of the historical approaches she is interested in, but in this respect she fails to look at both rock modernization and the disco community from this point of view. One of them points towards hedonism, irresponsibility, youth as eternal rebellion, the other to responsibility, romance and family as a way of life. Might a deconstruction of the rock youth rebel on a local scale have been possible? The question is not answered in this thesis.

Due to the ethnographic nature of the research enterprise, questions of performance are at the forefront here. On one hand disco is seen as a multifaceted phenomenon, involving e.g. questions of bonding between the sexes, and in that respect a thorough investigation is made on the many aspects involved: alcohol, fashion, tobacco, music, discussions of politics, philosophy, education etc. On the other hand, the text is not able to enlighten the reader concerning questions of how "thin" or "fat" this sociality of the disco is in various situations and how strong the different intersecting categories of identity are in various positions.

The last chapter of the book, "Seireenien laulu" (The Song of the Sirens), avoids all questions of research results, which means that the reader is left at odds with what the idea of the thesis really is. I think that the vagueness of the final chapter is related to the problematic of both time and place. Place is here constructed in a way as being seen under a glass mantle, isolated and quite distinct, but at the same time place is defined by music, fashion, dance styles etc. coming in from the outside. The specificity of the place is then not very persuasive, since it can be seen as a highly typical reconstruction by way of a nostalgic operation.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

The Temporary Housewife

Karin Carlsson, Den tillfälliga husmodern. Hemvårdarinnekåren i Sverige 1940–1960. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2013. 240 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87351-38-9.

■ In the 1930s nativity in Sweden was among the lowest in Europe. The lack of domestic maids was regarded as one of the reasons for the low birth rate. The Population Commission worked to solve the problem by conducting inquiries which placed the family in the centre in different ways, all in accordance with the prevailing gender discourse with the mother as the family's figurehead. The measures taken to solve the problem of low nativity were – besides reforms in maternity care and child care and improvements to housing standards – increased access to competent domestic help. According to Karin Carlsson, the main problem was the lack of skilled domestic labour, even though that issue was immediately incorporated in the context of population policy. Housewives needed relief from their heavy working burden and assistance when they were ill. The insufficient competence of housewives was also considered problematic. As a solution to all these problem, a female occupational category was

introduced: the trained home help (*hemvårdarinna*). This dissertation about "The Temporary Housewife" traces the extremely short history of the trained home helpers; from the 1940s to the 1960s. In this respect the ambiguity in the title of the book is subtle; these home helpers temporarily assumed the role of housewife in the home, and the existence of the occupational category was only temporary.

Based on the concepts of welfare, housework, and care, the author discusses the history of this occupational group and how it developed into home help as social service. Her aim is interesting, namely, to study paid home helpers and carers and the relation of the state to their work. She observes, as so many others have done (e.g. Margareta Gisselberg, *Stå vid spisen och föda barn*, 1985*;* Laura Harmaja, *Husmoderns ekonomiska gärning,* 1928), that domestic work was made invisible in both statistics and political economics. I find this invisibility interesting as something which the author could have problematized more. On the other hand, she does have a good discussion of changes over time in housework and caring in private households.

The aim of the dissertation is to study social home help as a welfare institution, the reasons why it was established, and its development. This concerns how the state visions were translated into practice and the professionalization of this caring work as a political issue. On an overall level, she seeks answers to the question of whether this caring was "proper" work. How housewives and trained home helpers alike were professionalized and whether caring is a proper job are both interesting questions. The author poses the questions in relation to the visions that the state (in the form of the National Board of Health and Welfare) had in this matter and the practice that the home helpers faced at the collective municipal level. Her material consists of documents from the National Board of Health and Welfare which are intended to illuminate the visions of the state in the matter, and the archives of the Swedish Home Helpers' Association which, together with statistics from the National Board of Health and Welfare, shed light on the practice of the home helpers. The theoretical concepts used by the author are gender discourse, that is, dominant ideas associated with gender, something that changes over time and is context-specific. The author does not really discuss her methodology in any detail, and I would also have liked to see a more exhaustive treatment of how work can be defined and what "proper" work is. There could also have been a longer discussion of professionalization in relation to gender.

The dissertation is clear in its structure and instructively arranged. Each chapter proceeds from a number of central questions. The main text is fluent and easy to read. A large number of endnotes go into greater depth for those who are interested. In that respect the book is simultaneously aimed at a broad audience and written for researchers in the field. The author presents the topic both thematically and chronologically. The dissertation begins with the decision by parliament in 1943 to provide state subsidies for social home help and ends in the 1960s when the subsidies were withdrawn. In 1956 there was a shift of focus when the municipalities were given the primary responsibility for the care of the elderly. The home helpers ended up working alongside home samaritans, but the boundaries were blurred between them as regards duties and competence. From the perspective of professionalization theory this was problematic, since the occupational role of the home helpers was not unambiguous. A changed gender discourse forced the home helpers to find new roles. When home help was introduced, the idea of a woman's place being in the home was the foundation for a well-functioning family life – the home helper then reflected the "housewife ideal". As women increasingly entered working life, society began to look for alternative, collective solutions. Just as the housewife was an expression of a back-to-the family policy and a gender discourse that focused on the mother, so the trained home helpers had a short heyday. Through the home helpers it was thought that domestic work could attain a higher status and that work which was traditionally female would be professionalized. Home help could also be regarded from the perspective of public health and spread information about good hygiene, health, and diet, serving as a model to inspire good motherhood. Through time, however, the home helpers could no longer compete with the cheaper untrained labour.

The dissertation is an interesting spotlight study, but it could perhaps have benefited from a more interdisciplinary approach. I think the author could have focused more on the sociology of work, and she could also have considered the home helpers' own experiences in the form of life stories. The au-

thor studies the home helpers from a state and municipal top-down perspectives, but also from a bottom-up perspective by looking at the home helpers' occupational identity. Here she considers topics such as recruitment problems, lower union involvement, and wage issues. An insider perspective based on experiences would have broadened our view of this professional group. At the same time, it is understandable that limits are imposed on a dissertation, and it is good that it is clearly demarcated. Karin Carlsson ends the study by observing that the discussion of paid housework is by no means over. Instead it takes new forms, as today, for instance, when there are tax subsidies for domestic work, which according to the author is a signal that we are not expected to pay the full price for it.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

Postmilitary Landscapes

Beate Feldmann Eellend, Visionära planer och vardagliga praktiker. Postmilitära landskap i Östersjöområdet. Stockholm Studies in Ethnology 7: Södertörn Doctoral Dissertations 78. Stockholms Universitet 2013. 199 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87235-30-6.

■ The title of the ethnologist Beate Feldmann Eellend's doctoral thesis means "Visionary Plans and Everyday Practices", and the subtitle "Postmilitary Landscapes in the Baltic Sea Region". In it she analyses a spatial phenomenon which she only subsequently "came to define" and conceptualize as "postmilitary landscapes" (p. 31). Explorative and constructive thus seem to be appropriate words for characterizing the ethnographic fieldwork that Feldmann Eellend presents within the framework of her thesis project. In her thesis, she is particularly interested in how the places she has been investigating were once transformed from military to the postmilitary landscapes of contemporary time. With this approach, the thesis is a historical as much as a spatial analysis. Integrating time and space is central to the study, and in this respect the thesis owes a great deal to a kind of historically orientated cultural geography which has scholars like David Harvey and Doreen Massey as important predecessors.

In explicit terms the thesis is an analysis of three different coastal environments in the Baltic Sea area: the former military base of Dejevo by Lake Karujärve on the Estonian island of Saaremaa, constructed by the Soviet Union in the 1940s; the former Nazi and eventually East German garrison of Dranske on the island of Rügen together with the military training field on the peninsula of Bug; and the old coastal village of Fårösund on the Swedish island of Gotland, which, together with the peninsula of Bungenäs, housed a regiment during the Cold War years. After having collected a great number of planning documents and newspaper articles, interviewed local planners and inhabitants, and taken photographs of the physical environments that she visited, Feldmann Eellend visualizes in her text the processes by which the military landscapes of the Cold War in the three different sites, as a consequence of macroregional as well as local striving for unity in the new Europe, are transformed into a new kind of landscapes where tourism and recreation are dominant forces in societal planning.

For her investigation Feldmann Eellend constructs a theoretical model of three time-space relational aspects whose main features are from the works of the sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991), the historian of ideas Reinhardt Koselleck (1923–2006) and the philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945). Crucial for the model are especially Lefebvre's three analytical concepts of planned space, perceived space and lived space. In the model, planned space and perceived space stand against each other dynamically, dialectically. Planned space is moreover defined as including the aspects of visions and horizons of expectations (Koselleck), while perceived space is founded on collective memories (Halbwachs) and space of experiences (Koselleck). The concept of lived space, in turn, embraces expectations and experiences as well as visions and memories, and becomes in this way a kind of synthesis of planned and perceived space (p. 22).

In line with this advanced theoretical understanding of the study object, the outline of the chapters does not follow any easy chronological scheme, but is based on the analytical contrasts that spatial scale brings when varied in different ways. In the first empirical chapter – titled "European Spatial Planning: Strategies for Unity in the Baltic Sea Region (BSR)" – the planned space of a "macroregion" is examined. As in the subtitle of the chapter the macroregion in question is BSR or "Baltic Sea Region". Since the end of the Cold War, EU planning has

been directed towards macroregional integration and deconstruction of the national boundaries in BSR. In the chapter we learn about how this aspiration for unity operates through different planning tools in a context that is segregated not only between East and West, but also by the existence of several different nation-state positions.

The chapter is basically divided into two parts. In the first part, two macroregional identity projects are under scrutiny. It is, on the one hand, an informal policy document for political goals and general principles for how to develop EU planning, called "European Spatial Development Perspective". On the other hand, it is the territorial cooperation programme INTERREG and its aim to strengthen economic collaboration across the national borders of the macroregion. In the second part of the chapter the analysis turns to two "conversion networks" whose political mobilization is transforming the former military landscapes into sites for civilian activities. The chapter illustrates how these networks, with the appropriate names Convernet and ReMiDo, over some years and by the use of strategic documents and the organization of events, contributed to the redirection of BSR towards consumption activities such as tourism and recreation.

The following chapter – "Collective Memory of the Garrison" – starts with a brief historical presentation of each community. Being part of very different nation-state contexts, the three former garrisons have different historical backgrounds, but obviously a lot in common too. Dejevo was built in the 1940s according to military principles, organized around the construction of canteens, stables, roads, but also residential areas. At most, Dejevo had 2,000 inhabitants, and in the 1990s after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the military camp was closed. Dranske became the site for a marine air force camp constructed by Germany in the First World War. In the 1930s the German Luftwaffe changed the small village into a garrison, including residential blocks for Nazi officers and their families. After the Second World War, the army of the German Democratic Republic took control and the garrison, as a consequence of the Cold War, grew even more and became a strategic point in the Baltic Sea area. At the end of this period around 4,000 people lived in the garrison. Fårösund became a strategic military point back in the nineteenth century during the Crimea War. It was not until the 1930s, however, that the Swedish nation-state more energetically started to use the site for military purposes. As the coastal artillery was established at the spot, the small community started to grow. At the end of the 1940s around 1,650 people lived in Fårösund. Over the decades the regiment was crucial for the local community, but in the early twenty-first century, more than ten years after the Cold War ended, it finally closed.

A discussion of the perceived space of the three places takes up the main part of the chapter. Lingering in the collective memory of the contemporary inhabitants are the social differences and hierarchies that once, in the military years, distinguished the local contexts. Dejevo, Dranske and Fårösund were characterized by a division between their military and civilian populations. In general the military played a dominant role and enjoyed relatively high prestige in local society. These status differences between the military and the civilians are discussed from different perspectives: physical environment, schools, and cultural activities. Belonging to the military group gave certain privileges in the local society, while being a civilian meant that you were excluded in some respects. However, the social inequalities were often played down when the two groups interacted in the local contexts.

In the chapter the three garrisons are described as a kind of urbanized centres in the respective rural regions where they were situated. It is discussed how difference between urban and rural were disappearing and how an urban lifestyle and attitude increasingly dominated physical place. The garrisons were not cities but they were founded on a kind of urban military identity. The military became an influential actor in the rural landscape of the local farmers. In these contexts, which were "male" in an unequivocal way, women participated as members of families, but also as actors in local society. Significantly, as we approach the present day, we see that women often had a hard time finding employment in the garrisons which corresponded to their education and was in line with having a career of their own.

The military garrisons are remembered as highly structured and controlled societies. Supervision was strong in all three places, especially in Dranske and Dejevo. Foreigners of different kinds were usually not allowed to enter the zone of a garrison.

In sum, the collective memory of the places that Feldmann Eellend finely delineates in the chapter discloses the social and cultural diversity and differ-

ences of a garrison society in the Cold War era. The military way of life was constitutive for how the whole coastal regions of each garrison were formed. As a reader, however, I sometimes miss the contemporary starting points of the collective memory in practice – for example, in the shape of the particular contemporary context that Feldmann Eellend as an ethnologist intervened in when doing fieldwork, or in the shape of the particular circumstances of some of all the many individuals in the text, the ones "doing" the actual remembering. In the text, the perceived space of the past sometimes consequently appears as almost an objective fact in contrast to how perceived space, in my eyes, usually appears – as a manifold formation of subjective and often uniquely time-framed perceptions.

In the chapter "Visions of Recreation" Feldmann Eellend returns to the questions about planned space, but instead of focusing on the macroregion she is now looking at the planned space of a number of local places. The chapter describes a number of illustrative examples of how local planning has operated in the three places after the end of the Cold War and the military dominance. It has been crucial to find a new direction for the three communities. A major part of this new orientation is tourism and recreation. Especially Dranske and the peninsula of Bug are subject to plans for tourist exploitation. Waterfront development and the construction of a new marina, among other things, are seen as an effective way of attracting international visitors.

A turn towards green ideals and small-scale development characterizes local planning. The post-military landscapes are to great extent natural environments which are to be "sanitized" and "reconstructed" in different ways. Regarding the small scales, planning models such as "the garden city" and "the small fishing village" are central for how the planners want to develop.

The thread of the chapter is the distance that Feldmann Eellend analyses between planned space and the perceived space of the inhabitants. The planning of different projects is countered with questioning and resistance from people living in the areas. Relating to this distance between planned and perceived space are the two concepts of the ethnologist Birgitta Svensson: affection values and attraction values. Affection values are about local symbolic values and people's need to feel that they belong in local environments. Attraction values are related to economic values in the global consumption society. What the author illustrates in the chapter is a kind of marginalization process for those living in the contemporary space of the three former garrisons, where their collective memories are excluded on the basis of those, so to speak, visionary expectations that are formed as a consequence of planned space.

However, the third space of Lefebvre – lived space – is featured as a relatively passive and dependent space in the chapter. In contrast to how, for example, the geographer Edward Soja, an influential postmodern interpreter of Lefebvre's theory, defines third space as a rather open entity, Feldmann Eellend applies the concept of lived space as a kind of spatial container of the dynamics between the other two dimensions: planned and perceived space. Lived space does not intervene actively in the other two spaces; instead planned space and perceived space and their mutual opposition "lead to" effects in the lived space (p. 114). An expression of this passive lived space could be the fact that the thesis does not really offer any thick or detailed descriptions of how people actually inhabit(ed) and use(d) the (post)military landscapes in present and past time.

In the next chapter "Post-military Status Displacements" Feldmann Eellend focuses on the change in the status of the three post-military garrisons, from their being military centres to becoming a kind of geopolitical losers in the periphery. This change involved, first of all, a great loss of the existing population, and secondly a wave of immigration of new and socially marginalized people into the garrison areas; also the destruction of houses (Dejevo) and a local financial crisis (Dranske). This period of status displacement became associated with risk and insecurity. In comparison, Fårösund suffered less in the conversion process, partly because of its attractiveness as place in the context of national tourism and summer leisure. Here I think another important factor was that Fårösund was on the winners' side of the Cold War and that its decline was more flattened out as this development started some years after the displacing of Dejevo and Dranske.

At the end of the chapter two crucial concepts are touched upon. First, the concept of cultural memory appears. The contemporary local history museums in Fårösund and Dranske are each considered briefly. The aim of the two museums is to handle the

memories of the Cold War. Interestingly, the exhibitions are different in focus. In Fårösund attention is only given to military defence history, while in Dranske the focus is on both military and civilian aspects. Cultural memories are defined here as when texts, images and objects take a more fixed, mediated and representative form, often through the selection of local specialists or experts. Second, the concept of participation (in connection with resistance) appears at the end of the chapter. It can be concluded that when analysing the interaction, or the gap, between visionary plans and everyday life practices, it is vital to discuss people's possibilities to participate in (and resist) the planning projects.

The final chapter – titled "Reluctant Spaces: Planning Ideals and People's Resistance" – contains a reflective summary of what the investigation has achieved. The author declares that planning is always associated with selection. Regarding the three postmilitary places that have been dealt with in the thesis, only Fårösund has been selected as an example of "best practice" within the framework of the EU's conversion activities. According to the cultural critique of the thesis, the selection of Fårösund can be seen as an example of how the EU is transforming space into a homogeneous "monotopia" where resources are distributed in an unequal (and unfair) way between different groups and between different local communities. Even in the case of Fårösund itself, these dividing forces have been operating since the conversion strategies of the EU planning are in great discrepancy in relation to the experiences of the local inhabitants.

In general the Cold War, within the striving for unity in the new Europe, is an imposition – something which planning tries to forget or ignore regarding how cultural heritage is formed. A consequence of the selective attention on history is a kind of cultural amnesia.

Finishing the chapter, Feldmann Eellend comes back to the gap between planned space and perceived space. She finds a useful analytical tool in Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia. Developed further by Lefebvre, this concept, in contrast to monotopia, can be seen as a kind of spatial denomination that focuses on marginalized lived spaces where different forms of resistance are performed against the dominating social order. Through their resistance against hegemonic order, the heterotopic lived spaces appear as divided, unregulated, and excluded, at the same time as they are meaningful and productive. In the thesis this prolific force of resistance is founded on the scepticism and questioning approach that people have had and still have towards the planned space and the conversion strategies of Europe. In these cultural manifestations we can discern the practices of resistance that here become a final outcome of the investigation of the thesis.

The book is a stimulating contribution to the field of local studies. By its transnational approach to local realities, the thesis is a new and creative way of doing and reporting ethnographic fieldwork. By comparing and discussing three different local places in three different nation-state contexts, the author succeeds in integrating different spatial levels of cultural formation in her analysis.

Still, the strength of the book can also be seen as a weakness. The wide approach to the investigation object – encompassing not only three different local places but also three different national contexts! – has the consequence that the ethnography that is conducted lacks quite a lot when it comes to detail and thickness. It would have been gainful to have used more empirical examples and thereby, in a more decisive way, illustrated the general reflections that are presented.

It is also striking that the three garrisons are not discussed in an equal manner in the text. Dranske and Fårösund are analysed quite thoroughly throughout the book, while the descriptions of the former Soviet Union military base of Dejevo, in contrast, are rather limited.

In the end, however, *Visionära planer och vardagliga praktiker* appears as a sort of global ethnography that, in a fascinating but still not yet complete way, strives to pay equal attention to macroregional, local as well as national varieties and changes. It is an examination that draws its own territorial borders and by doing that, by representing alterity, contributes to a different story about Europe, or, I should say, EUrope.

Markus Idvall, Lund

Expeditions into the Past

Karin Gustavsson, Expeditioner i det förflutna. Etnologiska fältarbeten och försvinnande allmogekultur under 1900-talets början. Nordiska museets för-

lag, 2014. 239 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7108-570-2.

■ What was it really like on ethnological field expeditions last century, when knowledge about peasant culture was to be rescued for the archives? What was the relationship between the fieldwork practice and the knowledge processes? These are the questions asked by Karin Gustavsson in her dissertation, the title of which means "Expeditions into the past: Ethnological fieldwork and vanishing peasant culture at the start of the twentieth century".

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The book is attractively produced, and the index of persons at the end proves very useful during the reading. The pictures are well chosen, with captions that enrich the dissertation. The gaze that is analysed in the dissertation was interwoven in a visual knowledge that is materialized in survey drawings, photographs, and reconstructions. It is therefore a logical and successful move to devote space to these "inscriptions" and analyse them with care.

In the ethnological expeditions to document vernacular buildings, the provinces of Skåne, Blekinge, and Norrbotten dominate. The period covered by the study coincides with Sigurd Erixon's time at the Nordiska Museet, from the 1910s to the early 1930s. The aim is not a biographical account, but Erixon is nevertheless portrayed as a central figure in a network of male researchers. Erixon is the rallying point in the brigade of young men who were supposed to save the building culture that was threatened by modernization. Gustavsson shows, without performing any in-depth gender analysis, that the selection of objects was dictated by the men's eye for male associations, and the men's eye for men, that shaped the homosocial environment of the field researchers.

Gustavsson's theoretical toolbox includes various epistemological concepts from different disciplines such as medicine, biology, anthropology, and comparative literature. The shared field of interest concerns how scientific facts arise and how interaction between people and things shapes cultures of knowledge and ideas about "scientificness". Gustavsson introduces and sticks to Ludwik Fleck's concepts of *thought style* and *stable thought collectives*, which explain how individuals with shared experiences and aspirations towards the same goal develop a shared style of thought. Gustavsson also proceeds from John Urry's *tourist gaze* and ideas about selective vision which seeks out and confirms what is expected.

The intradiscipinary conceptual foundation ethnology, with its orientation towards materiality and materialization, is highly relevant in this work. Yet I feel that the greatest impact on the study comes from Bruno Latour and Steve Wolgar with their work *Laboratory Life*. The concept of inscriptions is an effective device for thinking with, and with its help Gustavsson shows how excerpts, inventory forms, and survey drawings function, not primarily as representations of peasant culture, but as practical operations for establishing order. The documents, the collections, and the archives were things that brought clarity in the situation of uncertainty and confusion that prevailed when knowledge about the complex – to say the least – peasant culture was to be saved for posterity.

Whereas Latour and Wolgar's research is based on observations of an ongoing scientific practice, Gustavsson tries to detect thought processes and the doing of science through a "close-up reading" of the research material. It is unusual but valuable to do as Gustavsson does, articulating problems and the need for translation when theory and method from contemporary studies in the social sciences are applied to the study of cultural history. The pearls of wisdom that convey the values and everyday character of research are literally to be found in the margins. We get a hint of Gustavsson's own practice and British patience, which has been tested in the study rooms of the folklife archives, in search of the informal conversations, the hardships and practical arrangements of the field expeditions. Gustavsson's time as antiquarian responsible for buildings at Helsingborg Museum has given her the pre-understanding and motivation to tackle source material which is at once fascinating and irritating.

Under the first heading we are shown the scholarly and societal context of the efforts to document buildings. It is interesting to read about public inquiries and parliamentary motions urgently calling for ethnological action in society. As described by Gustavsson, ethnology seems like a counterpart to today's politicized research field, life science. In agreement with earlier research, she shows how the contemporary context of the objects was ignored in the hunt for survivals that could provide information about the original peasant culture. The international

networks linking institutions and researchers working with cultural history are exposed, revealing nationalism to be an international movement with a shared thought style.

The next chapter, "A gaze for the past", analyses the instructions and other frames of reference that shaped the field researchers' thought style. Gustavsson notices how evaluations of observations in the field are associated with the field researchers' prior knowledge from earlier research and collected objects. Sven T. Kjellberg passes village after village with the comment "nothing to see", while Mårten Sjöbeck is amazed at the sight of "yet another corbelled gable – the most magnificent I have seen hitherto". A remarkable observation concerns how important the buildings collected by Artur Hazelius at Skansen were in shaping the interest of cultural historians.

The originality of the dissertation lies in the chapters dealing with "Movements in space", "Objects of fieldwork", and "Surveying and drawing". Gustavsson describes in detail the practical things that set their stamp on the everyday work – and consequently the scientific statements – of the field researchers, with objects like bicycles, cameras, paper, and measuring tapes. Modern technology in the form of cars and railways were a threat to the peasant culture that the researchers were interested in, but at the same time they were appreciated as useful aids to doing the actual research. Through the train window Sigurd Erixon registered the cultural boundary between fence types in the landscape through which the train passed. With the museum's Ford, the fieldworkers provoked interest among the local people, which made it easier to gain access to the objects of research.

One problem in the dissertation is that theorists and epistemological concepts are introduced as we go along, in an attempt to apply new holds in an ongoing wrestling bout with the research material. Concepts such as symbolic aura, tacit knowledge, and actant are introduced briefly and thrown into the textual construction, with vague definitions and with no great theoretical effect on the material. The theoretical premises do not hold together, and as a reader I sometimes wonder what job all these theoretical concepts are doing in the dissertation.

Although the chronological limits of the study coincide with Sigurd Erixon's time at the Nordiska Museet, Gustavsson claims that it is the accessibility and character of the material that has determined the demarcation. But parallel to the ethnological field expeditions organized by the Nordiska Museet and the circle around Sigurd Erixon, there were also active regional museums, handicraft associations, local heritage societies, schools of architecture, and student associations. How did the practice of fieldwork differ among the amateurs of the local heritage movement? With what thought style and in what practice did the female field researchers shape the knowledge of peasant textiles? Why draw the limit to exclude Lilli Zickerman's comprehensive fieldwork, which went on at the same time and in the same places as the male projects to document buildings?

The dissertation comes close to the field of professional studies, but Gustavsson hesitates at its boundary. This is unfortunate, in my opinion. In the descriptions of the ethnological field expeditions at the Nordiska Museet, architects and antiquarians worked in harmony and fraternity. At the same time, the architects were competing with antiquarians for the new assignments in building conservation. It is remarkable that Gustavsson does not consider Ola Wetterberg's extensive study of the antiquarian field in *Monument och miljö: Perspektiv på det tidiga 1900-talets byggnadsvård* (1992). Without citing any research references, Gustavsson places the emergence of building conservation beyond the chronological demarcation of her dissertation, and avoids bringing in the diversity and the struggles that were waged between institutions and professions in the growing cultural heritage sector.

The overall impression of the study is positive. Sticking close to the empirical evidence, the dissertation is an engaging contribution to ethnological research about its own history, adding perspectives about the practical doing of culture-historical knowledge. Karin Gustavsson follows in the trail of the old ethnologists, from the orderliness of the archives to the chaos that prevailed when knowledge of the vanishing peasant culture was to be rescued. Modern society was waiting at the door, and it was urgent to document the past, for the benefit of future research. And they were certainly right in this respect, although they probably envisaged other research questions and perspectives than those now cooking on the researchers' stoves.

(Review previously published in Swedish in *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift* 69/2015.)

Gunnar Almevik, Göteborg

Children as Co-researchers

Sandra Hillén, Barn som medforskare – en metod med potential för delaktighet. Göteborgs universitet 2013. 214 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-975353-6-6.

■ Studies of children, children's play, and children's lives in families and child(ish) communities have a long tradition in ethnology and folkloristics. Tribalized and family-oriented approaches have dominated in more classic periods, whereas the so-called new childhood paradigm, poststructuralist and gender studies have informed contemporary studies. Sandra Hillén's dissertation, "Children as co-researchers – a method with a potential for participation", inscribes itself in such contemporary childhood studies in ethnology. As in society, childhood is somewhat compartmentalized in academia, making ethnological childhood studies a matter for a small group of colleagues, often affiliated with or working in the borderland between culture and education. This is also the case with Hillén's dissertation, as it takes place within a school context and involves teaching on research methods.

The focus is on children, children's competencies, children's rights to be heard in matters that concern them, children's empowerment. But the questions of research and academia – and the chosen empirical field of food – disappear, leaving this reader with frustrations and bewilderment concerning why this is important for more than the specific children involved. Hillén limits herself to discussing how co-research as a method worked in this particular study, whereas the argument would have benefited from reflections on the strength and scope of the results. Questions of class and gender are touched upon, but are not convincingly delivered and attached to how academia can be informed by working with children as co-researchers. Paradoxically, the strong solidarity with children and the focus on children's rights and empowerment tend to dismantle any interest in actually using children's research results or ways of working with co-research to inform adults' research in the same field.

Chapter 1 introduces us to the focused topics and establishes a platform with theoretical, methodological and political dimensions. This platform consists of research on children and food (mostly concerned with problems such as child obesity and other health issues), "new" sociological childhood studies (concerned with children as social agents within adult society's power structure), post-structuralism and gender theories (concerned with issues of doing, governmentality, and intersectionality), theories of participation (concerned with issues of equality and democracy), and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (concerned with issues of empowerment and protection). Hillén combines these points of departure and sets an agenda of analysing the co-research as such as well as the process in which it took place. The aim of the study is to examine what happens when eleven-year-old children are involved as co-researchers, when given the opportunity to do research of their own choice on food and eating.

Chapter 2 on co-research takes as its point of departure the aspiration within childhood research to give young people voices and listen to what they say. Hillén sees her own research as affiliated to this tendency and its rootedness in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Dialogue is seen as a means of creating equality between adults and children in the research process. Hillén characterizes the results of the children's research on food as less important and her own focus on co-research as a method as the primary focus of the study. It is mentioned that the children's results were unsurprising and insufficient to inform a dissertation. As a consequence, the focal points all relate to what happens with children when they work as co-researchers, as seen in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 on children's competencies deals with questions of whether the co-research gives the children an alternative platform for agency than what is commonly offered to them, and whether their participation empowered them. Hillén's interest in this chapter is related to what happens to children's competencies when they are involved as co-researchers. A variety of concepts related to adult researchers' understanding of children and childhood are introduced, as well as analytical concepts of power, subject positions, and governmentality. Issues of power and selection of children participating in the project are discussed and topics such as parents' power to overrule children's wishes to be co-researchers are touched upon. It is emphasized that all children should be given the opportunity, and not only "clever" or "good" students. At the same time, the process of selection made by teachers in one of the two participating schools did just that.

Furthermore, a multitude of empirical examples are presented, illustrating children's agency, subject positioning and negotiation of roles and relations within the context of the co-research process.

Chapter 4 focusing on knowledge, knowing and knowledge production addresses the aforementioned fundamental paradoxes within the study. Giving examples from the co-research process, Hillén discusses questions of knowledge production and academic communication related to the children's research. Here it becomes evident that the basic power relation between children and adults and between academia and everyday life is impossible to overcome. It is up to Hillén as a researcher to act in ways that seek to do justice to the children. The most important insights in this chapter are related to children's perspectives on food and eating, and not least their interest in adults and expectations of them. Many parallels between the co-research process and "ordinary" adult research processes are pointed out, and the dilemmas of power and control are nuanced. The chapter could have benefited from more reflections on these parallels. For instance, the fact that research is a highly disciplining activity and academia is a community to which access is very difficult to obtain even for adults. Hillén emphasizes that the most interesting dilemma is the one between theory and practice as regards research, and she encourages more studies on what happens in social interaction, including chaotic aspects and situations. Her fear of downgrading or devalidating the children when reporting on such chaotic aspects is, surprisingly enough, not paralleled with "adult" messy and chaotic processes of research, perhaps because of the implicit presuppositions regarding children – and researchers. On the basis of Mary Kellett's approach, Hillén's troubles regarding research training and guiding children are quite relieved, as tutoring is seen as relevant and necessary in relation to children as co-researchers, again completely parallel to what takes place in adult research training.

Chapter 5 on potential participation returns to questions of children's position in society and limited citizenship, and a section is devoted to reflections on how to include children in academia. The question is whether this is a relevant quest; perhaps ways of understanding and working with children that can contribute to empowering them and emphasizing their democratic rights are even more important than trying to incorporate them in a highly hierarchical community such as academia. Personally I have dissuaded even very talented graduates from attempting this unless they are very well aware of the circumstances and conditions that prevail here. More important issues, to my mind, are that of how to guide and protect children when they are involved in research in one way or another, and the question of how children's co-research contributes to the insights researchers aspire to. The section on children's influence and participation in practice contains important reflections on children as citizens and how to ensure their democratic rights as established in the UN Child Convention. Socioeconomic, historic and cultural variation is introduced here as part of an argument for children's citizenship in a late modern era.

Thus, children's roles in the project are as both co-researchers and research objects. How Hillén's research and the children's co-research interrelate could be further elaborated upon, however, as it is clear that the children involved as co-researchers are not co-researchers in Hillén's own research, since children focus on food issues and Hillén focuses on co-research as a method of empowering children. The relation between research, political activism, and education could have benefited from more scrutiny and clarity throughout the text. In not doing this, Hillén leaves the reader bewildered as regards the scientific use of children as co-researchers, that is: how could children as co-researchers inform and qualify childhood studies and/or studies on food? The main impression is that co-research is of use for children, which is an important conclusion politically as well as ethically and educationally. The method of children as co-researchers seems to be good at giving children opportunities to express their opinions on matters that concern them, to empower them somewhat, and to expand or develop their competencies, that is, traditional educational aspirations. The study also raises unanswered questions on the scope and power of the research, as the co-researchers are "good" students in well-off, middle-class "white" schools. These matters are touched upon in the concluding chapters, but the answers are fewer than the questions. Nevertheless, I am looking forward to Hillén elaborating further on how this method helps academia understand children better.

Bjørg Kjær, Copenhagen

Otherness and Disease in Réunion

Karine Aasgaard Jansen, Otherness and Disease in Réunion. The Politicisation of the 2005 to 2007 Chikungunya Epidemic. University of Bergen, Bergen 2013. Appendix. Approx. 126 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-82-308-2375-0.

■ Karine Aasgaard Jansen's published dissertation comprises four research articles and an introduction or *kappe*. In the order in which they appear in the dissertation, the articles are:

Jansen, Karine A. 2013: "The 2005–2007 chikungunya epidemic in Réunion: Ambiguous aetiologies, memories and meaning-making" in *Medical Anthropology*, 32, Issue 2, pp. 174−189.

Jansen, Karine A. 2012: "The printed press's representations of the 2005−2007 chikungunya epidemic in Réunion: Political polemics and (post)colonial disease" in *Journal of African Media Studies* 4 (2012), issue 2, pp. 227−242.

Jansen, Karine A. 2010: "Defending the Body" in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 40 (2010), pp. 16−27.

Jansen, Karine A.: "Otherness as sameness: An Irigarayan perspective on decolonisation through inclusion in French Réunion" (submitted version). A revised version was published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 43 (2013), pp. 128−144.

The dissertation is a study of a recent dramatic event in Réunion. In less than two years almost 30 per cent of the population of Réunion became infected by chikungunya, a very painful disease transmitted by mosquitoes. Réunion is a French overseas department situated in the Indian Ocean, and the epidemic instigated a rise of polemics and frictions between the local printed press and the Réunionese population on one hand, and the public health authorities and the French government on the other.

This is the backdrop and empirical object of Karine Jansen's research. In her dissertation she aims to answer the question: "In what ways may dynamics in inclusion rather than separation, have influenced processes of othering and reactions to being othered in Réunion" (Introduction, p. 3). The research question is informed by postcolonial theories. Jansen's research provides fascinating insights into the recent political history of Réunion and its process of decolonisation through inclusion instead of independence. Decolonisation through inclusion into the nation of the former coloniser is a kind of decolonisation mostly overlooked by postcolonial literature. She discusses the politicisation of the discourse on the epidemic, and processes of othering and reactions to being othered more generally. By othering she means "discursive colonial practices described by post-colonial theories, in which racial and cultural difference is produced as inferior vis-à-vis the "superior" West" (cf. abstract). The thesis comprises four quite disparate articles and an introduction. Through the four articles some very interesting questions are raised. The articles are generally well written and merit a multidisciplinary audience, but there are also some problematic issues and I'll deal with the articles individually.

The first article, "The 2005−2007 chikungunya epidemic in Réunion: Ambiguous aetiologies, memories and meaning-making", presents an account of how the local people explain the epidemic disease chikungunya, the rumours and people's lack of trust in the French health authorities. In order to make sense of the new epidemic on the island, people often chose to rely on alternative explanations regarding how the disease is transmitted. Jansen argues that the alternative explanations were not due to lack of information, but rather that many Réunionese did not believe the information they received from the national public health authorities. She links this to the late and insufficient reactions by the national authorities and to Réunionese history as a former French colony.

This article is the one which most explicitly discusses the empirical data from the extensive eight months of ethnographic fieldwork that Jansen has undertaken. Her analysis presents four informants, while her other key informants are not visible in the analysis. Readers are not told why. The interview data could have been better contextualised and discussed in more depth. For example, Jansen dismisses age as an explanation of the alternative aetiologies, but she does not discuss other explanations, such as education, class or gender. However, this does not seem to interfere with the main conclusion of the article, that the alternative explanations were not due to lack of information, but rather caused by lack of trust in the national public health authorities. She argues for the significance of the historical, political and cultural context. Thus, in spite of the previously mentioned weaknesses the article presents interesting and highly relevant insights into medical anthropology and ethno-medicine.

The second article, "The printed press's rep-

resentations of the 2005−2007 chikungunya epidemic in Réunion: Political polemics and (post)colonial disease", is based on an analysis of the coverage of chikungunya in two of Réunion's most important newspapers. She also discusses articles about the disease in French newspapers like *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*. The basic findings are that the local press contributed highly to shaping the politicisation of the epidemic. As the author concludes in the article, France "failed to fulfil and play its expected part as a protector of the island's French geopolitical boundaries", and thus local sentiments of abandonment evolved into political polemics (Article 2, p. 239). This analysis is very clear and well-argued and the conclusion seems to be well founded. The article is an excellent contribution to political anthropology and ethnological mass-media-lore research.

The next two articles discuss a particular theoretical approach based on the work of the feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray. Both focus on Irigaray's ontological approach to perspectives on otherness as produced through inclusion and sameness, rather than through an establishment of difference. In "Defending the Body", a theoretical article written before the fieldwork, Jansen sets out to find "potential touching points between biological and feminist accounts of sexed body materiality, e.g. theories that acknowledge the material sexed body, but does not reduce it to a pure anatomical biomedical object" etc. (pp. 1 f.). She does this by comparing Irigaray's approach to sexual difference and gendered otherness with Simone de Beauvoir's, contextualising them as phenomenological approaches focusing on the body's way of "being-in-the-world".

The last article, "Otherness as sameness: An Irigarayan perspective on decolonisation through inclusion in French Réunion" discusses one of the basic assumptions in the thesis, namely that Irigaray's theory of sexual difference and gendered otherness can be of relevance to the question of post-colonial otherness. The main aim is to come up with an Irigaryan perspective on the complicated historical relationship between France and Réunion. In her concluding remarks Jansen presents a complex and contradictory picture of Réunionese identity: "In my opinion, Réunion and its residents neither fit the description of a post-colony nor neo-colony. Instead the island can be taken to represent both categorisations simultaneously" (Article 4, p. 14).

There is a clear progression between the two articles, and I found the second and last article particularly intriguing in the way Jansen argues for applying an Irigarayan perspective to explore processes of post-colonial othering. Adopting the work of Luce Irigaray as the main theoretical approach is a quite ambitious and courageous choice as this author is both ambiguous and controversial. Central to Irigaray's teachings is that women are associated with matter and nature, at the expense of a female subject position. According to Irigaray, women can only become subjects if they assimilate to male subjectivity: A separate subject position for women does not exist. Irigaray's goal is to uncover the absence of a female subject position and "true sexual difference in Western culture" (cf. *The Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*).

Irigaray's work has been criticised from different perspectives. One of the main critiques of her work from postcolonial and feminist perspectives is that her theory slides into essentialism and endorsing the belief that social behaviour follows from biology. Postcolonial theory also criticises her for homogenising differences between women, ignoring minority women, third world women, and economically disadvantaged women. She is also criticised along with other French feminists for her opaque writing style.

The Irigarayan approach seems to have influenced both parts of Jansen's research question, that is, what she is looking for and what she finds. One could argue that the theoretical approach is over-determined and thus problematic. However, the Réunionese history and the vehement reactions towards the French authorities during the epidemic and the aftermath, provide strong support for Jansen's analysis. Jansen also claims that Luce Irigaray's theory is not essentialist, and defends her theory (or her interpretation of it) partly through postulates. This is not sufficiently developed to make me fully convinced. I would rather claim that some of the critique of Irigaray might also apply to Jansen's analysis when she seems to imply through the Irigarayan approach that the Réunionese are not actually perceived as different, i.e. the postcolonial understanding of othering, but they are in fact different, but included into the same. To some extent the cultural variation within Réunion is also homogenised to make the points. Even though the two articles about Irigaray are a thought-provoking en-

deavour providing an interesting interpretation and use of her works, the added value of the Irigarayan approach to the analysis of the events in Réunion is neither quite clear nor convincing. The Irigarayan approach is supposed to be an alternative and different perspective to the postcolonial theory. It seems to be possible to come to the same conclusions with ordinary postcolonial theories such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) or Chandra Talpade Mohanty's *Under Western Eyes* (1984), arguing that the spread of the epidemic and the late intervention by the French health authorities were a result of the Réunionese being perceived as different Others and thus not as important or as equal citizens. While racialisation of the Réunionese, as well as Réunionese people's suspicion of racialisation, seems to have had significance for the politicising of the chikungunya epidemic, this could arguably be described by postcolonial theories, in which racial and cultural difference is produced as inferior vis-à-vis the "superior" West rather than as (with Irigaray) about Otherness produced by inclusion into the same. Gayatri Spivak discusses the problem of failed attempts at self-representation in her well-known article "Can the Subaltern Speak?", concluding that the voices of the subaltern are ignored (1988). Part of the problem about the state's response to the chikungunya epidemic seems to be that Réunion is not only geographically peripheral, but also not completely decolonised.

As might be obvious from this survey, the thesis is not a coherent work. Article-based dissertations are still quite rare within the Scandinavian research field of folklore and ethnology and pose some challenges that are apparent in this dissertation too. While Jansen's original research question was clearly confined within medical anthropology, it soon slides into a question about the political significance of the epidemic and how this politicisation was influenced by the constructions of otherness and local conceptualisations of citizenship. These choices are legitimate and stimulating, and seem to be based both on the empirical encounter and on the choice of theory. The negative side, however, is a lack of coherence between the publications, and a "thin" conclusion to the overall research question.

To summarise, Jansen's dissertation presents a thought-provoking description of Réunion's process of decolonisation through departmentalisation instead of independence. It also produces knowledge of people's different explanations of the disease chikungunya. Thus her research could be relevant both for health work, for example, to combat or prevent epidemics, and for policymaking. Jansen contributes to the knowledge production within various fields, i.e. ethno-medicine and medical anthropology, political anthropology, postcolonial theory, and cultural studies as well as to the local knowledge production of Réunion.

Line Alice Ytrehus, Bergen

A Greasy-skinned Worker and an Academic

Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Her Own Worth. Negotiations of Subjectivity in the Life Narrative of a Female Labourer. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2014. 215 pp. Ill. Appendices. ISBN 978-952-222-609-9.

■ Interviewing one's grandparents is something most of us have done or at least thought about doing just to gain information about our own background. Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto has not contended herself with this very personal interest. She has decided not only to interview her grandma Elsa Koskinen (born 1927) but also to use this narrative information to analyse the ways in which one woman's understanding of her own worth was constructed in the interviews. Her interest focuses especially on work, class and gender. These aspects of life have gone through major changes in twentieth-century Finland, and this is why Elsa's experiences represent changes both on a very personal and communal and on a more general, societal level. In the end, all these levels also bring out how Elsa described and how her interviewee has interpreted her sense of belonging to the category of workers.

The author refers to her interviewee by her first name, and this is why I also have taken the liberty to call her Elsa here. Because of the very intimate relationship between the researcher and her informant and the way it is presented in the research, I awoke to a situation where I had difficulties deciding how to address the author in this situation. I was wondering if I should refer to her as well with her first name. I have, however, decided to refer to her as au-

thor or researcher, but the fact that the research composition is exceptional – although not unique – should be kept in mind.

Elsa started her working life early, first as a house maid when she was 12 years old and three years later as a worker at the Inha Ironworks. The factory became her permanent employer except for the years she spent at home with the children. She could have stayed at home even longer but she decided to go back to work when the children were grown up. This means that both the factory and its surroundings became very familiar to Elsa, and her life and narrations were very much concentrated in one place.

The co-operation between the researcher and her interviewee started already while the author was doing her master's thesis in ethnology, and the idea of using the interviews for academic purposes was clear from the beginning. The 12 interviews used in this research as well, based on the author's doctoral dissertation, were conducted during 2001–2004. The research is about the process of narrating and personal meaning making but – I think – more importantly about Elsa and her narrated experiences. The author has organized the interview material according to the micro narratives she has found in it. Her idea is to analyse with the help of these micro narratives the dialogic self of Elsa. This means that the aim is to use these narratives in order to recognize the different layers of the narrations and of the self-understanding of the narrator: the current one and the past selves which all integrate to establish a continuum between life experiences. In this the narrator also uses different narrative strategies and agencies which are part of the analyses.

The author has asked three main questions about her material. The first one deals with the three aspects of life (work, class and gender) and the way they shaped the narrator's subjectivity. She is also interested in the way her interviewee positions herself in relation to shifting cultural ideals and thirdly, she reflects on the ways one person's experiences contribute to our understanding of power dynamics. She refers to folklorist Patricia Sawin when she describes her aim of respecting the informant and their relationship as dialogic approach.

One of the important choices Elsa wanted to represent as a conscious one was her choice to go back to factory work and to avoid the life of a middle-class housewife. For her it was important to be able to represent herself as a "greasy-skinned worker", tough and capable. The aim to have a clear class identity can be seen as the basic factor in Elsa's narrations about herself. This is linked to the aim to distance herself from the social climbing that was also taking place in her life after her husband moved forward in his career. The female factory worker she represented to her granddaughter also had strong agency in her contradictory working environment, which required both physical and mental strength and endurance. These were also the values Elsa wanted to transfer to her granddaughter. The need to categorize herself as a greasy-skinned worker and distance herself from the home-maker role does not mean, however, that she would question the gender roles.

Another important aspect of Elsa's life was the social world of the factory community which came to represent security to her in comparison to the world outside. This familiar environment meant shared values for her and the physical landscape, and landmarks like the smokestack were concrete symbols of that. These material aspects of her environment were also points of references that connected her current life with the past after all the changes that took place in both the working and the social environment. The connectedness with the place also brings out the most contradictory narratives about Elsa's characteristics: the reader also becomes familiar with the "shy and worrying Elsa". These differences in the self-narration are interpreted by the researcher as reactions to the changes both in Elsa's own surroundings and in society in general.

The class-based environment and the hierarchies within it are analysed through the construction of stereotypes, idealizations and symbols within Elsa's narratives. Against the expectations of the interviewer, Elsa's narrations mainly reflected respect for the social hierarchies which gave her the basis for organizing her world and identification, as she writes. This does not mean, however, that her experiences of social hierarchies were somehow neutral. On the contrary, many of the narrations were very emotional, with a wide range of feelings. To identify herself as a worker was a positive aspect of her life with feelings of pride and dignity. But sometimes being identified as worker from outside meant feelings of humiliation and shame. Despite the latter, Elsa's narrations emphasize the positive aspects of both the work and the community that created an

important part of her identity. For her the past was a way to cope in the present.

The author emphasizes the special nature of Elsa's narration as it reflects the ways in which social status is negotiated in everyday life. She justifies the fact that she only has one informant, arguing that this way she has had a possibility for deeper and more nuanced analyses of personal experiences. I agree with her that in this case – as in many other cases as well – less is more. The picture of Elsa is not, however, complete. There are blind spots, as the author herself recognizes.

For a reader coming from outside the family the uncharted area seems to be the life of an adult Elsa led with her husband and children. The author has noticed this as well. For her the explanation lies in Elsa's aim to identify herself as an active working-class woman, not a homemaker. Reading through the research, the absence of this aspect of life just seems surprising and makes the reader wonder if this may be because both parties have been especially interested in the working life and the meaning of factory work for Elsa. Or could it also be that this is the part of life Elsa did not want to share with outsiders and not even with her granddaughter? After reading quite a few reminiscences of twentieth-century women working in farmhouses, I would think that the marital relationship would play quite an important role in the life of a female factory worker as well, both for her meaning making and for the narrational subjectivity. These aspects of family life are referred to only in passing in the research, however, although Elsa's experiences from her family of origin are very much included in her narrated self. I can very well understand the reasons for this because of the close relationship between the researcher and her interviewee. This is, however, the blind spot that would have made Elsa's choices and her dialogic self even more understandable for an outsider, I suspect.

The very starting point of the research tells us that the relationship between the grandmother and the granddaughter is close, and this becomes even clearer while reading the text. The excerpts where the interviewer disputes the viewpoints of her interviewee are at the same time humorous, touching and very revealing about the nature of the research relationship with a very personal flavour. This aspect is also something on which the researcher herself reflects at various points in the research. At the beginning of her research the author also reflected on how the close relationship affected the process. Much of what we know about the dynamics of an interview situation can also be applied to the discussions between Elsa and her granddaughter: The roles of other persons (besides those of a grandmother and granddaughter) have also had their effect on the themes elicited and narrated. Furthermore, the length of the interview process affects to the ways in which we formulate our narrations. There are differences as well, however. An important research ethical aspect is the choice made by the author to use only those narrations she has taped in the "official" interviews, although she has also heard many other narratives and must have much background knowledge about her grandmother that is not presented in the tapes.

Elsa also wrote a letter of feedback to her granddaughter at the very beginning of the research process. In the letter she herself very clearly states her idea of why she has felt it important to share information about her life and why she has chosen to talk especially about certain aspects of life. For her it was important to tell how to survive both with the willpower and with humility. As her narratives show, these were also characteristics that Elsa herself had used in different phases of her life.

I enjoyed Elsa's narrations about her life and I believe they have a special tone in them as told to her granddaughter. I also enjoyed the granddaughter's interpretations of her grandmother's experiences. But most of all I enjoyed reading the dialogue between these two women. The author writes that she feels sorry that Elsa could not cooperate with her through the whole research process. As true as this may be, it is not the feeling the reader gets from the dialogical approach.

Pia Olsson, Helsinki

The Siren of the Norwegian Women's Political Project

Synnøve Skarsbø Lindtner, "Som en frisk vind gjennom stuen": Kvinnebladet Sirene og det utvidete politikkbegrepet (1973−1983). Avhandling for graden philosophiae doctor (ph.d.), University of Bergen 2014. 416 pp. Ill.

■ This dissertation by Synnøve Skarsbø Lindtner explores how the slogan "The personal is political"

was expressed in the Norwegian feminist magazine *Sirene: Tidssignal for kvinner og menn*, published during the years 1973 to 1983. The purpose is to analyse how politics is presented in the magazine's articles during these ten years. Skarsbø Lindtner reads the magazine as a polyphonic text, marked by different voices that negotiated about what it meant to make the personal political.

The theoretical inspiration is taken from Michel Foucault's discourse analysis in combination with hermeneutics from Clifford Geertz and Quentin Skinner. In accordance with these influences Skarsbø Lindtner argues that a text can be read as an expression of one or more speech events within a specific discourse. The analysis comprises a series of comparisons of different political expressions (such as feminisms, ideologies and mentalities connected to the political sphere) in *Sirene* and elsewhere, both in Norway and in other places.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters that vary considerably in size, from eight to eighty pages, as well as in level of analysis. In chapter one the magazine *Sirene* is placed in a thematic and historical context. Skarsbø Lindtner argues that the women's political project of *Sirene* has been marginalized within the Norwegian history of the women's movement. This is discussed in relation to the political understandings of women's movements and politics, as well as in relation to the research field.

In chapter two Skarsbø Lindtner describes the research aim and objective, as regards both theory and method. In the chapter she also explores how the practices of the women's movement have shaped the perspectives on the movement itself. The aim is to gain insight into the mentalities, ideologies and ways of understanding that enabled a series of new ways to talk about, understand and practise politics and feminism in parts of Norway in the 1970s and 1980s.

Chapter three draws the background for the starting of the magazine, and outlines the specific social, political and media context that made *Sirene* possible. Skarsbø Lindtner argues that the magazine articulated politics from beneath and that it was a radical enlightenment project, which had a broad influence on Norwegian society.

The next chapter concentrates on the different roles that psychology and psychoanalysis played in the magazine. Skarsbø Lindtner compares *Sirene* to American magazines of the same time and to key feministic publications in Norway during the 1930s and 1940s. She argues that psychoanalysis had impact on the debate about sexuality in Norway in two ways: in the shape of Ingjarl Nissen it was understood as a conservative ideology in opposition to the *Sirene* project, but while this was the case psychoanalysis still influenced the magazine, but in ways that differ from the American feminism at the same time. Skarsbø Lindtner relates the scepticism about the Freudian knowledge to the central role of Marxism in Norway during the 1970s and argues that psychoanalysis therefore played an implicit rather an explicit role in the shaping of the magazine.

In chapter five Skarsbø Lindtner explores how the conditions for a feminist magazine such as *Sirene* changed during the 1970s. She writes that while new feminism had a wide breakthrough in the seventies, there were many who changed their opinion of how the women's movement should continue, how equality could be achieved and what politics should be about. In time the differences became so large that many women turned away from *Sirene*.

In chapter six Skarsbø Lindtner continues to explore how the magazine articulated feminism when it was no longer published by Cappelen. At this time *Sirene* appeared as a more openly feminist political project that Skarsbø Lindtner terms an existential feminist liberating projects. Women's liberation was defined in a new landscape where emotions gained greater space, but where the political questions were relegated to governmental institutions. Skarsbø Lindtner writes that during the early 1980s there was a transition in *Sirene* from a women's room to a forum for critical debate about women's liberation.

The dissertation ends with an eight-page conclusion. Skarsbø Lindtner writes that *Sirene*, instead of creating contact with the established political apparatus, turned to the female public arena. In *Sirene* politics were understood as a public project and as a personal existential process of liberation. *Sirene* insisted that almost everything was political in the sense that everything could be discussed publicly. At the same time, some themes were considered more political than others, for example the body, sexuality and subjectivity. Skarsbø Lindtner declares that this was a consequence of that fact that the established politics before *Sirene* had marginalized women's autonomy by rewriting and silencing sexuality.

The theme of the dissertation is interesting and

the close and thorough analysis of articles in *Sirene* in chapters five and six is highly informative and nuanced. Pictures of the front covers of several issues of *Sirene* add to the analysis and bring the reader close to the analytical work. Skarsbø Lindtner's analysis touches upon numerous important aspects of feminist political debates. Unfortunately, this also makes the thesis somewhat disparate and hard to follow. In addition I find the scope too wide and the theoretical influences too many, besides being not thoroughly defined.

Skarsbø Lindtner writes that her object of study is the whole of the public, cultural and political realm that *Sirene* was part of. This raises questions about demarcation and the differences between the cultural and the political, questions that Skarsbø Lindtner does not address. Instead she argues for the necessity to study *Sirene* as a concrete expression of different ways of thinking about, and practising, politics and feminism, without defining theories of politics, feminism and women's periodicals. Although this ambition is admirable, in my opinion, it leads to difficulties in keeping the line of discussion and to several questions, such as about the differences between feminist doctrine and discourse or between debate and discussion. The most problematic question concerns the many feminisms and public spheres and their differences and relations. In the text I have counted eleven different feminisms and fourteen public spheres. The consequence of Skarsbø Lindtner not wanting to define concepts and analytical terminology is that her line of argument is often lost and the reader fails to enter into a discussion with her. In my opinion this is a loss, since Skarsbø Lindtner has put a lot of work and engagement into a very interesting field of inquiry.

Susanne Nylund Skog, Uppsala

Fictionalized Bodies in Live Action Role-playing

Erika Lundell, Förkroppsligad fiktion och fiktionaliserade kroppar. Levande rollspel i Östersjöregionen. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm 2014. 197 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-8723-582-5.

■ The aim of Erika Lundell's dissertation, "Embodied Fiction and Fictionalized Bodies: Live Action Role-playing in the Baltic Sea Region", is "to describe the characteristics of live action role-playing, how they are created, realized, and retold. A further aim is to investigate how bodies are materialized, take space, and are given space in larp chronotopes which are staged in the Baltic Sea region" (p. 16). Lundell is thus interested in live action role-playing, bodies, and materialization. Live action role-playing (larp) resembles improvised theatre, but without an audience, and it can go on for several hours or even days. Larp can be found in many parts of the world, and early examples of role-playing existed in USA and Britain in the 1970s. The Nordic countries adopted larp a little later, in the 1980s and 1990s; it spread to Russia and Latvia in the 1990s. The forerunners, according to the author, included the fantasy genre, science fiction, different historical predecessors such as gladiator games and other forms of role-play such as tabletop role-playing games in the USA.

As regards theory, Lundell is inspired by different researchers and traditions. Here we may mention Sara Ahmed's phenomenology and Victor Turner's theories of ritual. The reader also meets scholars like Merleau-Ponty and Judith Butler, and concepts such as performativity, leakage, matrix of interpretation, embodiment, and materialization. There are also thoughts about metacommunication based on Bateson. It is an eclectic stance that the author adopts, thus following an established tradition in ethnology.

The dissertation is in large part chronologically arranged, so that the reader meets everything from preparations for larp to the participants' return to everyday reality. In one chapter, "Written Rooms for Action", the author examines texts aimed at participants in larp, texts describing the live action chronotopes, that is, larp as timespace phenomena. Lundell calls these texts scripts, following Sara Ahmed, the scripts function as orientation tools which "help the participants direct their body and their gaze away from the everyday world to the more or less collaboratively designed role-playing chronotope with its specific alterities" (p. 76).

With the focus on class, Lundell describes the *Erta* role-playing game as reflecting a class society with distinct hierarchies, as expressed in the way people of lower rank must submit to their superiors. *The Motherland* also takes place in a hierarchical world. The author says that the clear class hierarchies are genre markers which distinguish larp

chronotopes from the everyday world. The class structure, so to speak, metacommunicates that play is in progress.

In chapter 4, "Materialized Spaces for Action", the preparations for larp are compared to theatrical preparations, but with the difference that larp has no audience. Nor is the script fixed as in a theatre play, and the scenography is not static. Moreover, the objects lack a specific meaning and can rather be seen as suggestions in comparison with the more fixed props in the theatre.

Lundell gives relatively detailed descriptions of how the role-playing was built up and how the participants' bodies were shaped in harmony with the larp space. This was done, for example, through military drill, and the author claims, citing Merleau-Ponty, that this drill can be viewed as an example of how a person learns a new and temporary body schema in larp. The exercises were orientation tools, a way to redirect the body and adapt it to the larp space.

Chapter 5, "Fictionalizing Space", considers how the different larp chronotopes are materialized in space and how boundaries are drawn between everyday reality and larp reality. This could be done, for instance, with the aid of a white bandana that the participants tied around their forehead if they were "off-game". They would then be ignored. There was thus, according to the author, a metacommunication between the participants about which matrix of interpretation was to be relevant.

Chapter 6, "Bodies in Simultaneous Matrices of Interpretation", deals with practices associated with the body, that is, sexually coded practices, and different forms of violence. In larp there are clear rules for the representation of sex, for which the reason, according to the author is that sex was regarded as a boundary practice, that is, a practice that threatened to leak between the different worlds and the matrices of interpretation. As a whole, sexuality was difficult to stage, since it entailed the risk that the sexuality of the playing character was mistaken for the authentic desire of the participant.

Larp often involves war and hostilities, that is to say, different forms of violence, above all physical violence. The use of force was regulated; for example, a person who was struck by a fake sword chose to respond as if it had hurt, according to written instructions for how to react to different types of violence. That type of role-playing, according to the author, signalled which matrix of interpretation was relevant and how the violence was to be understood. Lundell also discusses violence as an expression of a form of hegemonic masculinity, but also in terms of a kind of "masculinity for all".

Chapter 7, "Leaving the Larp", is about what happens when the role-playing days are over, and the narratives and memories that are then passed on. The author regards the retelling afterwards as performative; this is when the participants together create the image of what happened during the larp. She enlists the assistance of Bauman and describes the narratives as "debriefing narratives", where the participants communicate their individual experiences and combine them into a complete picture. Lundell also cites Victor Turner's ritual theory and the concept of "communitas" in order to understand the rituals that end the role-playing. One example from *The Motherland* concerns the manifestation of communitas by singing the Soviet anthem one last time.

In chapter 8, "Emotions and Leakage" the author looks at some events that took place after the game days. Emotions are an important theme here, and Lundell studies how these are expressed in a "thank-you thread" on the net, where the participants can comment on what they have experienced and communicate their thoughts and feelings.

In chapter 9, "A Nation for Vacation from the Nation?", examines how the nation or the idea of nations is both confirmed and dissolved, and the link between nation and body, that is, how bodies orient themselves in the space of the nation. And nation refers here both to nation in the world of larp and in the everyday world. Here Lundell touches on "banal nationalism", which concerns how objects can become symbols of nations without actually representing nationalism. An example is the everyday use of flags. In larp, however, such objects can be re-labelled as in *The Motherland*, where the flag symbolized the Soviet Union, but in a new way in a temporary context.

Another theme in the chapter is the link between gender and nation. Lundell writes that, unlike other narratives of the nation, where the role of soldier, for example, may have stood for a hegemonic masculinity, there is a duality in larp concerning the soldier role and gender. On the one hand, there is an openness towards the idea that women can also be soldiers and represent the nation; on the other hand,

they are marked as something special, which counteracts the idea of equal conditions.

In the closing chapter, Lundell discusses larp in relation to the concept of metamodernism, which comes from the article "Notes on Metamodernism" by Vermeulen and Van der Akker (2010). Metamodernism can be defined as: "oscillating between a modern enthusiasm and a postmodern irony, between hope and melancholy, between naivety and knowledge, empathy and apathy, unity and diversity, totality and ambivalence" (p. 164). Lundell says that larp resembles this oscillation between enthusiasm and irony, and can be regarded as a way out of the conflict between postmodernism's sense that nothing is real and modernism's demand for absolute truth.

A characteristic of larp is "picking and dealing", which allows a mixture of styles, objects, periods, and intentions. In a way the dissertation is a reflection of larp in that both have a creative and postmodern (metamodern) character. The dissertation has a wealth of ideas, many different perspectives and angles. I see this as both positive and negative. As a reader one travels between many different lines of thought and theorists, and this is often informative and entertaining. The dissertation also contains concrete and telling examples that reflect what larp is and how it can be understood. The reader thus gains good and interesting insight into this fictitious world, and I am impressed by the energy that the participants and arrangers invest in the practice.

The orientation towards bodies and materialization is interesting and in keeping with the times, and as I understand it this adds new perspectives to this type of phenomenon – even if it is not always perfectly clear what new knowledge is yielded by body and materialization. It also reflects a certain courage to carry out the research and arrange the dissertation in the way Lundell does, with a rather large and demanding collection of material based on several different methods and types of evidence: texts (online studies), interviews, and observations in Sweden, Denmark, and Latvia. During her participation in larp, the author has also experienced many different situations and trials, physical, mental, and moral. As a result, the dissertation gives good insight into what larp can mean. One strength of the dissertation is the many descriptions of different activities, events, and experiences linked to the role-playing. Lundell also gives a solid and lucid account of previous research.

But there are also certain flaws. I think that the dissertation would have gained from being more theoretically consistent, and also working the theories into the material to a greater extent. Furthermore, the use of concepts signals different theoretical traditions which can make it slightly difficult to understand what type and level of knowledge the author is searching for.

Also, Lundell might possibly have benefited from restricting herself more; as it is now she deals with many different phenomena and perspectives. This is not just a disadvantage, of course, but it is difficult to find one's way in the text and there are repetitions of both content and language that could have been avoided.

More information about analytical methods and a more detailed problematization of methods in general would also have been appropriate. I would have liked to see examples from the material that brought us closer to the individuals, and it would surely have been possible to use the methods and material more strategically, for example, by bringing more interview material into the chapter about emotions. As it is now, the people, the participants, partly end up in the background. At the same time, I believe that many practitioners of larp will recognize themselves in this book and, like me, will read it with great enjoyment.

Bo Nilsson, Umeå

The Norwegian Women's Movement of the 1970s

Ingrid Müftüoglu, Hverdagens politikk i 1970-tallets kvinnebevegelse. University of Bergen, 2013. 229 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ In this doctoral thesis from the University of Bergen, the Norwegian women's movement of the 1970s is studied, with particular focus on the relationship between everyday life and politics. The analysis is based on rich empirical material consisting of interviews, participant observation and printed texts, and the author uses theoretical concepts such as meaning making, aesthetics, knowledge production and traditionalization to discuss questions concerning how political positions and beliefs are visible in and impact on daily life.

The thesis consists of seven chapters: first an introduction where the research problems are presented and the women's movement is related to a historical context, followed by a chapter describing the research procedures. Then follow four thematic chapters, the first of which focuses on the interviewees' childhood and upbringing, and the second discusses the home and the women's daily life as a political arena. The last thematic chapters look at two empirical examples: the women's house in Oslo as a public space and the Women's Cultural Festival in 1979 as a public manifestation. Finally, the author summarizes three main themes from the analysis, in a short concluding chapter.

Initially, the thesis is presented as a cultural-historical analysis of a more recent period in Norwegian history, aiming at examining how the political slogans of the women's movement became personalized, reformulated and aestheticized in everyday life. The author furthermore seeks to illuminate the personal, cultural and aesthetic expressions of the women's struggle and examine the women's movement as an arena for personal meaning making, lifestyle changes and new cultural expressions. It is, in other words, a number of different and relatively extensive research questions that are presented at the beginning of the text, but not all of them are given equal attention in the analysis.

The historical background presented in the chapter contributes to situating the Norwegian women's movement in a larger context, through linking it with the labour movement, the environmental movement and the American women's movement. The theoretical framework includes a number of theoretical perspectives and concepts: in addition to aesthetics, knowledge production and traditionalization, Alberto Melucci's theories of new social movements and collective identity are introduced, with a particular focus on meaning production in social movements. Relevant previous research is also presented. Here, however, I would have liked to see a more elaborate discussion of how the thesis positions itself within the large and diverse research field surrounding social movements, not least when it comes to how a cultural-historical analysis can contribute to this multidisciplinary research area, for example by directing attention to individual experiences, everyday life and historicity.

The first thematic chapter of the thesis, where the interviewees' stories of childhood and upbringing are analysed, works primarily as a kind of background that contributes to a deeper understanding of the later parts. The chapter could, however, have been more firmly integrated in the thesis, and in its theoretical framework and research problems. The interview material potentially opens for discussions of topics such as meaning making, aesthetic expressions or the importance of childhood experiences for individuals' social commitment as adults, the latter an issue that has been discussed in several studies on political involvement. But instead the analysis is based on theoretical concepts like masculinity, femininity and more specifically "guttejente" (tomboy). It is an interesting discussion as such, but since this perspective is only discussed in this particular part of the thesis, the result is that the chapter comes to stand out as slightly separate.

The following chapter, on the other hand, is clearly linked to the main focus of the thesis, since it examines the relationship between everyday life and politics, and the home as a political arena. Here the author dives into the small details of the research participants' narratives about their daily life, looking at different aspects of home making, from which colours were seen as aesthetically "right" during this period and within the women's movement – such as the views on green and brown versus white – to cleaning and handling dirty towels. The home is thus presented both as a place where political views and opinions could be communicated through aesthetic expressions, and as a potential arena for conflicts. The examples evoke interesting questions about the relation between aesthetic ideals and not only gender but also class, as well as around what it means to actually have power over the home.

In the last thematic chapters, where a more detailed analysis of two specific examples is performed – what the women's house in Oslo looked like and how it worked, and what happened in the microenvironment around the Women's Cultural Festival in Oslo in 1979 – it is no longer the interviews that constitute the main material. Instead various texts and documents have a prominent place in the analysis. In these two chapters there are many examples of how disagreements arose and made themselves felt in the practical cooperation and interaction within the movement and the various organizations and groupings that belonged to it. In different ways, the author discusses how some opin-

ions, positions and ways of acting were generally accepted and encouraged, while others were perceived as inappropriate or, for different reasons, not suitable within the movement. The conflicts that occurred could concern issues like the view of men in relation to the women's movement, the view of and the practical implementation of democratic structures, or the preferred aesthetic expressions. The examples from the material are generally interesting, but the analysis could have been more clearly connected to the main theoretical discussions about collective identities and also aesthetization, as well as to existing research on social movements, for example concerning the perception of democracy and the democratic structure within the organizations.

Overall, the initial theoretical discussions could well have been more developed and also used more actively in the analysis in the thematic chapters. A further discussion about the concepts of "politics", "(women's) culture" and "aesthetization" and how the author wants to define and understand them, would for instance have been valuable and helped to sharpen the analysis. Similarly, the analysis would have benefited from a more elaborate discussion of the concepts "home", on the one hand, and "everyday life" on the other. Now the relationship between them becomes somewhat unclear, and they sometimes tend to overlap, as when the author discusses how the interviewed women could feel guilty about not spending enough time and energy on the home. The examples cited indicate that it was not just a question of the home as a physical place, or aestheticization of the home, but that their reflections also concerned the organization of everyday life.

In the concluding chapter, the author presents three strands which she sees as central throughout the thesis. First, the informants' narratives about everyday objects and aesthetic expressions, and how mundane and material cultural expressions such as clothing, interior and images can become or be seen as examples of political commitment. The second strand relates to how the protests against male domination and visions of equality and autonomy were expressed. This is also where the author clearly sees a time dimension and argues that historical changes become visible. The third central strand highlighted by the author concerns how women's everyday experiences gained not only a political but also an existential dimension, and how it was not just a question of the personal becoming political, but also of the personal sphere becoming coloured by the political engagement.

This last strand is one of the main strengths of the thesis: how the author through her empirical material concerning the Norwegian women's movement of the 1970s illustrates the double perspective of how politics and political involvement can have a direct impact on individuals' everyday lives and aesthetization of the home, and, at the same time, how everyday life as well as childhood and adolescence can influence political beliefs and political commitment. This dissertation thus gives new perspectives to the existing research in the field, both through its focus on the home and aesthetic expressions, and through its combination of different empirical examples that contribute to illuminating the women's movement of the period from several different angles.

Maria Zackariasson, Huddinge

Memory, Politics, and World Heritage

Dragan Nikolic, Tre städer, två broar och ett museum. Minne, politik och världsarv i Bosnien och Hercegovina. Lunds universitet, Avdelningen för etnologi, Lund 2012. 304 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7473-332-7.

■ Memory, politics, and world heritage in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina is the topic of Dragan Nikolić's dissertation, the title of which means "Three Cities, Two Bridges, and a Museum" An introduction and a brief concluding discussion frame three chapters, one about each city. First Mostar and its famous bridge, then Višegrad with its no less famous bridge over the Drina, and then Jajce, a small city with a large heritage of political memory, from days of ancient glory and from more recent and problematic times, Yugoslavia, the war, and the new state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The express purpose of the dissertation is to "study how people use world heritage sites and memories of the past, how UNESCO's policy on cultural heritage is taken up, reassessed, and reinterpreted, and how international intentions meet post- war conflict-filled reality" (p. 20). It is about how people remember and handle the past on a local level and the consequences it has, and how ceremonies, monuments, and memorials can create meaning for the past, the present, and the immediate future.

The study is based on qualitative interviews and conversations with informants, or "narrators", along with photographs, video recordings, and participant observation between 2007 and 2011, carried out during sporadic visits and longer stays. As regards method, it is rooted in a tradition of ethnological fieldwork that emphasizes the importance of presence and participation, and in present-day phenomenology, with the focus on situated practice.

Nikolić's premise is that monuments are remarkable material, which can be used as a kind of peephole into social and cultural processes. The idea is that the monuments themselves, like their everyday use and the ceremonies around them, can be understood as heavily charged actors, with an ability to trigger chains of actions and give rise to interpretations.

A core of the problem is the relation between memories, representations of memory, and space/place. It is a relation which the author seeks to explore using Hannah Arendt's concept "spaces of appearance", where people appear to each other not only as things, but also make their presence explicit as living people. The bridges in Mostar and Višegrad and the museum in Jajce are analysed as such "spaces of appearance", which together with rituals and ceremonies "become pedestals from which important questions can be articulated" (p. 17).

The central problem is the struggle over whose memory is to count and how one should remember, a struggle about what should be elevated to become generally acknowledged cultural heritage on the one hand, and a struggle over local ethnic groups' and individuals' memory and history on the other. A number of conceptual pairs are used for the difference between established institutional public remembering and locally living communicative memory from below: "shared memory – common memory"; "cultural memory – communicative memory", "commemorating from above – commemorating from below"; Pierre Nora's "lieux de mémoire – milieux de mémoire". Here too belong de Certeau's "strategy", which refers here to the attempts by rulers to stage history and territory in specific ways, and "tactics", which refers to the daily use and incorporation into people's lives. Altogether this makes up a powerful but also problematic dichotomous relationship, between, on the one hand, ideology, rhetoric, politics, and on the other hand everyday use, or if you wish between ideal and practice.

The war is the background that gives the dissertation its resonance, on several levels. "Seldom has the nomination of individual objects as global sites of memory happened among people who are in such a deep state of confusion and powerlessness as here" (p. 8), the author writes. It is a confusion and powerlessness that requires discussion of fundamental agreements and concepts in the field of cultural heritage. Memories are profoundly problematic in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina, but oblivion is also problematic. Orders came from different quarters to remember, just as orders came to forget. There is no given shared memory, no common historiography or cultural policy. Nikolić takes this extremely heated and fragmented situation as his methodological point of departure, his idea being that it can clarify and demonstrate processes and phenomena that are otherwise elusive.

The author's presence in the field is also framed by his experiences as a seventeen-year-old war refugee from Bosnia to Sweden. On the one hand, he has been able to use these experiences as an asset. By being open about his Yugoslav and Bosnian background, he found it relatively easy to get into conversations with Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats. On the other hand, this background was also a problem, in that he was constantly asked to display his cultural ID. As a Bosnian Serb, according to the extreme principle of ethno-national affiliation, there was no neutral outsider position for him, no observing research role to escape into. If the insider position, the command of the language, the cultural affiliation was an asset, it soon also became "an almost unbearable torment" (p. 14).

The first of the three central chapters is woven around Stari Most, the old bridge in Mostar, built in the sixteenth century, destroyed by Croatian forces in 1993, and recreated and reopened, with international help, in 2004. The theme of the chapter is how experiences and memories of the war relate to the bridge as a cultural memory. From UNESCO's distanced global perspective, the restored bridge can be presented as a symbol of multi-ethnic co-existence, tolerance, and cultural development. On the local, regional, and national level, it seems like a bizarre joke. The bridge stands there instead as a monument to division and the chasm of unbridgeable differences that has led Mostar to fall into two ethnically

separate parts, one on either side of the River Neretva.

This chapter dramatizes the discrepancy between different perspectives on cultural heritage. Like bridges, the cultural heritage is often used rhetorically to symbolize community and solidarity across a divide. But just like bridges, cultural heritage often produces the opposite, by focusing on boundaries, dramatizing difference, and manifesting relations between radically different horizons of meaning. For the people of Mostar, the bridge, together with the big cross on Hum, the mountain nearby, stands as a monument to the ethnic conflict that divided the city. The monuments and the ceremonies around them help to create, maintain, and express an ethno-nationally homogeneous territory, while simultaneously dramatizing the difference between international, national, and local perspectives. The memorials "symbolize the endlessness of war and conflict", the author writes, "they are the watchtowers of the panopticon, visible landscape markers which embody the presence of a continuous state of war" (p. 64). The idea of memorials is to give form to an idea, to communicate a message. In practice, however, the idea and the message are influenced by the meanings ascribed to them by the local people. In this way they also become memorials to an affiliation to the local community and identity and thereby help in the control and disciplining of the inhabitants. "The monuments thus exercise at once a symbolic force over their surroundings – and are open for reinterpretations", Nikolić writes (p. 68). Monuments are thus places where meaning is constituted; this is the fundamental idea in the study and in Hannah Arendt's concept of "space of appearance". The old bridge in Mostar is a dissonant cultural heritage, which "makes different sides of the city's history visible, but also makes different interpretations of the destruction take shape" (p. 78).

What the chapter seeks to elucidate is how the right to place is constituted. In the case of Mostar we see that it is distributed via the right to the city's memory and history, which creates a struggle about whose memories it is and who can control history. The memories and the history are not the starting point or goal of the war; they are means to acquire the right to a place. The author argues that it is the right to the place that defines the city, and when the memories, the memorials, the monuments are related to the place, this reinforces the meaning of the memories. In this way memories and history, in Mostar and elsewhere, become instruments for creating place, taking place, and establishing the right to a place.

Some 130 kilometres east of Mostar is Višegrad, which for 600 years belonged to the Ottoman Empire, then was in Yugoslavia, and as a result of the war is now in Republika Srpska. In the middle of Višegrad there is yet another disputed memorial, Mehmed Paša Sokolović's famous bridge over the Drina. Through legends and literature, not least of all Ivo Andrić's novel, the bridge had already been assigned an important role in the narrative about the past, as a monument to the Ottoman oppression of the Bosnian Serbs. There could therefore be only limited negotiations about the interpretation of the bridge.

In 2007 UNESCO inscribed the bridge on the World Heritage List, obviously as a way to make it serve the purpose of reconciliation. A good deal of the chapter about Višegrad is devoted to the question of why this has not been the outcome. One reason is, of course, that the city was subjected to particularly cruel ethnic cleansing during the war. During several massacres in the spring and summer of 1992, Serbian police and military killed over 3,000 Bosniaks. The bridge was a central theatre of war, as many of the victims were thrown into the river. If the bridge had previously been a symbol of Ottoman repression of the local population, for the inhabitants it now also became a symbol of the Serbs' injustice to the Bosniaks. By emphasizing the earlier history of the bridge and simultaneously actively ignoring the recent war history of the bridge, the UNESCO nomination as world heritage was intended to make the bridge into a symbol of peace and reconciliation. The globally spread interpretation thus collided with the interpretations by the local people. As in Mostar, the bridge became a dissonant cultural heritage, a symbol of difficult and still unresolved conflicts. The result is not oblivion, but silence. The memories are painful, enforced, and the inhabitants are afraid, Nikolić writes: "Today Višegrad is the city where only the monuments, not the people, want to talk about the period 1992–1995" (p. 97).

Those who do not know their history have no future, as people sometimes say, but it is obvious here that even those who remember the past can find themselves without a future. What the author saw in

Višegrad was an everyday life of silence, where things were hushed up and actively ignored, a strategic oblivion as a kind of self-defence, because it is so difficult for people "to cope with their own burden of guilt if they lack mechanisms to confront and deal with the past" (p. 98).

The weightiest part of the chapter is an analysis of a ceremony where women throw roses into the Drina, to conjure up memories of the war and make them concrete. In the ceremony the bridge was held up as the scene of the gruesome war crimes, and of the punishment that has not yet been meted out. The ceremony was designed as a concrete invocation of all those who had disappeared and been killed, but also as a concrete invocation of the perpetrators, some of whom were still living in the city. The bridge became a "space of appearance", a "commemorative arena", a stage and an altar for Bosniak martyrs.

In this chapter too, a central question is how remembering is linked to the right to place. But here it is also a matter of who may be a victim and why. After the war, the bridge became an instrument in a struggle over which victims we should remember and which martyrs we should pay homage to: those who fell hundreds of years ago, under the Ottomans, or those who fell during the Višegrad massacres in 1992.

Citing Paul Connerton, the author points out that the risk of forgetting engenders memorials, while the building of memorials engenders oblivion. In Višegrad the risk of forgetting gave rise to a memorial celebration and the memorial celebration gave rise to oblivion. In the ceremony on the bridge the women publicly staged their personal traumatic memories as a way to make them part of their own group's collective memory and its "official" history. Thus the dead were also brought in as ethnic representatives in a struggle for identity and the right to place. While remembering was a duty that was practised by local and visiting Bosnian Bosniaks, the local Bosnian Serbs devoted themselves equally dutifully to forgetting, silencing, and denying. In Višegrad there was a collision between a war to remember and a war to forget, a struggle over territory. In both cases the bridge was the starting point which made this possible.

North-west of Višegrad is Jajce, the old seat of the Bosnian kings, filled with memorials, and as a totality a candidate for UNESCO's World Heritage List. In November 1943 Tito's partisans gathered in Jajce for a joint anti-fascist conference (AVNOJ) and proclaimed the socialist republic of Yugoslavia. In addition to Jajce's many memorials from ancient times, it became the birthplace of the new state, commemorated in the AVNOJ Museum, a place of pilgrimage for schoolchildren and loyal citizens for half a century. During the war in the 1990s, however, Yugoslavs were pitted against each other, now as Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. As they waged war on each other, they simultaneously waged war together against the old state. The Yugoslav heritage was attacked and placed in cultural parentheses. After the war the AVNOJ Museum stood empty of people and objects, and also emptied of meaning. As one of the informants in the study put it: in the war Serbs and Croats destroyed mosques and Muslims destroyed churches, but the AVNOJ Museum was destroyed by them all. It was a place of memory which was transformed during the war into a standing provocation. What Nikolić seeks to discuss with the museum as a basis is "the conditions for remembering the federal republic of Yugoslavia after a war where the soldiers of the former republic faced each other and where the very construction of the state was one reason why the war broke out in the first place" (p. 46).

In Jajce we follow the process by which a place, a city, and a museum is first totally colonized with one specific memory, how this memory is then erased, to be finally regained, piece by piece, and simultaneously become something new and different. If the AVNOJ Museum had previously been a monument to Yugoslavism, it was now becoming a monument to anti-fascism and a non-ethno-national stance. Buses from different parts of the former Yugoslavia brought people who wanted to display an alternative to the prevailing ethno-nationalism, but without necessarily embracing all the goals and values of the old state. The active exercise of "anti-fascist remembering" surrounding the AVNOJ Museum, according to the author, should not be regarded as an expression of "Yugonostalgia" but as an attempt to actively confront the past by people who had their memory confiscated through the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

The starting point for the events around the museum in Jajce is thus different from the case in Mostar and Višegrad. After the war, memory could no longer be monopolized, whether by contem-

porary nationalists or people nostalgic for Yugoslavia. The local people and certain individuals now had a greater say than ever before in what was worth remembering. What happens then is the bearing question of this chapter: of all the things that have happened, what should gain the status of collective memory, and what kinds of memories are actually capable of winning international recognition?

The question is framed by a particular difficulty, according to the author. In Jajce there is not only a lack of institutionalized agreements about what should be remembered; a culture of oblivion prevails. The erasure of the memory of everything that aroused associations of Yugoslavia also created a notion of a new beginning, which had the consequence that the museum remained on the other side of the border, in the past. Here we find one of the main points of the dissertation: it is not only a matter of how one can create narratives that can gain legal force, but also of how narratives can be used to establish a beginning, a middle, and an end, which in turn establishes a relation to the place which has to do with rights. By creating a beginning and ignoring what went before, the space is drawn out and ascribed a specific order. It is obvious in Jajce how the remembering, the ceremonies, and the cultural heritages combine to establish and legitimize boundaries in time and space, thus instituting territories which can then be distributed in terms of rights.

The discussion leads to the conclusion that the inhabitants of Jajce are divided – by acts of war, unemployment, demographical changes, and political animosity: "The people of Jajce and the material cultural heritage did not live together but beside each other" (p. 257). Two distinct cultures of memory were ritualized in the city, two different histories. What was taken for granted as true by older people in Jajce was viewed by the young as a myth. The older people thought that the younger people's experiences were shaped by a false political doctrine. "In one and the same setting, two states lived in the awareness of two generations. This psychological condition is also shared by the inhabitants of Mostar and Višegrad" (p. 257.) Are there no alternatives, one wonders. Yes, there are in fact. One is represented by the hardened hotel owner, in a city that used to attract thousands of tourists, but now has very few by comparison. His attitude, more pragmatic than ideological, is that anything that attracts visitors is good. Remember what you want – just come and stay in my hotel!

In global contexts and from the UNESCO point of view, cultural heritage/world heritage tends to be portrayed as a resource in the work for peace, reconciliation, and understanding in areas afflicted by crisis. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, cultural heritage is in much greater measure a source of conflict and a resource in warfare. The author says that it is because the past has not come to rest and because the memorials are such powerful weapons. Even when the military war is over, the hostilities can still continue, with bridges, museums, and other memorials as weapons. The cultural heritages are dissonant, their meanings on different levels are difficult to reconcile. In Mostar and Višegrad, on the international level, they stand for peace and reconciliation, on the national level for conflict, while on the local level they stand for a combination of pride, poverty, and endless difficulties. The war made the monuments into marks of cultural distinction, into rostrums from which people could preach. That is why the bridges in Višegrad and Mostar became trouble spots. They were used to burn fast the memory of historical injustices and to maintain a victim perspective in the collective ethno-national recollection. In Jajce, Nikolić finds something partly different, a surprising mixture of interpretations, uses, and commitments. Whereas people in Mostar and Višegrad handled the cultural heritages and the memorials instrumentally, to draw attention to something other than local matters, in Jajce they could not be monumentalized and instrumentalized in the same way.

Summing up, Nikolić writes that the analysis of how cultural heritage and world heritage are regarded in Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrates dramatic tensions and multifaceted uses. On the global level a world heritage is recognized as something wholly positive, something that unites people. This gives them potential to be used for other purposes as well. On the local level they are not so much national memorials as tools in a struggle for power and influence in a reality that is difficult to handle politically and economically.

The world is now seemingly obsessed with remembering, with monuments and the production of cultural heritage, according to the human geographer David Lowenthal. If so, this is something at once very old and fundamentally new. If the bridges

in Mostar and Višegrad and the museum in Jajce are examples of how local phenomena can be detached from their context and brought out on to global motorways to become available for worldwide consumption, then the institution of world heritage is an example of the reverse, of how globalized structures and production apparatus can be relocalized and made locally present. In this way the things that Nikolić discusses are examples of the late modern society's perhaps most productive tension, that between the globalizing and homogenizing forces on the one hand, and the localizing and diversifying forces on the other. His dissertation clearly shows that it is not a matter of forces from separate worlds that just happen to be brought together in a war-torn land; instead we see here two sides of the same fundamental process, sides that constitute each other and therefore can only be made comprehensible together.

Much of the dissertation is about the local conditions for cultural heritage and memory. But just as much is about place, rights, and victimhood, and about how all this goes together. What gives the study an extra dimension, of course, is the war in the 1990s, and the fact that it is still going on in its own way. The strength is the nearness to the informants, to everyday life, that the perspective is not from above or from outside. Yet it is not a plea on behalf of those without a strong voice of their own, as so much ethnology and anthropology has been over the years. If there is a tendency running through the text it is rather a sense of sorrow that the alternatives to ethno-politically motivated violence, hate, and mistrust sometimes seem so far away.

Another strong side of the dissertation is the ever-present analytical attitude, which proceeds from nearness but produces distance. It is an attitude that is not unproblematic in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it makes the almost unfathomable events during and after the war somewhat more comprehensible. The strength of the study does not lie in any coherent, stringently implemented method, nor in a consistently applied conceptual apparatus. If anything, Dragan Nikolić fits into an ethnological tradition that uses a "mobile searchlight" as a method, an eclectic combination of theories and methods which might seem objectionable to researchers in other disciplines. How it works is hard to say, but it does work. With two bridges and a museum as peepholes, with ceremonies and rituals as wide-angle lenses, with a bus trip, a gigantic cross, a cultural association, and a street as prisms, the author succeeds in throwing many kinds of light over a complex reality. It thereby becomes more complex rather than less so. But at the same time it becomes more comprehensible.

Of course there are deficiencies. I would have liked to see a more theoretically considered use of the many concepts that are introduced. It would have been easier for the reader if the concepts had also been more clearly related to each other, so that it might be possible to understand how the conceptual apparatus hangs together – if it does. Many of the concepts come in pairs; I have found no fewer than nineteen examples. With a less dichotomous conceptual apparatus it would have been easier to represent and analyse more complex processes than memory-oblivion, individual-collective, and ideal-reality. One way to achieve this would have been a more powerful emphasis on action. A more detailed performance analysis of the ceremonies and the rituals surrounding the bridges and the museum, based on the many hours of video recordings made by the author, could have worked. As it is now, the recordings are more legitimation and verification in the background. I would also like to have seen a more elaborate theoretical discussion of the results, especially of the relationship between memory and oblivion, and between memory and the representations of memory. There is plenty of red-hot empirical material to provide a foundation for such a discussion.

I am nevertheless quite satisfied with what I get. For this is a dissertation that has a great deal to teach us about how memories and monuments can be used and abused, and how memories always proceed from and create oblivion. It also has a great deal to teach us about how memory and oblivion are activated and used in war, and not least of all in everyday post-war life, filled with wounds, losses, and sometimes also hate. In addition, the dissertation also has something to teach us about courage. For it takes courage to venture into such a complex academic landscape as that concerning memory, monuments, and cultural heritage. It also takes courage to tread in a minefield like post-Yugoslavian Bosnia and Herzegovina. And it takes courage to do this as a Bosnian Serb, courage to confront not just everything one can encounter in such a heated field, but also to confront oneself. And not least of all, it takes

courage to do it in Swedish, at a Swedish university and in a subject that has for so long devoted itself so much to purely Swedish matters.
Owe Ronström, Visby

Life on a Swedish Manor

Lillemor Nyström, I skuggan av en borg. Vardag och fest på Krapperups gods 1881−1995. Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper, Göteborgs universitet 2014. 309 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-91-628-9066-7.

■ Lillemor Nyström devotes her doctoral dissertation to a description of everyday life and festive occasions on the manor of Krapperup during a hundred-year period, 1881–1995. It is a highly successful choice of problem, to analyse the living conditions of different people in the manor community, that is, different groups in different positions in the hierarchy, and the material world at Krapperup. The decision to attempt an integration of people and things, that is, to focus on materiality, is largely new in research on manors. Choosing to focus on the modernization of the estate and the crossing of social boundaries is also a good starting point, since it is precisely in these matters that manors can be either pioneers or reactionaries. Manors are often the last to give up social privileges based on inheritance. In the case of Krapperup, this concerns three generations of the owner family of Gyllenstierna, with its ambitions to preserve the estate. The attachment of servant families to the estate for generations is also delineated here, as are the innovators. The focus in Nyström's dissertation is on action, especially behaviour and power, through which it is possible to capture the deep structures.

A focus on the totality of life on just one manor means that it is a separate micro-world that is depicted. Manor life is presented here with plenty of colour, not just as an economic or even just a cultural framework. Through the decision not to anonymize the people, they stand out with unusual clarity in their positions. What can be made visible through an examination of the integration between materiality and the people, and the communication between them, is in my view the most innovative feature of Nyström's dissertation.

The study lets us follow the different phases of Krapperup's history, proceeding from the owners and the servants, according to a structure with a dual focus on the Castle and on the Estate 1881−1945 and the same fixed points in a later phase 1945−1995. By the Castle the author means the large manor house and its use, and by the Estate the agriculture and its development. This arrangement and the division into the two periods and between the castle and the estate work well. The wealth of detail and the focus on individual people and, for example, particular machines will come as no surprise to an ethnologist; on the contrary, we see here the strength of ethnology. No other science could have captured a way of life as precisely as ethnology.

Class and the concept of gender are considered all through the study, and it is meritorious to make comparisons between the working class as a whole and the workers on the estate. On the other hand, I would have liked to see an account of the modernization of agriculture in Sweden as a whole. It could have been important to be able to see Krapperup's own modernization as part of a broader pattern. No other in-depth comparisons are made with, say, other estates in Skåne. I understand that the author has chosen not to do this because it would disturb the logic in the structure of the dissertation, but some comparisons could have been made in the notes.

There are some fatal omissions in the list of sources: the ethnologist John Granlund's article "Julita godsorganisation 1871−1940" in *Fataburen* 1975 and "Statarsystemet, en naturahushållningens arbetsmodell" in *Rig* 1976 are indispensable, as are his articles in the volumes of *Arbetaren i helg och söcken* (1944). Bo Lönnqvist's *Finländsk herrgårdsliv: En etnologisk studie över Karsby gård i Tenala ca 1800−1970* (1978) is likewise missing. That work in particular could have yielded points of comparison. It is therefore a pity that they are not considered, since through them Lillemor Nyström could have engaged in dialogue with earlier research, which explicitly follows development well into the twentieth century. Although many of these works appeared back in the 1970s and 1980s, they are by no means outdated and could have helped to put the Krapperup study in a broader context.

The study nevertheless has many good points. The source criticism is sound, we are given a clear picture of the material on which the dissertation is built, and the researcher is aware of how to interpret

the sources. Of the theoretical tools, Bruno Latour's actor-network theory seems well chosen, even though it feels clumsy at times to call people and machines "actands" in an otherwise empirically based text that sticks close to reality. The important thing here, in any case, is that the material world is actually integrated in the analysis, for example, in the functions of the buildings and how they were used in different contexts, in the meanings borne by the objects, and in the restructuring effect of the machines.

An ethnological dissertation mostly has the form that the results, the answers, are given as the theme is unfolded and analysed. That is also the case in this dissertation. One may wonder what is left to sum up in the conclusion. In Nyström's case, however, she illuminates her approach once again, which is good. She points out the time-related scenes and the theoretical ways to discover roles and behaviours. She further clarifies how the hierarchies functioned and how resistance actually was possible. She returns to the effect of the machines on the work, and the gradual dissolution of gender boundaries. And she looks again at how festive occasions can illuminate and also consolidate the structures of everyday life by turning them upside down. Generosity creates asymmetrical relations, and a semi-public feast at the end of the twentieth century confirms the continued high symbolic value of the upper classes even today. I find it particularly valuable that she has been able to portray the path and life-mode of the owner family from a stable patriarchal upper-class life to this semi-public sphere, when the circles have shrunk and the number of people on the manor has diminished. Lillemor Nyström is able to get incredibly close to her individuals and their living conditions, so that one often has a sense of walking in the castle rooms and over the property together with the servants and the owners.

Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

Cultural Events as Political Instruments

Hanna Schühle, "We present Europe through our cultures" – Doing Europe in (international) cultural relations. Department of Cultural Sciences, University of Gothenburg, 242 pp. Ill. Swedish summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-975-3537-3.

■ Hanna Schühle entitles her PhD thesis *'We present Europe through our cultures'. Doing Europe in (international) cultural relations* and invites the reader to take a closer look at minute details and general operating modes of a very specific inter- or transnational professional milieu in the making, namely one focusing on culture within a EU framework.

This multi-site case study (p. 27f.) involves what Helena Wulff phrases "yo-yo-fieldwork" (p. 29) and what others characterise as "compressed ethnography" (Gisela Welz, James Faubion & George Marcus). In Germany (Berlin), in Ukraine (mainly Kiev) and in Vietnam – that means inside EU, in the EU neighbourhood and on an entirely different continent – she accompanied and interviewed representatives from various national institutes of culture in order to carve out their contribution to a phenomenon and discourse named Europe.

Hanna Schühle departs from a social constructivist point of view, and this results in a focus on what she terms "'doing Europe' through continuous negotiation of meaning in relation to Europe" (p. 15) and on those "working on a 'European narrative'" (p. 17).

This scientific curiosity might have led the author into a wide range of social fields and organisational structures where EU-Europe is co-constructed: Not only do EU institutions or those acting in the political arena "do" Europe, but also has recent ethnographic research shown how for example NGO networks shape the contours of a space called Europe (from i.e. European networks against racism, for migrants's support or urban gardening). Fertility clinics have been investigated by European Ethnologists where both national and EU regulations redefine EU-Europe's boundaries, its technological and moral topography by allowing or prohibiting certain IVF treatments (i.e. Michi Knecht/Maren Klotz). Studies on undocumented migrants' involvement in the Southern European tourism industry (Ramona Lenz), on the practices of border control and migration management (Sabine Hess, Alexandra Schwell) highlight the intensifying entanglement of economic and political processes in Europe. Also the fact that universities are increasingly affected by what Marilyn Strathern and others coined as "audit culture" has been linked to Europeanisation processes within the field of higher education. Recent publications within the field of Anthropology of Policy (i.e. Jens Adam/Asta Vonderau; Susan Wright/Cris Shore/

Davide Pero) suggest a focus on political formations that do not even have to be state-driven and where a rational, straight-forward plan is unveiled as all smoke and mirrors.

Instead of contributing to this growing body of literature on phenomena and structures where EU-Europe does not always figure in the foreground but is a powerful force in the background, Schühle asks how "[…] Europe and European culture [are] incorporated into (international) cultural relations" (p. 15). Constructing such a field of ethnographic research where "culture" and "Europe" are in the spotlight does indeed mean that both concepts and rhetoric used within the field overlap and resonate with what European Ethnologists do and what they consider to be genuinely their terrain. This is what has recently been labelled as "para-ethnography" by James Faubion and George Marcus (2009) – they hold that "fieldwork is not what it used to be" when domains of expertise are blurred and "ownership" of certain knowledge is no longer exclusive. Hanna Schühle's study conveys this double bind – the author does early on and explicitly address the "challenge to differentiate between culture as object of study [on the one hand] and culture as concept [and] 'methodological tool'" on the other (p. 35).

All those interacting within EUNIC – the European Union National Institutes of Culture – are protagonists of this investigation. EUNIC is an "agent" (p. 16) in a struggle over the shared meaning of "culture". EUNICs representatives and members practice culture through contesting what it is or should be within the field of cultural diplomacy (p. 18). This, in turn, Schühle defines as a specific area of public diplomacy focusing solely on cultural aspects (p. 19) and emphasising "dialogue" (p. 20) with an active/activated audience.

Hanna Schühle regards this professional field as one where representation(s) of Europe/European culture come into existence through the use and making of words, stories, images, emotions and values (p. 21). Representation, she continues, means giving meaning, even through absence, it involves creating or using a certain institutional, physical or social context, and is directed toward "effective exchange". The author follows Stuart Hall in his argument that "meaning is a dialogue".

Hanna Schühle's research is based on (participant) observation – mostly in the role of an "observer-as-participant" (p. 30) – of nine events (p. 32), on semi-structured interviews, on official documents as well as websites and newsletters. She includes photographs as well, mostly as a kind of visual field notes. Hanna Schühle emphasises that the effectiveness of this set of methods varies also due to language gaps in two of the three field sites (pp. 27ff.).

As Schühle states several times, the work within EUNIC is only a small or even tiny share of what representatives for national institutes of culture do: Against this background, one may wonder whether the relevance and impact (or lack of impact) would have become even clearer through intense fieldwork close to one of the protagonists. A thick description of their everyday workload inside their national institute might have strengthened Schühle's conclusion that "added value for (international) cultural relations […] is dependent on and reflects how the individual members have implemented the idea of EUNIC within their respective *individual* institution in *practice*" (p. 198, my emphasis).

Hanna Schühle attempts to link ethnological research in/of Europe to studies on cultural relations and to what has long been labelled as "Studying Up" (Laura Nader). Throughout the thesis, she includes arguments from organisational studies. Contributing to these research traditions that themselves represent research agendas from several disciplines would ideally "broaden the picture" of Europeanisation processes – particularly for Swedish academic discourse where she identifies some need for growth for a comparatively small amount of research on Europe (p. 39).

The chapters are organized around the chronology of EUNIC events – this structure is easy to grasp, corresponds to the overall aim and makes redundancies rare; furthermore Schühle's style is free of dispensable jargon.

Chapter II clarifies that "European culture" is not part of European treaties (as opposed to cultural heritage). It is thus a clear example for the European Union's subsidiarity principle where "radius of operation" (p. 48) for culture policies does not go beyond "encouraging", "supporting" and "supplementing". Against this background, Hanna Schühle offers an outline of the EUNIC network structure and clusters in Berlin (since 2006/2003 predecessor org.), Ukraine (2008) and Vietnam (2010). EUNIC has 32 members from 27 European countries, one central level and clusters. Since its foundation 2007

focus areas are intercultural dialogue, multilingualism, migration and the Balkans (p. 51) and the overall aim is "creating a whole which is greater than the sum of the members" (p. 53).

The following chapters reflect the constructivist approach and follow the work process within EUNIC: Joining the network (clusters), organizing cluster events, realizing cluster events. Through this layout, Schühle elegantly circumvents the risks of a merely comparative approach. Instead, she offers insights in reasons for joining EUNIC: Higher visibility and better outreach esp. for smaller national institutes of culture is a key factor according to her informants. In addition, the possibility for networking during the preparation of a new national institute/ "branch" is presented as an important factor. Here, the author identifies conflicting interests: EUNIC does not necessarily match national aim to promote/ export culture, which becomes clear from statements by interviewees who consider EUNIC as a foreign and strange body to their everyday work. Others see EUNIC as quasi natural institution (p. 65) – expressing the idea there might be something substantially European beyond what is being "done". Through her description and analysis, Hanna Schühle conveys a dominant and rather instrumental view that her protagonists hold on the audience: The *target* audience (p. 77) for cultural events and EUNIC events in particular is important to them in order to influence foreign political discourse – what we see here is a quite straight forward view of cultural events as political instruments. This observation is in accordance with a role attributed to "culture" that Cris Shore made visible in what has now become a classic in Europeanisation research, the monograph "Building Europe" (2000).

Chapter IV investigates the organization of the cluster events and the considerations concerning the possible concepts of an event. One of the examples is a festival for young playwrights held at Schaubühne in Berlin in 2011 where EUNIC contributed. The leading role with one of Berlin's and Germany's most eminent stage areas is characterised as gradually being taken over by the theatre, evolving from collective to bilateral communication and resulting in little more than half a dozen plays picked from a larger number of suggestions. For the EUNIC members, this means internal competition resulting in disappointment. Another example is a film festival arranged in Ukraine.

Hanna Schühle concludes (pp. 96ff.) by differentiating four types (or "ways") of cluster event organizations. Among them, the "internal cluster event" is a prominent one – here, geographical and linguistic proximity among some of the EUNIC cluster members helps as well as similar structures and personal sympathies among their institutes. Another way is what she phrases a "coalition of the willing": a cooperation without any attempts to include every single cluster member. General problems are frequent change in personnel and thus lack of continuity – something that all institutions based on rotating generalists have in common, for example the diplomatic body. Through quotes from interviews, the author clarifies the protagonists' views on and reactions to that – including a description of motives for non-participation (p. 116).

When turning the attention to the realization of cluster events in Chapter V, Hanna Schühle unveils the key contradiction within her field: EUNIC attempts through its representational work to constitute one version of a European reality (p. 136) – but at the same time, the network is unable to "fix" meaning even for a short period of time (p. 143). Examples for this built-in inability are once more the theatre festival mentioned earlier and a film series devoted to Don Juan as a European mythical creature.

From this point onwards, Schühle's tone turns more critical. Another dilemma (p. 146) presented to her by informants themselves is that visitors frequently do not care about the organizers behind the scenes and that there is no dialogue with the audience (p. 149). On top, a lack of internal and external communication are stated as key obstacles (p. 177) which means EUNIC fails in linking national and 'cultural' discourses to each other *and* to a local audience (p. 183). This sounds like a declaration of bankruptcy in the ears of those who see events such as film series or theatre festivals as the most important outcome of what EUNIC does. Hanna Schühle follows some of her protagonists in this view – possibly, this form of failure is indicative of something else: One might consider those professionals *inside* the EUNIC cluster as the *real*, the *involved* audience and *key* multipliers. Precisely through the struggles inside the network, the obstacles to establishing a continuous exchange and common agenda, EUNIC members integrate Europe and Europeanness into their professional habitus. Put differently: it is

through their embodied notion of professionalism that Europeanisation takes places.

This perspective resonates with the concluding reflections in Chapter VI: She reaches the assumption that to EUNIC event organizers, content is secondary; and that the projects she observed and analysed have a merely additive character instead of creating something "bigger", something European. Quite to the contrary, there is no "European added value, no audience involvement, no theory of their own involvement/action" to be found, only divergent expectations. From both the interviewees and the authors view, EUNIC's loose structure is the network's main advantage, and local resources for administration would help to create common ground. In that sense, EUNIC should be understood as a "process". Anyone who wants a picture of the inner contradictions, the administrative obstacles and the varying views of what a successful, European cultural event is or should be will benefit from reading this dissertation – both researchers within the field of cultural sciences and practitioners of international cultural relations.

Kerstin Poehls, Hamburg

Swedes in Oslo

Ida Tolgensbakk, Partysvensker; GO HARD! En narratologisk studie av unge svenske arbeidsmigranters nærvær i Oslo. Institutt for kulturstudier og orientalske språk, Universitetet i Oslo. 2014. 234 pp. Ill. Duplicated.

■ Ida Tolgensbakk's dissertation is an all-round illumination of a contemporary phenomenon: young Swedes working in Oslo. It is a well-chosen topic, since it gives an opportunity to discuss several other important contemporary issues. We are living in a world where many people move across national borders, and we know that one of the results is cultural encounters and new social constellations where we do not always recognize ourselves. When we discuss migration, we often see before us images of desperate people fleeing from war and terror in inhuman circumstances. There is usually much talk of differences in skin colour, religion, and values, and we are accustomed to see problems and conflicts arise. The migrants studied by Tolgensbakk have not sought refuge on the other side of the globe, but have simply moved to the country next-door. They do not look different from the people in the host country; the disparities in religion, culture, and values are minimal. They can even speak their own language in the new country, although how they sound is what makes them stick out, not what they look like. Instead of being a visible minority, they are an audible minority, as Tolgensbakk puts it (p. 76).

In the introduction the author writes: "Doing research on internal European, in my case even internal Nordic, migration, can thus be a good corrective to stereotypes about migrants" (p. 4). Here the author lets us suspect that she has a political and not a scholarly agenda. This is far from being the dominant side in the dissertation, but here and there it appears to be the opinions of Ida Tolgensbakk the private person and not scholarly research findings that are put forward. The author displays a self-reflexive stance throughout, but sometimes it comes to close to the private sphere.

The title of the dissertation promises a narratological study, but that tendency is totally absent in the formulation of the aims, where Tolgensbakk instead uses the vague terms "close reading" and "investigation". If one wished to be sarcastic, one could say that all scholarly dissertations are about investigating things we do not know, and at least folkloristic and ethnological dissertations do so in close conjunction with their empirical material. It would have been appropriate here to state what tools for narrative analysis this investigation seeks to use. The problem with a non-analytical formulation of the aim is that the result can be more descriptive than analytical.

The definition of the term "narrative" (*fortelling*) that Tolgensbakk uses is the concise one by the Norwegian folklorist Audun Kjus: "Narratives are uttered representations of courses of events" (p. 8), but the problem is that she does not consistently follow it. Throughout the dissertation she uses Norwegian *narrativ* and *fortelling* also for utterances that lack a course of events. In some places she employs the term "norm" as a synonym for narrative. This may seem petty, but there is a considerable difference between, on the one hand, expressing a cultural norm in the form of a narrative in which specific actors enact a course of events, and on the other hand expressing a general opinion.

By far the strongest chapter in the dissertation is the one based on Tolgensbakk's own interviews

with seventeen young Swedes. This is where she elaborates on her ideas about the invisible but audible migrants. Here Tolgensbakk demonstrates her skill as fieldworker, analyst, and writer. It is obvious that she has had the ability to seek out people and establish contact with individuals who could give her useful material, and her enjoyable presentation of the material bears witness to analytical acuity and verbal ability. A personal innovation is that Tolgensbakk, in her transcriptions, places the interviewer's lines to the right in the text so that they will be available to the reader without being disturbing (p. 56).

It would have been natural in this chapter, based as it is on oral material, to show that this is a narratological study as the title promises. However, the chapter on theory at the start of the dissertation had already disappointed me as a folkloristic narrative analyst. Nordic genre theory is conspicuous by its absence, as are all the dissertations of recent decades based on applied narrative analysis. Instead we have to content ourselves with the ideas of the American film scholar Robert Altman, which are admittedly useful. I am convinced that this chapter would have been even better than it is with an in-depth narrative analysis.

People have always moved back and forth over the Swedish-Norwegian border. Tolgensbakk's choice of topic gives her reason to shed light on what the figure of thought of the two sister nations has looked like in different historical periods. Among other things, she has used questionnaire responses from the Norwegian Ethnological Survey about the sister nations today (p. 44). In highly concentrated form, one can say that Swedish immigrants in older times were navvies, while today's are party Swedes (p. 54). The chapter is a good illustration of how a culture-analytical approach yields knowledge that can supplement the historians' findings.

The migration of the young Swedes to Oslo did not give rise to ethnic conflicts; instead it resulted in a number of humorous expressions. The chapter about popular culture proceeds from the graffiti "Partysvensker; GO HOME" that could be read on the wall of a house in central Oslo for a long time. This slogan attracted the attention of the Norwegian media, and Ida Tolgensbakk was one of those who was first asked to comment on it. With interview statements and Wikipedia texts, she is able to outline the stereotype of the party Swede. We often say that ethnologists and folklorists create the material they study, but it is rarely as obvious as here. At the same time, we know that cultural forms can only arise if there is a collective need for them. I cannot see any problem in the researcher helping to create the phenomenon she studies in this way.

The graffiti text gave rise to a well-known rap text and was the subject of comment in radio and television programmes, newspaper articles, and elsewhere in the Norwegian public debate. Humour, satire, and joking relationships were recurrent features. Here Tolgensbakk tries to apply a number of established theories of humour, without settling on any one. My impression is that there is scarcely any analyst of humour today who would claim that there is a single theory to explain the entire field. Humour is an inter-human phenomenon which is particularly difficult to analyse, and it is of course tempting to try to understand why there are elements of humour in relations between Norwegians and Swedes, when there is hardly anything of the kind with other immigrant groups. The concepts that seem to be most useful are the dyadic traditions of the American folklorist Elliot Oring, designating behavioural and linguistic patterns (routines) which are created, saturated with meaning, and maintained within a dyad (i.e., a pair) (p. 100).

Much of young people's communication today takes place via the Internet, which entails both advantages and disadvantages for us folklorists. One advantage is that the people we study to some extent do the fieldwork themselves. As researchers we can simply go online and download finished texts produced by the people we are investigating. The negative side is that these texts cannot entirely be treated in the same way as the texts we produce ourselves in our own fieldwork. Tolgensbakk has studied the Facebook group "Svenskar i Oslo" (Swedes in Oslo) and thus contributed to the development of research about fieldwork on the net, and simultaneously created valuable new knowledge about the dynamics of digital networks. The Facebook group is an example of how national identity is staged on the Internet, and also how national identity can be a unifying element in the construction of completely new communities (p. 173).

This is a solidly conducted dissertation which goes through a large amount of material of different kinds: historical sources, popular culture, interviews, and the Internet. Being based on such a

varied range of empirical material naturally gives it a fascinating breadth, but unfortunately sometimes at the expense of deeper analyses. The chapter about Swedish-Norwegian stereotypes, for example, points out similarities between notions about navvies in former days and guest workers nowadays, but also compares it with ideas about Roma and travellers. It is my impression that this trail could have led to valuable knowledge if it had been followed.

Ida Tolgensbakk's study furnishes us with new perspectives on migration in that she studies people who move voluntarily, not out of desperation but in search of adventure. Their life choices express courage and optimism which can be realized during a period in their lives which they regard as temporary.

The dissertation is well written, rich in facts, and well organized. As a reader we notice that this is an author with a command of her topic, who knows what she wants to say and has the linguistic skills to put it across. This is excellent, of course, but it is in fact one of the problems of the dissertation as well. As a reader one wonders whether the researcher has given the material a change to put up opposition. Reality is rarely unambiguous.

None the less, this is a study that creates new knowledge of a topical phenomenon. Our understanding of migration and cultural encounters has become richer as a consequence of Tolgensbakk's dissertation. The book shows the absurdity of the basic metaphor of nationalism, that the nation can be seen as a person (p. 99). Neither states nor nations nor populations are individuals that act. They are imagined communities, and it is only individuals in these communities that act (p. 100).

Ulf Palmenfelt, Visby

Book Reviews

Identity Negotiating in Scandinavia

Negotiating Identity in Scandinavia. Women, Migration and the Diaspora. Haci Akman (ed.). Berghahn, Oxford & New York 2014. 196 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-78238-306-2.

■ The edited volume *Negotiating Identity in Scandinavia: Women, Migration and the Diaspora* reveals migration from gendered perspectives. Claiming that theories about migration, diaspora, transnationalism and integration either are (falsely) considered gender-neutral or implicitly carry a male bias, this book seeks to highlight women's migration. The Scandinavian countries – Denmark, Norway and Sweden – appear in the book, each of them contributing to migration and integration processes, with nation-specific conditions for citizenship, welfare policies and identity formation. The themes of the book are typical of contemporary migration research, presenting theoretical thinking shaped during the last 25 years within gender, feminist, postcolonial and transnational research fields.

The first part addresses experiences of negotiating identity, displacement and meaning- making in relation to shifting cultural, linguistic, political and social contexts. The main question is: How does refugee or exile status affect people's lives and experiences? The second part addresses issues of strategies and resistance among women directed towards the politics in the homeland and/or host country.

The introduction is followed by eight chapters. In the first chapter the editor, Haci Akman, discusses the role of female artists and intellectuals as mediators in the diaspora community. They are involved in translating, explaining and interpreting life "here and there". Pia Karlsson Minganti proceeds from the potentiality of a third space where young Muslim women find it possible to include a Muslim identity in a secular and Islam-hostile Swedish society on one hand. On the other hand they are also handling the expectations of their families and Muslim community, hostile to a Swedish secular society.

Rikke Andreassen also addresses the situation of veiled Muslim women. She discuss how politically engaged Muslim women were treated by media before the election in Denmark in 2007. Andreassen highlights the role of feminists in the debate, a theme further developed in the next chapter by Malene Fenger-Grøndahl, who investigates the question: Have Danish feminists let their foreign sisters down? The chapter presents a stretch in time from 11 September 1973 in Chile to 11 September 2001 in New York. In the first part the story of one woman, Maria, who fled from Chile to Denmark is explored. Her story is followed by a discussion of the situation of Muslims who fled to Denmark after the war started in Iraq in 2003.

Minoo Alinia focuses on the Kurdish diaspora. She investigates how migration generates geographical, and also social, economic and cultural mobility. The mobility situation of Kurdish women in Sweden is ambivalent. On one hand they experience empowerment and gender equality as they are seen in Sweden as competent and having equal rights. They are not subordinate to a patriarchal system as in the homeland. On the other hand, they also experience exclusion and discrimination in the host country as immigrants and Muslims.

The second part of the book starts with Kariane Westrheim and again the reader meets Kurdish women. They contribute to the political struggles in their homeland in a way that would not have been possible without the experiences of migration and the empowerment they have found in the gender equality, the welfare system and political life in Norway. Bolette Moldenhawer compares the situation of schooling results among girls and boys with migrant background in schools in Denmark and France. She tries out the concept of territorial stigmatization (e.g. Wacquant 2007). The organization of the schooling system in France based on universalism, in Denmark on particularism, in combination with the socioeconomic situation and territorial placement of the school, leads to ethnicization and segregation in different ways and has an impact on the school results among the pupils. In the last chapter Tine Kallehave discusses the possibilities of integration policies and projects in Denmark. She explores the shortcomings of integration projects among Somali migrants.

The book considers important issues about the experiences and situation of women's migration. It is revealing to read about female immigrant artists and politicians taking a place in the public space in Scandinavia, dealing with prejudice, racism and dis-

crimination, from both home and host communities. In addition it is valuable to also read about the everyday life of women involved in migration process, meaning not just losses and displacement but also new interpretations, knowledge, empowerment and possibilities.

One disadvantage of the book is a lack of clear disposition. Several chapters start out with one question, but end up in something else. This might be the consequence of reusing material from former studies in a new context, adding a gender perspective and focus on women. Another more general critique is the gap between research and practice that sometimes appears in the texts. The lived experience of the women tends to disappear or become illustrations of already formulated theoretical truths. Another thing, the lack of a gender perspective in migration research does not really coincide with how it works among professionals. If we look back on the last 25 years we will find that the experiences of migrant women have been considered as a special problem in Scandinavian countries and have resulted in an endless flow of gendered integration projects. These kinds of projects have also caught the attention of researchers over the years, but it has mostly been considered as a problematic and stereotype perspective on immigrant women.

Kristina Gustafsson, Växjö

The Medical Marketplace in Norway

Bente Gullveig Alver, Tove Ingebjørg Fjell & Teemu Ryymin, Vitenskap og varme hender. Den medisinske markedsplassen i Norge fra 1800 til i dag. Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2013. 321 pp. ISBN 978-82-304-0073-9.

■ In the 1950s alternative medicine in Norway vanished, more or less, and it was only in the 1970s that it became more visible again. The post-war period was a time when the Norwegian welfare state was built, and alternative medicine was identified as something that did not belong to this modern society. Alternative medicine became something that was associated with the obsolete, the deviant "Other", which should be relegated to the past. Instead modern medicine, social security systems, health policy visions and new hospitals emerged and moulded what could be defined as modern society. This dialectic relation between alternative medicine and modern medicine – or scientific medicine – is from a historical perspective a very fruitful input to understand not only medicine, but also cultural perspectives on the formation of modern society. The relation between scientific medicine and alternative medicine is always in transformation. This is an analysis that the culture researchers Bente Gullveig Alver and Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, together with the historian Teemu Ryymin, perform in their book *Vitenskap og varme hender: Den medisinske markedsplassen i Norge fra 1800 til i dag* ("Science and warm hands: The medical marketplace in Norway from 1800 to today"). They start in the numerous medical markets at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The main concept of their analysis is the *medical market*, as Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and her colleagues have developed it. The term is a perspective for analysing the interaction between supply and demand for all types of medical services related to disease and health. The starting point is to use the marketplace as a metaphor, but not to take into account whether services are authorized or not in a specific historical context. Instead a central question is raised in relation to empirical material: Why do people select alternative medicine or modern medicine, or both? Further, the model is connected to what Arthur Kleinman sees as the health care system's three overlapping parts: the popular, the professional, and folk sectors. It is, as Alver and her colleagues point out, the professional sector and folk sector that mainly forms the medical market. At the same time the popular sector will always be the biggest one, representing individual self-care or help given by relatives. Based on this theoretical model, the analysis is focused on the dynamic in the sectors and the grey zones and distortions between them.

Chapter 2 – "The diverse medical marketplace: 1800 to 1900" – studies the actors that were central in the medical market and what options there were for the individual who had become sick. A central factor is that the concept of illness was closely related to magical thinking and where cause and effect were different from our days. The ritual practice with sacred implications was central. The wise therefore had a central position as the ones who could treat different diseases. During the 1800s, however, public responsibilities grew stronger and the government gradually become aware of the

health of the population. As a consequence a more systematic health policy began to emerge and professional medicine grew. An explanation was that the government perceived some diseases as threatening. For example, the medical understanding of cholera contributed to changing the health policy in Norway. Health work became a central element in the construction of the modern nation and the doctors came to have a central role in enlightening and civilizing the population. Hygiene in particular, as a concept, was something that the population had to be made aware of. At the same time there was distrust of what the doctors could offer. Apart from surgery, the doctors did not have more help to give than the "quack doctor".

Chapter 3 examines the time between 1900 and 1945. This was a period when new social political visions grew stronger in Norwegian society, mainly because the cost of poverty reduction had increased markedly under the end of the 1800s. A growing discourse at this time was that the weakest in society and the sick should get a form of protection from society, for example through health insurance. But there was also growing public health information that anticipated that there was a social duty to stay healthy. A form of self-discipline emerged, although the work in the early 1900s was concentrated on combating tuberculosis. In this health information hygiene was central, along with healthy eating. This period can therefore be seen as a period when the ideas that were to be the foundation of the welfare state were gaining ground. But it was also a time when greater control of the population was achieved and more hospitals were built. Alternative medicine also changed and tried to claimed niches where medicine at this time had not cures. At the same time medicine struggled to enlighten people not to use alternative medicine, but this was not as effective and the population instead had more medical markets to choose from.

Chapter 4 considers the "monopoly of the white coat", as scientific medicine in the 1950s and 1960s became more effective in treating the diseases that existed in society, which meant that alternative medicine had a smaller market to act on. But the reconstruction of the welfare state also meant that medicine often became a cheaper option for people than alternative medicine. The concept of the welfare state was first used in Norway in 1945, with a focus on universal social security. At the same time the welfare state was closely related to medical science, with new advances such as penicillin and vaccination. Also, the expansion of large specialized hospitals as well as specialization among doctors changed the role of medicine in society. This development meant that the acute infectious diseases decreased and medical scientists directed their interest towards more chronic and degenerative diseases instead. There was an epidemiological transition from combating infection to checking health. But the relationship between medicine and the patients also became more paternalistic, with the doctor speaking to the patient. This was strengthened by the growth of the so-called "equipment failure model", where the doctor focused on what was wrong with the biological body, and ignored more sociocultural perspectives.

Chapter 5, – "Individual Responsibility on the Health Market: 1970 to 2010" – takes its starting point in some immense changes at the beginning of the 1970s. One was the oil crisis of 1973–1974 which interrupted the more or less constant economic upturn since the post-war period. It was no longer obvious that the welfare state would expand. Another was the ideological criticism that became widespread in society and also affected medicine and its paternalistic authority and dominant value system. Medicine as an expert system now came under criticism too, not least from international critics such as Ivan Illich. The preventive health work of the 1970s also changed, with a greater demand that the population take more responsibility for their own health. These three different themes are discussed in the chapter and how they developed from the beginning of the 1970s to today. Obviously these are very big questions, each of which would require its own book, but the authors manage to make a good summary of the most central lines in the development. A crucial issue is of course the greater focus on risk factors to prevent illness. The development that is highlighted is that the greater responsibility the population must take for their own health developed in parallel with the medical identification of new risk factors. This is a development related to the sociologist David Armstrong's term surveillance medicine, in which every individual in a society becomes the supervisor of their own bodies.

It was also a time when the "natural" was an important discourse in society, and from the end of the

1960s it became a part of the ideological criticism against the society. Alternative forms of life and healthy food became important and also linked to the individual's responsibility for their own health and for the environment they live in. This provides an opportunity for alternative medicine, which now enjoyed a renaissance. Some examples that are highlighted in the book are acupuncture and chiropractic. An interesting discussion in the book concerns how this growing market also created porosity between the sectors. From 1970s the medicine monopolies began to dissolve, giving alternative medicine greater possibilities to market itself and giving the patient a stronger position in relation to medicine. Simultaneously patients' rights were strengthened.

The book ends with a short conclusion where the authors capture the two issues: Why have people chosen different ways of dealing with sickness and health from a historical perspective? How have the different sectors of the medical marketplace related to each other from the mid nineteenth century to the present day? From these questions the authors recapitulate what has been discussed but do not do much more. It would be interesting to adopt some larger perspective and discuss it in relation to the many perspectives presented in the book. For example, the welfare model developed in Norway could be related to the welfare models in the other Nordic countries; there are many similarities and differences that could be highlighted and analysed. Also, a more global perspective could have broadened the discussion, showing how the welfare model has always evolved in relation to an international context. In this final chapter trust as a concept is also considered. This term is present throughout the book but never analysed very much; a more theoretical discussion would have been appropriate in this chapter.

But the criticism is negligible. Bente Gullveig Alver, Tove Ingebjørg Fjell and Teemu Ryymin have written a very interesting book that not only provides a good understanding of the historic development in Norway, but may also say something about the welfare developments in the Nordic countries. It gives us important historical perspectives on how medical markets evolve, coexist and are challenged over time.

Kristofer Hansson, Lund

Swedish Seamen's Tattoos

Svenska sjömanstatueringar. Mirja Arnshav (ed.). Sjöhistoriska museet. Medströms Bokförlag, Stockholm 2014. 183 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7329-117-0.

■ It must be said straight away: this book about Swedish seamen's tattoos from the Maritime Museum in Stockholm is a magnificent volume, with well-chosen and beautiful pictures, a nifty layout, and easy-to-read texts. The designer Ludwig Halsberger therefore deserves a mention for the romantic, nostalgic feel of the book, which suits the content very well. The fact that the book will embellish any coffee table does not detract in any way from the high quality of the content.

The different texts in the book are by twelve authors. Several of them are Swedish ethnologists, archaeologists, and historians, but some also represent art history or fashion studies. The aim has thus been to approach the subject from different angles, but despite the many different authorial voices, the texts have a surprisingly uniform and homogeneous style. Presumably this is mostly thanks to the editor, Mirja Arnshav. She is also behind the well-written introduction and several of the texts.

The book has five main chapters, each divided into sections. In the introductory chapter, "Seamen and Tattoos", Arnshav, who is an archaeologist, presents the tattoo collection, in the form of photographs and drawings of tattoo designs, maintained by the Maritime Museum – the tattoos on which the book is mostly based. The following chapters are structured according to motifs that have occurred in tattoos, and the headings speak for themselves: "Anchor, Star, and Ship", "Eagle, Geisha, and Dragon", "Women, Butterflies, and Hearts", "The Handshake, Homeward Bound, and The Sailor's Grave".

The book describes how tattoos – which have become incredibly popular today among people of both sexes, young and middle-aged alike – were an alien element in Swedish society a hundred years ago, signalling difference, deviance, and sometimes even criminality. Yet tattoos were common among sailors, and the world of images that developed "in dockside pubs, on the decks of cargo ships, and in the encounter with foreign cultures" has set the style for today's tattoos, known as the old-school style. The authors ask how this happened, and how we should understand the original context and purpose of the historical tattoos. Unfortunately, the large tat-

too collection at the Maritime Museum does not give any clear answers as to why it was sailors who had the tattoos as one of their strongest markers of their role. At the time when the major part of the collection came into being, from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s, there was no interest at all in what the bearers of the tattoos had to say; the main aim was to document the actual tattoos and to acquire designs.

Why then was the tattoo collection established? The reason, as in so many other fields in folklife studies at this time, was that people saw it as their duty to collect and preserve parts of a disappearing cultural heritage. It was thus important to document what was felt to be a rapidly vanishing seaman's tradition. When staff at the Maritime Museum began to take an interest in sailors' tattoos, the merchant navy was undergoing major changes. Sailing vessels could no longer compete with steamships, and the railway had simultaneously become a serious competitor for the steamships. The heyday of sailors' tattoos was thus, as Arnshav notes, a nostalgic era. It is interesting in this context that tattooing had just experienced its floruit, not among the genuine seadogs but among the steamship crews, that is, among men who, although they had worked at sea, had not necessarily worked on sailing ships. Arnshav writes: "Contemporary tattooers testify, on the contrary, that it was the advance of steam shipping that was the key to the great popularity of tattoos among sailors. The men on sailing ships could sometimes be restrictive about getting tattooed", and this is confirmed elsewhere. Many sailors in the last era of sail regarded their colleagues on engine-powered ships more as "steamship workers" who needed to boost their status as sailors by means of external attributes, unlike the "real" seamen on the sailing ships.

The Maritime Museum has sporadically added to its tattoo documentation over the years, for instance by acquiring tattooing tools. The major collecting effort was related to the exhibition "Faith, Hope, and Love", which opened in 2012. Now the focus was more on personal narratives, which had been missing before. At the same time, they wanted to expand the collection to include contemporary tattoos. Arnshav notes that, since we are in the age of individualism today, tattooing has gone from being a kind of caste mark to become a personal brand.

Some of the most popular tattoos were the *anchor*, *star*, and *ship*. They were the emblems of a sailor, with a powerful identity-creating function. By getting tattooed, a sailor confirmed his role and strengthened his community with other sailors, and simultaneously he also caused exclusion. The art historian Hedvig Mårdh, in her text "The Ideal Sailor", describes how the question of tattooing was a fraught subject in the first half of the twentieth century. The tattoo debate was conducted in specialist periodicals for sailors, where the tradition is described as a bad habit. The more obscene motifs in particular could be perceived as anything but innocent, and were described in a letter published in a church magazine in 1926 as "obvious signs of a dirty inner man, which had, as it were, infected the outside". There was also outright agitation against tattoos, which were regarded as unhygienic and barbarous, showing insufficient respect for the human body.

The historian Tomas Nilson looks at tattoos as "the criminal's flower" and examines the association between sailors, tattoos, and crime. He finds that tattoos were uncommon among men in general in the 1910s. At that time they were restricted to sailors or men who had got into trouble with the law, and sometimes, of course, these two categories coincided. An interesting and perhaps not so widely known fact is that tattoos, just a few decades before, had been relatively common among aristocrats and royals in Europe, especially in England. The explanation why the practice became unfashionable among the elite is that tattoos became more easily available and the price fell sharply with the introduction of the electric tattooing machine in the 1890s. Tattoos now became less exclusive and gradually became identified with other social strata and moral decay.

The text by the fashion scholar Philip Warkander discusses the myth of *the queer sailor* that flourishes in gay culture. In male homosexual popular culture, the image of the sailor has long had an iconic position. He has been regarded as a mythical figure, constantly on the move between different places. "A man who belongs to both sea and land, seen in shady dockside neighbourhoods but only as a temporary visitor, on leave from the never-ending travel over the seas." This stereotypical sailor often has anchors, women's names, and red hearts tattooed on his arms, yet he is perceived as potentially available to other men as well. This, Warkander explains, is

because the sailor is associated with the purely masculine world of the ship and the company of men, "where the narrow categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality, at least in the imagination, are often transgressed." The author emphasizes that the description of the manually labouring sailor, as a homoerotic object with a strong masculine identity and style, is fantasy. It is based on a romanticized idea of "real" manliness, which is in stark contrast to the vulnerable position in which homosexual men often find themselves.

The archaeologist Niklas Eriksson writes about *the proud ship*, one of the classical sailors' tattoos, which has looked the same for decades. Most frequently depicted are highly stylized barques and full-rigged ships, which had actually become unusual when the ship became popular as a tattoo motif at the start of the twentieth century. With steamships there were new professional groups on board, the engineers and stokers, which led to a division of identities among the crewmen. Having a full-rigged ship tattooed on one's chest was a way to express one's professional distinctiveness. The engineers likewise adopted the custom of getting tattoos, but "whereas the rig-climbing sailor, who had been reduced to deck service on the rigless steamships, bore the picture of a ship in sail as a cherished security blanket", the stokers developed motifs of their own, such as coal shovels, stoker's rods, and propellers, in their own occupation. Today a tattoo of a sailing ship often indicates merely that the bearer is a sailor, regardless of what function he has on board. The classical nautical motifs seem to work best as identity markers for the entire group of sailors.

The historians Adam Hjorthén and Lisa Hellman write with insight about more exotic motifs, Hjorthén about the *eagle* and the *American flag*, and Hellman about the *geisha* and the *dragon*. In the first half of the twentieth century, national American symbols such as the Stars and Stripes, the eagle, the Red Indian, and the pinup girl became popular motifs among Swedish sailors. Hjorthén says that there are several ways to explain these motifs. In many cases the sailors no doubt wanted to show that they had sailed all the way to America, but the USA also had an important place in the Swedish public debate, closely associated with the large-scale emigration. The idea of the USA as "the land of dreams" was strong in Europe, and the American symbols represented strength and freedom, power and modernity.

In a similar way, the geisha as a tattoo motif has spread far beyond the harbours of Japan. The geisha became a European and an American motif, acquiring other meanings than in traditional Japanese tattooing. The geisha came to represent all Japanese women and the whole of Japanese culture. She became a dream image that had very little in common with the Japanese women the sailors might have met, and she functioned as an erotic symbol and an exotic dream in the same style as the hula dancer from Hawaii. Hellman writes: "The geisha became the ultimate blend of these different female images: the dangerous and deceitful woman, the tender prostitute, the silent and passive woman. She became the essence of the exoticized and sexualized Asiatic woman in a single well-dressed package."

Pictures of women were by far the most common motif on the body of tattooed sailors. The historian Lovisa Ehlin emphasizes motifs such as *the respectable woman* versus *the temptress*. She investigates what the female ideal looked like in society between the wars, and shows how the tattooers were inspired by the world of media and film. The respectable woman, often represented by the fiancée or wife back home, was an older female ideal. The motif of *homeward bound*, with images such as the fiancée, the ship, and the lighthouse, was about longing to get home safely. The tomboy, a girl with short hair and exposed legs, created in the 1920s, came to represent a modern female type. She was a temptress, just like the exotic dancer, another common motif at this time. In this liberated period, when the corset was abandoned, yet another type of temptress was created, the naively drawn naked woman with ample breasts and a slim waist.

The ethnologist Simon Ekström writes inspiringly about the *butterfly* and the *pinup* as tattoo motifs. The butterfly, which today is perhaps primarily perceived as a female symbol, was in fact very popular among the old salts, alongside tigers, dragons, eagles, skulls, weapons, and sea monsters – motifs which express danger and brute force. Ekström suggests that it is perhaps "in the encounter between the violent and the sentimental that we should look for part of the explanation for the tenacious attraction of sailors' tattoos". The fragile butterfly also seems to fit perfectly with the present-day ideal that he calls "the soft-hard man".

The *pinup*, the lightly-clad and provocative female figure that has become popular also among to-

day's tattooed women, has its roots in female burlesque in the USA. Photographs of the artistes were printed on visiting cards that were used in marketing, and the tradition was adopted by the nascent film industry, with Hollywood in the lead. The post-war years then became the golden age of pinup drawings, which occurred everywhere: in the centre spreads of magazines, on calendars and in advertisements. Today's pinup often goes together with the revival of rockabilly culture, deliberate retro design, the American 1950s with the clothes, dances, and music styles, the cars and the interior decoration of the time. From having been an expression of male objectification of the female body, the pinup has become a feminist icon with a diametrically opposite meaning. Tattoos of pinups, according to Ekström, express the bearer's power over her own body and sexuality, thus displaying emancipation, independence, and provocative femininity: "Only someone who is sufficiently secure in her own femininity would dare to be seen with such a hackneyed (and also sexualized) cliché on her skin."

The heart, which occurs in many variants but often with a banderol containing the name of a sweetheart or "mother", is examined in the book by the ethnologist Birgitta Svensson. The heart is one of the most common tattoo motifs, and for sailors it expressed hopes of good luck and happiness, while simultaneously, of course, it is the eternal symbol of love and romance, friendship and longing. That the heart can be an expression of manliness has been emphasized by sailors interviewed for the tattoo exhibition at the Maritime Museum. Since men on board ship perhaps found it difficult to talk about missing their family and friends, the motif had the functioning of expressing some of this longing.

The last chapter in the book deals with classical tattoo motifs associated with the hard life at sea, being exposed to the fury of the elements, the fear of death, and the vital companionship; here the tattoos could be said to give a kind of magical protection on the journey. Several of the motifs are internationally known under names such as *sailor's grave, home at last, homeward bound, Davy Jones*, and *hands across the sea*. Mirja Arnshav writes that several of these fate motifs are based on superstition and myths which served as a safety valve to give vent to fear, sorrow, and vulnerability. At the same time, they cultivated a sense of distinction and community, creating an image of a courageous occupational group.

A central theme among early sailors' tattoos is the comradeship of the crew. The ship became a second home, where the men were forced to live close together. Cut off from the rest of the world, the crew became a sort of family, and in the risky work on board they were wholly dependent on their comrades doing their job properly; they had to be able to rely on each other. The *handshake* as a tattoo motif is one symbol of this. Many of the classical sentimental motifs are still used by today's sailors, but not all of them function equally well as tradition bearers. Here the distinctly nautical motifs are preferred today.

Magical tattoos are treated by the archaeologist Fredrik Fahlander in a very interesting account of how the tattoos could function as both invocatory and apotropaic pictorial magic, in strenuous conditions far away from one's nearest and dearest. Certain motifs, such as the *swallow*, the *pole star*, or the *compass rose*, were considered helpful as magical navigation instruments at sea, and can be classed as devices for sympathetic or invocatory magic. Apotropaic magic, intended to ward off evil, is found in the custom of tattooing the letters "H-O-L-D" and "F-A-S-T" on the fingers of the left and right hand respectively. This is meant to protect the sailor from losing his grip and falling or being washed overboard. Examples of other superstitious tattoos are the *dice*, the *horseshoe*, the figure *seven, lucky lady* (the classical pinup), and the playing cards with *four aces* – all intended to bring good luck in general. Fahlander points out that there is a very fine dividing line between superstition and magical thinking, but "it is not difficult to imagine that sailors, exposed to the elements at sea, may have felt a need to try to appease evil forces or reduce the fear of drowning". There is also a notion that the magical effect of a tattoo could partly depend on how painful it had been to get it. Having a tattoo means exposing oneself to physical pain of varying intensity, and it can be viewed as a sacrifice. You "give" your pain in order to receive strength and protection in return.

The last essay in the book is by the art historian Johanna Rosenqvist. It concerns how tattoo motifs in the 1930s and 1940s were sometimes framed in simple flowers and garlands reminiscent of ornamentation in folk art. Sometimes they also have features of the popular culture of the time. Unfortunately, the article is so brief that it has little information value. I would have liked to read a little more on this

topic. As it is, one wonders what the intention is behind this admittedly well-written text. To let it round off the whole splendid book causes something of an anticlimax; it would surely have been better to place it earlier in the book.

Svenska sjömanstatueringar also contains lists of literature and sources, an index and informative presentations of the authors. The texts can well be read separately and in any order. The book can therefore also function almost as a reference work. The introduction states that the authors want to "generate a broader understanding of what a sailor's tattoo has been, has become, and can be". It also declares that "tattoos offer a peephole into a fascinating and vanished time". As a reader one can only agree – and look with pleasure!

Marika Rosenström, Helsingfors

Norwegian School Songbooks

Med sang! Perspektiver på norske skolesangbøker etter 1814. Fred Ola Bjørnstad, Eiliv Olsen & Marit Rong (eds.). Novus Forlag, Oslo 2014. 284 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-757-2.

■ Songbooks are traditionally compiled in clubs and associations of different kinds; people assemble to have fun, to remember and sing together or – as in political and religious organizations – to think about the future. A special genre is school songbooks, the purpose of which was to *create* a shared repertoire based on texts and tunes that reflected, with greater or lesser clarity, the prevailing educational, political, and cultural currents of the time in which they were composed.

This book is a rich and sometimes highly detailed analysis of Norwegian school songbooks, with special focus on Mads Berg's *Skolens sangbok*, which was published in thirteen editions in the years 1914–99. The authors of the twelve articles (some in Bokmål, others in Nynorsk) represent a variety of fields, such as theology, music education, ethnology, and Norwegian language, but also practising musicians and composers. The main aim is not to describe the use of the songbooks or their place in school over the years, but to examine in detail their content and how they came into being, for example, the admission of pop music from the 1960s (Eiliv Olsen). A particularly Norwegian phenomenon is the recorder as a compulsory school instrument in the curriculum from 1960 to 1985, which led to new editions in which the songs were provided with chords (Rigmor Titt). It may seem somewhat anachronistic to analyse the words of the songs from a gender perspective, but we find, not surprisingly, that male gender roles are richly represented through heroes, sailors, soldiers, farmers, and father figures, whereas women's lives and pursuits are exclusively associated with the home and the summer farm in the mountains. In the nine songbooks from the years 1964–2006 which Silje Valde Onsrud has studied, just 6 per cent of the texts were written by women. She notes that no attempt has been made to revise the content of the songbooks against the background of the demands for gender equality that school is expected to satisfy; stereotyped historical gender roles are perpetuated via the lyrics of the songs.

On the subject of hymns, Marit Rong and Stig Wernø Holter note that up to one third of the titles in older songbooks could be hymns. In eight of the songbooks from the years 1939–2008 which they have studied, many of these are retained, characterized as traditional hymns. The most frequent and best loved today are hymns associated with Christmas celebrations and the different times of day. The most popular hymn in Norway is *Deilig er jorden*, as in Denmark, whereas *Den blomstertid nu kommer* heads the list in Sweden. In the concluding "essayistic reflection" entitled "Being More Attentive", the composer Magnar Åm confirms the significance that *Skolens sangbok* – with its "simple, but fundamental figures" – has had for him personally: "When I tried to play as sensitively and transparently as Jan Johansson, the tunes from the songbook were perfect material."

For Nordic readers in general, a detailed account of the separate chapters might perhaps be of minor interest, but the volume, through its arrangement and its in-depth analyses, raises a number of general questions and angles which could well be applied to school songbooks in the other Nordic countries. One of these concerns the aims of the editors. Was it a private or a public initiative? Was the idea to reflect an existing singing practice or to change it, for example by establishing a national canon? What was the intended target group or age group? Were the compilers aiming for diversity or stylistic unity? Was there any relationship to popular community singing? Did they deliberately avoid certain known songs with obviously religious or political texts?

How was it possible to reconcile the idea of communicating a cultural heritage with the ambition to reflect modern tendencies as well? And what "rhetorical strategies" and famous names, if any, were used in the advertising?

It would be interesting to launch a joint Nordic research project to compare how the countries have presented their own self-image and interpretation of history via the songbooks for children, and the part played by poets such as Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig in the early editions. Swedish songbooks lack national poets with that kind of influence. On the other hand, there was an urgent reason for compiling *Sjung, svenska folk!* (1906) in a very short time, with Alice Tegnér as editor. The aim was to foster patriotic unity in Sweden after the dissolution of the union with Norway. The songbook was used in Swedish schools for a long time, 41 editions up to 1994.

Several of the authors in this volume also comment on the dichotomy that can be felt in all community singing, between the words and the singing in real time, so to speak. If the tune is familiar or catchy, the singing can be a powerful experience of community and have a value in itself, while the words are less important and, as it were, can be placed in a kind of nostalgia compartment in another half of the brain. Velle Espeland notes in her article about community singing and patriotism that, for school children, the family, friends, and the people they mix with outside school are more important than the school class: "In my school days in the 1950s, we liked to sing the latest hits, singing games, crude parodies, and the like in our spare time, but it was only in school that we sang the school songs. The national school songs were thus given to us at a stage in life when we had no use for them, but with the hope that they would have an effect later in life."

Printed songbooks for use in school are probably a format that will disappear completely – but will we get something else instead? Will we see the words of songs on a big screen (as sometimes happens at church services) or on individual devices? Are there any discussions today about a shared "basic repertoire" for school? Is there any room at all for communal singing during the single hour that is allocated to music in most schools? But the repertoire of community singing is enjoying a new renaissance, both spontaneous as in sports arenas and stage-managed as on television. We should not forget how the singalong programme *Allsång på Skansen* began on Swedish radio with Sven Lilja in the 1930s, playing a major role in making Sweden psychologically prepared during the war years. Singing will persist, but where are the words, and who today will be responsible for selecting them?
Henrik Karlsson, Uppsala

Seniors on the Move

Nordic Seniors on the Move. Mobility and Migrations in Later Life. Anne Leonore Blaakilde, Gabriella Nilsson (eds.). Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Science 4, Lund University 2014. 225 pp. ISBN 978-91-981458-0-9.

■ "Older people are generally stayers rather than movers" (p. 53), one of the researchers in the book concludes. The research proves that there are however those who move, to different housing, to a different part of the country, and finally those who move abroad. As the European population gets older, publications like *Nordic Seniors on the Move* edited by Blaakilde and Nilsson will be more and more in demand.

The book is an edited volume concerning the mobility of seniors from the Nordic countries. Eight scholars (for some reason it says "in seven chapters" in the Introduction p. 9) study here various aspects of old age migration of Danes, Swedes, and Finns. Using ethnographic methods including interviews and diaries, the researchers try, as the editors put it: to "comprehend the phenomenon" of the permanent or seasonal move of senior citizens to different areas.

In the first chapter Gabriella Nilsson describes Swedish retirees who move to the warmer rural areas in the south of Sweden, maybe the future Swedish Florida, Österlen. Drawing conclusions from numerous interviews, she argues a thesis that is already suggested in the title ("Breaking Free and Settling Down") that moving for those seniors does not, as expected, equal mobility and freedom because it is rather often caused by the need of "continuity, security and rootedness" (p. 45).

The second chapter by Marianne Abramsson considers Swedish senior houses and their role in the mobility of retirees. The researcher interviewed

some senior citizens who moved to specially built complexes. She establishes in the end that the main reason for moving is a lifestyle and that seniors look for certain qualities in their new homes. The choice of the housing is at the same time a lifestyle choice.

Antti Karisto's chapter about the eating habits of Finnish migrants to the Costa del Sol is very interesting, especially as he translates the culinary choices into the lifestyles (pp. 88–89) of the seniors. The researcher gathered a compelling amount of data between 1998 and 2005 using interviews, autobiographical texts, diaries, field observations, as well as collecting media and literature data and using the Atlas/ti programme for content analysis (p. 78).

Two chapters concerning the religious life of Finnish and Swedish seniors who migrated to various countries follow Karisto's article. The author of the first article, Jenni Spännäri, introduces the concepts of diaspora, transmigration, and transnationalism that are a helpful tool in understanding the situation of Finnish seasonal migrants to the Costa del Sol and their religious activities in three aspects: organizational, social, and private beliefs. Through interviews and interviewees' texts the researchers attempt to find both diasporic and transnational elements. In conclusion the author states that both aspects are relevant in the religious lives of the Finns on Costa del Sol. Interestingly, she points out that even if migrants are open to the Spanish way of life, the religious experiences on all these levels are "set in a Finnish context".

The study of the Swedish migrants also uses the term "diaspora" but concentrates on the meaning of "home" in regard to the Church of Sweden abroad. The main difference between this and the previous chapter is that the researchers, Eva Jepsson Grassman and Annika Takhizadeh Larsson, put the study in a more global context interviewing migrants in a larger number of countries: Germany, USA, France, Cyprus, Spain, Greece, and Thailand. Besides the interviews with senior migrants and ministers, the researchers mapped church websites and conducted an Internet survey among the parishes. The results of the survey are preceded by the description of the institution of the Swedish Church Abroad that may not be known to all readers. The findings in this chapter confirm previous research in this area (p. 146) – despite formally serving spiritual purposes abroad, the Church of Sweden often is a cultural organization that gives the migrants a feeling of home, belonging and preserving their Swedishness but as they stress, paradoxically, advertises itself as multicultural organization (p. 147).

Annie Woube analyses how Swedish seniors get involved in voluntary work after moving abroad. Costa del Sol is again a place of study here and a concept of transnationalism is invoked, this time referring to voluntarism. The researcher perceives the voluntarism and mediation of transnational knowledge as a smooth transition "from professional life to retirement" (p. 170), that helps the seniors to stay engaged and maintain active lives.

Transnationalism is again mentioned as a theoretical "point of departure" (p. 174) in Anne Leonora Blaakilde's article. This chapter is different from the others in the sense that it can have a direct political application and stimulate the debate because the author analyses some of the politically grounded reasons why the Danish seniors or health retirees need to move abroad. Blaakilde presents Danish health, migration, taxation and retirement policies and in the second part of the chapter interviews with some health migrants from the Costa del Sol and Turkey, thus showing two perspectives which she calls "from above" and "from below" (p. 177). In her conclusions Blaakilde points out the inconsistencies and the unfairness of the Danish system in this area. The migrants often have difficulties receiving their benefits, which proves that the Danish benefit system has its limitations that impact Danes abroad and is therefore "spatio-national".

The last chapter does not directly discuss Nordic seniors. Deane Simpson analyses trends in senior mobility globally, e.g. in the United States. He does so from the architect's point of view, exploring the urban, the architectural, and the environmental context.

The book is very coherent and fulfils the promise defined in the Introduction. Even if in some chapters the theory is intertwined with the results of the research, the cognitive maturity of the researchers does not obscure the clarity of the arguments. The studies both constitute excellent scholar work and are applicable at the same time. Some of the research can be directly implemented by the building industry (Abramsson, Nilsson), other parts can be a starting point for introducing some improvements in the areas described (Blaakilde, Simpson) and other are example of how to involve senior citizens (e.g.

Woube). It would also be interesting if the researchers could have referred to each other's texts, e.g. the way Spännäri refers to Karisto (p. 121), because the findings of the researches definitely correspond with each other, which could be pointed out more clearly.
Maja Chacińska, Gdańsk

When Things Speak

Talande ting. Berättelser och materialitet. Katarina Ek-Nilsson & Birgitta Meurling (eds.). Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Uppsala 2014. 177 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-86959-19-7.

■ The title of this edited volume means "Talking Things: Narratives and Materiality", and the book is a result of collaboration between ethnologists and folklorists from Sweden and Finland. The book has twelve authors. After an introductory chapter it is divided thematically into four main sections containing eleven articles in all. The format, and to some extent the theme, readily allow the book to be associated with the Swedish article collection *Materialiseringar* from 2011 and the Norwegian *Tingenes tilsynekomster* from 2013. Among other things, these books consider materiality in relational and performative constellations, regarding things as actors and as driving forces in action, while simultaneously bringing out their emotional and aesthetic potential. All these perspectives can be found in *Talande ting*, which means that this new book can easily be regarded as a Swedish-Finnish contribution in a joint Scandinavian series about materiality. But only almost, as narrative ties the different texts together, albeit to different extents. This gives the book a distinctive character even though it spans a highly varied field.

The articles here range from birdwatcher's objects to mystic black magic books; the empirical material is based on interviews, participant observations, archive material, photographs, objects, questionnaires, and life stories, chronologically covering several hundred years. This makes extra demands on the organization of the book.

One way to unite the different articles in the book is to open with an article which, according to the editors Katarina Ek-Nilsson and Birgitta Meurling, is intended to serve as a guide and a toolbox. This is Ulf Palmenfelt's text "Icebergs and Planets: Narratives and Materialities", in which the author establishes links between narratives and materiality. Narratives can be regarded as fixed forms which make actions and courses of events recognizable; they can "freeze" what happens, giving performance and constancy to something mobile and changeable. Palmenfelt also brings in the folkloristic concept of *tradition dominant*, which functions as a "motif attraction", that is, certain material elements attract attention and help to structure narratives and not least of all to link the "small" narratives to the grand narratives. This is an interesting start, but in relation to the theme, materiality ends up in the background. It is therefore chiefly the editors' introduction that serves as the "instructions" for using the book.

The first part of the book is entitled "Narrated Experience" and according to the editors is devoted to the way in which narratives are shaped through personal experiences. This is clearly seen in Susanne Nylund Skog's article "Lingonberry and Potato, Stockholm and Czernowitz". Proceeding from life stories and interviews, she shows how lingonberries, a glass of juice, and a bag of potatoes function as memory material and sensual orientation points in relation to a map of Europe, the history of the Jews, and visions of a new future.

"Meccano, BESK and Barsebäck: On Materialities in Engineers' Life Stories", by Katarina Ek-Nilsson, exemplifies how material motif attractions work. Meccano toys, slide rules, computer programs, bridge designs, and nuclear power form personal references to life and career. These are elements that structure personal narratives which can be read as the development of the engineering profession and, more generally, the modernization of Sweden.

Susanne Waldén is the author of the last article in this section. It has a title meaning "The Gold Dress that Split: On Cultivated and Uncultivated Drunkenness in Student Settings". The focus here is on students, assessed as a representative group familiar both with uncivilized and almost animal-like drunkenness and with the more spiritual variant characterized by profound conversations. By extension, we see how stories of binge drinking in the academic environment show greater variation than more ordinary ones. Good stories are created by broken crockery and split dresses in a context characterized by ritual formalities. Perhaps the theme is too large for a short article. I would have like to see more precision in the description of the social setting versus

specific occasions. It would also have been interesting to see a deeper analysis of the bodily aspect in relation to materiality. But the topic is interesting. We have all heard stories of drunkenness, but few have read about them in scholarly texts.

The second part of the book is entitled "Lived Materiality". The leitmotif here is materiality as embodied experience. In the article "Among Gowns, Albs, and Cassocks: On Memories, Materiality, and Performance" Birgitta Meurling is both the author and the main character. Her childhood memories as a clergyman's daughter are the starting point for her analyses of modern church interiors, rituals, and formal clerical vestments. In the analysis the sensual aspects are importantly linked to materially, and the performance perspective brings out memories in clerical practice, while the concept of habitus captures how experiences are stored in the body and crucial for understanding and interpreting the memories of what took place in the Swedish church.

"Folk Dress as Personal and Lived Materiality", by Marsanna Petersen, deals with the relationship between experiences, body, and materiality. The topic is modern Faroese folk costumes and the owners' relationship to them. These are costumes that are not exclusively connected to a collective cultural heritage. Ornaments, colours, and decoration are all related to the owners' preferences, memories, relations, and life histories. The costumes become embodied experiences with a strong personal charge, not least because clothes are so intimately associated with body and skin. The article also highlights what is special and unique about the Faroese folk costumes, but this is at the same time a part of a familiar research field which gives a palpable sense of recognition.

Elin Lundquist's article "Between Birds, Things, and Materiality: How Birdwatchers' Seeing Is Formed" ends this section. The theme is the change that has taken place in the way birdwatchers make their observations. Using the actor-network theory (ANT) that is now well known, Lundquist links all the actors involved to each other, both human and material actors. The result is an analysis of how new audiovisual instruments have changed the way birdwatchers see. The way they watch birds can be described as a new taxonomic gaze which has influenced what is important to see, interpret, note down, and communicate. The article is illustrated, like most of the others, but here I noted with particular amazement how the birdwatchers stand in row upon row with their enormous binoculars. It makes me wonder what happened to the joy of experiencing nature. Does this fall outside the ANT model or outside the birdwatchers' sphere of interest, or is it the photographic motif that is special?

The third section in the book is entitled "Cultural Identifications". It contains just two articles in which cultural minorities are the common denominator. First comes Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius writing "On the Organization of Authenticity, Acknowledgement, and Identification in Sámi Duodji". Here the reader meets a modern craft worker who challenges the traditional demands for authenticity in Sámi craft. This is the starting point for a historical analysis of ideals and challenges associated with perceptions of authentic and legitimate Sámi art. The text nicely demonstrates the distinction between an essentialist and a constructivist understanding of identity. Such a short article as this would have benefited if the author had spent slightly less time in the archives; now she is in danger of drowning some of her important insights.

"Are You What You Eat? Food, Memory, and Materialities" is the title of Sofia Jonsson's article, which mostly takes place in the kitchen of her Jewish informant, Katja. This is the scene of conversation, preparing dishes, and tasting. In the course of this the reader is initiated in rituals, practices, and performative events associated with Jewish food habits in a broad sense. The food leads to memories, actions, and insight into Jewish history. Food reflects ritual acts; Katja's kitchen exposes the diaspora and perceptions of belonging to a minority identity.

The last section of the book has the title "Cultural Identifications" and the articles are linked by the theme of reconstructions of the past. As in the other sections, there is a broad range of topics here. The essay by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto and Lena Marander-Eklund is entitled "The Red-spotted Dress: The Use of the Narratives about the Fifties in a Political Family Campaign". The authors analyse a photograph of a couple in love. The picture is new but has satirical associations of the fifties as a happy decade when values such as love, the nuclear family, and the mother's role were regarded as central. The analysis of the picture and its material representations reveals several levels of meaning. The most interesting concerns how the material elements

of the picture can create imaginary ideas of a bygone period which can be used politically in a new era to convey new visions of the future.

In "The Pink Floyd Happening", Lars Kaijser analyses the staging of an event in Stockholm in 2011. This was a reconstruction of a Pink Floyd concert in the same venue in 1967. Original props, lighting, and dummies of the band members were used to create a material narrative both about Pink Floyd and about the earlier concert. The article considers many different perspectives, including various forms of authenticity. The youngest members of the audience in 2011 were engrossed by the 1960s atmosphere. Kaijser regards this as an iconic authenticity where emotions and the experience of participation dominated. The older audience members, however, were occupied with concrete memories and knowledge about the concert in 1967; for them an indexical authenticity was at the centre. The divisions between different ways of experiencing the past are not absolute, just as authenticity is a complex and multifaceted concept.

"Black Art Books from Sandvik – and a Forgotten Booklet: On Secret Knowledge, Hidden and Forgotten in Manuscripts and Narration" by Åsa Ljungström is the last article in the book. It pays great attention to narrative. It is, so to speak, a "mystery narrative" but with a material plot that is presented. Handmade "black books", writing with occult signs, originals and copies, are the core of the narrative. We see a composite cast of characters, with clergymen, doctors, folklife scholars, professors, novelists, book collectors, and folk storytellers. In the article Ljungström concentrates on reconstructing a history extending over several hundred years. An important conclusion is that materiality, represented here by the occult and secret books, is a necessary condition for traditional folk narratives. The article thus ends where Ulf Palmenfelt started his: without materiality, no narrative. Åsa Ljungström's article is a text that gives pause for thought, but with all its complexity and details it seems highly compressed.

The books of black magic from Sandvik capture the essence of this book, namely, how materiality and narrative are intertwined. Viewed as a whole, it shows how this happens in very different ways. My criticisms chiefly concern how the articles are organized. The first part is devoted to experience and narrative. Since there is particular emphasis on the personal, Susanne Waldén's article unintentionally falls somewhat outside the main theme. As for the third section, "Cultural Identifications", this is a very broad heading which could, in principle, cover most of the articles. It is specified in the introduction that priority is given to cultural minorities, but this creates problems. Susanne Nylund Skog's and Sofia Jonsson's articles overlap, with the result that the latter article ends up rather in the shadow of the former. One may even question whether this section is necessary at all. The final section, "An Envisaged Past", has the character of a residual category because it has been given a broad title, with the theme of the past representing one of the two recurrent themes of the book. Perhaps something of the problem lies in the fact that the first two and the last two divisions are not directly comparable. The main criticism, then, concerns how the book is organized.

This is nevertheless a fascinating book. Not all the articles are equally theoretical, equally innovative or trendsetting. Nor is that necessary. All the texts can justify their place, and together they give scope for both recognition and inspiration. The different ways in which materiality and narrative are interwoven break down old disciplinary boundaries and open for new perspectives which can also be transferred to other themes than those presented in the book. An extra credit goes to the book for the way the authors have emphasized the different methods concerning their empirical findings. In that way, this is a book that should also achieve the editors' wish that it might be used as a textbook.

Eva Reme, Bergen

Archive, Memory, Oblivion

Carola Ekrem, Pamela Gustavsson, Petra Hakala & Mikael Korhonen, Arkiv, Minne, Glömska. Arkiven vid Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland 1885−2010. SLS, Helsingfors 2014. 490 pp. ill. ISBN 978-951-583-258-0.

■ This book from the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, with a title meaning "Archive, Memory, Oblivion", contains four articles about the archives of the Society during the years 1885−2010. Carola Ekrem writes about the collection of folk traditions and the Archives of Folk Culture. Pamela Gustavsson describes the collecting of dialects and placenames, and Petra Hakala writes about the various

collections of biographical material and cultural history. Mikael Korhonen describes the development of archival activities in preparation for the twenty-first century. The book is based on a research project initiated in 2007 with the aim of analysing the Society's archival operations and ascertaining how the collections came about, and the ideas and values that have guided the collecting. The articles are exhaustive, with detailed accounts of the contributions of the many people who have worked with collecting, researching, and publishing the history and folk traditions of Swedish-speaking Finland.

When Finland was separated from Sweden, it was the Finnish language, the Finnish peasantry, and Finnish folklore that expressed Finnish nationality. Representatives of the Swedish-speaking part of the population wished to protect the Swedish traditions and emphasize that Swedes were also a part of the Finnish nation. This led to the foundation of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS). Collection and research about the Swedish tradition required some caution, since Russia was suspicious of national movements. In several places the authors of this book point out the significance of contacts with Sweden for the work of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland.

In the struggle between Swedish and Finnish, Professor C. G. Estlander developed his "culturally Swedish" line. Language had a unifying function, but for him the Finnish nation was bilingual and held together by a shared history, judicial tradition, and solidarity. Johan Ludvig Runeberg was the symbol of the undivided bilingual nation, and the SLS was founded in memory of the national poet. Estlander regarded the preservation of the Swedish heritage as essential for the nation of Finland. Professor A. O. Freudenthal, one of those who took the initiative to found the Society, considered that the people of Finland were divided into two nationalities. The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland has emphasized its cultural work, but in political terms it was an opponent of Fennomania and Russification. During the first decades, the Society was both a scholarly association and a civic organization. The question of how a nation is defined and the significance of language are still relevant in Finland, but also in other countries in Europe, and perhaps it is more acute again today and, as always, difficult to resolve since it depends on attitudes and group affiliation.

The original sources for Finland's history are often to be found outside the country's borders. The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland wanted to collect historical and literary archival material. Often this consisted of personal documents in the possession of surviving relatives of cultural figures and other famous people in Finland and Sweden. Until the end of the 1960s, a group of agents managed contacts with people who could be expected to have interesting archival documents. The agents also recruited new members to the SLS and maintained personal contacts between people with an interest in culture. The donors belonged to the educated upper classes, and they were part of a well-integrated Swedish-speaking network.

The collection of folklore and dialects was organized through scholarships. The Society sought to award its scholarships to collectors who were born in the place where they lived and had good local knowledge. The motives for applying for scholarships were a sentiment for the local community and its heritage, and for students who sympathized with the aims of the Society it gave a good summer job. The majority of the people who received scholarships would later in life be involved in the development of Finnish society.

In the years around 1900 it was feared that the folk tradition was dying out. Many collectors felt that they were too late. The first collectors had an ideal image of the people living a simple and archaic life. Carola Ekrem cites several examples of the fieldworkers' experience of meeting informants and finding the good tradition bearers. The best places were those with lively social interaction, located far from the big roads and towns. Wearing a student cap could help to make the informants friendly and obliging. Good research results often required the development of friendship between informant and collector.

Sometimes the collectors were met with suspicion due to fear that ancient customs would be used as a source of amusement at the expense of the informants. The political unrest also fostered suspicion against people asking questions and taking notes. In 1918 it was suggested that the scholarship holders should collect stories about the ongoing civil war between the whites and the reds, the idea being to get a grasp of how legends develop. The board of directors rejected the suggestion, considering it too sensitive and perhaps even dangerous in

the prevailing situation. The Society compiled instructions for what the scholarship holders should document. This had the effect that certain information was ignored, which is now regarded as a lamentable defect that all folklife archives suffer from.

For each fieldwork effort there was to be a detailed account of how it was to be planned and implemented. From the 1930s the Society no longer required field descriptions, and data on the informants became scant. That would now probably have been found interesting as a complement to the folklore records. The author gives no further explanation, but perhaps the informants were not considered interesting as individuals but only as bearers of a shared folk tradition.

Over the years the SLS has published documents about the history of Finland in order to highlight the cultural history of the Swedish-speaking population and justify its existence in Finland. Around 1900 the Society began to plan the publication of the collected material under the title *Finlands svenska folkdiktning,* also in German and English. It would be intended chiefly for researchers but also accessible to general readers. One problem with a publication that has been in progress since 1917 is adapting it to new systems and theories developed in folkloristics, but the planed publication continues.

Ethnography was not initially intended to be a part of the Society's work, but in 1914 a sum of money was allocated to collecting material folk culture. It was difficult to find clear dividing lines between folklore, ethnography, linguistics, and history. The professorial chair of cultural history and folklife studies at Åbo Akademi was established in 1921 and the chair of musicology and folklore in 1926. One question was how cooperation between Åbo and the SLS would be organized and how the collections should be divided. Conflicts arose due to different opinions between old and new tendencies in the study of traditions. These also made themselves felt when the Archives of Folk Culture were founded in 1937.

Cooperation with the Swedish tradition archives became important in the 1930s, and there was a mutual interest in demonstrating the affinity of Swedish-speaking Finland with the rest of Scandinavia. The Archives of Folk Culture built up a network of informants and did documentation with the aid of appeals and prize competitions. The correspondence with the most faithful informants shows that these individuals were handled with care. Whereas the questionnaires distributed by the Swedish archives were called *frågelistor* (question lists), at the Archives of Folk Culture they were called *frågebrev* (question letters), emphasizing the importance of a dialogue between archive and informant.

In the 1970s the Archives of Folk Culture began to award diplomas and set up photographic portraits of the best informants together with the portraits of the scholars. With the aid of appeals, the archive wanted to renew and rejuvenate the network of informants and reduce the agrarian dominance. In the 1960s the archive became aware that priority must be given to the industrial and urban society.

In 1874 A. O. Freudenthal took the initiative to found the Swedish Dialect Association in Finland (Svenska landsmålsföreningen i Finland) on the pattern of the dialect associations in Uppsala. When the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland was founded in 1885, it took over the work of the dialect association, which was to be a very important part of the Society's activities. In 1896 the Society was commissioned to compile an inventory of Swedish place names because of a fear that they were being Finnicized. Responsibility for the study of Swedish dialects and place names in Finland has alternated within the SLS, between the Archives of Folk Culture and its name department and the language committee, one task of which was to investigate questions concerning place names and pronounce judgements. The division of responsibility probably reflects the relative degrees of Swedish and Finnish influence on the language issue. In 1976 a Research Centre for the Languages of Finland was founded. Then the language department of the Archives of Folk Culture was reinstated and continued collecting dialects. In the 1990s the SLS renewed linguistic research by collecting sociolects, colloquial language, the language of children and young people, and unofficial names of places in towns.

In the mid 1970s the SLS was granted state funding which made it possible to catalogue the General Archive and improve research service. The archivist became a professional official instead of an elected functionary of the association. At the start of the 1980s the SLS maintained the Archives of Folk Culture and the General Archive in Helsinki and the Ostrobothnian Archives of Traditional Culture in Vasa, founded in 1982. It was not until 1992 that a permanent position was established for a chief ar-

chivist. That task had rotated between the researchers, perhaps to stress their equal competence, but it had been difficult to follow up decisions, and computerization required all-round planning. In the 1980s there was discussion as to whether the archive should be defined as a research institution or an archive. The question concerned the possibility of the staff to do research, whether the collecting was geared to research, and whether the rules of the Finnish National Archives permitted government grants. These questions, in my opinion, are more or less relevant to all Nordic archives of tradition.

In the 1970s the General Archive began to collect documents from organizations, companies, and the press. In the 1980s it was decided that the Society would also accept material, if requested, which shed light on the life of individuals who did not belong to the elite. Since the 1980s research has been oriented towards the life situation of Swedish-speaking people in Finland in our modern society, and in the subsequent decades showing the diversity of present-day lifestyles and ideals. The archival collections have grown rapidly since the end of the 1990s, and in 1998 the SLS moved to a new building with purpose-built archive premises. The General Archive changed its name in 1993 to the Archive of History and Literary History. In 2008 it took over the Finland Swedish Folk Music Institute. The different units were given advisory expert committees to assist in long-term planning, collection, and scholarly issues. In the present millennium the research done by the Society has expanded, creating source material which can be reused in new research. To preserve this resource, the SLS founded a research archive in 2007.

Göran Sjögård, Lund

Transformation of Cultural Memory

Anne Eriksen, From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformation of Cultural Memory. Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford 2014. 178 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-298-0.

■ "What kind of pasts does heritage produce?" is one of the analytical questions asked by the professor of cultural history Anne Eriksen in *From Antiquities to Heritage*. The book is volume one in a projected series of publications from the multidisciplinary research programme "Cultural Transformations in the Age of Globalization" (KULTRANS) at Oslo University.

The question is appropriately worded in the sense that it puts the finger on Eriksen's thematic point of departure: she seeks to explore how terminologies and allusions to antiquities, historical monuments, and cultural heritage have been articulated in different social situations in specific times. The focus of the study is not on objects, buildings, or museums per se, but on the various meanings, terminologies, and socio-political contexts that have been associated with these phenomena over time. The temporal perspective spans from the eighteenth century to the present day. The method involves letting a few concrete but disparate examples – antiquity studies, building conservation, and modern use of history – constitute a skeleton framework for an analytical presentation. Eriksen's starting point is that our horizon of understanding of the past has changed focus in at least three identifiable phases during this 200-year period. Eriksen borrows from the French historian François Hartog the concept of "regimes of historicity" as a useful metaphor. I can roughly sum up the three regimes as follows: (a) the role of the past as singular ethical and moral examples; (b) the role of the past for collective identity formation based on the idea of a nation-bound historical development; and (c) the role of the past for the presentism of our own time – that is, the fact that we now adopt the cultural heritage that the socio-politic agenda needs.

The point of entry for Eriksen's study is *not*, as one might expect, the archaeological research discourse. Archaeology and the discovery of prehistory, with the accompanying epistemological shifts in relation to the empirical source material, goes conspicuously without comment in this study. Eriksen begins instead with some glances at the "antiquarianism" of the eighteenth century, which Eriksen portrays – in line with research in this field of knowledge – as separated (although unspecifically) from the parallel research on antiquities which led towards nineteenth-century archaeology. Antiquarianism is portrayed as a lay activity, for obvious reasons pursued by a leisured upper class who collected artefacts through trade and educational travel, and also by organizing excavations of their own. The motivation for the activity can be exemplified by three factors: the relation to the civilizing and supposedly timeless dimensions of antiquity and re-

ligion; the aesthetic quality of the objects, and presumably also the monetary value as collector's items. A Bourdieu would probably describe the motive forces in terms of cultural and social capital. The activities are said to have converged with historical research in the course of the eighteenth century (which implicitly broke away from archaeology, a separation which nowadays is commonly linked to the revolution in natural history towards the end of the century).

Two factors characterize the view of the past in antiquarianism: it was text-bound (interpretations were primarily based on written source material such as Norse sagas, the Bible, classical authors, etc.) and it did not incorporate any idea of historical evolution. For antiquarianism, the past was a familiar landscape. Through time, memories and knowledge of specific things had disappeared, but the past was not qualitatively separate from the present. Time and tradition could be found not only in artefacts but also in the landscape, and the "contemporaneity" with this was also maintained by means of an imagined peasantry that was both timeless and ancient.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the transition brought a changed modernity which, in Hartog's terms, also resulted in a new historicistic regime. The Enlightenment philosophers with their ideas about the sublime had been taken over by the Romantics with their infatuation with ruins. The sublime initially represented a contact with the universal, timeless, and contemplative. But with the significant addition that came with Romanticism, the idea of peoples as nations which had grown historically and organically, the gaze now saw something new. A ruin now stood as a *vestige of a bygone historical stage*. At the start of the nineteenth century the term "antiquities" was replaced in Danish by *oldtidsminnen* (literally, "memorials of ancient times"). The nineteenth century, according to Eriksen, was replaced by a focus on ancient monuments.

One of the merits of the book is that Eriksen points out that this transition from eighteenth-century universalism to nineteenth-century nation-related historical evolutionism did *not* take place through a paradigm shift within a limited time. On the contrary, the process was slow and diverse, depending on whom one studies, which target groups. It was only towards the *end* of the nineteenth century, for example, that it became generally common to cite age and historical value as the primary arguments for physical conservation. Eriksen cites enlightening and interesting examples of how the Norwegian stave churches were discovered as historical remains during the century. The artist J. C. Dahl is highlighted here as a leading pioneer. During a few decades from the end of the 1820s onwards, the artist and his colleagues mounted a campaign to save the surviving churches, which were being demolished as congregations were growing and there was a need for modernization. The arguments in favour of conservation were initially both universalistic and specific: the stave churches deserved to be preserved by virtue of their relation to a continental stylistic heritage and as part of the narrative tradition of the Norse sagas. But the churches now also came to be regarded as unique historical monuments in themselves (being historical sources). To the latter was added an increased interest in establishing firm chronologies, as buildings and artefacts now had to be placed in their proper evolutionary sequence. But the view that physical monuments should be primarily, or exclusively, preserved because of their age and their value as historical sources took time in coming.

According to Eriksen's account, many of the ideas of antiquarianism persisted well into the nineteenth-century museum discourse. This was characterized by an aspiration to the systematic collection of universal values and knowledge. It was not until around 1900 that this gave way to the new nation-related narrative of cultural evolution. This created professional conflicts over collecting policy and research; objects which had previously been collected for systematic and general antiquarian knowledge were now reinterpreted as examples of historical remains. Eriksen claims that the museums' motives for collecting became more emotionally based in this connection: "The knowledge of the new museums is presented as far less intellectual and more intuitive and emotional." The subsequent historical regime focused on cultural identity and national self-assertion.

Eriksen exemplifies the latter from research on monuments from the Second World War and their symbolic representations, supplemented with a discussion of the explicit topicality of physical theatres of war. Also looking at Norway's Resistance Museum, opened in 1970, Eriksen demonstrates how the museum created a narrative in which authentic

objects and symbols served as witnesses to an ideological and national struggle against the external evil (Nazism). This "time-witness effect", according to Eriksen, gave new values to the objects. They are now not just valuable by virtue of their age and "temporality", nor just by virtue of historical remains, but also as representatives of existential messages from the past. The point here is that this message is directly linked to our contemporary horizon. "These artefacts become valuable and important because they relate directly to the present as a gift from the past. They are being transformed from monuments to heritage."

With this, Eriksen's account has reached the use of cultural heritage in our own times. She cites present-day examples showing that repatriation cases and the World Heritage organization are intimately interwoven with our contemporary politics. The concept of cultural heritage did not achieve a broad impact until the 1990s. The rhetoric of conservation then left the national paradigm behind. The cultural heritage was now concerned either with universal and global values or with regional, local, or even personal values. The concept signalled a new, inclusive tolerance of diversity, yet at the same time the concept has the potential to sow dragon's teeth. World heritage sites, for example, are justified as being universally valuable by virtue of being of locally distinctive and individually unique. The value aspects thus constitute a minefield between universal human values and essentialistically touted culture, which in addition is usually linked to site marketing and tourism. Eriksen points out that research in the 1980s and 1990s (Hewison, Lowenthal, and others) criticized the contemporary cultural heritage discourse for fanning the flames of populism, which gave "bad history"; earlier demands for objective source criticism have deteriorated in this analysis into sentimental kitsch and market-steered value creation. Eriksen nevertheless points out that such an analysis misses the point: cultural heritage is primarily not "bad history", and using the cultural heritage has more to do with our contemporary need to deal with identity-related cultural and political challenges in a rapidly changing world.

The cultural heritage rhetoric is now firmly rooted in the management of monuments. One aspect of the making of cultural heritage is its presentism – *everything* can potentially be made into cultural heritage, which also includes the present day. A recent television series can be immediately transformed into cultural heritage. The dividing line between our everyday here-ness and the historicized there-ness is now very fine. This has changed our relationship to the epistemology of preservation. The cultural heritage is a resource, no longer through itself, but through the heirs. It is the heirs who dictate the value, and the value is therefore based on our contemporary identity issues, our cultural policy, and our need for culturally driven growth.

Anne Eriksen's book *From Antiquities to Heritage* is a bold attempt to sketch, in less than 200 pages, an analysis of how the fundamental values of monument management have changed, parallel to the greater process of massive social changes in which it is embedded. This is both a strength and a weakness of her study – Eriksen paints with a broad brush, picking highly disparate examples. "This book may be read as a collection of essays", she writes, which is another way of saying that the book does not give a coherent historical narrative. It is obvious that the historical examples she presents are chosen to suit the analytical reasoning. This need not be a problem, of course, but I would have liked to see greater precision; it is unclear whether the selected examples and analyses are intended as a polemic against the research field of historical museology, as a complement to it, or as an alternative to it. The large elephant in this context goes without comment: Eriksen does not relate the analyses to the archaeological and ethnological research carried on in museums. It is thus unclear to the reader what kind of contribution the examples in the book are supposed to be. The fact that, say, the eighteenth-century antiquarian epistemology was based on a canon of literary sources has for decades been the accepted approach to research on the growth of archaeology. Eriksen's analyses would have gained a lot from broadening the research discourse, for there are more similarities than differences here. The methodological point of departure for antiquarianism is the attempt to link the ancient monuments with persons and events in the written (saga) literature, and the custom of categorizing things on the basis of universal generic concepts such as "assembly site", "cultic object", etc., was practised in *all* prehistoric research well into the nineteenth century. Parts of this methodology were indeed still being used in archaeology in Sweden in the early twentieth century. Archaeologists like Sune Lindkvist and

Birger Nerman, with their pupils, tried to find evidence for a proto-national kingdom of the Svear, and they excavated burial mounds expecting to find the famous chieftains mentioned in the sagas.

Despite these objections, Anne Eriksen's book is readable and thought-provoking. It cites interesting examples to shed light on how the motivations and politics of heritage management have varied over time, even though the preservation practice appears to have been more static. Not least of all, the concluding discussion in the book about today's use of cultural heritage indicates interesting directions for continued analysis.

Richard Pettersson, Umeå

Centennial of the Norwegian Folklore Archive

"En vild endevending av al virkelighet." Norsk Folkminnesamling i hundre år. Line Esborg & Dirk Johannsen (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2014. 352 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-772-5.

■ In 2014 a century had passed since the Norwegian Folklore Archive was founded. In order to celebrate this event the archive decided to publish a kind of *festschrift* and asked more than thirty persons to participate. Some of them were or had been employed at the archive or at the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo. Others had utilized their knowledge and experience from the archive in their metiers at museums, libraries, or other archives. The outcome is a thick book about folklore.

The *festschrift* consists of thirty-one articles classified in three groups. The editors Line Esborg and Dirk Johannsen wish to underline three perspectives of folklore work more than to present thirty-one articles about varying folklore items. They were explicitly looking for changes within the scholarly viewpoints among today's folklorists. The title of the book is *"En vild endevending av al virkelighet"* literally meaning "a wild upending of all reality", which indicates that the editors really wanted the contributors look for new angles when interpreting the old material. Certainly, the archive consists of recent collections, too, mainly life-historical recordings, but in this case the old material was the centre of attraction. The concept of rereading became crucial, perhaps even a theoretical foundation. I wish there had been some discussion about the meaning of this idea. What does rereading mean in a folklore context? Isn't it always what folklorists do when they read or listen to a recording over and over again?

Endevending indicates a radical reversal, turning everything upside down. The most important turn of this size happened when folklorists ceased studying the folklore itself and changed their perspective to the human being and his relationship to folklore. This was, indeed, difficult to do with a corpus of material that was anonymous and lacked almost all sorts of information about its context. However, this turn was fruitful. It was possible to see man behind the trolls, werewolves, fairies and goblins and it was doable to interpret more or less "untrue" stories about war and plague, place names and local heroes. This is also the atmosphere of the book.

The three parts of the book are called *Oppskrifter*, *Virkeligheter* and *Aktualiseringer*. *Oppskrifter* (Recordings) starts with a detailed survey of the history of the archive written by Kyrre Kverndokk who takes the reader through its main phases. Otherwise, this part concentrates on transformations. What happens to oral expressions when they are written down, perhaps even edited in order to suit the demands of the archive, filed, and possibly even published? This archival process is necessary if a scholar wants to retrieve the material, and it has been tackled since the idea of folklore as something immaculate was raised. Here several scholars investigate how their predecessors worked. Let me just mention Sigrid Bø's and Jarnfrid Kjøk's article about Asbjørnsen's way of working with erotic folklore. With the aid of documents from different phases the authors were able to reconstruct his methods when he prepared the texts for publication. Among other things, he substituted words then indecent with corresponding expressions in Greek or Latin, just the same way as other folklorists of the time did. The authors are also able to demonstrate that Asbjørnsen regarded himself not only as a collector and scholar but also as a storyteller.

In the same chapter Bjarne Hodne states that folklore investigations often were limited to recordings about a specific item and recommended his contemporaries to search for more information in other kinds of archived material. In this way he called for contextualization as a means for vitaliza-

tion of the old material. According to Hodne, it would be possible to gain new knowledge both about former scholarly work and about folklore itself. His article is an excellent example of thorough source criticism concerning old methods for determining the geography and distribution of folklore, differences in the repertoires of men and women, old or young people, or of various social classes. Hodne shows how the previous scholars had special "glasses" through which they regarded the material and tried to define the result according to the trends of the time. This article invited me to think of our own "glasses"! How are we limited in our research?

The second chapter, called *Virkeligheter* (Realities) calls for studies about the scholars' view of their material. What were its functions and the alues? Why should it be collected and archived? Dirk Johannsen draws attention to the way folklore was regarded as something dubious or suspicious. This is his "glasses" through which he regards the history of folkloristics. He succeeds in demonstrating how suspicion underlay the very interest in folklore as a product of fantasy in contrast to reality, superstition in contrast to "real" non-heathen, non-Catholic religion or to "scientific" nature. During the growth of national romanticism this doubtful cultural expression was made exotic, i.e., not normal. The birth of the science of comparative religion also influenced the perspective on belief folklore. Today, folklorists are interested in narrative strategies and consequently they ask questions about how stories and storytellers construct reality. Folklore as a kind of lie made me understand why it is so difficult to convince university administrators of the value and importance of folkloristics.

Ane Ohrvik tries to create a portrait of a collector of the books of magic known as "black books". Ohrvik is not interested mainly in the content of the books, but above all in the collector as a member of society. Who was this person and why did he want to own these books? Ohrvik obeyed Hodne and required a lot of information from other archived material than just the magic books. She points out the role that schoolteachers played in collecting folklore during the nineteenth century. She also found out that her collector did not only build up a nice assortment of books, but that he also used them for their purpose.

A Nordic folklore collection can hardly be dealt with without mentioning witches. Rune Blix Hagen's article concerns the relationship in tradition from Finnmark and other northern provinces in Norway, Nordlanden (i.e. Troms and Nordland counties). Finnmark is known as *the* landscape of witches, but how was it in the neighbourhood? Blix Hagen succeeds in demonstrating that Sámi people in both places were accused of magic. Ethnic affiliation and gender seem to be criteria for a verdict of witchcraft in both regions. Moreover, the Nordic witches were accused of exercising the same capacities as other European witches, such as bringing bad weather. But the later the witch was brought to court, the more legally valid evidence was demanded Blix Hagen demonstrates.

The third chapter is called *Aktualiseringer* (Actualizations). By this the editors mean the volatile character of folklore that is filled with new meanings and used in new functions whenever needed. A legend from the nineteenth century could be interpreted in a way that may be quite different today although we meet the same legend now. Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred has studied legends about infernal beings and people who were spirited away into a mountain. Often they were interpreted just as stories about human beings taken into a mountain by a supernatural being (*huldra*) and sometimes also returning a long time after. Bolstad Skjelbred, however, reads them as stories about rape or paedophilia. She also refers to Barbra Rieti's investigation of how she herself changed her own memory of getting lost when as a child she explained the event as an effect of the interference of supernatural forces but how as an adult woman she saw it as a story about Jesus, depending on her situation in life. The legends in the Norwegian tradition archives were classified according to the archivists' life situation. Consequently, today many an item is hidden and difficult to find when a scholar wants to study themes that then were regarded as unmentionable or at least questionable, or just were not understood by the archivist. In this way Bolstad Skjelbred's article goes well with Johannsen's. It also fits very nicely into the problem of rereading, for here the scholar really has to look for things that are not mentioned. The problem is how to register folklore with many enough indexing words. Indexing becomes an analytical act.

Something of the same topic we find in Velle Espeland's article about folk songs. In the nineteenth century the ballads were regarded as especially

valuable, being a heritage from the Middle Ages. Consequently, in the days of national romanticism ballads were highly appreciated. Espeland mentions that *märchen* mostly tell how the protagonists win and live happily ever after, but that folk songs do not always end that positively. Instead, they are very realistic, even violent. He gives his readers several examples of songs about raping. Ballads end seriously, even with the dead of the rapist, for the ballad women knew how to use weapons and knives. In the jocular ballads the roles may be inverted so that the woman rapes the man. Espeland connects the content of the songs with the biographies of the singers, and perhaps a woman who was raped herself or who was the result of a rape was apt to sing about a corresponding situation.

This book is rather about the folklorists' ways of dealing with folklore than with folklore proper. It is thus appropriate for a time when the recommendation is to put man in the centre. It is amazing what a good folklorist can find in old archived material working from new perspectives, which certainly is the obligation of everybody doing research. Each article can be read alone, which makes the book a good introduction to folklore studies for somewhat advanced students from other fields of research. Here we have yet another collection of solid Norwegian folkloristics in what is now a sizeable series of books in the field. Five lines or so in English at the end of every article would have increased the value even more.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Complex Encounters and Ethics in Health Care

Ingrid Fioretos, Kristofer Hansson & Gabriella Nilsson, Vårdmöten. Kulturanalytiska perspektiv på möten inom vården. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2013. 134 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-07808-3.

■ *Vårdmöten: Kulturanalytiska perspektiv på möten inom vården* ("Care Encounters: Cultural-Analytical Perspectives on Encounters in Health Care") is a book by the ethnologists Ingrid Fioretos, Kristofer Hansson and Gabriella Nilsson, working at Lund University, Sweden. *Vårdmöten* sets out to investigate everyday encounters taking place in health care systems, examining interactions and relations between patients and medical professionals. All three writers are experienced in cultural research on health and illness, and the book draws on the authors' previous ethnographic studies, including encounters at a health care centre (Fioretos 2009), encounters between adolescents suffering from asthma and healthcare staff (Hansson 2007), the role of the interpreter in multicultural care encounters (Norström, Gustafsson & Fioretos 2011), encounters in habilitation (Hansson 20110, 2011), encounters between obese children and school health workers (Nilsson 2011), and recently retired individuals' attitudes to health (Nilsson 2010, 2011). The focus is on the cultural context of medicine, and by scrutinizing notions, values and habits of medical professionals and patients, the authors wish to illustrate the *culture* of health care encounters.

Health research in both the humanities and the social sciences is a broad and complex field. Research has included analyses of medical institutions, professions, health care systems, patients, discourses, and particular diagnoses. Constructivist approaches have demonstrated how health and illness are not objective, universal medical facts, but social, cultural and historical phenomena, "social constructions", which are ascribed different meanings depending on the context. Critics of social constructivism have argued, however, that the emphasis on "the social" tends to reduce illness to language or discourse, thus abandoning the materiality of ill health. Scholars have addressed the power of the medical profession and its discourses, although more recently, the focus has shifted towards the patients and their experiences. Feminist scholars and postcolonial theorists have shown how social categories such as gender, race, ethnicity, class and ability interact, create differences and contribute to injustice in health care. Whereas previous research often relied on dichotomies, such as doctor−patient, subject−object, oppressor−victim, and active−passive, contemporary accounts blur these distinctions, pointing to more subtle relations. The gap between "the social" and "the biological" has further been challenged by "new materialism" (e.g. Barad 2003, 2007) in demonstrating how these are mutually constituted. As in Actor Network Theory (ANT), new materialists regard technologies and non-human agents as actively shaping both medical discourses and individual experiences of illness. *Vårdmöten* situates itself in this multifaceted constructivist tra-

dition, and is inspired by current theoretical discussions, taking up the patients' experiences of health care, the viewpoints of the professionals, *and* the relations between these two groups.

The small but comprehensive book consists of seven chapters, in addition to the introduction. The first two chapters discuss health, illness and care from the perspective of both patients and professionals. The following two chapters examine how concepts of cultural analysis, such as notions, values, belonging and representation, can be used in order to gain an understanding of health care encounters. The last three chapters investigate the function of narratives, as the effect of the material culture on encounter experiences, as well as presenting a cultural-analytical perspective on everyday ethics. The book is structured thematically around particular theoretical concepts, and the ethnographic data are used primarily as illustrative examples. At times, the interview quotations feel somewhat detached from their broader (original) context, but the employment of data excerpts in this explanatory manner still works for the purposes of this book.

Vårdmöten is inspired by Arthur Kleinman's (1988) distinction between "illness" and "disease", in which illness refers to the individual's experience of ill health, whereas disease is the medical diagnosis. Another theoretical inspiration is Michel Foucault's (1973) notion of the "medical" or "clinical gaze", which refers to techniques of medical examination, including systematic observation of bodies, where diseases are categorized through the medico-scientific gaze and its expert knowledge. The normative aspect of health and bodies is made visible in Gabriella Nilsson's example, as the school nurse detects and categorizes obese children through her experienced gaze: "To gaze at the child is to somehow measure reality. How are you supposed to look in order to be normal? To be able to see it. I believe I have seen enough graphs vis-à-vis the children standing beside the graph to be able to say that they are less normal" (p. 42).

Methodologically, the book uses the concept of "illness narrative", developed by the sociologist Arthur W. Frank (1997). According to Frank, the modernist conception of illness has resulted in the ill person handing over his/her body (and life narrative) to biomedical expertise. However, in a post-modern conception, the ill person may reclaim authority by telling his/her own story, constructing a new life narrative from the "narrative wreckage" of illness. Kristofer Hansson analyses asthma narratives of patients and physicians, pointing to both shared and incompatible narratives. Overall, the care encounters often convey a tension and gap between the health care staff *diagnosing* disease and the patients *experiencing* illness. Many of the examples reveal how medical professionals and patients navigate different meanings of symptoms and semantic networks, which frequently result in communication difficulties, misunderstandings or even poor quality of medical care. The book moreover draws attention to racism inherent in encounters between native Swedish professionals and non-Swedish patients. Medical professionals not only identify but also reinforce cultural differences, and regard these differences as essential when they diagnose and evaluate the patient. Consequently, health problems of "Others" are often reduced to "cultural" problems. Postcolonial theorizing is used to analyse intersections of gender, race and class, and how these construct differences between patients and shape the care encounters.

The book opens up the multilayered world of health care not only from the perspective of the patients, but also from the viewpoint of the professionals. This is a fresh approach and offers a nuanced understanding of health care encounters. Health care staff talk about the problematic, difficult and stressful encounters with patients suffering from unclear symptoms that are difficult to diagnose. Social, psychological and economic problems often underlie these patients' somatic symptoms, and medical professionals feel inadequate, dejected and frustrated as they cannot help them. When the patient's experiences of illness cannot be diagnosed as disease, the health care staff do not know what to do, other than to prescribe pharmaceuticals (often anti-depressants) to relieve the symptoms. Ingrid Fioretos argues that when patients are prescribed medicine for a problem caused by societal reasons, e.g. unemployment, the problem is individualized and medicalized although it is essentially structural.

Care encounters involve professionals and patients, but the third agent is the materiality of these encounters. Following Bruno Latour (1987, 2005) and ANT, the authors wish to highlight the meanings of spaces, objects and artefacts in care encounters. According to Latour, objects and non-humans have agency, they connect people and things, and

they are part of greater social networks. *Vårdmöten* explores how relations between objects and human subjects on the one hand, and interpersonal relations through objects on the other hand, are created in health care encounters. The waiting room, the examination room, the delivery room, different medical tools, but also items (booklets, medications, bandages) patients bring back home from the hospital have an impact on the encounters.

The book ends with reflections on ethics in care and what cultural analysis might offer not only research, but also actual practices of health care. As relations between professionals and sufferers are asymmetrical, and as the power to define normality (health) and deviance (illness) ultimately lies with the medical staff, there is a need for critical analysis. The authors suggest an everyday ethical approach to health care encounters, which would help medical professionals become aware of power relations inherent in health care and give them tools to reflect on how these may affect their interactions with the patients.

Vårdmöten is thought-provoking, well-written, coherent, pedagogical, and it functions well as an introductory textbook of health and illness in many disciplinary fields, such as the humanities, social sciences, nursing and medicine. The authors are knowledgeable and manage to make complex theoretical concepts tangible through their empirical examples. The book raises important ethical issues; therefore I would strongly recommend it to health care professionals, especially since it also addresses their standpoints.

Jutta Ahlbeck, Åbo (Turku)

Migration and Fieldwork

Where is the Field? The Experience of Migration Viewed through the Prism of Ethnographic Fieldwork. Laura Hirvi and Hanna Snellman (eds.). Studia Fennica Ethnologica 14, Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2012. 221 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-388-3.

■ I could not agree more when the introduction to the volume *Where is the Field? The Experience of Migration Viewed through the Prism of Ethnographic Fieldwork*, edited by Laura Hirvi and Hanna Snellman, ends by stating that "the field appears to emerge in the encounter between the informant and the ethnographer. Without this encounter there would be no field" (p. 18). The book offers what is referred to as "nine tales" of such field encounters in a wide range of sites across the world, where migrants and fieldworkers interact. The volume, as Hirvi and Snellman explain (p. 10), is the result of a joint interest in producing both a kind of handbook of fieldwork methods that makes explicit some of the methodological choices that otherwise often remain implicit and a work that provides insights into the experiences of migrants. The volume thus pursues a laudable double agenda; on the one hand it aims to equip apprentice researchers with skills in ethnographic fieldwork, on the other it sets out to explore the lives of migrants encountered during such fieldwork. One of the central tenets of the book, also captured in the title, is that ethnographers who focus on migration often have a hard time delimiting their field, because their interlocutors are on the move and in transit between different places. In their introduction, the editors thus assert that "Producing a collection of accounts in which the authors reflect on their use of ethnographic research methods is particularly relevant in the field of migration studies, where, as several contributions to this volume indicate, research is often carried out in contexts that challenge the traditional canon of fieldwork methods" (p. 8). It appears to me a very clever choice to conceive and describe the volume as a set of distinct "tales of the field"; the great variation in the topics addressed – whether online Sikh communities, creative Japanese freelancers in New York, women with Italian immigrant background in Ontario, migrant journeys through Mexico, to name some of the cases explored – shows that one would be hard put to come up with more abstracted or technical recipes for how to do fieldwork. It seems to me that the differences in setting, styles of writing and not least knowledge interest of the contributors – and I suppose of ethnographic fieldworkers in general – warrant no such formulaic instructions, and I really appreciate the way that the volume discusses fieldwork methods simply by plunging into them. To me, this paves the way for interesting case studies that I, for one, learned from, and which I also think can be very useful for teaching purposes.

The volume as a whole offers articles that are sufficiently different from one another and yet all manage to relate to the shared questions of ethnographic fieldwork in migration studies. While the individual

contributions are thus all interesting to read, I am not totally convinced that ethnographic projects addressing migration pose particular challenges for fieldwork methods when compared to work on other topics. The stance that encounters are what make up fields seems to me to apply to all fieldworks settings, not just where people are on the move as migrants and thus do not stay in a single field as this might traditionally have been conceived. I think this singling out of migration studies as a field of particular importance with regard to methodological reflections on fieldwork might read a little overstated, but the good news is that this does not detract from the case studies. In Lisa Wiklund's piece on Japanese creative workers and cosmopolitanism, which is one of the contributions I really enjoyed, she states that her fieldwork entailed creating a community where there was none, given that the interlocutors she worked with generally did not know each other; in other words, they became a particular social group through Wiklund's fieldwork among them and interest in them. Rather than seeing this as an effect of the urban and fast-paced cosmopolitan setting in which Wiklund worked, might one think of this as a more general characteristic of fieldwork? While I see what Wiklund means, and appreciate her concept of mirroring, I for one would readily admit to having "created communities" during my fieldwork, most of which I have conducted in a distinctly rural setting (mainly in a south Indian fishing village). In other words, I wonder whether the volume builds on some slightly crude assumptions about "the village" and other supposedly more traditional field sites that go unexamined. This is perhaps an effect of the editors' reasonable wish to launch a tight and clear agenda – i.e. the double focus on fieldwork methods and migration issues – an ambition that I think the book succeeds in fulfilling.

So even if one does not completely agree with the singularity of the challenges posed by ethnographic fieldwork conducted among migrants, this need not be a critique of the individual chapters; on the contrary, one might say that the insights of the volume reach even further than the editors seem to think. All in all, this is a fine collection of interesting case studies that manage to show and discuss the potentials, difficulties and strengths of ethnographic fieldwork – in contexts of migration and beyond.

Frida Hastrup, Copenhagen

The Industrialization of Fashion in Denmark

Snit. Industrialismens tøj i Danmark. Solveig Hoberg, Helle Leilund, Maria Mackinney-Valentin, Marie Riegels Melchior, Kirsten Toftegaard (eds.). Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 2011. 345 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-635-3107-8.

■ The Danish edited volume *Snit* is the result of an initiative after the Year of Industrial Culture in Denmark in 2007. In eleven articles it represents a research tradition in fashion and textiles that has grown at the art- and cultural-historical museums and design schools. The story told here is of the shift that occurred in Denmark, from strong reliance on textile production in the late nineteenth century, to fashion. Industrialization swept over Europe and its aftermath was the modern consumer society, and as regards clothes, a totally new relation to dress, dressing and design. For anyone interested in fashion, this is also the story of how Paris, the previous and self-evident capital of fashion, lost its status during the twentieth century when seamstresses and tailors in its neighbouring European countries grew braver and started to believe in their ability to design.

The first pair of chapters serves as an introduction to the theme of industrialization, and how this affected the ideas of textile and fashion in Denmark. Lars K. Christiansen describes how the Danish textile production was centred early on around Herning in Jutland, the peninsula in the west of Denmark. This was a region where sheep farming and wool production was a common livelihood. Herning had a strong influence on Danish economy. After the Second World War, however, this tradition was slowly challenged by the production of fashion. It was also a geographical shift, since the companies involved in creating fashion were located in Copenhagen, in eastern Denmark. This transition is shown by Birgit Lyngbye Pedersen in her symbolic picture of the fair *Jydsk Textil Messe* in Jutland, and how it slowly turned into Copenhagen Fashion Week. Noteworthy here is that the word "textile" in the first fair is replaced by the word "fashion" in the latter, a change of words that also points out what happened to society. Now the factories in Jutland are closed, but design is still a trademark of Denmark.

This move is also depicted in two chapters that proceed from descriptions of clothing companies,

founded at different times in the last century: the underwear company Asani that started in the 1930s, and the youth fashion brand Dranella that was founded in the late 1950s. Marie Riegels Melchior draws the picture of Dranella as a company that, like other companies such as Mary Quant in England and Katja Geiger in Sweden, served consumers of the young generation who didn't want to look like their parents. Further, the success of Dranella is emblematic of how Danish fashion challenged the idea of Paris as the centre of fashion at this time. The success of Dranella mirrors the same development as the article mentioned above, as production became less significant for the Danish textile industry, and design took its place. The conditions of market and consumption were changing, and also the meanings of this development.

The wave of youth fashion brands of 1950s and 1960s challenged the haute couture definition of fashion and led to its decline and a rise of prêt-à-porter. This was a less expensive and pretentious expression of high-end fashion and the answer to the methods by which, for example, Dranella, produced clothes in a more industrial way. The challenge of French haute couture was also mixed with the critique of capitalism that saw its rise in the same decade, and was sometimes formulated in a symbolic rejection, where what is rejected is "fashion". Kirsten Toftegaard's article "Dansk kunsthåndværkertøj" describes a movement of artists and designers in the 1960s and 1970s who collaborated to make clothes in the border zone between art and industrial production, sold in a few shops in Copenhagen. One thing Toftegaard examines is their claim to be anti-fashion. The *kunsthåndverketøj*, or arts-and-crafts clothes of this movement did not only rely on an anti-capitalistic view of commercial fashion, but also on a long tradition of aesthetic and alternative takes on fashion from the art world, represented by William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement in the 1860s, Henry van der Velde in the 1880s, Gustav Klimt around 1900, Sonya Delauney in the 1920s − among many others.

Additional themes are, for example Kitt Boding-Jensen's article "Men vi laver altså også shoppeture uden at shoppe" (But we also go shopping without shopping), where the idea of fashion and design in everyday life is investigated. Boding-Jensen follows a group of teenagers and describes how they reason about choices when looking for clothes. She thus pays attention to the meaning of fashion and its symbolism in those young people's lives. Lise Skov tackles the fashion industry from the perspective of fur production. Fur tailoring is a Danish hallmark, but it has not always been – and until recently seemed to be doomed to decline. Skov lets us follow the history, and discusses the political and moral argumentation that led fur production to a decline, and how it recently has seen a rise again.

Somewhat different from the rest of the contributions is Maria Mackinney-Valentin's theoretical discussion on the concept of trend in the article "Sort er den nye sort", (Black is the new black). As a point of departure she uses the fashion-concept as established by the Japanese-American sociologist Yuniya Kawamura and her book *Fashion-ology* (2005). Kawamura's concept of fashion has two main features. One is that fashion has nothing to do with the matter, i.e. the clothes. Fashion is rather an intrinsic, abstract value connected to the clothes. The second feature is that this intrinsic value is dependent on and closely connected to the institutionalized fashion system, the web of institutions involved in creating this value, the fashion industry. The point Mackinney-Valentin makes is to distinguish trend from fashion, in order to be able to speak more specifically about the style shifts in the aesthetics and expressions, and how those shifts happen. After a historical and etymological introduction showing how the word *trend* entered the vocabulary of fashion, we are shown how different theorists have been occupied by defining trends; how a trend starts, who starts it, how it is popularized and how it is finally abandoned. Mackinney-Valentin points out that trends are dependent on a long range of things, and it is not enough, as Georg Simmel and many of his followers do, to look for a certain group of people who *invent* a new style. Neither is it fruitful to claim that trend is followed by its aesthetical counterpart, as when we are told that a loose fashion will be followed by a strict one, or similar oppositions. The solution presented is that, instead of assuming trends to be built on clear contradictions between groups of people (as in a trickle-down theory) or shapes (as just mentioned) she points towards a Deleuzian rhizome theory. Just as a rhizome ramifies in a myriad of different paths, trends let themselves be understood in the same way. A new stylistic expression might have connections to political events just as much as aesthetic movements. It might be started in

one way in one place, and picked up and modified in a different way in a different place. It becomes less important whether a trend is of short or long duration. Further, it becomes impossible to make a distinction between what initiates a trend and what diffuses it. With this outline Mackinney-Valentin wants to start up a further discussion of trend theory, and I think it is an interesting and noteworthy opening.

The call Mackinney-Valentin makes for further discussions on trend leads my thoughts to the use of the term fashion. The articles in the volume all relate to fashion, but I noticed fewer references to the sense in which the term fashion is used. I notice claims about what fashion is, and what it is not, and that those claims are partly inconsistent. It would have been very interesting to see at least some more reflections on this, since the book, after all, gives quite a big picture of the change of meaning attached to textile and fashion over the last century. Altogether the chapters make a solid whole that depicts quite well the development of textile and fashion in Denmark during the last century. It is a description of the development in a rather small country in the north of Europe, but with features that it shares with many other European countries, when industrialization came to town.

Lisa A. Svensson, Malmö

Storytelling as the "Subjective-in-between"

Michael Jackson, The Politics of Storytelling. Variations on a Theme by Hannah Arendt. Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2013. 319 pp. ISBN 978-87-6354036-0.

■ The renowned ethnologist and writer Michael D. Jackson has written quite a compelling book on the politics of storytelling, a book which is actually a second, revised edition of an earlier one (from 2002), a passage of time which here can be observed in at least three ways. The first is that the book's subtitle has been changed, from the more discursive *Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity* to the less descriptive and perhaps more suggestive *Variations on a Theme by Hanna Arendt*. The second way in which the book is reworked can be seen in the fact that it now actually has two introductions, one called a preface to the second edition and one (from the first edition) called Introduction. Since the new preface or introduction is also quite extensive (17 pages compared to 21 for the old introduction) and to some extent overlapping in content with the earlier one, this means that the book right from the start is a rather heavy journey, penetrating from the outset the world of storytelling from slightly different time angles (the time span between the two editions is about a decade). And the third way in which this new edition differs from the earlier one is that some new contents from Jackson's teaching on storytelling are incorporated from the courses he has been teaching at the University of Copenhagen and at Harvard Divinity School over a period of ten years, and he has added life stories from his own ethnographic work.

So, in the new preface, he lets the reader know that this book had its origins in fieldwork he did in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1998 with Iraqi and Somali refugees. What struck him at that time was something which obviously had repercussions on his thinking on storytelling as a whole, why people want to tell stories to each other, or in this case perhaps rather why they don't want to tell their stories, as it were, since what he encountered among the refugees he interviewed was hesitancy, awkwardness and suspicion, and to a large extent, silence. From this Jackson goes on to think that life stories often have less to do with speaking one's mind or sharing one's experiences than with saying what is safest or most expedient to say. So, he has in this context come to the conclusion that for people in these kinds of extreme circumstances the potential storyteller is often aware of the fact that, as he writes, truth will get you nowhere or get you in trouble.

This means that as a storyteller one must in this case learn to carefully select, censor, and even misrepresent one's reality in order to get one's way, which is to escape from terror, to be selected for emigration, to avoid racial insults or perhaps to persuade state officials to look kindly on one's petition for family reunion. And Jackson adds that he himself, living as a citizen in a free country, could indulge notions of verisimilitude, objective testimony, which is a luxury the refugees, struggling to survive spiritually and socially in an alien and often demoralizing environment, cannot afford.

From this Jackson draws a central variation, as it might be called, on the theme he is using throughout this book, from Hannah Arendt, herself a refugee and even a self-described "pariah" (a key term for Arendt and one Jackson also uses to striking effects in his book, but one which he unfortunately fails to discuss as a theoretical concept). The overarching theme here is then one of intersubjectivity and human plurality – the fact that we are at once unique individuals (*ipse*) and members of a community, and of a class, a nation, and ultimately, a single species, with capacities for speech and action that we have in common with every other human being who lives or has lived (*idem*). Politics and power, which are also reflected in storytelling, are then for Arendt as well as for Jackson matters of how the private realm of individual experience is related to the public realm, which is the realm of transpersonal values, mercenary, mundane interests and dominant ideologies. The conclusion Jackson draws from this – in concert with his own "grand theory" of an existential anthropology – is that there is an entire field of experience (another key concept here) which Arendt has identified as the "subjective-in-between". This field is what Jackson here is engaged with in stories and storytelling from quite different quarters, seen as the equivalent of saying and doing something together, interacting, conversing and adjusting one's interests and experiences in ways that others relate to through experiences of their own. So, Arendt's view of storytelling, as it informs Jackson's work, means that this kind of human activity is quintessentially intersubjective, bringing the social into being. At the same time it is implicitly pragmatist. Arendt is, according to Jackson, more concerned with the action, work or process of storytelling and the effects this has, than on the content of any single story.

What then, Jackson asks, can be accomplished by storytelling? And can our stories be equated with our theories about the world – symbolic techniques of control and comprehension, born of our need to believe that we can grasp reality and determine the course of our lives? The answer is, in Jackson's view, not one which philosophy alone can provide, although an important step philosophically, i.e. ontologically and epistemologically, is for him to suspend the conventional notions about the essential differences between fact and fiction, science and myth, the real and the illusory, in order to explore on a case-to-case basis what consequences follow from any behaviour, and what effects actions have upon the lives we are living and the lives of others.

Let me for a second stop here, before going into further questions of the relationship between theory and ethnography, knowledge and experience, identity and interconnectedness, all themes which Jackson in quite an impressive way deals with in this book, and try to say something about what kind of ethnography he is performing here, making perhaps the overall "edge" of the book clearer and more distinct.

Here then is gathered an impressive ethnography of stories from quite diverse traditions. A main thrust of the book is from Jackson's Kuranko fieldwork in Sierra Leone, one of the world's poorest and least developed countries (technologically and economically speaking; now of course also hit hard by the ebola virus epidemic in Western Africa). Another section of his book deals with biculturalism and immigration in New Zealand, the country where Jackson himself was born and grew up, a third being the horrible fates of Australia's so called part-Aborigines, those who were taken away from their families, in order to make them into whites or almost whites, by the Australian governmental system. Another strand of ethnography here is concerned with Croatians and Bosnians in the post-Yugoslavian wars, and one section deals with the fate of a single person, but at the same time, the family of this person, the New Zealander John Joseph Thomas (Joe) Pawelka, the son of Central European immigrants who in the early twentieth century became one of the most legendary fugitives in the history of the country, the breakout from prison and subsequent disappearance of Pawelka leading to quite a (still unsolved) mystery case involving the family and friends of Pawelka. Jackson performs an interesting detective job working with different clues as to the storytelling about Pawelka and to "the wall of silence" he meets when trying to lay bare the wounds this life story has resulted in for the Pawelka family.

Several aspects of Jackson's treatment of the Pawelka case are quite interesting. One is the notion of wounded narcissism which Jackson attributes to Pawelka, surely quite a Western concept, which in the overall context here might stick out a little, since one of the most intriguing aspects of this book is that Jackson elsewhere several times stresses the point that his investigations into the storytelling of

these people transgress cultural borders of various kinds, in order to excavate what here is the main concern of his existential ethnography, or one might even call it existential or life philosophy, a most interesting conglomerate of thoughts, from traditions which might be said to a certain extent to overlap and strengthen each other, but which also form a kind of rather unstable theoretical hybrid or smorgasbord, bringing together quite different strands of philosophy: the existentialism of Arendt and Sartre, the pragmatism of William James, the phenomenology of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, the critical theory of e.g. Benjamin, Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Foucault, de Certeau, and even to some extent the stoicism of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers!

Since Michael Jackson is an extremely accomplished writer and ethnographer and also a very prolific one – for one single year, 2013, I counted five monographs written by him – it is not easy to get into a critical dialogue with his writing and thought process. But I think that the same kind of analysis that he offers on the storytelling among e.g. refugees in a certain way can also be applied to his own storytelling/ethnography. The possible blind spots or *aporias* in his research might then be buried under a drape of eloquence and stylistic brilliance which makes it difficult to see these possibly more problematic aspects of his research, if there are any. And I think there are aspects of his existential ethnography which must be addressed also from a decidedly critical point of view.

In my reading of this book the central *aporia* concerning Jackson's ethnographic approach has to do with his own positioning as an ethnographer and also as a writer and person with quite a remarkable life story, involving transformation and flight, concepts which are also foregrounded in his ethnographic system. Although I cannot, unfortunately, here give a summation of his whole literary and scholarly enterprise because I haven't read it – he is also a noted poet and a writer of fiction – there are still some clues both in this book and other writings of his that I have looked into as to what is driving his ethnographic work.

In other contexts he has written about two of his most important literary mentors, and has also quite literally walked in their footsteps, the poet Blaise Cendrars in Paris and the cultural theorist Walter Benjamin in southern France and northern Spain in 1940. The latter, the German-Jewish cultural critic and writer Walter Benjamin, was, as we know, fleeing from the Nazis, a flight which ended with Benjamin taking his life in the Spanish border town of Portbou by the Pyrenees.

In an essay published by the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, Jackson writes about his journey to Portbou, standing in front of a brown schist boulder at the cemetery that commemorated Benjamin's death here on 27 September 1940: "And then it occurred to me that this affinity had less to do with the inspiration I had drawn from Benjamin's ideas of allegory and narratively coherent experience (*Erfahrung*), or from the notion that the form of our writing may imitate the 'natural' or spontaneous forms in which the world appears to us; it came mostly from the way I have taken heart, for many years, from his example, and come to see that the maverick life of a thinker, arcane and obsolete though it is nowadays seen to be, is as legitimate as any other vocation. Although our backgrounds and upbringing were utterly unlike, and he died the year I was born, had I not, from the beginning, been attracted to the life of the mind, only to find that such an existence had little value in the country where I was raised? But in contrast to Benjamin, I did not aspire to intellectual greatness. This was not because I embraced the anti-intellectualism of my native culture, or, like Pierre Bourdieu, felt ashamed of thought; it was because I had always been convinced that thought and language were profoundly inadequate to the world, and could neither save nor redeem us. It may not have been Benjamin's intellectuality that made him so maladroit. But it did offer him a kind of magical bolthole where he could avoid taking action, and console himself that the world was safe and secure as long as he could make it appear so in what he thought and wrote."

And the ethnographer adds that we perhaps should learn to judge the intellectual life not in terms of its practical capacity to improve the material conditions of our lives, but in terms of whether it enlarges our capacity to see the world in new ways.

So, if one may view Jackson as an outsider in relation to established cultural and historical forms and traditions, and not so much a combination of an insider and an outsider as seems to be the case of such influential historian writers as Eric Hobsbawm or Tony Judt, to what extent is the outsider attitude reflected in his language and what is he actually saying and not saying in his ethnography? And could it

be said of Jackson that he is offering the reader a kind of "cultural outsiderism" as a project in his study of storytelling?

I think that the answer might be that up to a certain point this is true. His project seems to be informed by a deep anxiety about cultural roots and questions of belonging, which he writes about more extensively in his memoir *The Accidental Anthropologist* from 2006 in which he sees himself in childhood and early youth as suffering "the displaced consciousness of a day-dreamer", increasingly isolated from others, imagining himself born to other families than his own, nurturing Platonic longings for completion and wholeness in another, and being fixated on the idea of friendship, of romantic love, and of acceptance into a community of kindred spirits.

It must be noted that the social context of what Michael Jackson is researching and retelling in *The Politics of Storytelling* is often of a very cruel and unjust kind, since the ethnography is one focusing on extreme situations and societies in deep trouble, war, free fall etc. The atrocities hinted at are of such magnitude that the question of how the ethnographer is able to cope with these horrors must be asked. There are stories from the Kuranko within a context of extreme violence, arms are chopped off innocent victims, eyes are struck out, and genital operations on young women might be a part of the culture in question. In Jackson's account this latter social and physical practice, clitoridectomy, is viewed upon in countries such as France and the United States as illegal, shameful, barbaric, but Jackson does not forget to mention that those who claim the practice is vital to their social identity, as in this case refugees, are living in a world in which their refugee autonomy is always under siege, whatever our own views on the matter are, as Jackson points out.

In Jackson's theoretical framework such extreme violence should be understood in the light of the larger picture he is bringing forth, of intersubjectivity. The balance between being an autonomous subject-for-oneself and an anonymous object-for-others is, he says, seldom satisfactorily struck or successfully sustained. Instead it is threatened continually by the vagaries of climate and disease, by accidents, natural disasters, and by the contingencies of history.

This kind of stance raises questions of a possible indifference to suffering on the ethnographer's part. In a review of Michael Jackson's book from 2012 on writers and writing – *The Other Shore* – Darren Byler has noted that Jackson writes himself into *The Other Shore* in the mode of Camus' rebel without a cause. Byler says that Jackson repeatedly shows us how his writing stems from a "lucid indifference" to regimes which he finds arbitrary and oppressive. By surrounding himself with melancholic and heroic writers such as Kafka, Rilke, Rimbaud, Henry Miller, Knut Hamsun and Blaise Cendrars among many others, Jackson is, according to Byler, making an implicit claim for the integrity of "loneliness and anonymity" in the writerly life.

So, in a way, this is quite a grim picture of contemporary humanity Jackson is offering his reader, something matching the cinematic horrors depicted in e.g. Henri-Georges Clouzot's Latin-American road movie *The Wages of Fear*. But for Jackson the most problematic aspect of these people and their storytelling concerns the situation in which the possible storytelling is falling into inwardness, solipsism as it were. Such an outcome is possible due to trauma, shame, guilt and other such psycho-physiological processes bringing the natural flow of intersubjectivity to a halt.

Related to this notion of intersubjectivity as a precondition for storytelling involving healing, retribution, stoicism or forgiveness and a constant flow of thinking, willing, judging and acting out something is in this case, interestingly enough, linked to a tendency towards a social critique of Western ways, of a Euro-centric worldview, in e.g. storytelling. As a special object for critique he picks the genre of the novel seen as, in my view, rather reductively an instrument of bourgeois interiorization and individualization and even a culmination of possessive and individual private life. In another section of the book he also talks about, with an expression borrowed from Roy Wagner, "an opera-house" conception of civilized sensibilities in European bourgeois notions of culture, in a discussion about cultural fundamentalism and identity thinking which he sees as detrimental to any notion of common humanity but like all reification, as he says, eliding the line that separates words and worlds, language and life.

My final comment must then be on Jackson's own position, which in my view still is rather ambiguous and paradoxical. On one hand his is a stance of openness/undecidedness, and more than

that, a theory of consciousness highlighting flux, flow, flight, movement, foreignness in the world, something he calls diasporic pluralism rather than globalization, an amalgamation of the singular and the shared resulting in the trans-subjective. The theme he is writing these variations on is really Hannah Arendt's notion of storytelling transforming our lives and enabling us to reshape diffuse, diverse and difficult personal experiences in ways that can be shared. Through metaphors that can merge particular and general subjectivities, storytelling fashions images of "a singular universal". A nation and a person are thought of as one, a person becomes a name, an individual exemplifies an idea and so on.

The strange thing about the ethnographer's own position here, then, is that the work he has been doing for so long and with such a deep focus on humanity in all its complexities and problems, but also its hopes and new openings, leads up to a picture which cannot be replicated; it is quite unique, as well as deeply human. And it also carries, almost like a birthmark, the inescapable problem of him being, as he says, a citizen in a free country, and at the same time a person who has made and makes constant journeys into other countries (both literally and metaphorically speaking). As such his flight, his travels are akin to the view put forth by the eminent storyteller and physician Oliver Sacks, who recently wrote in the *New York Times*, having been diagnosed with terminal cancer: "My generation is on the way out, and each death I have felt as an abruption, a tearing away of part of myself. There will be no one like us when we are gone, but then there is no one like anyone else, ever. When people die, they cannot be replaced. They leave holes that cannot be filled, for it is the fate – the genetic and neural fate – of every human being to be a unique individual, to find his own path, to live his own life, to die his own death."

Sacks's words might be seen as maybe tilting more towards uniqueness than towards sharedness, but that might be a result of a certain cultural bias which we Westerners, and even Michael D. Jackson, have to live with as long as we are in this world, doing ethnography or whatever other important mission we might be on.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Painted Furniture in Sweden

Johan Knutsson & Ulla-Karin Warberg, När färgen kom till byn. Målade allmogemöbler från norr till söder 1750–1850. Signum, Stockholm 2014. 214 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-86221-24-9.

■ Everyone knows that Sweden has its Dalecarlian painting and its painted wall hangings. The former is a style of interior decoration associated with the province of Dalarna and the latter art is known from southern Sweden. These forms of folk art are the subject of a great deal of research and a rich literature. Now we have in addition a detailed account of rustic painted furniture. This is a Swedish cultural heritage which also deserves attention. It is not associated with any specific province, being found all over the country.

The book has two authors. Johan Knutsson is Sweden's first professor of furniture culture, at Linköping University. Throughout his career he has worked with folk art. Ulla-Karin Warberg is an art historian. She is involved in the antiques business and has worked a great deal with peasant art. Cooperation between experts with such different starting points is not as strange as one might think. Both are professionally concerned with preserving Swedish folk art. They want to give the owners of painted peasant furniture knowledge and awareness of the priceless cultural heritage in their possession. In the introduction we read that the book is intended to give answers to some commonly asked questions about the Swedish equivalent to rosemaling. It goes much further than this, providing thorough and multifaceted insight into Swedish furniture painting as it was done in all parts of the country.

The authors use knowledge and research that is already known but not so easy to access because it is scattered in local monographs and articles in journals and annuals published over many years. Those who wish to go further can find useful references to literature and other sources, and even encouragement to try using a brush and paint for themselves in order to arrive at a better understanding.

The background to the presentation is Johan Knutsson's valuable dissertation on rustic furniture from 2001, *Folkliga möbler*. Knutsson's contribution in this new book is a lucid and comprehensible introduction, dealing with problems in a way that makes the reader understand the topic better. He explains the painter's work with pigments, binding

agents, and methods. He also explains why furniture painting gained momentum around 1750 and ended about a hundred years later. He writes about local styles and places the painting in a separate category in peasant society, alongside the guild crafts and not subordinate in any way to them. This gives meaning to research and writing about peasant painting.

After a thorough introduction there is a survey of furniture painting in Sweden, illustrated in words and pictures. Ulla-Karin Warberg's text is divided into 22 chapters, covering the 25 Swedish provinces.

Each chapter has the same structure. First a description of the province, its location and borders, economy, settlement, and cultural circumstances through the ages, because all this was significant for folk art. Then comes a survey of furniture forms, which mostly have features of Renaissance style. Finally, the main part of each chapter consists of a description of the furniture painting: the colours, motifs, and local painters with their background.

This book importantly affords a lot of space to photographs of painted furniture. These have been taken by skilled photographers and most of them come from the large collection of Swedish folk art in the Nordiska Museet, carefully selected to reflect furniture painting in all parts of the country. Many of the illustrations are full-page pictures, and each picture shows a painted object, a chest, a cupboard, a box, and a clock case from a particular province. Instructive captions explain what is important in the picture. It is when we see the pictures that we really get an impression of the great wealth of motifs and the local variations.

This book about painted rustic furniture is welcome because it givers a concerted overview of a field that has not previously attracted much attention. It deserves a place on the shelves of learned and laypeople alike.

Tord Buggeland, Lillehammer

Building in a Border Zone

Grenzwerte–Grænseværdier. Baukultur in Süddänemark und Schleswig-Holstein. Bygningskultur i Syddanmark og Slesvig-Holsten. 1912–2012–2112. Bernd Köster (ed.). Flensburger Baukultur/Museum Sønderjylland – Sønderborg slot 2013. 220 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-3-943582-06-2.

■ It is not unusual to hear the claim that border areas are zones of innovation. There may certainly be some truth in that, but one must simultaneously bear in mind that the understanding of different boundary concepts primarily takes place in people's heads. This is particularly clear when it comes to political boundaries, demarcations which separate "us" from "them". Conflicts about territories have been one of the most common reasons for war in world history. In the eighth and ninth century a boundary was drawn across the Jutland peninsula between the German Empire created by Charlemagne and the state formation that would gradually develop into the Danish kingdom. The border ran east–west at roughly the same latitude as the Viking Age royal site of Hedeby, just south of today's city of Schleswig. The fact is that there were fortifications in the area going even further back in time. One can still see remains of early medieval earthworks and defensive structures, the famous Dannevirke. The youngest military fortifications at the Dannevirke are from the mid-nineteenth century. For more than a thousand years this was a hotly disputed boundary which created distinctive conditions for the immediate surroundings south and north of the border. The frontier that now separates Denmark from Germany was not fixed until 1920.

This was a conflict zone, but it has also been a place for innovations, for instance in building technology. The archaeological evidence suggests that medieval brick technology was developed here some time in the early twelfth century. At Egernsund in southernmost Denmark there are still today several famous brickworks such as Petersen Tegl and Egernsund Tegl. There is also the Cathrinesminde Teglværk, a centre for the history of the Danish brick industry. Schleswig-Holstein and South Jutland therefore make up a very interesting area in which to study architectural history, especially in a northern European context. This book on "Border Values", *Grenzwerte–Grænseværdier*, focuses on architecture in Schleswig-Holstein and south Jutland from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. It has been produced in collaboration between the *Flensburger Baukultur* association and Museum Sønderjylland. The authors, however, chiefly work in Schleswig-Holstein, with the exception of Peter Dragsbo and to some extent Martin Kessler.

The reason for the importance of the year 1912 in

the book is that a major building exhibition was arranged at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Flensburg that year. Astrid Hansen describes and analyses the event in detail. The exhibition can be regarded as the culmination of the movement to achieve a specific romantic local style in Schleswig-Holstein in the years before the First World War. Hansen gives a very interesting demonstration of how the vigorously growing interest in antiquarian protection and preservation developed in partnership with, and not in conflict with, the renewal in architecture at this time. It is not difficult to draw parallels to Sweden's national romanticism when reading Hansen's account. In Swedish architectural history the national romantic movement is often portrayed as something special for central Sweden. That is a narrow interpretative perspective, obscuring a broader view of the phenomenon. The architectural idiom of southern Sweden is likewise seen in clearer light in the context of the development in Denmark and Germany in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. A common denominator for German, Swedish, and Danish architects around 1900 was the interest in local building history. An architect like Theodor Wåhlin, one of the leading representatives of national romanticism, or rather the regional romantic architectural style in southern Sweden, was also an enthusiastic buildings archaeologist. Mogens Mogensen, an important proponent of functionalist and modernist architecture in Skåne, worked in his youth with the documentation of older architecture.

Antiquarians, architects, and politicians displayed very keen interest in the building exhibition in Flensburg in 1912. It was headed by Ernst Sauermann, one of the leading figures in the association for *Heimatschutz* in Schleswig-Holstein. The ambition was to preserve not only local architectural forms but also craft traditions. It is thus not surprising that the art of building walls and details in brick attracted particular attention. The exhibition displayed both contemporary and bygone architecture. As regards the more modern architecture, the vast majority of the examples came from the German side, while Danish architecture was sparsely represented. Tense relations between Germany and Denmark since the wars over Schleswig-Holstein in 1848−50 and 1863−64 had still not relaxed. Sauermann would nevertheless arrange yet another building exhibition in his career, which is also described briefly by Hansen: the exhibition under Sauermann's leadership at the Thaulow Museum in Kiel took place after the First World War and the adjustment of the border between Denmark and Germany. Danish architecture was well represented here, with works by Kay Fisker and the young Arne Jacobsen on show in Kiel.

Politics and architecture are closely interwoven, as is very clear from Peter Dragsbo's article about Danish and German architecture in north Schleswig. Dragsbo begins with a short description of the forms taken by architecture in Schleswig-Holstein before the nineteenth century. At that time much of the area was under the dukes of Schleswig-Holstein, who may be said to have had dual political obligations, to both the German Empire and the Danish king. Yet this was also a political situation that gave the area considerable autonomy. The older architecture in the region is characterized by a mixture of northern and southern forms and structures. Culture in southernmost Jutland was thus a hybrid, which gave it a distinctive expression. Naturally, the more international idioms of the Renaissance and the baroque set their stamp on architectural culture. This would change in the course of the nineteenth century, when the growing nationalism impelled a new geopolitical development. Up until 1864 the whole of Schleswig-Holstein was formally a part of Denmark, that is, from just north of Hamburg and Lübeck and all parts north of this. After 1864, the Danish border with Germany ran just south of Kolding.

The style that was to dominate in architecture and design in the new German Empire after 1871 has been given the name *Gründerzeitstil*. It was historicist and inspired by Renaissance and baroque architecture, characterized by playfulness and an imaginative wealth of ornament. Dragsbo points out how the eclectic style expressed a boundary-crossing idea that ranged widely over time and place. Buildings from the last quarter of the nineteenth century share common expressions, whether they were erected in Munich, Leipzig, or Flensburg. The style of this time can be viewed as an expression of the aspiration of the new empire to conjure up a patriotic spirit of cultural and ideological unity. In connection with Dragsbo's discussion, it can simultaneously be worth noting that many of the architects from southern Sweden who studied at the Berlin Bauakademie, such as Alfred Arwidius, Harald Boklund, and Oscar Hägg, were profoundly influenced by the style. It does not take too much imagination

today to see the affinity between buildings in, say, Malmö, and those constructed in Hamburg. This historicizing, eclectic style emanating from Germany thus spread beyond the borders of the empire.

Dragsbo shows at the same time how the rather unbounded eclectic style gave way to a more obviously historically inspired idiom in public buildings under Kaiser Wilhelm II. Around 1900, schools and railway stations in Schleswig-Holstein were given forms arousing associations with edifices related to the medieval German imperial dynasties. Holstein at roughly the same time saw the development of a more regionally inspired *Heimat* style influenced by the local vernacular architecture. More nationalistically minded Danish population groups at this time commissioned buildings in a style associated with Danish architectural traditions from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. One of the Danish architects who was given several commissions of this kind in Schleswig was Martin Nyrop, whose perhaps most famous work is the Town Hall in Copenhagen. Dragsbo demonstrates with all clarity how architecture in Schleswig-Holstein gave complex expression to historical ethnic identity and political friction during the years before the First World War. Dragsbo's article is very interesting, not least because he puts the other reflections of Nordic national romanticism into their context in architectural and political history.

Dragsbo also traces the history beyond 1918 into the inter-war years. The border between Germany and Denmark was moved once again after the First World War. After a plebiscite in 1920, the part that had previously belonged to North Schleswig was transferred to Denmark and is now called South Jutland. Architectural styles changed as well, with the coming of neoclassicism followed by modernism. Ulrich Schneider shows in his chapter how expressionistic architectural fantasies were developed in opposition to the antiquarian inspiration of the *Heimat* movement. The conflicts reflected in the architectural styles before the First World War were instead replaced by greater exchange between Denmark and Germany after peace came. Ulrich Höhns examines the architecture of modernism on either side of the border. He claims that Scandinavian modernism was more relaxed and less geared to conflict. This is a debatable conclusion, as modernism took various expressions in Scandinavia. The polemical manifesto of Swedish modernism above all others, *Acceptera* from 1931 – written by the leading proponents of Swedish functionalism, Gunnar Asplund, Wolter Grahn, Sven Markelius, Gregor Paulsson, Eskil Sundahl, and Uno Åhrén – does not exactly display a conciliatory attitude to historically inspired architecture. Danish modernism, represented by a man like Arne Jacobsen, did not confront older architectural ideals with the same vigour. To some extent, then, there seems to be greater similarity between the Swedish and the German modernists' polemic against historicist ideas.

In another article Höhns cites examples that can be regarded as typical of present-day architecture in Schleswig-Holstein. Here he shows several examples of how new and old architecture met, for example, in the convent of St Anne in Lübeck, built for Augustine nuns at the start of the sixteenth century. Since 2004 the complex has been a museum of early medieval art and simultaneously an art gallery. Another example is the Emil Nolde Museum in Seebüll from 2006, which is beside the house the artist built for himself in 1927−37. In a different article Martin Kessler presents modern south Danish architecture. The new buildings now being constructed in Schleswig-Holstein and South Jutland show striking similarities, with some older architectural forms being revived, albeit in a highly modern interpretation. One can detect a kind of echo of the *Heimatschutz* movement from the last turn of the century. Many buildings, however, are greatly influenced by the international styles of our times, neo-modernism and the architecture that challenges the geometrical composition of older buildings. In short, it seems as if today's architecture in Schleswig-Holstein and South Jutland has returned to the kind of unifying ideas that characterized the area before 1850 and the wars over Schleswig.

In the closing chapter of the book, Ove Ramm tries to point out possible future trends in the area, as promised by the dates in the subtitle: 1912−2012−2112. There are many challenges; depopulation, climate development, and rising sea levels are just some of them. The key to be able to tackle these issues is of course cooperation, both local and global. When Ramm discusses this it is interesting to compare the Danish and German texts in the book. While the Danish text reads "Slesvig-Holsten og Hamburg vil samarbejde" ("want to cooperate"), the sentence in the German version is "Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg setzen auf Versöhnung" ("go

in for reconciliation"). The word reconciliation underlines the importance of coming to terms with the past, with older conflicts, which is not as visible in the more neutral wording of the Danish text. The German formulation might have a deeper significance: to move forward we must relate to what lies behind us. The book *Grenzwerte–Grænsværdier* shows how changes have taken place over time in the border world between two nation states. It also shows how new (or revived) cultural and social contexts emerge, and how previously unknown values can begin to take shape. Border values are never fixed.

Björn Magnusson Staaf, Lund

The Cultural Life of the Atomized Body

The Atomized Body. The Cultural Life of Stem Cells, Genes and Neurons. Max Liljefors, Susanne Lundin & Andréa Wiszmeg (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2012. 228 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87121-92-0.

■ Ethnologists in Lund are known for their research concerning biology and biochemistry, genes and stem cells. The project behind the edited volume *The Atomized Body: The Cultural Life of Stem Cells, Genes and Neurons* was run by researchers in ethnology, history, art history and theology in the Culture Science Research Team as part of the Swedish excellence project Basal Ganglia Disorders Linnaean Consortium, which is working to find treatments for Parkinson's and Huntington's diseases.

The volume is interdisciplinary, and both the historian Elin Bommenel and the ethnologist Stefan Beck address this issue. In "Credibility and legitimacy: Challenges to interdisciplinary research", Bommenel proposes the human body as a meeting point for the humanities and the natural sciences, and a widening of the dialogue between the two. In "Interlacing the brain, contextualizing the body: Relational understandings in social neuroscience", Beck argues that the scholarly approaches by neuroscience and by anthropology must acknowledge the relevance of social and cultural factors, and embodied practices, on the one hand, and the relevance of new methods of data collection, on the other. Thought-provoking discussions on questions of interdisciplinary research, as well as studies on stem cells, genes and neurons, placing biomedicine in a social, cultural and philosophical context, present the humanities in a highly interesting and relevant way.

Biosciences offer tools to intervene at microscopic levels, as when embryonic cells are used in the cure, or possible cure, of different diseases. "New" biological entities like particles such as cells or genes may be transferred between or reproduced outside bodies, being the "old" biological entity. The word "atomized" does not refer to atoms, but to "the tendency today to adopt an atomistic outlook on the human body – the view that human biology is composed from cellular and molecular particles which determine the features of higher bodily structures, but on which the particles themselves do not depend" (Introduction, p. 9).

The art historian Max Liljefors addresses the brain-mind issue by examining the aesthetics and rhetorics in popular neuroscience in the essay "Neuronal fantasies: Reading neuroscience with Schreber". The theologian René Rosfort explores the old mind-body problem in the essay "Ambivalent embodiment: Affective values and rationality", and suggests that combining phenomenology and neurobiology is promising when studying the influence of the thinking mind by body and biology. In the essay "The scan-portrait: Geographies and geometries of perception", the art historian Silvia Casini writes about the space and the co-existence between the early studies of the anatomical body and the unfamiliar interior, and the modern scan-portraits, where the interior is no longer unfamiliar.

Three essays are based on ethnographic studies. Ethnologist Susanne Lundin's essay "Moral accounting: Ethics and praxis in biomedical research", presents a study of how biomedical researchers choose to reason about ethical dilemmas, and how this influences their professional role. A current debate has concerned the use of embryonic and adult stem cells in the treatment of neurological diseases, and Lundin addresses the problem of high expectations being raised in the public media, versus the quite different reality in "the kitchen of science".

The ethnologist Niclas Hagen has studied a group of people diagnosed with the lethal and incurable Huntington's disease. In "A molecular body in a digital society: From practical biosociality to online biosociality" he addresses the role of the Internet and new social media in contributing to the creation of identities. Online social networks are important,

in general, for people with common interests, and, in Hagen's study, for people with a common medical condition. With the help of new social media, and like a grass-roots movement, both symptomatic and pre-symptomatic patients get a sense of belonging, as well as answers to more practical everyday issues.

In "Medical need, ethical scepticism: Clashing views on the use of foetuses in Parkinson's disease research", the ethnologist Andréa Wiszmeg investigates the reasoning of patients and non-affected individuals about using foetal neural cells for treating Parkinson's disease. While non-affected individuals tend to reason in an abstract, ideal way, patients tend to reason in a more pragmatic way; they avoid relating to the foetus as an individual and avoid taking the parents' trauma into consideration. Wiszmeg concludes that ethical considerations depend on the presence or absence of the disease.

There is an ongoing debate on the crisis of the humanities in academia: Is there a future for humanistic research? The studies presented in this volume shows that there is one!

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Bergen

Housewives in the Fifties

Lena Marander-Eklund, Att vara hemma och fru. En studie av kvinnligt liv i 1950-talets Finland. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2014, 296 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-273-3.

■ Nowadays an increased interest in issues relating to the 1950s is noticeable. Especially young men and women without personal experience of this decade are paying great attention to it. They look for characteristic design objects at flea markets and for clothes in vintage shops. In their spare time some of them also enjoy cruising events and rockabilly parties. Questions about everyday life during the 1950s have also been raised, in particularly the skills and duties of the housewives. This is one starting point for the folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund's study. Another is the third wave of feminism which questions female emancipation from the home as a way to improve identity, as the second wave of feminism had proclaimed. The third wave has emphasized that the second wave valued the husband's work outside the home as the norm and as a consequence placed the housewife as the "other". In Finland, as in other European countries and the USA, the norm encouraged women to become housewives, although Finland and Austria had the lowest number of housewives during the 1950s.

The aim of this study is to investigate the experiences of women who were housewives during the 1950s. How housewives who belong to the urban middle class narrate and relate themselves to the ideal image of housewife behaviour is the main issue for the study. The material consists of life stories which have been collected by different archives in Finland; interviews and ladies' magazines. The study is focused on Finno-Swedish women who often used to read Swedish weekly magazines, and the researcher has chosen *Hemmets Journal* and *Femina* with articles addressed to housewives during the 1950s. Lena Marander-Eklund seeks to compare the descriptions in articles and advertising with the housewives' oral and written narratives.

In this study the narratives are not only analysed as linguistic discourses; instead individual experiences and narratives are related to social relations and collective narratives. The researcher emphasizes that this project is not based on a realistic point of view but on new materialistic perspectives. The investigation shows that several housewives who answered the archives' questionnaires in general did not write about their home duties. Lena Marander-Eklund's interpretation is that previous researchers and the employees at the archives had not emphasized questions about the housewife's everyday life and the narrators had also neglected to describe it. As a matter of fact, most of them thought it was too trivial to make any expressions of everyday duties. Finally, Lena Marander-Eklund found twelve written narratives that could be used for in-depth analysis and conducted six interviews about housewives experiences in the 1950s.

Even though these women called themselves housewives, it is obvious that they also had work experience during the 1950s. Some of them continued to work after they had their first child, but became full-time housewives when they had their second or third child. Others carried out some tasks for their employer in their homes. One main question in this study was how the narrators viewed their possibilities to choose between working on the labour market and being a housewife. None of them express any regret for their time as a housewife during the 1950s, as they were just fulfilling the norm.

Some of them started to work outside the home when their children got older, others continued to be housewives. A wife of a diplomat described her difficulties getting a suitable job when the family moved back to Finland. Another woman who was living in an industrial village with one big employer explained that the job opportunities were better for lower-middle-class wives than for upper-middle-class women with higher education.

Lena Marander-Eklund has not had any ambition to make a deeper analysis of class aspects, although she collected narratives from the urban middle class. But even though the women belong to the same generation and were born during the 1920s and 1930s, their everyday life was not shaped in the same way. With reference to etic perspective, Marander-Eklund has declared that she could not reveal more detailed information about the housewives' family and socio-economic aspects. In my opinion the anonymity has gone too far. I presume that readers will find it difficult to understand the differences between the narrators when the descriptions of social background are so thin, with the exception of the two examples mentioned above. The Finno-Swedish population is big enough to make it possible to write about these families more substantially without disclosing their real identities.

This book shows the limited amount of collected housewives' narratives, and Marander-Eklund has supplemented them with contextual descriptions concerning the 1950s by references to other researchers. Even though she repeats the same quotations from the life stories, she illustrates different aspects of the housewives' everyday lives. The text is well written with an interesting structure related to the functions of different rooms in the home. She also compares the narrations in her interviews with written life stories. Generally the oral presentations are more positive than the written ones. Lena Marander-Eklund describes in a self-critical way her own behaviour during her interviews, for instance, about questions she never asked. She also discussed the expectations the women had when they were writing their life stories addressed to the Institute for Women's Studies in 1995. One important statement in this book is that it is not enough to compare individual life stories with collective narratives. Therefore the investigation must also include the relationship between informants and researchers, between writers and archives.

This is an important book, which will be very useful in education because it describes in different ways why the urban middle-class housewives did not have a luxurious time. Nor is it a valuation with references to the second wave of feminism, which depreciated the housewife's skills and duties. Lena Marander-Eklund is also critical to the third wave statement about the individual possibilities to choose housewife experiences or abandon them. She wants to highlight that some women enjoyed being housewives during the 1950s while others did not. The women have retold their recollections many years afterwards and related their expressions to expectations of what researchers, archive employees and younger generations ought to know about women's life. Their request is to be respectfully treated for what they did during the 1950s, when it was a norm to be a housewife with professional skills and duties.

Kerstin Gunnemark,Gothenburg

Swedish Everyday Life during the Second World War

Västsvenskt vardagsliv under andra världskriget – en tillbakablickande antologi. Birgitta Skarin Frykman, Annika Nordström & Ninni Trossholmen (eds.). A-Script Förlag, Göteborg 2014. 247 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87171-11-6.

■ This edited volume is a result of the research project "Everyday Life in Sweden during the Second World War", initiated in 2007 at the Department of Ethnology, Gothenburg University, in collaboration with the Dialect, Place-name and Folklore Archives (DAG) in Gothenburg. A detailed questionnaire was distributed by the archive and received almost 500 responses from both rural and urban informants, chiefly in western Sweden. The informants were born in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s and were thus young during the war years. None of the informants has stated that there were any Nazi sympathies in their immediate surroundings. This, however, is something we can never know for sure so long afterwards, with the obvious stigma now attached to Nazism. We do know that some grammar-school teachers expressed pro-Nazi views to the pupils.

A large share of the collected material was published in a separate book in 2012 entitled *Vardagsliv*

under andra världskriget: Minnen från beredskapstiden i Sverige 1939–1945. The volume reviewed here contains a popular presentation of the collected material and is illustrated with a large number of quotations and photographs. Fourteen authors, mainly ethnologists and historians, take different perspectives on the crisis that affected Sweden, even though the country was not directly involved in the war, unlike all the neighbouring countries. Sweden was better prepared for the new crisis than during the First World War, when there was a much greater food shortage and even famine.

The person with the main responsibility for the project was Birgitta Skarin Frykman, who has written the introduction, the first chapter, and the afterword in this volume. She dwells on the fear that was prevalent during the war and the expressions of great joy that broke out when the war was over and the first boats brought bananas to Gothenburg once again. The ringing of church bells marked the beginning of the war. All windows had to be blacked out from 1940, as a security measure against the eventuality of an air attack. The compact darkness and the air-raid warnings had a terrifying effect on people.

Lars Brink has conducted a special study of the Swedish Home Guard (Hemvärnet), which was set up in 1940 through a decision of parliament; it consisted of uniformed men and women (the latter known as *lottor*). Many women worked with aircraft observation, sitting in tall towers to keep an eye out for enemy aircraft. Men in the Home Guard helped with forbidden contacts across the border with Norway, which was completely sealed by the Nazis. Many refugees from Norway managed to cross the border in secret with the aid of Swedish border guards.

Ninni Trossholmen has conducted interviews about memories of the war on the islands in the Öckerö archipelago west of Gothenburg. The people there lived very close to the passing German warships and aircraft bound for Norway. Many fishermen were killed by exploding mines. The bodies of fallen English and German soldiers floated ashore and were buried in Öckerö cemetery. There was dread and anxiety, especially among the women and children who feared for the lives of the men, but the fishing had to be done. There was no other way to acquire food for the families.

Åke Sintring has collected narratives in which people from western Sweden tell of their experiences of the trains that transported German soldiers to and from Norway on Swedish railways, with the permission of the Swedish government. It was forbidden to photograph the trains, and for Swedes to speak to the German soldiers. Many people gathered to watch the German trains passing.

Lennart K. Persson has problematized sports and politics by using newspaper material to study handball internationals in Gothenburg between Sweden and Nazi Germany. The matches drew big crowds. The newspapers made a distinction between sports and politics and did not criticize the opposing nation.

Several articles in the volume deal with the rationing of consumer goods that prevailed in Sweden during the war years and continued for several years afterwards, up to 1951. The informants remember very well the ration cards. They were distributed by local crisis committees. About seventy per cent of foodstuffs were rationed. Rationing of coffee was felt by many people to be the most difficult hardship. It led to the introduction of many different surrogates, none of which tasted very good and all of which lacked caffeine.

Textiles were rationed too, as described by Eva Knuts. A great deal of cloth was reserved for the armed forces. New substitute materials began to be produced. They went under names like “artificial silk” or “cell wool” and consisted of cellulose fibres. The quality, however, could not be compared with that of ordinary textiles. Clothes were mended and altered endlessly, and the same thing happened with shoes, which were rationed from 1943. Those who did not obey the rationing restrictions were fined. A black market operated outside the coupon system, which is the subject of Mathias Schwarz’s special study. Legal exchange of coupons also occurred. Rearing rabbits and chickens helped households to increase their supply of food, as Ulla Centergran describes in the book.

The educationist Berit Askling examines how schooling functioned during the war years. Many of the informants who answered the questionnaire were at school at the time. School buildings were often commandeered by the military. In schools close to the Norwegian border, teaching was cancelled on certain days. The schools’ outdoor days were used for practising shooting and other exercises. Preparations were made for the possibility that pupils might have to be evacuated from the towns to the country-

side. Patriotic songs were sung during the lessons.

Annika Nordström analyses the music of the emergency years, which helped people to see a light in the darkness, to increase national unity and strengthen the will of the enlisted soldiers to defend the country. Community singing occurred often, when people sang from popular songbooks. One song frequently mentioned by the informants was "My soldier".

This volume gives important insight into people's everyday life during a time of serious crisis in the immediate vicinity of the war. The book is written to be easily accessible to a broad audience. It is important that this difficult time, which is not so far away in the past, is not forgotten in our present-day affluent society. In that respect the book is a major contribution and can be recommended not least to young people. This study was conducted while people with personal experience of the war were still alive and able to tell about the hardships. The fact that the account is based on statements by these witnesses strengthens its credibility and information value.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Fashion and Museums

Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice. Marie Riegels Melchior and Birgitta Svensson (eds.). Bloomsbury Academic, 2014. 209 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-4725-2766-0.

■ *Fashion and museums*. The title presents the object of this anthology, which contains 12 individual contributions and an introduction written by Marie Riegels Melchior and a concluding chapter by Birgitta Svensson. Theory and practice, the subtitle states, and thereby presents the dual scope of the book. In my experience, the book is more about practice than theory, and most chapters are descriptive in their approach. It is an interesting contribution to museology, however, and some chapters bring really valuable insights.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is titled "The power of fashion: When museums enter new territory", covering four chapters. The next is called "Fashion controversies: When bodies become public", and the third simply "In Practice". Ten out of 16 contributors are museum employees, most of them curators who reflect over their own museum practices. The rest comes from universities (two PhD students) or they are independent scholars.

The first part of the book offers historical presentations of the relationship between fashion and museums. The experienced fashion curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Harold Koda, and his colleague Jessica Glasscock, write chapter 1. They explicate the development of "The Costume Institute" at their museum, and highlight "The Vreeland era", when the fashion editor Diane Vreeland was appointed special consultant in 1972. In her time, the museum's focus turned from dress history to contemporary fashion. The next chapter, written by professor José Teunissen from the ArtEZ fashion institute in the Netherlands, also emphasizes Vreeland's contemporary exhibitions.

Teunissen also highlights the transition from collection based to problem-oriented exhibitions. The first occurred in 1994, with the Victoria & Albert Museum in London's "Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk", based on Dick Hebdige's cultural analysis "Subculture".

The third chapter is written by Marco Pecorari, PhD student at the Centre for Fashion studies at Stockholm University. In his thought provoking chapter, he discusses contemporary fashion history, departing from exhibitions at the ModeMuseum in Antwerp. Pecorari sheds light on the increasingly contemporary focus, ever changing exhibits showing borrowed pieces rather than museum collections. A practice that shakes the foundations of the museum. The fashion system, involving designers, industry and media, now interact with fashion museums, and are let into the museums as co-curators. Pecorari also knowledgeably shows how concepts of time and history are challenged in exhibitions relying on scholars' theory based fashion research.

In the fourth chapter, Anna Dahlgren from the Department of Art History at Stockholm University takes us to fashion photography. She discusses how this category falls between two stools in museums. Some pictures have found their way into museum collections, but few museums have taken the consequence of the central role of fashion photography in "the fashion system".

Julia Petrov from Alberta College of Art and Design in Calgary, Canada, introduces part two of the book, and her chapter is titled "Gender considerations in fashion history exhibitions". From a broad

survey of secondary literature about fashion history exhibitions, Petrov claims the unfairness of placing fashion in a specific feminine sphere.

A rather different approach to questions of gender and dress history are given in Marianne Larsson's informative chapter on female skiing clothes in Nordiska Museet. She explores a specific source material involving both artefacts, photo and museum records, and presents how Swedish women dressed as skiing pioneers during the first half of the 1900s.

Gender perspectives also dominate the Museologist Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl's chapter "Exhibiting the body, dress, and time in museums: A historical perspective". She examines how the lack of bodies in museum exhibitions was made a scientific question during the 1930s. Drawing on relevant theories, Hjemdahl analyses how class, gender and style are entangled in flexible and discrete exhibition technologies.

The third and last part of the book presents five museum practices. First, Rosemary Harden writes about the transference from "costume" to "fashion" in "The Fashion Museum" in Bath. As curator at place, she has been part of this turn. Kirsten Toftegaard discusses collecting practices in "Designmuseum Danmark". She advocates the inclusion of textiles, dress and fashion in the collection. The two following chapters present successful strategies in museum's tutorial program. Ingeborg Philipsen, director at Amager Museum in Copenhagen, writes about how the folk dresses of Amager can attract young visitors by emphasizing connections between folk dress and contemporary fashion. The two curators at the Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology, Ingebjørg Eidhammer and Tone Rasch, present a similar methodology when textile factories and economy are at stake. Modern clothes have a history, they claim in their conclusion.

The independent fashion curator Jeff Horsley writes the last chapter in this part. In his appreciative contribution he launches a fresh outlook on fashion exhibitions, drawing on the concept of autobiography. This is a resource not yet exploited, he argues.

An introduction and a concluding chapter, written by the two editors, frame the twelve chapters. Fashion researcher Marie Riegels Melchior's introduction also has another agenda than introducing the authors of the book. She outlines a museological discussion that I consider one of the reasons for the book to be published. Riegels Melchior has studied the increasing interest in fashion in museums of the western world, and she opens a debate about understandings of the entanglement of dress and fashion – and museums. She separates the concepts of fashion museology from dress museology as she writes:

> Fashion museology describes the focus of museums on fashion and the declaration of new museum ideologies in what can be seen as a reaction to the new museology paradigm, stressing instead a very different fascination with the new. At this point, a history of fashion and dress museology will be instrumental in developing a critical discussion and thus a deeper analysis of the current developments of fashion in museums.

In her concluding chapter Professor at Nordiska Museet, Birgitta Svensson, follows up Riegels Melchior's definitions. As I understand the two editors, they call for critical approaches *to* and self-reflexion *in* the museums, which proclaim the turn from dress to fashion, and, from history to contemporaneity. I approve these arguments and I find the editors' argumentation convincing. However, I question how far the divide between dress museology and fashion museology reaches. The concept of museology, known as "The new museology" from the 1970s, most often covers aspects of reflection and critical discussions about museum practices – be it the debater's own and others'. If I understand the authors correctly in calling for a more critical fashion museology to which dress museology should be instrumental, I have to ask where this critical dress museology could be found. In my opinion dress museology is so scarce that it should rather be invented than found. And then I wonder how relevant it is to make such a divide between two new concepts instead of including them in the concept of "New museology"?

However, I welcome more papers and books, which discuss both dress and fashion, from museum professionals and others who can look at the museums and curators from outsides. And as a contribution to this, I find *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice* a promising start.

Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, Odalen

A City for the Many or for the Few

Ulf Stahre, En stad för de många eller en för de få. Om allmänningar, sociala rörelser och rätten till staden i det nutida Stockholm. Atlas, Stockholm 2014. 343 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7389-466-1.

■ *A City for the Many or for the Few: on the commons, social movements and the right to the city in contemporary Stockholm,* is a loosely connected set of essays, partly recapitulating, partly extending and updating, Stahre's earlier writings on urban, and particularly Stockholm's, development. It suggests three main periods of extensive change in Sweden's capital; the late 17th century, industrialism's emergence in the 19th and – the main focus − the second half of the 20th century through to the present. The essays both explore how and why Stockholm has changed and evaluate the changes. What has been gained and lost and who have been the major beneficiaries?

Stahre suggests that 'small groups of power holders stood behind the development projects' in each of the periods he considers, and that boosting Stockholm's international position was a recurring theme. He quickly presents the thoroughgoing 17th century changes as designed to turn an impoverished small town into an appropriately imposing capital for the European great power Sweden had then become. From the 19th century onwards, economic advantage became the decision-makers' main concern. Thus Stahre sees central Stockholm's major restructuring after world war two as proposed by the *Norrmalmsreglering*, together with the accompanying suburban extension around new road and rail links, as an attempt to enhance the region as a national economic driver. It was to become fit for the new needs of modern industrial and commercial functions and the age of the car. The Swedish capital was to be made into a functional *storstad*, an efficient metropolis on a par with others in Europe. Then, as globalisation strengthened and the post-industrial economy developed, city administrations supported further changes intended to make Stockholm more globally competitive and attract inward investment. They planned new improvements to transport infrastructure, and, often in conjunction with private capital, supported moves to make the urban core more attractive to the economically important new middle and creative classes as a place to work, spend their leisure time and live − often in accommodation which they could now own (via *bostadsrätt*) rather than merely rent. Remnants of the old city which had lost their previous industrial functions or escaped the earlier redevelopers, were now upgraded and 'sanitised'. Disreputable establishments and many smaller shops disappeared partly driven out by higher rents, rough sleepers were variously discouraged, and for a time draconian zero tolerance anti-graffiti measures put in place. The historic distinctiveness of such quarters was now mobilised for 'place marketing' to which a spate of new urban festivals also contributed. 'Urban experiences' became a new kind of marketable commodity.

Stahre's linking of developments to broad, underlying economic changes has much to recommend it. But particularly in the inter and post war period of social democratic dominance, he maybe underplays elements of socially-oriented thinking in the city administrators' and planners' proposals. Moral concerns that people should not endure slum conditions in the urban core, contributed to initial support for the major demolition of its old housing stock. And the extent and character of the ambitious 'Million Programme', designed to address post-war housing shortage, was influenced by a distinct social vision of how people should live with each other in a modern, democratic society. Though Stahre doesn't mention this, the mode of suburban development it encouraged, with often municipally-owned housing associations building multi-storey rented accommodation with shared service facilities (laundries, meeting and hobby rooms) was quite different in form from, for example, American post war suburbanisation. The underlying character of the economy – whether it generates a large and homogenous working class, and how far it is nationally bounded or internationally connected, for example − may influence the kinds of social policies power holders favour and certainly what they are able to effect. But this doesn't mean that their motivation is always entirely or directly economic.

Whatever their motives, Stahre shows that Stockholm's urban planners and developers have not entirely shaped outcomes. Sometimes their plans have been delayed or prevented by economic downturns. But also, on occasion, they have been successfully resisted. Once again he documents a range of urban movements, for example, reprising the activities of Alternativ Stad and Reclaim the City and updating

material on organisations in the suburb of Husby where youths (often from migrant backgrounds) angered by poor housing, lack of facilities and police behaviour, 'rioted' in 2013. The guerrilla gardening movement and the 'graffiti scene' each gets a chapter of new material to itself, with Stockholmers' activities compared with those elsewhere in Sweden and beyond. Stahre once more shows how, early recognition of the value of threatened inner city areas, by sections of the cultural elite in the 1960s, later expanded as the extent of the planned destruction became apparent, and describes how a varied and broader-based *tradition* of urban protest subsequently developed. Stockholmers have learned from their own experience that there are possibilities of acting together to shape urban change, whilst the new media now facilitate sharing of aims and tactics with urban protest groups elsewhere. Loosely classifying organisations as 'reactive', 'programmatic' or 'offensive', Stahre shows the former as generally challenging proposals to alter specific parts of Stockholm's urban fabric. They often have the most measurable successes, but also the shortest life spans, tending to dissolve once the particular focus of their attention is resolved, though organisational structure as well as purpose can affect longevity and a movement's likelihood of success.

Whether 'programmatically' or 'offensively' the other two types of movement promote more general visions of a better city. Typically they propose more variety, less segregation, more ecological sustainability and reduced orientation to the interests of capital (no right wing groups are mentioned). They frequently oppose not just the contemporary restructuring, privatisation and gentrification of urban space but also the neo-liberal undermining of traditional social democratic welfarism which partly contributes to it. (Increased social inequalities can always tempt the better off to new moves to separate themselves and keep the troubling, potentially threatening poor out of sight.) The rather diffuse chapter 'The commons and privatisation' shows how the already somewhat baggy concept of 'the commons'/*'allmänningar,* is now often extended to include not just the land but services and facilities such as hospitals, schools, housing, mass transport systems, which are under some kind of collective or public ownership or control, or to which everyone has free access. Both kinds of commons are seen as under threat. Thus gallerias (the subject of a separate chapter) which close at night and whose private owners proscribe certain activities beneath their glassy roofs, encroach on the traditional urban commons of street and square. In parallel, the neo-liberal privatisation of schools, public transport etc. presumably reduces their general accountability and can stratify ease of access. Stahre suggests that, unlike organisations targeting specific new building or road developments, those challenging reductions of common welfare have lacked 'any noteworthy successes'. However, we do learn that when the bourgeois parties have lost control of city government the neo-liberal, anti-welfarist, programme has been slowed.

Stahre isn't the first to ask whether the city is now a place 'for the many or for the few'. But to dichotomise winners and losers from urban change in this way is problematic. 'The few' seems to be used as synonymous with the rich and powerful, but whilst they may be a minority they are not the only one. So too are the homeless and the graffitists for example. In addition, 'the many' unhelpfully implies some kind of fundamental unity of those so categorised. But people have different needs and preferences. The new gallerias may suit those who like clean, well controlled and predictable environments, but appal those who prefer their urban experiences to be more varied, surprising and edgy. Loss of public space may mean more to those who routinely conduct much of their social life there, than to those who socialise mainly in their homes. In the chapter on the old quarter of Lammet, Stahre himself shows how, in the 1960s, it was seen by some as a slum, but by others as a romantic bohemia. Not just economic status, but also such attributes as gender, age, life cycle stage, ethnicity and residential location can condition how people use the city and what they want from it – potentially creating many cross-cutting differences of interest. There's a well-established tradition of using fine-grained ethnography to shed light on how different categories of people understand, value and negotiate the city in different ways, which Stahre might have built on. But though he presents himself as much an urban ethnographer as a theorist, he provides almost no first-hand data on how urban dwellers themselves experience and talk about the urban locations he observes (and sometimes photographs). There's one short interview quote about the disturbances in Husby, but we never directly hear how any of the users

of the Västermalmsgalleria, whose shops Stahre describes in some detail, find their experience. We don't hear a word from the homeless displaced from Lilla Plattan by the galleria and only learn about what graffiti means to those who make it, through reference to other studies, not from any contact Stahre has with its Stockholm practitioners. In an otherwise informative set of essays this feels a bit of a missed opportunity to fill out our understandings of the ways in which Stockholm's urban inhabitants may feel that the city is 'for them' or not. Or to understand the range of everyday strategies 'below' the level of movement participation, they may use to try and make it feel in some way their own.
Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Why Ethnology?

Birgitta Svensson, Varför etnologi? En ämnesintroduktion för nya studenter. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2012. 117 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-06735-3.

■ This book entitled "Why Ethnology?" is aimed as an introduction for new students of ethnology. It also serves a much broader audience of ethnologists and cultural scholars as well as anybody interested in learning the basics of ethnology and the ethnological way of looking at the world, at society and people. Professor Birgitta Svensson, the author of the book, also shares her personal viewpoints of ethnology which makes the reading even more interesting for an ethnologist. As in all disciplines, personal interests and insights into different things and phenomena shape our personal idea of ethnology. It is therefore interesting to get to know Svensson's thoughts in more detail, as she explains ethnology to us readers and how ethnology in her mind can explain why we people in general do things the way we do, why we are as we are and how we can influence our future. No one has the right answers to these big questions, but Svensson makes a good effort in her explanations, addressing and surely also convincing many readers.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Svensson describes and explains the ethnological gaze, the way ethnologists look at things, what is meant by it and what can be achieved with it. In the first chapter Svensson also describes ethnology as a part of a wider and interdisciplinary context, and the theoretical viewpoints within it. The ethnological gaze means that ethnologists observe their environment in various ways which makes ethnologists observant to small details and bigger pictures at the same time. This kind of focus makes ethnology an ambiguous discipline which Svensson characterizes as being somewhere in the middle: in the middle of humanities and social sciences, nature and culture, gender and class, identities and lifestyles etc.

In the second chapter Svensson describes the history of ethnology. The focus is on the decades from 1950 until today. Shifts in paradigm are described in relation to the old ethnology before the 1950s and the new ethnology taking shape after that. Everyday life and its representations became the core of the new ethnology and studies were increasingly conducted in our contemporary society. Many of the ethnological classics were written and published during the early decades of the new ethnology in the 1960s and 70s.

Svensson deepens the historical connection of the discipline in chapter three by discussing the role of ethnology in relation to memories, traditions and cultural heritage. She also explains the transition in the understandings of these and how institutions related to memories, traditions and heritage have transformed along with the new definitions and adaptations of these concepts. Ethnology has also been involved in the transition processes caused by the new ways of relating to memories, traditions and cultural heritage as objects of consumption.

In chapter four, Svensson turns the focus on routines and rituals. She gives examples of ethnologists studying routines and rituals in contemporary societies but also looking back at studies done some decades ago. Routines and rituals are often embedded in our material world, in different things and objects we carry with us during our lifetime which can be studied methodologically with the help of life history interviews.

In chapter five, the discussion is turned towards identities, norms and experiences in relation to ethnicity, gender and class. Svensson links identities to processes and discusses identity as both personal and collective belonging. As in previous chapters, Svensson backs up her own viewpoints with those of scholars who have studied identity formations. This is a valuable addition in this book, giving the readers a glimpse into previous studies conducted in relation to different topics.

Power and resistance, on the other hand, are the

main topics in chapter six. Ethnologists often deal with power relations and constellations in their studies. So has Svensson, reflecting upon power issues in relation to how we categorize gender, how power is generated in society and how norms direct our doings. Places, institutions and our bodies are the platforms for where power is displayed and generated. In discourses too, power is transformed and transmitted.

In chapter seven, Svensson digs deeper and takes a few steps back in discussing the role and meaning of globalization, multiculturalism and citizenship. Global consumerism affects all of these dimensions and makes us part of a global culture and market where questions of power, rights, segregation, justice and so on play an important role. A more global world makes people's lives more globally influenced and bonded, making us negotiate identities in relation to it.

The two remaining chapters, eight and nine, anchor ethnology in places, urban settings and cultivated environments. Places must, according to Svensson and ethnologists in general, be studied as cultural processes. A growing interest in cities and urban places has shifted place studies from traditional rural settings to urban environments as more and more people choose to live in cities. What ethnologists in the past and in the present want to do is to study people in societies in relation to and as part of culture.

Summing up, this book is a valuable asset to ethnologists currently working in the field, and to anyone interested in gaining insight into ethnology or wanting to learn more about the ethnological gaze. My main concern is whether the book can reach its primary target group of young students and how it speaks to them. The book is inspiring, no doubt, but it might be too challenging for young students entering academia. To define and to convey memories, traditions, cultural heritage, rituals, identities as well as space, place and belonging is not an easy task, and even though Svensson makes a good effort to explain them, they might be too hard to grasp. This makes me think of this book as more suitable for advanced students and as a manual for professionals, as it covers the most of what ethnologists are interested in and what we study. Despite the criticism of the target group, the book can be recommended as a handbook of ethnological studies or as a bibliography of ethnological research answering the question "Why ethnology?" in a highly versatile way.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Åbo

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should if possible be sent by e-mail or on diskette. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; if necessary the language will be edited by a native speaker. Articles may be submitted in the Scandinavian languages for translation, but articles in Finnish should be translated in Finland before submission. Articles will undergo peer review. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

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Ethnologia Scandinavica delivers, once a year, a cross-section of what is going on in the ethnological field in the Nordic countries. In 2015 we find themes such as urban history and developments, medicine and health, feminism, indigenous studies, regional identity and food cultures. But we also find a vigorous focus on methodology, more or less explicitly reflected in most of this year's articles.

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Printed in Sweden
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB 2015

ISSN 0348-9698