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Cover illustration: Svenska dalahästar på världsutställningen i Shanghai 2010.
Photo: Charlotte Hagström.

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 2016 is SEK 350:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to Swedish Science Press, Uppsala, www.ssp.nu

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By Lars-Eric Jönsson

Ethnologia Scandinavica is, to a certain extent, what the authors produce. And the authors' texts may be considered a result of the authors' own personal interest and curiosity as well as the expectations, demands and reactions from the academic society and community at large. As most scientific journals the articles mirror these conditions.

In this issue we find both older and newer themes in Nordic ethnology. Some we seem never to let go, while others have a slightly shorter history in the discipline. The empirical themes dealt with by our authors are national identifications, fashion and heritage, health and medicine, and rural ethnography. These themes are also manifest in many of the dissertations presented and books reviewed in this issue.

Ethnologists' relation to the construction of nations and national identity has long been problematic. We have been part of both nation building and the study and problematizing of nations and national identities. In this sense we have, historically, gone native as well as taken an investigative critical position. Instead of identity, which used to be a subject for us, identification and the construction and consequences of stereotypes are in the focus of our interest.

Lisa Wiklund describes a social group of so-called cosmopolitans who, despite their cosmopolitanism, regard the nation state not only as a meaningful concept but also as a traditional symbol of an imagined community. In their world, the internet/tech society in San Francisco and Silicon Valley seemed like the place to be, as an arena from which you could make a difference. At the same time universal values were considered particularly Swedish and a part of the Swedish welfare state. Wiklund investigates global and national identification and when, in what situations, these two are activated.

Ida Tolgensbakk and Annie Woube investigate Swedish immigrants to Norway and Spain. Swedish modernity, sexually attractive blonde Swedish women, red rural Swedish cottages are all stereotypes that gave meanings in both a Norwegian and a Spanish setting.

The national stereotypes that ethnologists have been part of constructing are the subject of investigation in these two articles; stereotypes are obviously still in production, in people's everyday life and understanding of themselves and others. Together with Wiklund, Tolgensbakk and Woube, try out new approaches to national identity, or rather identifications. The notion of the nation state, the believed national characteristics, is in no way obsolete, as the two articles show.

Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl takes her starting point in a dress event at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo in 1933. The article deals with how museums enact past, present and future with objects through museum practices. Hjemdahl shows how art history was the prime organizer of time and how this generated a particular temporality, not least based on style history and a firm contrasting of the present and the past. She concludes that staging fashion pasts was also about staging the modern fashion future.

Arja Turunen investigates women's attitudes to wearing trousers, with a certain emphasis on the periods before and after the Second World War. She shows how trousers were a sign of equality between the sexes but also, for some women, regarded as something uncomfortable and/or forbidden for women to wear. Turu-

nen's article is followed by Anna Rauhala who takes us back to the museum and a particular social form of knitting. Rauhala uses knitting as an example of a moving tradition, and a handicraft that is not only developed from generation to generation but also through different social forums, both face to face and on the Internet. She also gives an example of collaborative ethnography and how the role of the researcher may take different shapes.

The third theme in this issue may be referred to as medical ethnography. Marie Haulund Otto investigates how elderly people in meals connect to persons, bodies and emotions despite temporal, biological and spatial distances. With her concept of "implied meal partners" she shows how meals affect the elderly participants aged 65 or older in her study, how meals structure life, and signal a structured life even if there are no obvious demands such as working hours that tell us how to schedule the day. Meals and days structured through meals are organized socially and culturally, rather than individually.

Andrea Wiszmeg partly connects to the study of Haulund Otto. Her article deals with research processes made routine, processes in a medical context where methods for cell transplantations are developed and tried. Wiszmeg writes in terms of ethics in practice, that is, not only ethics in programmes, guidelines, permits and in explicit negotiations but ethics embedded in concrete practices.

This issue ends by highlighting a theme, and a territory, that was once densely populated by ethnologists but to a high degree was left behind in favour of more urban phenomena. In the past, as mentioned above, the discipline had a strong interest in national characters and identity. But it also devoted much research energy to the rural past. The sparsely populated countryside with its small and often shrinking communities seems to have slipped out of the ethnological radar of interest in the last few decades. Jeppe Høst investigates historical, cultural and social formations of rural developments in Denmark and Scandinavia in relation to the ethnological discipline. Høst investigates processes in the 1960s and 1970s and how rurality became a problem for planners to solve. This was a period when the trust in modernity, rational planning and urbanity was developed and unbroken. In the 1990s a new rural paradigm was introduced which recharged the debate with discourses of rural development, entrepreneurial ideals, quality of life and innovation. Høst observes how ethnologists have been active in such processes, but also how the rural has, once again, become "a busy field" for ethnologists, a field where we should, according to Høst, cultivate our sensibilities for diversity, the unspoken, ordinary and hidden practices and social ties.

There is obviously much to say about such issues, that is, ethnologists' engagement in different fields, what these do to our discipline and how we affect them through our investigations. Several of the articles in this issue deal, more or less explicitly, with such political or ethical questions. And although in recent years we have developed perspectives on research ethics, politics and applicability, it seems as if these issues, considered as a research field, call for more attention in the future.

Cosmopolitan Imaginaries and Local Realities

The Welfare State Perceived as a Restriction and an Ideal for Swedish Tech-entrepreneurs in Europe and the US

By Lisa Wiklund

In recent years, Sweden has had several major successes in the tech/internet field, with well-known examples such as Spotify and Klarna, as well as numerous small and thriving start-up companies. Sweden had already established itself in this field in the period of the internet boom/bubble in the late 1990s, before the NASDAQ crash in 2000. The second wave of Swedish internet companies in the last few years position themselves in relation to this period, and the 1990s still holds a symbolic status for people within the internet community. The more recent development is to some extent regarded as a sequel to the success in the early years and has further established Sweden's position in the field (Wiklund 2015).

This article is based on material from my ongoing research project on Swedes on the tech/internet scene, living and working in Berlin, New York City, San Francisco and Stockholm. The project centres on national identification in a global context and specifically how the informants through their work and everyday life identify themselves as Swedes and as actors in a cosmopolitan field.

The internet community is known to be, to some extent, characterized by an altruistic and idealistic will to change the world. The largest private foundation in the world, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, is just one example of how money from the tech industry is used for initiatives in, among other things, world health and education. It has been argued that the problems we now need to solve – economic, environmental, religious and political – are global in their scope and "have no hope of being solved unless people once distant come together and cooperate in ways they have not before" (Nussbaum 2010:79). When it comes to connecting the world the internet community is naturally highly relevant, something that was also often pointed out by the informants.

In this article, I would like to explore precisely the tension between the desire to "do good" on a global level, which was an articulated ideal among the informants, and an everyday life that is largely characterized by a privileged socio-economic position and a positive national identification. Another aspect is how a globalized world makes it possible to imagine physical places one has not yet visited as well as experiences from an everyday life where one no longer lives. Imaginaries of Sweden as well as the places the informants have moved to are highlighted in the interviews. How can national identification be understood in this context, how does that relate to a more cosmopolitan identification, and when are the different perspectives highlighted?

Method and Empirical Material

The fieldwork was primarily carried out between 2013 and 2015 and consists of participant observation and qualitative interviews with 23 informants, Swedes born between the 1970s and the 1990s, 17 men and 6 women, based in Berlin, New York City, San Francisco and Stockholm and active on the tech/internet scene. Some of the informants were employed in the industry, but a majority of them were entrepreneurs with their own start-ups, or had a background as entrepreneurs. The gender imbalance in the field is well-known and my selection of informants appears to be somewhat representative of the field, al-

though I can not be sure to what extent. The main criteria for the selection of informants was however limited to: Swedish citizens who worked in the internet/tech field and were based in either Stockholm, Berlin, New York or San Francisco. Some of them were based and/or worked in several of these cities, or moved during my fieldwork.

The selection has in part been made using the snowball method where one informant could point me in the direction of another (cf. Kaijser & Öhlander 1999). The community of Swedes is limited and many of them were connected to each other, even though there was a small resistance among the informants to talk about relations with other Swedes. I recognize this as to some extent a typical trait of a meritocratic global community, where the air of a cosmopolitan or international persona is important for building one's personal brand or image (cf. Wiklund 2013:42, 102).

All of the informants have been given fictitious names and a few minor irrelevant details have been changed to avoid identification. This has not been a request from the informants, several of whom were happy to participate in the study with their own names. Nevertheless, I believe that it is hard to foresee how the study will be used by others, after being published, and that I as a researcher have the ethical responsibility to try to avoid potential consequences for the informants (cf. Alver & Øyen 1998:112; Karlsson Minganti 2007: 36). Since the personal data is not particularly relevant for the study I do not, however, recognize this as a significant dilemma. That being said, it is of course never possible to be completely sure that all of the informants are totally unrecognizable to everyone. The interviews were all carried out in Swedish and have been transcribed by me and translated into English.

As an ethnologist, I do not come from a technical background, nor a business background. In the informants' professional context my perspective is the outsider's. This is however combined with an insider perspective due to the fact that I am from the same generation as the informants and to some extent from the same social background. I knew two of them from the start, and later found out that I had mutual friends with some of the others. In this sense, this community is not that far away from me personally. I live in Stockholm and I have spent time in New York before, not least since I wrote my dissertation about the creative scene in Brooklyn (Wiklund 2013). I have also visited both San Francisco and Berlin, although I was not that familiar with these cites beforehand. This relative insider perspective in relation to the social and geographical contexts has probably helped me enter the field, especially since the informants' work environments were new territory to me. During the fieldwork, I have allowed for the informants to take the lead and I have followed them around, to their work, in their homes and at business- or leisure-related activities. Therefore, the fieldwork sites are not the entire cities as such, but rather the informants' social and geographical settings. That does not mean that they are entirely isolated from other contexts; noticeably demonstrated for example by the social friction they encounter and/or trigger that will be further discussed in the article.

Theoretical Perspectives

The cities where the informants have moved, and Sweden, the homeland that they have left, are physical locations that also are accompanied by mental images and associations. Michel de Certeau's definitions of *place* and *space* can be comprehended through his statement that "space is a practiced place". This suggests that people's everyday use of physical *places* creates *spaces*, which apart from the material manifestation of them also include people's experiences, thoughts and all kinds of stories about the specific place. For example, "San Francisco", as a meaningful space, includes personal associations, primarily related to people's own contexts. For the informants, for example, these associations would to a great extent revolve around ideas and experiences concerning the internet/tech scene in this place. Spaces should thus equally be regarded as physical places *and* as a mental representations of the thoughts the informants have about these places, their practices of the place in the form of experiences, memories, expectations and fantasies. The same applies to "Sweden", a national space where certain things are underscored and others are toned down. Sweden and the cities where the informants have moved are geographic locations, places, but they are also largely surrounded by beliefs, stories and myths. In this way they can be understood as meaningful, connotative spaces (de Certeau 1999).

A spatial perspective where geographical places and mental associations are closely linked is also found in Arjun Appadurai's theory. *The work of the imagination* is, according to Appadurai, an important component for the modern subject. Two things in particular have made the ability to imagine a different life so much more accessible to people: media and migration (Appadurai 1996/2010:3). Appadurai uses a number of different terms with the suffix *-scape* to pinpoint specific global, cultural flows that move across national borders. Two of these -scapes, *ethnoscapes* and *mediascapes*, are particularly relevant in this context. Ethnoscapes refers to all the individuals who move across borders, while mediascapes refer to the technical means to distribute media through a variety of channels, and the images created and presented in these channels. The suffix *-scape* captures the diffuse form of these flows, which means they do not look the same from every angle, but that they can still have a stabilized, subjective perspective. In their stabilized perspective, *-scapes* are building blocks of what Appadurai calls *imagined worlds*. These imagined worlds are thus the variety of different worlds constituted by historically situated ideas of individuals and groups, geographically spread across the globe (Appadurai 1996/2010: 33ff). Appadurai's concept imagined worlds builds on Benedict Anderson's classic concept of *imagined communities* that covers the idea of the nation as an imagined community. Anderson argues that nationalism still possesses deep emotional force, as shown by how "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991:6).

A global, cosmopolitan era needs a somewhat new approach to national belonging, according to Appadurai. With the

concept of ethnoscape he attempts to capture a new sort of interactive group identity, different from the collective, usually geographically fixed belonging. This is consistent with an approach that talks about national identification rather than national identity. The social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen argues that he prefers to use the concept of identification because it shows that identity is a dynamic and changeable process rather than something static and fixed. Identification puts an emphasis on identities as relational and situational instead (Eriksen 1996:52ff).

The concept of national identification is useful to investigate when the informants identify themselves as Swedes and when they do not. It is also useful to explore when a more interactive group identity in Appadurai's sense is relevant, and in relation to this, how different connotative spaces carry meaning for the informants.

A cosmopolitan perspective can here be seen as relevant. A central cosmopolitan thought is that imagined national and ethnic communities do more harm than good. This idea is further developed not least by Benedict Anderson (1991), but was formulated already by the Stoics, and later developed by Immanuel Kant, primarily in his essay *Perpetual Peace* from 1795, where he expresses the desirability of an attitude that is not limited by local conventions, but instead independent and based on intellectual decisions (Nussbaum 1997:31).

The mediated experiences that an intensified flow of information creates, along with the new knowledge that comes with increased travel, gives more people the opportunity to make informed choices. A cosmopolitan perspective does not mean that the nation state is obsolete. In this particular context it is relevant to note how the nation state appears as a construct, which the informants both oppose and identify themselves with.

One recurring objection to cosmopolitanism as a theoretical concept is that the word has connotations of being a concern only for an elite class, something that only affects a jet set of globetrotters. In a way, the informants in this article seem to confirm this image, as they are individuals from a privileged Western background, who today belong to a class with high incomes and all sorts of material advantages. The concept of cosmopolitanism is not however a new invention designed to describe a lifestyle for a privileged minority; it depicts a universal human condition with a very long history. Mankind's history of migration has after all mainly consisted of people that have been forced to move for survival. The term cosmopolitanism has also proven to be exceptionally resistant; although the word's meaning has been partly changed in recent years, it connects the current existence with conditions that have been a part of human history since ancient times (e.g. Appiah 2006: xiiiff). However, a cosmopolitan life can of course look very different depending on conditions based on, for example, class, ethnicity and gender. Cosmopolitan flows therefore also create social friction, which in different ways is highlighted by the empirical material that this article is based on.

Jante – the Ugly Face of the Swedish Welfare State

We were early, we were super early. […] It was in part the broadband penetration, they pushed for that really hard then. It was financed by the state.

> And the home computer package. And above all, Sweden is rich. It's a welfare state, you can afford to buy computers and mobile phones and things like that. It was somehow an incredible asset that one could really... you know, that all of a sudden everyone had a computer at home, it's rather unreal actually. There's no other country that has had it like that. (Fredrik, Berlin 2013)

Three particular factors are commonly identified as especially contributing to the fact that Sweden had a head start when it came to the internet and the web, and they are pointed out by several of the informants as well. The first reason is the Swedish government's substantial and early investment in broadband infrastructure that provided good internet access throughout the nation at a relatively early stage. The second factor is the "home PC reform" (*hem-pc-reformen*) that the Swedish Social Democratic government launched in 1998. The reform gave everyone that was employed in Sweden the chance to borrow a computer to keep at their home with the later possibility to buy it at a favourable price. A third important factor that is pointed out as a reason for Sweden's early entrance on the digital arena is the Swedish welfare system, where one especially important circumstance is possibly the fact that free higher education is provided for everyone.

Regardless of their background, all of the informants spoke of Sweden as a good society to grow up in. One thing that was almost always mentioned was different aspects of Swedish equality, and in this context the Swedish welfare system was pointed out as especially valuable.

Most of the informants, although not all, came from rather economically solid Swedish middle-class homes. Even so, many of them pointed to specific benefits that they had experienced first-hand, for example the fact that they had been helped by the computer given to their parents by the "home PC reform". Fredrik, now based in San Francisco, remembers:

> My mother told me: "We're gonna get some home computer" and I immediately went like "Give me the paper, I'll choose". And then I picked the best one and put it in my room. My mother got it through *Lärarhögskolan* [the Institute of Education] when she worked there. […] We would never have been able to afford a computer like that, I mean, it was awesome. I don't think my parents would have bought me a computer like that if we hadn't gotten it cheaper. It made a huge difference. (Fredrik, Berlin 2013)

Being able to keep a computer in one's room from an early age should naturally be considered an advantage. A couple of the informants, however, came from more challenging backgrounds. They had even more important experiences that made them approve of the Swedish system. One of them was Paola, born in 1990. When I first met her in 2013 she was promoting a successful start-up in Stockholm. Two and half years later, she was listed as Sweden's most successful young talent in a prestigious business magazine and had moved to New York to continue her work for the same company. She was brought up in a medium-sized town in the south of Sweden by her two parents who moved there from Chile:

> We only talked Spanish at home, we have lived in the suburbs, we have, you know... been on welfare. I interpreted for my mother at the social authorities, but at the same time... My dad put me in a school in a better area, because I never liked it in the suburbs. It really was sort of a ghetto area and I did not like it at all. So I was put in another school and then I started socializing of course with lots of... more middle-class, *Svensson* types [Regular Joes] or what one should call them. And

then of course I thought like "this is how things are". It became my reality. And then I came home and it was not my family's reality. I was like "Now we're gonna go to a confirmation camp and I need this amount of money" and my parents were just like "Where on earth would we get that kind of money from?", you know. There have been many cultural clashes like that, when I have been completely oblivious to my parents' situation. As a child, you are so naive you just think "but the others can do that", you know. So now, as an adult, I sometimes think "*God*, what a nice family I have" for putting up with me like this, when I just demanded lots of stuff. And they just kind of always did their best to try to make ends meet and make sure I could be a part of the society that I wanted to be a part of. (Paola, Stockholm 2013)

To Paola, Sweden is "anti-hierarchical" and gives anyone a fair chance to do what they want if they work hard. This, combined with her parents' hard efforts and sacrifices, has in her opinion given her the opportunity to be where she is today. She has lots of Swedish friends with immigrant parents that are equally successful, she says, something she thinks has to do with a wish to "prove" something. She thinks that individual drive is the most important factor behind her achievements, although she also believes that it has been made possible in Sweden because she thinks it is a nation that is "extremely open".

An accentuating of the importance of the Swedish equality, social security and a solid welfare state is a reoccurring theme in the interviews, however an experienced Swedish "anti-entrepreneurial spirit" is almost always mentioned in the same context. The social security doesn't come without an inevitable expense, it seems. The downside of it is that it has fostered a national mentality where people are scared of taking risks. Although it can seem a bit paradoxical, this connection is clear, according to many of the informants:

I don't think we're so risk-taking [...] We're security-loving people, a little bit. I mean it's welfare and it's social democracy and all of that. It's still like that, it's still strong in us (Fredrik, Berlin, 2013)

It was common among the informants to speak of the Swedish welfare system as the origin of a collective atmosphere in the Swedish society, where it is frowned upon to stand out. This tendency, according to the informants, makes Sweden a bad place for entrepreneurs. The so-called "Law of Jante" was mentioned in almost all of the interviews. The expression, coined by the Danish/Norwegian writer Aksel Sandemose in the novel *A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks* (1933/1936), stands for a law which sees individual success as inappropriate. The "Law of Jante" is considered to be specific for the Scandinavian countries and based on a social pattern of collectivism and group behaviour. Felix, also a Berlin-based entrepreneur, clarifies how he has experienced this:

It's so trite to talk about *Jante*, but it's very seldom, I think not even a single time, that I've been praised or told "hell, of course you do should do this, of course you should take that risk" I have never heard that in my entire life […] I like Sweden. But the mentality is wrong. At the most, one can gain recognition if one really succeeds. You rarely get encouragement along the way. (Felix, Berlin, 2013)

Even though the informants don't identify themselves with the Law of Jante they still feel that they are affected by it, and that it is something that can hinder them professionally:

> Jante is no good. I think. That's just super bad, basically […] It's just like we're far too modest […] like this built-in feeling that it's bad to bang your own drum. That makes it hard for us to stand up for ourselves when we come to places like the US. Where they are all experts at banging their own drum. […] We're just not wild enough. (Fredrik, Berlin 2013)

But it is not regarded as a static inherited national trait; it's rather an attitude that is possible to change. Jenny, an entrepreneur still living in Stockholm, tells me:

> I can at least feel like I wish I was a bit more tough and daring […] because it is something that you're really not as a Swede, you're a bit cautious, a little bit *mellanmjölk* [Swedish milk product which is not fat, nor skimmed, but just in between]. And that's not so good when you have a company, because it should be all or nothing, all the time. But it's something we work on constantly, to try to toughen up a bit. (Jenny, Stockholm 2013)

Jenny explains her own characteristics, and how she acts with being Swedish. But she also believes that it would probably be easier to behave differently in another geographical setting. This is a common idea, also among the entrepreneurs that have already left Sweden. When Fredrik says it's difficult for a Swede to go to the US where "they are all experts at banging their own drum", he also expresses how places are laden with special practices and conventions. Fredrik, Felix and Jenny all think it is possible to identify with something different from the Swedish norms, although it may take some work, and you might have to go somewhere else to learn this behaviour. In this way, the Swedish modesty or *Jante* is not a fixed national identity, but rather close to Eriksen's definition, an identification that is dynamic and where personal loyalties are changeable. The national identity is just one out of many possibilities (Eriksen 1996:53). What is more obvious in the informants' stories is how certain *spaces*, in de Certeau's sense of the word, seem to make certain identities possible. While Sweden is characterized by modesty and being risk-averse, the US, for example, is associated with entrepreneurial bravery and the ability to be "wild". Although the informants sincerely related to the Swedish ideal of a well-functioning welfare state, the social consequences of it were still something they would rather choose not to identify with. Even though this characteristic was partly regarded as "still strong" in them, it could be toned down by going somewhere else.

Escaping Sweden

Sweden was portrayed by most of the entrepreneurs as a good place to start, but not a good place to stay. Stockholm and Sweden were often described as predictable and uninspiring. One Berlin-based entrepreneur explained why he moved there:

> Berlin is a bigger city that has more to offer, it is more volatile and strange and distorted in some way. I find that very inspiring, that it is constantly on the move. It is very far from my previous life in *Södermalm* [part of central Stockholm] where a new deli opens every two years. That's nice, I guess, but you're rarely surprised. (Hans, Berlin 2013)

Hans's description of how predictable and stagnant Stockholm is compared to Berlin is another example of how a supposed mentality is very much connected by the informants to a specific geographical place. Stockholm as a *space* is thus associated with boredom and lack of creativity. The same tendency is clear in the interview with Martin:

There are some things that are great in Stockholm. The reasons that we're not there are both personal reasons and business reasons, but I think they go hand in hand pretty well. It is these kind of simple things like that it's quite regulated in terms of how people somehow are allowed to behave. From strict laws regulating when clubs should close, which generates a strange drinking culture during weekends as well as violence and all sorts of inhumanity [*laughs*] ... to the type of companies that are built there, that has a very clear e-commerce angle, business from day one. So sometimes it feels a bit like Stockholm is extremely effective at solving certain types of problems, and the branding is great – and that's how you launch boring ideas. But that's not necessarily something that makes the world a little better. (Martin, Berlin 2013)

The articulated goal to "[make] the world a little better" or to "make a change" or the like, was common in the interviews and, as mentioned before, can be seen as a common ideal for the internet/tech scene as a whole. For this entrepreneur, as for most of the informants, it was a goal regarded as more likely to be achieved outside Sweden. The ultimate ambition for almost all of the informants was to go to the US, and more specifically to San Francisco. "To be in San Francisco is like being *inside* of the internet", the Berlin-based entrepreneur Hans tells me. The interview was conducted in 2013 and since then his start-up has run out of money and he has moved back home to Sweden. None of the six entrepreneurs I met in Berlin still have their start-ups three years later. One of them, Fredrik, has moved to San Francisco where he and his team started working for a big international tech company, through an "acquisition hire". While Berlin's start-up scene had a hype for being "cool" but not that serious, New York was defined as San Francisco's "little brother" and Stockholm was, as mentioned earlier, described by most as a difficult place to grow. All of the informants in some way or another related to San Francisco. Described by one of them as a place that "lives and breathes entrepreneurship" and understood by most of them as the place from which it was actually possible to "change the world", San Francisco and the Bay area had dreamlike and almost magical connotations. But San Francisco is also an actual geographical place where most of the informants conclude that one has to go at some point, if one wishes to be in the game. Even in a networked world, geography matters, San Francisco–based entrepreneur Axel has been made aware:

It's like one big ecosystem and you have to figure out who the hell to talk to. Like, who is really calling the shots? It's all very much a network. So then you have to go there [San Francisco] and meet them, and try to figure it out. Then it's all about frequency, to keep at it. This thing of being nine time zones away, that's not working. They will hardly feel like calling and waiting for you to get up in the morning. (Axel, San Francisco 2014)

San Francisco can be said to have been made into a space in de Certeau's sense of the word in part before the informants even went there. The concept of the *power of the imagination* is one in which Appadurai wanted to find a new way to describe the experience of locality, which is necessary for ethnographic research in a globalized world, research which he has termed as a macro-ethnography or a cosmopolitan ethnography (2010:52). The power of imagination is defined by Appadurai as an opportunity for people to reflect on alternatives to their current lives through their beliefs and fantasies. More people in more parts of the world are con-

sidering a wider range of possible lives than ever before. As mentioned initially, Appadurai identifies the main reasons for this change as two: media and migration. This thus includes not only the many images and stories of possible lives presented, for example in magazines and on television, on the internet, in movies and in music, but also the social interactions of people who are now given the opportunity to stay in contact with friends and family members who have left home to settle in places that were previously considered to be distant worlds. As a result the ability to imagine a different life now is a social practice which in many ways affects the life of people in diverse societies (Appadurai 1996/2010:53f). Although not yet for just everyone, for many more people than ever before, there are good opportunities to fully or partially realize these imagined lives. Imagination thus becomes more than just a fantasy, it's also something that, at least in the long run, can lead to rebellion and subversion of social orders (ibid.:53f).

The meeting with the actual place, though, is not always as expected. San Francisco as a space in the sense of a "practiced place", was for example altered for many of the informants once they moved there, as I will now develop further.

The Swedish Privilege and the Underprivileged

> When we were about to start talking to our investors in the beginning, we had a lot of help just by being Swedes actually, it was like almost as if we were getting meetings just because we were Swedes, kind of. Which was awesome, everyone wants to meet Swedish entrepreneurs, it was like "ok cool, it's high status". So that's good. And I mean, looking closely at it too, I think Sweden is a country that is… if you look at how big it is, compared to how many good companies that have been launched in the technology sector over the past ten years, then it's pretty... amazing. (Martin, Berlin 2013)

Several of the informants said that they had good help from being Swedish, that being Swedish ensured that they had a good reputation on the global market and that, at least in the beginning, it made it easier to get in contact with investors. In 2014 I met Johan in New York; he was born in the second half of the 1980s and is the founder and CEO of his own internet-based start-up. At the time of the interview, his company had recently raised about 10 million dollars from American, British, German and Swedish investors. His clothing when we met was noteworthy. Apparently he took the advantages of branding himself as a Swede so seriously that he had decided to walk around every day dressed from head to toe in blue and yellow, the colours of the Swedish flag – as well as the colours in his company's logotype. With a background in PR he was aware that "publicity helps", he told me. Even though it might be an extreme example to dress like the national flag, many of the entrepreneurs had observed that it was not just the accomplishments in the tech sector that they were associated with, but also other things that could be linked to Sweden. For example, the imagined Swedish personality as a "no bullshitter" with "hard work ethic" was recognized, as well as a supposed similarity to companies like IKEA and H&M that "have it in their DNA to do something a little different, a little smarter", another New York–based entrepreneur, Petter, explained.

However, there was not always a hospitable welcoming of the tech community in the cities that the informants moved to. During the fieldwork, I made my informants choose where to meet to do the initial interviews with them. They picked sophisticated wine bars, quirky, just rough enough cafés and trendy member clubs like Soho House – places that looked the same in all the cities I visited; cosmopolitan spaces that clearly distinguished the informants, as a part of a cosmopolitan scene, from the other local citizens. When I met Fredrik at Soho House in Berlin, he proudly made me aware that a famous Swedish business profile was having pizza next to us. During my fieldwork there in 2013, I found one morning that someone had spray-painted the German word "Intoleranz" in big letters over the windows of the café St Oberholz on Rosenthaler Platz, a similar hang out for the cosmopolitan crowd, which was usually packed with people working on their laptops and frequently used for tech meet-ups and mingles. The windows were cleaned shortly afterwards, but the sight was a visual testimony of the common disapproving opinions of the hip tech scene that Fredrik had already told me about when I interviewed him:

> Things like "hipsters raus" or "yuppies raus", if you walk around town you can see stuff like that scribbled here and there. Especially maybe in Kreuzberg and places like that. Well... it is what it is, I guess. (Fredrik, Berlin 2013)

The conflict is economic to a large extent and the debate about gentrification has been going on in Berlin for many years. Hans had moved to Neukölln because he liked it better than Kreuzberg and the central parts of Berlin. He expressed concern that Neukölln's new status as an attractive neighbourhood for the young artist and tech scene might cause rents to go up, just as they had done in Kreuzberg, which he thought would be bad for the people he identified as the original inhabitants of Neukölln, the Turkish community in the area. There was an awareness of the negative aspects of being a secluded international community; at the same time most of the informants in Berlin had for example not learned to speak German very well. When I asked Martin about it he told me that he could speak "Taxi-German". When asked what that was, he explained:

> You know, to understand where they come from and to hear their stories and maybe be able to answer something. But I'm better at the words that make a conversation from their side continue than I am at telling them anything about myself [*laughs*]. You could definitely say that.

Martin's belief that it is possible to listen to the taxi drivers' stories about "where they come from" shows that they too are presumed to be cosmopolitans, although working under different conditions than the international tech community, clearly demonstrated by the fact that it has been required for them to actually learn how to speak German. In San Francisco, the gap between tech scene and the other citizens was perhaps even more evident. The city has serious problems with drug abuse and homelessness, aside from big income differences and steeply increased rents, which makes the citizens' different social and economic situations all too visible in the streets of central San Francisco. Representatives of the tech community have sometimes demonstrated an arrogant attitude. In 2016, for example, the tech entrepreneur and start-up founder Justin Keller

wrote an open letter to San Francisco's mayor and police chief where he stated that "Every day, on my way to, and from work, I see people sprawled across the sidewalk, tent cities, human faeces, and the faces of addiction. The city is becoming a shanty town… Worst of all, it is unsafe." He also wrote that "The wealthy working people have earned their right to live in the city. They went out, got an education, worked hard, and earned it. I shouldn't have to worry about being accosted. I shouldn't have to see the pain, struggle, and despair of homeless people to and from my way to work every day." After being criticized, he later apologized for using the term "riff-raff" to describe the homeless, but other than that he did not back down, even though many people from the tech community as well as other San Francisco citizens said that they were very offended by the open letter posted on his blog. The conflict between the tech scene and the regular citizens has also culminated in several demonstrations, such as activists throwing stones at the buses that Google use to transport their San Francisco–based employees to their headquarters in Silicon Valley. The conflict started in 2013 with an annoyance about the fact that Google, without paying for it, used the city's bus stops for their luxurious buses, free to use for their employees. Axel told me he could understand the resentment, since the local citizens still had to pay for their transportation, in not nearly as nice buses. He also believed that the changes in the housing market had become a big issue:

> So, everyone moves here and housing gets really expensive and landlords are behaving like assholes and are trying to find reasons to kick people out and let a new engineer from Sweden, that just moved here, move in and pay three times as much. Things like that create friction. So from the city's perspective it is very double. I mean, this is what creates money for the city, and jobs, but at the same time it is very unequal. (Axel, San Francisco 2014)

Appadurai uses the word *translocalities* to describe places characterized by people from different national origins that flow through them rather than staying there for a longer period of time. The challenge to build local communities in these places is the inherent instability in the social relations (Appadurai 1996/2010:192). When economic differences are added to this instability, creating social relationships between the citizens is even more challenging and conflict is sometimes hard to avoid. Being the "new engineer from Sweden" who drives someone away from their home is naturally not so consistent with the urge to make the world a better place. The image of San Francisco as a place to change the world is thus challenged by the harsh realities on the streets and class differences between the informants and other citizens:

> Our previous office was in Tenderloin [...] It's *really* rough. It's a humbling experience to walk through these areas. I haven't seen people who have smoked crack before, and then they sit and smoke outside our office door, really. Or people sitting there with needles and stuff like that. I know that it exists in Stockholm as well, but you don't see it. At least I have not experienced it in this way before. It's hard to do something that you know works. I give money to them sometimes, but it also feels like a very small thing to do. It's hard not to get cynical about it, since the whole situation is extremely hopeless. I feel that there must be some huge structural change if anything ever is going to be different. But it might be too cynical to see it like that, one might have to see it on a

more individual basis, and then maybe the best thing to do is to give some money every now and then, but more than that... I have not engaged in anything else myself, I really haven't. (Axel, San Francisco 2014)

For those living in San Francisco the gap between the tech community and other citizens is hard to avoid, and they often talk about their scene as "a bubble". This is contrasted by many with how things are in Sweden, and Sweden is seen by the informants as much more diverse and heterogeneous than San Francisco:

It's very... culturally, very diverse, socio-economically, *extremely* homogeneous [in San Francisco]. I mean you meet everyone, you meet Chinese people and Indian people, but they are all the same [*laughs*]. Socio-economically, just identical! Technically born in another country, but they also went to Brown, dadada, the same schools and all of that […]. It's less dynamic in a city that is segregated. It's more fun when... I lived in Malmö for seven years, that's a city that has many other issues that cause problems, but it's still very dynamic. Shit's going, on and it's not nearly as homogeneous. (Axel, San Francisco 2014)

Sweden, to many of the informants that moved to San Francisco, became a symbol of diversity. Malmö, in this example, is seen as a dynamic melting pot, not nearly as segregated and static as San Francisco. Sweden's social problems are to some extent toned down by the informants and the dream about the welfare state become even more accentuated.

Arash, whom I met in San Francisco, is a tech entrepreneur with a PhD in engineering from a prestigious Swedish university. Like Paola, he experienced a poor childhood in Sweden. The family moved to Sweden when Arash was six years old, during the Iran–Iraq war, and Arash and his siblings were raised by their mother on the outskirts of Stockholm. For several years, until his mother could find a job, the family was on welfare. He emphasizes how he could not have been where he is today without the Swedish welfare system that he believes gives everyone an opportunity. He stresses that he thinks it is very important that this part of his story is told. He sees the differences and his relative privileges much more clearly since he moved to the US, he argues. A lot of the San Francisco–based entrepreneurs also discuss the taxes, which they believe are too high in relation to what they get back, in contrast to Sweden, where their experience is that you get a lot. Since support from the state seems to be missing, the Swedish tech company that Mikael works for have taken initiatives of their own, for example to help the young people in the central but deprived neighbourhood where their office is located:

We do, after all, what we can. We try to make this a better area for everyone. Right now there's a lot of open drug dealing and stuff. It's not very nice at all. It's a big difference from Sweden and it's like... It took me a while, but then it became kind of normal. But I am sad to see how many vulnerable people there are. I see it still. I think that was the reason that another colleague moved back to Sweden, he was like: "This society is broken." And I think about it still but ... not as much as before. The fact that this society does not take responsibility for people in need has nothing to do with tech, however. (Mikael, San Francisco 2014)

There is a clear tendency in the interviews that instead of seeing themselves as a part of the problem, the informants are very much inclined to see themselves as part of the solution. And one way of resolving things seems to be to try to import the sought-after Swedish values and ideals. An apparent example of how this is done

is how Axel talks about his company that makes play apps for children:

> We do products that have a very Swedish way of looking at kids. [...] Childhood in Sweden and here... if you really polarize it, it's the Bullerby children and Pippi Longstocking [famous Swedish children's books characters by author Astrid Lindgren that are known for their independence in relation to adults] compared to being totally subordinate to your parents, like kids are here, which means like preschool-prep, you know evening classes, almost, for children [*laughs*] so they can be really good in kindergarten! That comes from this anxiety in American society, that if you miss the boat, then there is a risk that you will never get a second chance. While in Sweden, I think it's more like this: there is a system, there is a safety net. Worst case is not that fucking bad. Should it really go to hell, there's so many things that must go wrong, it feels like, in Sweden. I don't think it's always true in all situations, but that's the feeling anyway. While here, it takes almost nothing. I've probably never been so close to super wealth and super poverty as I am here in some way, because everything can change so very, very quickly. You can be sued for a hundred million and then it's game over. There *is* nothing here! And that fear drives the way in which so many parents look at their children. And in this way, we have a very Scandinavian or Swedish approach to making products that are not aimed at anything other than that it's a game, and that playing has value in itself, there is nothing that teaches you how to count, and there is nothing that teaches you how to read and so on, but it has a value in its own right. And that's difficult for many people here. Almost all American parents that I meet… when I say that I make apps for kids they say "Oh great, educational apps?" And then I go like "No, not really, it's not educational". […] And that discussion will of course enter into the job when we come from a Scandinavian background where we have a different outlook on it. (Axel, San Francisco 2014)

The view of childhood is connected here to the Swedish welfare model, where parents do not have to worry so much about their children's future and therefore can give them a better and more anxiety free upbringing.

The anti-hierarchal relationship is not only apparent between grown-ups and children, but also in the work space, where a flat hierarchy is seen as a Swedish model that several of the entrepreneurs have incorporated into their own companies. This makes the atmosphere kind and creative according to Erik, who works for Spotify:

> When you say Swedish company, one could think of Ericsson and Scania and boring offices with old men named Gunnar and Lennart walking around in clogs. But it doesn't feel like that at all here. If you look at the other stuff that feel Swedish in some sense, it's more like being a workplace where it is not accepted to behave like an idiot, you should be fair and treat people nicely. These things are maybe not really Swedish, but they are things that *I* associate very much with being Swedish and being a Swedish company. Things should be fair, things should be good, ethical, you should share equally. I think that there is a gut feeling, that you should do things the right way, that you should avoid being a jerk. (Erik, New York 2013)

Erik showed me around the office and it was obvious that he was proud of it. The atmosphere was youthful and highly energetic, clearly not a place where you walk around in clogs, rather sneakers from various limited editions. The Swedish language was heard several times and apparently the Swedish values were also in the building. Nevertheless, Erik talked about going back home to Sweden to work for the local office there when he would be about to start a family, because of the generous parental leave in Sweden. For him, it was important to spend time with his future children. However, after this interview, in 2015, Spotify announced that they would give all of their

employees worldwide a fully paid parental leave of up to six months, a very generous offer in the US that attracted much attention. Parental leave was foreseen as a strong Swedish feature by Erik already in 2013:

> Among young conscious men and women, there's like this whole discussion about parental leave that has really made an impression, I mean really. It's the kind of thing that people are talking about quite a lot. (Erik, New York 2013)

Conclusions

Although the informants had good experiences of the Swedish welfare state and regarded it as an important factor for Swedish success in the internet/tech field, they also saw it as problematic since it was understood as the foundation for a national collective ideal, where the "Law of Jante" played an important role, and it was seen as a bad thing to stand out or take risks. This made the homeland a bad place for entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, most of them believed. The informants to some extent identified with *Jante*, but not in a static way. They identified the Swedish national context as the problem and this was one of the reasons that they wanted to go abroad. In this way, Sweden as a geographical place was made into a space in de Certeau's sense of the word, by being filled with associations that were tightly knit to the physical place. National characteristics are to some extent also seen as elements connected to these spaces rather than inherent in individuals.

As stated in the beginning, a cosmopolitan perspective does not mean that the nation state is obsolete, quite the opposite. For the informants, the nation has the symbolic power of an imagined community that in some situations to a greater degree is a community in which they are involved, and in some situations is a community that they want to exclude themselves from. This attitude can be described as a drive for them to find an alternative affiliation, different from that of the majority society and intellectually motivated, in their case the scene where they found the internet/tech community, consisting of individuals from many parts of the world, with similar values and skills. This order exemplifies the cosmopolitan idea that people's rational choices in life are far more relevant than their origin and that it is possible to find an alternative community apart from the local (national) one (see Nussbaum 1997:32ff).

The informants identified with the cosmopolitan tech community and with their chosen loyalties rather than with other Swedes (Appadurai 1996/2010). Most of them saw it as crucial for their businesses to leave Sweden. The ultimate goal was to move to San Francisco, which was to a great extent made into a space, in de Certeau's sense of the word, that manifested the possibility to "change the world" and to work on improving things in general. San Francisco was a dream world for the informants and was constructed by them as a symbol of a city full of possibilities. The city and Silicon Valley has for several decades been mediated as tech/internet's capital of the world. Appadurai's concept *the power of imagination* has been at work in so far as these images have been highly relevant for the informants' decision to move. The internet and the global flow of information was seen as a key to success, but the geographical context was not irrelevant. It was crucial to actually be in

San Francisco as well, and to be a part of the local network there.

The glamorous mediated images to some extent were a disappointment however, when the everyday life did not live up to the high expectations. Especially for the informants that made it to San Francisco the reality did not always match the imagination. This was in part also true for Berlin, where the informants were not welcomed in the city by everyone, but in San Francisco, an urban environment with large and significant income differences and social problems, the conflict was more obvious. The ambition to "do good" was clouded by the fact that there were numerous protests against the tech community, as they were seen as responsible for the gentrification and social conflicts in the city. The informants mostly met this with the opinion that the problems were structural and should be solved by the state. Underlying this attitude was an increasing feeling that the Swedish welfare state was a better solution and a clear identification with what was regarded as Swedish core values could be noted. It was thus apparent that the critique against the tech scene to some extent led to an increased national identification, instead of a class-based cosmopolitan identification. This to some degree made it possible to maintain the tech scene's self-identity of being the "good guys", rather than being exploiters. The informants all had a very positive approach to the incorporation of what they regarded as "Swedish values" in the companies. These values concerned, for example, policies on child upbringing, parental leave and a more imprecise sense of an overall equality and fairness. When the informants watched Sweden from a distance, good sides might have been exaggerated and social problems toned down, in the same manner that San Francisco was idealized before they got there. This manner of cherry picking national characteristics can be associated with the idea of national identification rather than identity (Eriksen 1996). It is possible to see the informants' incorporations of "Swedish" values in their companies as a concrete example of how cosmopolitan inspirations are put to practice in a networked society (Nussbaum 1997). The tendency among the informants to claim certain values, for example equality, as being specifically Swedish, must probably be considered patriotic and the dream of the Welfare State as beneficial to all citizens is obviously corrupted when its advantages are in fact not made accessible to all, but rather to the specific economic class that work for these companies. Nevertheless, the interpretation and small-scale practical incorporation of these values can at the same time be regarded as a contemporary and perhaps significant example of cosmopolitan influence.

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Sweden and Swedishness from Migrants Afar

By Ida Tolgensbakk and Annie Woube

Migration as a recurrent and processual practice connects experiences from life in the country of origin with new experiences in the country of residence. Even though the significance and understanding of the former is transformed through a temporal and spatial distance caused by migration, the cultural specificities of the country of origin often remain to frame the everyday life of the migrant in the country of residence (Woube 2014:135). This article explores some specific notions and ideals of the nation and national identity that have appeared as central in Swedish migration to Norway and Spain respectively (Woube 2014; Tolgensbakk 2015). In addition, we explore how such notions and practices have an impact on the position as migrant in a foreign country. Being a Swedish-born migrant abroad will often activate conventionally learned notions of Sweden as well as bring forth new ideas of what is associated with being Swedish.

In the article, we study comparative notions of Swedishness and Sweden that appear in narratives and everyday practices of two groups of Swedish citizens abroad. Comparative notions will highlight how constructions of Sweden and Swedishness is depending on a variety of different factors, such as social, cultural, and historical relations in-between country of origin and country of residence, the position of nation-states in a global hierarchical order of power among other nation-states, as well as local circumstances that the migrant face on location. All aspects of these constructions cannot be covered in a short co-written article, but we focus on three main themes that touch upon some facets. The migrant groups are of the same origin but with different destinations and reasons of migration. Some notions of Sweden are internationally valid, and hence shape both groups in the encounter with the majority population of Spain and Norway. Other factors are specific to the groups. Our research question for this article has been: what does Sweden and Swedishness mean to two quite different migrant groups from Sweden – one consisting of young labour migrants leaving for Norway, the other of leisure and lifestyle-oriented migrants of all ages settling in Spain?

The narratives and everyday practices manifesting the nation and expressing national features work as analytical focus, and have framed the analysis. The nation and the national traits that have emerged as central to the migrant groups, refer to both a cultural historical past and present day. Its significance for individual migrants is viewed as ever changing and changeable, as constructions of nation and the national situated relationally, spatially, temporally, and contextually. The nation and the national appear in transnational social spaces that is being generated in-between country of residence and country of origin (Faist 2014). A transnational social space is constructed by processes of exchange through communication and travel, as well as transportation of goods. Both groups in our studies live under such circumstances, constantly changing between two (or more) frames of reference. Transnationality shapes social networks in-between the countries in question, but also involves movement of immaterial news, notions, and anecdotes, besides material things, goods or foods (Povrzanović Frykman & Humbracht

2013). This often results in a plural frame of reference that is relatively and situationally enacted in relation to 1) the country of origin, 2) the country of residence, and 3) the own migrant group. The plural frame of reference have an impact on the positions, experiences and everyday life of living transnationally (Pries 2001:23).

Swedish Migrants in Norway and Spain

Swedish citizens are scattered in many corners of the world – as tourists, as seasonal or temporal workers and as more or less permanently settled. A report from 2012 claims that every twentieth Swede is settled abroad (Westling 2012:1). How a person is registered as "emigrated" or "settled" varies across cultures and statistical regimes, and numbers on temporal migrants are difficult to obtain. It does, however, seem certain that Norway is one of the most popular countries that Swedish citizens choose for residency and for work (see for instance Vernersdotter and Solevid 2014:3). This is a fairly new development. The migrant flow between the two countries has throughout at least the second half of the 20th century mostly gone from Norway to Sweden. Changing this scenario in the last decade, Swedish migrants have become Norway's second largest minority group. Young Swedes have flocked to their neighbouring country to find jobs that in this period have become scarce in their home country (Statistiska centralbyrån 2014).

Another country of interest for Swedish citizens is Spain. According to the organization *Svenskar i Världen* (Swedes in the world), Spain has attracted over 90 000 Swedish nationals (Hedlund 2011:42). Spain has a longer tradition of Swedish influx than Norway. Ever since the 1960s the country has figured as one of the most popular destinations for Swedish tourism. Extensive second home ownership and also permanent migration by Swedish citizens to the coastal areas of Costa Brava, Costa Blanca and Costa del Sol, in addition to the capital Madrid, have featured in the wake of tourism.

Swedes in Norway and Swedes in Spain are two separate groups that can be distinguished from many other migrant groups by their voluntary and privileged permanent residency in a chosen country, but also by their frequent irregular and recurrent travels in-between the countries of origin and destination (Woube 2014; Tolgensbakk 2015). What separates the two groups is above all the motives for migration, in addition to age. Swedes in Norway are to a large extent young adults, looking for work – but this is just part of the story. As the current migration 'wave' has lasted for 15 years, ever more Swedes in Norway are settled and have entered adulthood. Migration to Spain, on the other hand, involves Swedes of all ages in the quest for an increased quality of life through migration to a tourist destination – contrary to popular belief, it is not only pensioners that migrate to Spain. Both researched migrant groups are similar in their settlement in their new country. Their permanence is, however, questionable as the transient and flexible nature of this type of migration is a prominent aspect of voluntary migration from the industrialized part of the world (O'Reilly 2003, 2007; Åkerlund 2013). Migration research has shown that return migration, or relocation to a third country, might occur as the migrant face

new stages of the life course (Eimermann 2014). This is relevant for the two Swedish migrant groups in Norway and in Spain, as well. They are also similar, at least in theory, in their ability to return to Sweden at any time. Being mobile and being able to move freely across national borders are valued conditions of globalization that measure privilege and exclusiveness through stratification of nation states (Bauman 1998:86; Skeggs 2004: 47−52; Weiss 2005; see also Bauman 2000, 2005). Some migrants move more freely in Europe (and in the world) than others, and Swedish citizens will through their Swedish citizenship find their travels and migrations to be almost without formal or legal restrictions. In the cases of Swedes in Norway and Swedes in Spain, both migrant groups are framed by Sweden's advanced position on a global hierarchical scale of power. The local implications of this will be discussed further on. In addition, there is in these cases a lateral relation in-between sending and receiving countries, as all countries are part of western industrialized Europe. These conditions have an effect on how the nation and the national is understood and expressed by Swedish citizens living in both Norway and Spain, often portraying themselves, as Swedish nationals, to be seen in a favourable light by locals in their new country of residence (Woube 2014:91f; see also Lundström 2014). Most notably, even after having lived years as permanent residents in their new home countries, many of the migrants in our case studies still hesitate when being referred to as *a migrant*. To a certain extent, the groups we have studied are not even put in such a category by public opinion in their host societies. To quote one Oslo Swede: "It is very seldom that you feel like an immigrant" – that is, the migrants do not feel that they are treated like immigrants or think of themselves as immigrants. This is in itself another indication of privilege – the privilege of not labelling oneself a migrant.

Methodology[1]

The research on Swedish citizens in Spain was conducted by Woube and is based on ethnographical fieldwork in the coastal town Fuengirola on the Costa del Sol, Spain, during five months, with shorter recurring visits to follow. The fieldwork was conducted within the Swedish infrastructure of organizations, institutions and private enterprises that direct their services and goods to the Swedish migrant group in the Swedish language. Longer in-depth interviews of about two hours with Swedish citizens[2] of Swedish ethnicity, seven women and five men, in the ages 21−85 also took place during four occasions (see Linderson 2010). The interviewees are permanent and registered residents on the Costa del Sol since many years. Many have lived up to 30 years along the southern Spanish coast. Hence, all of them claimed their transnational stance of more importance than their Swedish national identity (Woube 2014). At the time of the interviews, they had no intention of returning to Sweden. They are part of a migration phenomenon conceptualized as *lifestyle migration* (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014; Benson and O'Reilly 2009a, 2009b). Lifestyle migration often take place from the north to the south in the different continents of the world in the quest for an increased quality

of life and a different, improved lifestyle often on locations associated with tourism and recreation. In this specific case, the prime incentives to migrate to the Costa del Sol are the mild climate, a more relaxed everyday life, a different and interesting culture, the international or multicultural coastal population or personal reasons, such as being able to live with a Spanish partner.

The Oslo case study was conducted by Tolgensbakk with similar aims and comparable methodology. The project invited young Swedish labour migrants to volunteer for interviews, leaving the interpretation of the concepts "young", "Swedish" and "labour migrant" to the participants themselves. This resulted in 21 life and migration story interviews with informants aged 19 to 39 (all arriving in Oslo before the age of 25). Some had only Swedish family, others had family links to Somalia, Korea, Denmark and Norway, but all had Swedish citizenship and considered themselves mostly Swedish. They had come to Oslo to reunite with family that worked there, to do seasonal work, to settle, or to study. The back story for all of them was nonetheless an extremely difficult Swedish labour market, with particularly high youth unemployment rates – although this fact was often downplayed by the interviewees. Lifestyle migration is probably not the right categorization of any of these styles of migration, as the primary goal in most cases is escaping meagre opportunities in the home labour market rather than changing one's style of life. Still, it cannot be denied that the end result of the migration to Oslo often has been a definite change in lifestyle, habits and attitudes to the world. The Oslo Swedes themselves stressed time and again that they wanted to migrate to be able to grow as humans, to see the world, and to change their lives. There is also to some degree an overlap with the Spanish group in that most of the Oslo Swedes have used their increased wages and the savings they have been able to raise in Norway to travel. Work and leisure in Spain, exotic travels to South-East Asia, ski-bumming in Canada and long holidays on working visas in Australia are made possible through hard work in Oslo.

As an analytical method we have compared our two cases by studying similarities and differences in how our informants view and regard Sweden and constructions of Swedishness. The primary data of the two projects are not identical, but similar enough to justify comparison on equal terms. The relationship to Sweden and ideas of Swedishness was an important part of the interviews in both studies, and analysing these aggregated results together, we have been able to see both our finished projects with fresh eyes. Starting with intuitive discussions of our main result, we have returned to our primary data to test hypotheses of similarity and difference in the Swedes' stories of their lives abroad.

In the following sections, we will discuss our two cases as seen through three important ideas of Sweden and of Swedishness that have emerged in the material as significant constructions: Sweden as modern, the stereotyped Swedish woman, and rural Sweden.

Modern Sweden

A prominent notion in the narratives of the migrants in both Norway and Spain is the

discourse of Sweden being a modern and advanced country in an internationally superior power position. The majority of the Swedes are proud to be of Swedish nationality. In the international and multicultural environment of the Costa del Sol, Spain, Swedish nationality and citizenship are viewed as a resource by the Swedish migrants in reference and contrast to migrants of other nationalities also residing along the coast. Present day Costa del Sol hosts migrants of all categories, such as labour migrants from Eastern Europe, Morocco, and Latin America, asylum seekers or refugees from West Africa, in addition to the numerous lifestyle migrants from the Nordic countries, United Kingdom, Germany, The Netherlands, Poland and Russia. Many interviewees in Spain point to Sweden's good international reputation when contrasting and constructing the nation Sweden in reference to the country of origin of migrants of other nationalities also residing on the Costa del Sol. For instance, the interviewee 34-year old Lena is constructing and comparing Sweden in relation to other European Union (EU) member states as an advanced and appreciated member state that has contributed to the EU collaboration, rather than depended on the EU and its financial support. Locally this can be viewed as a relevant narrative, as Costa del Sol is located in the province of Andalusia, which has traditionally benefited from the EU collaboration in agricultural subsidies and dreaded the entrance of the Eastern European countries into the EU in 2004 due to the potential loss of subsidies to new Eastern European member states. In the encounter with the local society, the Swedish migrants enjoy a superior status and position in comparison to labour migrants from the Eastern European countries or lifestyle migrants from Poland (Woube 2014:91ff). This is how social inequality of nation states appears as a relevant factor in the everyday life for migrants, as they are positioned through their connection to "weak" or "strong" nation states, according to the sociologist Anja Weiss (2005).

The idea of the modern and advanced welfare state, Sweden, is also constructed in reference to the less developed and very bureaucratic Spain by a majority of Swedes on the Costa del Sol. Although Spain has had an extremely rapid democratic and financial development since the end of the Franco regime in 1975, the country is seldom viewed by the interviewees as a modern welfare state comparable to the Swedish welfare state. This is especially relevant to Swedish female migrants approaching family-making, who more often that their fellow male nationals compare their limited welfare benefits in Spain with the prolonged parental leave and fully developed children's day care system in Sweden. These are local conditions that have an effect on the decision to return to Sweden for many young Swedes on the Costa del Sol, who are about to enter parenthood.

Many interviewees also recognize that the welfare model of Sweden is dismantling. This has been transmitted through reading the Swedish web-based newspapers, through phone calls, through the annual travels to their country of origin, and from bad experiences of friends and family in Sweden. However, in contrast to the weaker Spanish welfare model, the idea of Sweden being a modern and advanced welfare state with a good inter-

national reputation still remains. This is expressed through for instance one interviewee's statement that Spain is "a country in northern Africa", rather than in the south of Europe. Such statements ascribe Spain a subordinate position in the global power hierarchies of nation states by placing Spain among developing countries in Africa.

In the Oslo case, Norway has historically been conceived of as the most old-fashioned, the poorest and the weakest of the three Scandinavian nation states (Tolgensbakk 2015:41−42). This is an idea especially prominent in Scandinavian discourse after the Second World War, when Norway was newly freed from Nazi occupation and had suffered severe war damages, while neutral Sweden prospered. In short, Sweden has been Norway's big brother for at least the last half century. But in the 1990s, with the Swedish economy halting and Norway's oil wealth rising, migration from east to west and not the other way around became norm (Gustavsson 1999). The Swedish migrants in Norway arrived to a scene very different from what the Swedes in Spain experience. Norway were benefitting both from oil and other natural resources, as well as having suffered relatively little from the financial crisis and the labour market troubles of other European countries.

A starting point for the Swedish migrants in Oslo are their disappointment in regards to what Sweden lack to offer them. The reason for going to Norway in the first place is the scarce job opportunities in their country of origin. But discussions of Swedish economy and politics are not very present in the Oslo interviews. Rather, the Swedes focus on what Norway has to offer them (jobs, careers, higher wages) as they met a society very similar to what they have grown up with. Still, Tolgensbakk argues in her PhD thesis that the Swedish migrants in Oslo struggle with handling the small and often subtle, but nonetheless troublesome, differences in-between the Nordic countries (Tolgensbakk 2015:176ff). For instance, the perceived strangeness and backwardness of Norwegians and Norwegian society that the Swedish migrants experience in comparison with their country of origin. Backwardness is a key word here, and clearly related to the cultural narrative present in the Spanish case study that make the Costa del Sol Swedes tell stories of Spain not quite measuring up to their more advanced homeland. The differences between Norway and Sweden may be small, but they are discussed at length by the Swedes in Oslo. The country of residence is deemed more old-fashioned than the country of origin, with regards to everything from bureaucratic tax systems to the lack of decent selections of cheese in Norwegian supermarkets. In these narratives of problems and inconveniences in the new country, the Oslo Swedes interpret the differences as national ones. Indirectly, the stories cast Swedes and Sweden in the role of the normal, the modern, progressive home of rationality. The word most often used to describe the country of residence in these interview narratives (although normally used in a humorous tone), is *efterbliven*. Usually translated to English as "retarded", the word literally reads "left behind", which means it has connotations not only to intellectual disabilities, but also to other lacks of development. Sweden is seen as modern, and Nor-

way as the contrast. These notions transcend onto the migrant position of Swedes in Norway and highlight them as equally modern and up to date as their country of origin. This is especially interesting as it seems as if the big brother-status of Sweden in Norwegian discourse, which has been prevalent throughout most of the post-war years, is becoming more complex and ambivalent in the presence of so many Swedish migrants in low-status jobs in Oslo (Tolgensbakk 2015:129). The privileged position gained from the Swedish nationality becomes challenged by the local, subordinate position of being young labour migrants working in the sectors of low paid jobs on the Norwegian labour market. In other words, this is a point where Norwegian notions of the Swedish migrants and the Swedes' self-presentations are somewhat in conflict.

The constructions of equating the nation Sweden with a Swedish welfare model is, as shown, present among Swedish migrants in both Norway and Spain. The strong welfare model of Sweden is in itself constructed by both migrant groups as a reliable parameter in the adventure of living abroad. There are many accounts in our interviews with migrated Swedes of perceiving Sweden as safe and secure for them, even after many years abroad. Seen from Spain, the Swedish welfare state is viewed as a support for all Swedish citizens, within national borders and outside the borders. Seen from Oslo, the disappointment of the Swedish system – or at least the Swedish labour market – is, as noted earlier, obvious, although not very vocal. Living in Norway also means being part of a common Nordic welfare system giving the Swedish migrants comparable service as at home, on equal terms as the Norwegian-born citizens. What is common between the Costa del Sol and the Oslo migrant groups is a strong notion that Swedish migrants abroad would be taken care of if something were to happen in the new country, or when time comes for a voluntary departure. In Oslo, the Swedish migrants find solace in the knowledge that if their endeavours in Norway turn out dissatisfactory, there will always be the possibility to return. On a similar note, many senior migrants in Spain prepare for elderly care in Sweden when they are too old or fragile to enjoy life on the Costa del Sol or in the life phase of family-making, as noted earlier in the article. In other words, although very different in age, socio-economic status and reason for migrating, a common perception among Swedish migrants is their natural "right to return" at any time due to their Swedish origin and nationality. Birthplace, childhood, family ties, family history or past experiences of a certain place are commonly viewed as a *right to the place* (see Agnidakis 2013), and in this particular case the Swedish migrants advocate their *right to return to the place* (cf. Hylland Eriksen 1996:75).

The Swedish Woman as Stereotype

Another dominant theme appearing in close relation to discourses of Swedishness in the interview narratives is *femininity*. This is the case in both of the migrant groups in question. Swedish femininity has attracted much attention internationally since the 1960s and onward. For instance, the portrayal of the Swedish woman in movies like Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* from 1960 with the Swedish actress Anita Ekberg and Vilgot

Sjöman's *Jag är nyfiken—gul* from 1967, produced a segmented and stereotyped Swedish feminine ideal of blue eyes, whiteness and blondness that has spread worldwide (cf. Lundström 2014, 2010). Linked to a Swedish femininity are also constructions of sexuality, which encompasses both the Swedish migrants in Norway and in Spain, but have local variations of connotations. In other words, both migrant groups in our cases tell stories of having to deal with local brands of the international stereotype of the Swedish woman.

"Swedish sin" has been an international concept since the 1950s, but with Roland Huntford's book *The new totalitarians*, published in 1972, the relatively progressive views of sexuality in Sweden became directly linked to an ever-present, amoral state (Marklund 2009). This put a mark even in the Norwegian discourse of the Swedish woman. There is nonetheless reason to believe that the average Norwegian's association to the term "Swedish sin" are rather the condom manufacturer RFSU, the porn store Hönan Agda at Svinesund[3] and the aforementioned Swedish soft porn movies. There is no doubt that in the complex intersections between gender, nation and sexuality, Swedish women has had to live with certain stereotypes, even in neighbouring, and seemingly culturally similar, Norway. The popular culture portrayals of the Swedish woman are still active in both Spain and Norway. This was evident in both interview materials, especially in the interviews with female migrants.

A simple, but poignant example of this appeared in 2008 in Norwegian movie theatres. That year the movie *Fatso* was released at the same time as the influx of young Swedes to Norway was peaking and the Norwegian public slowly came to realize that a new migrant group had arrived. The movie is based on a book, where the protagonist's sexual fantasy object is the Norwegian woman Maria. In the movie, she is replaced with a Swedish girl, Malin. This replacement is in line with the objectification and stereotype of the blond Swedish woman, but also a nod to the popular Astrid Lindgren series *Vi på Saltkråkan* from 1964. The character Malin, probably the first imaginary love of some generations of Norwegian men (and women), was pictured in the series as both motherly virtuous and erotically beautiful. This is a stereotype that the Swedish female migrants in Oslo have encountered in popular culture and in the daily social life. Especially those of the women who work in cafés and bars have had to fend of suitors trying to woo them with the pick-up-line "Oh, are you Swedish? I looove Swedish girls!". The pick-up-line reflects Swedish girls' reputation as beautiful, and possibly as being "cheap" or at least as very outgoing and relatable. The Swedish female migrants describe meeting this stereotype on internet dating sites, with men confessing to a specific desire for Swedish women. They tell stories of having to handle elderly male customers giving out racy jokes and comments directed particularly at them as Swedish girls. And although it is only the female migrants that have personal stories, the Swedish male migrants also witness how their female co-migrants are viewed by the majority population. For instance, the informant Åke, discussing an anti-Swede graffiti in Oslo, interpreted hostility to-

wards Swedes in Norway as a competition over women – that is, not a competition over the women of the majority population, but a competition over the Swedish migrant women because of what he described as their unrivalled status as beautiful, blonde and blue-eyed. This is a widespread international notion of Swedish women, which sociologist Catrin Lundström also found in her recent study of Swedish female migrants to the US, Spain and Singapore respectively (Lundström 2014). Lundström discusses this in relation to a narrative about a specific Swedish sexual open-mindedness and specific physical features of beauty.

In Spain, Swedish femininity is linked to the icon of *La Sueca,* which is a prominent figure in the narratives of the interviewees on the Costa del Sol. La Sueca means the Swedish woman in Spanish and can be traced back to the origin of the tourism boom in Spain during the 1960s, when Northern European women started to spend their vacations along the Spanish beaches. They contrasted Spanish femininity in their tall, blond, blue-eyed and lightly dressed appearance. Swedes travelled independently from their families and offered more liberal views of relationships and sexuality than the catholic and conservative Spanish society. Any Northern European woman, no matter her nationality, came to be associated with the myth of La Sueca, which caused a moral upheaval in Spain as the female Northern European tourists embodied sexual liberation and social independence (Cardona & Losada 2009:64).

The narratives of the female Swedish interviewees relate to the La Sueca-figure both regarding discussions of bodily appearance, and in stories of encounters with the local society. In statements such as "I am the tallest one wherever I go. I am 1,76 meter tall, I am blond, I have blue eyes", the interviewee Sofie highlights her contrasting bodily appearance in relation to the local society and how she is positioned as a stranger and different, which is an aggravating factor in her trials to become incorporated in the local community on the Costa del Sol (see Woube 2014:76f). Despite the historical origin in the 1960s, the icon remains a sticky figure for the Swedish female migrants and corresponds to historical and international constructions of what a stereotypical Swedish woman looks like (cf. Mattsson och Pettersson 2007). A tall, blond, white and blue-eyed body is a body that naturally can be understood as Swedish and symbolize Swedishness (cf. Sharp 1996:99). The art historian Jeff Werner claims that the practice of associating a tall, blond and blue-eyed body appearance to the inhabitants of the Swedish territory can be dated back to 19th century artwork (2014). Physical features of blondness and blue eyes is also historically connected to the racial discourse of whiteness (Dyer 1997). This was a central notion during the first half of the 20th century when racial biological and theoretical discourses suggested that the Swedish people belonged to an extra ordinary and superior ethnic group on a hierarchical scale of whiteness. The notions of a blond and blue-eyed body appearance of a Swedish woman function as a symbolic guard of the construction of Swedes as a distinct people with distinct physical features that is inherited through blood lineage (Mattsson 2004:131ff). Physical features along the lines of the La Sueca icon

may function as a hindrance in the integration to the local community along the southern Spanish coast through signalling features of an anonymous, temporary foreign tourist. Physical features deviant from the myth of La Sueca may, on the other hand, not be understood as Swedish on the Costa del Sol, which excludes Swedes of other physical appearances or with other ethnic origins to naturally be connected to the Swedish migrant group.

Rural Sweden of the Past

A third central construction of Sweden and Swedishness that we want to discuss in this article is the idea of rural Sweden. Among the Swedish migrants in Spain, this idea is ever-present. Yearning for a green lush Swedish countryside is a vivid image of Sweden in the narratives and the everyday life of the migrants that Woube have studied in Spain. Above all, a red and white summer cottage by a lake, in the Swedish archipelago or at the edge of the forest figure as an image of rural and summertime Sweden, are frequently illustrated in pictures in homes of the migrants in Spain or spoken of in narratives of longing and dreaming about Sweden (Woube 2014:146ff). Swedish rurality is an encompassing construction appearing among migrants in school age, in adult age, and among senior migrants. It is also the significant aim in many of the migrants' transnational lives as they move to Sweden each year in order to enjoy the summer months, often in summer cottages or visiting friends and family in the rural parts in the old country.

The construction of Sweden as idealized and desirable rurality on the Costa del Sol resembles the concept of *Heimat* in the German speaking countries. Heimat can be defined as a mystical and innocent place of collective yearning (see Blicke 2004; Petri 2003; Hobsbawn 1991:68). Similar to the concept Heimat, the summer cottage represents a local context in Sweden that at the distance from Costa del Sol is understood as nationally specific. Local contexts and circumstances, like a summer cottage, can be transformed to become national representations through appealing to emotional experiences and memories, which is a common and effective use in nationalistic propaganda (Blehr 2000:177). Similar constructions of rurality connected with nationalism can be found in the other Scandinavian countries, in addition to the German-speaking countries (Petri 2003:330).

The notion of Sweden as a lost rurality has its' origin in the consolidation of the Swedish nation state during the 19th century. It was a time of heavy societal transformation through industrialization and urbanization and there was a need for a defined common origin, which was created in the peasant and rural way of life, as a contrast to the growing and overcrowded urbanity (Ehn et al. 1993). A common origin in the rural is still today an active part of the construction of Swedishness in Sweden. It remains an important symbol in the nation-making of Sweden, as the summer cottage is associated in relation to a lost peasantry, in addition to contemporary notion of free and simple summer life and leisure time, community and adjacent togetherness, a life close to nature in contrast to a time effective urban working life.

Annual vacations in the present nourish the notion of rural Sweden on the Costa del Sol, but it is also a representation of

The summer cottage in the Swedish countryside is a prominent representation of Sweden among Swedish migrants in Spain. This picture of the summer cottage in Sweden was attached to an e-mail from an interviewee.

the migrant's Swedish past. Sweden is associated with experiences in childhood, of family life or with the time as residents in Sweden. The representation is made meaningful through memories from places in the old country that is lost due to the temporal impossibility of return. It is possible to visit the place in the present but not under the circumstances that appeared at the time of the departure. The migrant has left both a place and a temporal context (Westin 2000:42f), which might leave the migrant in a state of restorative nostalgia where memories can be relived (Boym 2001:44). The annual vacations have such restorative function in that the migrants are able to restore elements of a longed-for past and ease sentiments of nostalgia and homesickness through returning to Swedish rurality that represents origin, nation, and home, even when it is a lost home. It is, however, note-worthy that the travels to Sweden from Spain during the summer months is not only related to the construction of lost rurality of the past, but that actual experiences of present day Sweden for many of the migrants are comprised of a rural summer life in the country of origin. The construction of a romanticized Swedish countryside is a forging part of the transnational social space that is in the making by the migrants in Spain.

The Swedish migrants in Oslo do not express a longing to rural Sweden in the same way as their counterparts in Spain. There are no references to any red summer cottages by the lake in the Oslo interviews. Summer is either spent in Oslo working, since the summer is the most important time of year for seasonal work in Oslo, or travelling the world far away from Scandinavian shores. The exception for some of the interviewees is the celebration of *Midsommar*, St. John's Day, which is a time of year they will try to spend with their family and friends in their

local community in Sweden. This may be interpreted as a longing for old friends and an opportunity to reconnect with kin, similar to Spanish migrants' reconnection with friends and family in the Swedish rurality. The Swedes in Norway are in general young and single, and with few bonds drawing them "home". In comparison with the Costa del Sol Swedes, it might be that in their present environments there is no need for longing for greenery and countryside lakes. Norway may simply have enough Nordic rurality to offer. It might also be so that they are too young, too mobile, and less permanent in their settlement in order to need a nostalgic longing to roots and origin represented by the national idea of rural Sweden, as is the case for the perhaps more permanently residing Swedes in Spain – for the Oslo Swedes the idea of modern Sweden seems to be stronger.

Among the Swedish migrants in Norway, there is another construction of rurality that is in the making in the narratives and everyday practices of the Oslo Swedes, which is the longing for a particular type of food. In Oslo, the Swedish migrants find the street cuisine somewhat different from what they are used to. As with all other European urban areas, city life has been influenced both by local customs and by immigrating preferences, goods and habits. That means that in Oslo, the Chinese restaurants set up in the 1960s has been replaced by Indian, Vietnamese and Middle-Eastern street food, which reflects a Norwegian migrant history which differs from the Swedish. After surviving the shock of living with Norwegian food prizes, which are among the highest in Europe, the Swedish migrants have to get used to subtle culinary differences between the neighbouring countries. One fact is the complete lack of a hot lunch

Image macro about Swedes in Oslo made by one of the Facebook group members − the text in the last picture reads "anybody know of where to get good kebab?"

in schools and workplaces, which is something they are used to from Sweden. Another is the fact that to Norwegians, pizza is not necessarily seen as street food. The first groups of Swedish youth in Norway after the turn of the millennium expressed grievances about the quality, type and prize of fast food pizza. During Tolgensbakk's fieldwork in 2011–2014 the complaints had changed to another type of international street food: *the kebab*.[4] Discussions of where in Oslo to find the best "Swedish kebab" were abundant on Facebook threads throughout the research period.

Participants in such discussions often end up debating which regional Swedish variety of kebab ought to be "imported" to Norway. More important, is that Norwegian kebab (often made with minced meat, with mild sauce and almost always with corn on top) is considered inedible compared to the superior Swedish style of kebab (different sauces, fresh pita and never with corn). In other words, in the Oslo Swedish youth scene, internal Scandinavian national borders are maintained through the symbolic use of an international street food. In addition to symbolically upholding national borders through comparing Norwegian and Swedish kebabs, young Swedes ascertain their superior city or urban skills towards their Norwegian contemporaries. This would mean that the Swedish migrants accept the Norwegian notion of the kebab as an urban street dish.

We will, however, offer another possible way of interpreting the discourse pertaining to "Swedish" kebab. Contrary to linking the kebab to an urban way of life, and positioning themselves as modern and urban, the kebab might be made significant for the Swedish migrants in Norway through being a symbol of Swedish rurality. The restaurant scene in many places in rural Sweden is often limited to a pizza place serving kebab. To the young Oslo Swedes, often being of rural origins themselves, the kebab seem to feel more homely than exotic, belonging to childhood memories and their past local way of life in Sweden. The kebab symbolizes their connections to rural Sweden, which is a central entity in the plural frame of reference that is part of a transnational everyday life (Pries 2001:23). As such, the kebab discourse among Oslo Swedes can be interpreted as a form of a rather *banal nationalism* (Billig 1995), and is made significant for the Swedish group located in Oslo through the contrast to the urban way of their present life. It is a discourse that unifies and distinguishes the Swedes in Oslo as a group of migrants with Swedish origin, in association with rural backgrounds. A longing for "Swedish" kebab when living in Oslo may be interpreted in exactly the same way as longing for the little red cottage while living in Costa del Sol: a way of looking back, both to past experiences of life in the country of origin, and through a collective image of Sweden, in nostalgic ways, to a rural, safe and uniform Sweden of the good old days.

Sweden and Swedishness in Narratives and Everyday Life of Swedish Migrants

In this article, we have shown comparative notions and constructions of the nation and the national in narratives and everyday life of Swedish migrants in Norway and Spain. Many notions has its bearing and can be recognized as constructions

of Sweden and Swedishness also among Swedes in Sweden (see Hübinette och Lundström 2011), but they are activated when being contrasted by the local conditions in the new country. We have presented three themes that to various degrees all have proved important as reference points, both to Swedes on the Costa del Sol and to Swedes in Oslo. The three themes show that there are significant differences between the two migrant groups as to how "modernity" is narrated, and what a specific Swedish female stereotype means for them in the everyday life in the encounter with the host society. The similarities are nonetheless remarkably strong, and may be seen as proof of some themes being common Swedish self-identifiers. The third idea, of a Sweden lost, is perhaps where the two groups differ the most, which indicated diverse views due to different regional origins in Sweden, different travel patterns in-between the two migrant groups, in addition to different degrees of permanency in the country of residence.

This shows how the notions that have been presented in this article are based on specific contexts and circumstances that Swedish migrants face due to lateral relations and transnational ties in-between country of origin and country of residence. The understanding of Sweden for the migrant group in Norway originates in a place-specific history of neighbouring relations in-between two Scandinavian countries with different financial development since the Second World War, that is viewed upon as culturally similar. In Spain, the history of Swedes vacationing along the Mediterranean Sea and the different economic and democratic development of Spain and Sweden during the second half of the 20th century are factors shaping both how Sweden is viewed as advanced and modern and how liberal ideas of emancipation for women remain to have an effect on how Swedish women are viewed in Spain. Above all, the constructions of Sweden and Swedishness emanate from the practice of contrasting in a social everyday life: in relation to global power hierarchies of nation states, in relation to travels and communication with the country of origin, in relation to the majority society, in relation to other migrant groups on location, in relation to encounters with authorities, or at a distance from afar.

We have highlighted how even migrants in a rather privileged position, such as the position of Swedes in Norway and Swedes in Spain, negotiate and change their understanding of the nation and the national due to local hierarchies, to circumstances in the receiving country, but also to past and present experiences of the country of origin. There are tensions in-between having the privilege to migrate anywhere and the experience of being in a migrant position in new social contexts after migration (Benson 2014:48f; see also O'Reilly 2007). Our investigation has shown how the Swedish migrants view their nationality as a privilege locally, how this privilege is negotiated transnationally, and might indicate experiences of losing privilege, as in the intersection with gender where the Swedish female residents are positioned as different and as temporary strangers, which hinders them in their incorporation to the local community on the Costa del Sol. This is also the case for the young Swedes in Oslo finding

themselves in a subordinate position due to their low status jobs on the Norwegian labour market.

Recurrently, the ways the Swedes in our studies speak of their country of origin and of Swedishness at home and abroad, testify to Edward Said's notion of the inherent reflexivity of exile (2000). Being constantly in foreign surroundings sharpens the senses as to what is similar, what is different – what is good and what is bad – about the new situation, the country of residence, the country of origin, and how the migrant is viewed and perceived by others. In the narratives, the migrants speak of a distant or not-so-distant Sweden at length, but also a country of origin viewed through historical, social, and cultural eyes of a migrant in a foreign country. Often the notions stem from an understanding of everyday experience in Sweden in the (far) past, which are generated, but can also be altered through intensive communication and connections with the old country through vacations and return visits in Sweden. The specific constructions of Sweden and Swedishness related to in this article can be understood as empowered by the location of the migrants, the temporal distance of the initial departure, and by continuous travels to the old country.

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Notes

1 We base the article on ethnographical fieldwork conducted for our doctoral dissertations (see Woube 2014; Tolgensbakk 2015).
2 All interviewees are being anonymized in this article.
3 Svinesund is a small municipality in Sweden on the Swedish-Norwegian border that has attracted many Norwegian tourists and second homeowners.
4 Here: a type of döner kebab, with meat, salad and sauce, more often than not served in a pita bread.

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Dress and Dance

The Staging of Multiple Temporalities in an Art-Historical Setting

By Anne-Sofie Hjelmdahl

This article explores the production of time. Focusing on the collection and staging of dress objects in the museum, I relate my discussions to time and examine how concepts of the past, present and future play out in museum practices. My aim is to discuss and analyse the multiplicity and co-existence of different concepts of time and temporality in one dress event at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo in 1933. I focus on three aspects: how dress was transformed and staged as museum objects, the different temporalities that was staged in that specific dress event, and how the different concepts of time were related to each other. My interest in the situation at the Museum of Applied Arts in Oslo emerges from my PhD thesis in museology where I explored how this museum enacted bodies with dress in various museological practices (Hjemdahl 2013a).

I wish to explore how time is produced in museums, and specifically the relation between time and objects, by focusing on how museums enact the past, present and future with objects through museum practices. To discuss how museum objects may enact time, I will use dress, and primarily fashionable dress. In recent years, dress history as a field of knowledge within European and American museums has become a growing field of research among both dress historians and museologists (Taylor 1998, 2004; Palmer 2008; Steele 2008; La Haye 2010; Fukai 2010; Thompson 2010; Riegels Melchior & Svensson 2014). Research focusing on how dress was handled in the first half of the twentieth century adopts an object-oriented approach, focusing on how dress was related to a diachronic time approach and to an art-history oriented time approach (Steele 2008; Palmer 2008; Riegels Melchior 2014). I will follow up this research and simultaneously study how fashionable clothing has been enacted as multiple museum objects staged in different versions. How do dress objects become entangled with not just one but multiple temporalities, and how are these versions related? Furthermore, how might different concepts of time affect the legitimacy of bringing fashionable dress to the museum? By approaching dress in this way, I draw on inspiration from actor-network theory and the concepts of "enactment" and "multiplicity" (Mol 2002; Law 2004), hoping to illuminate more aspects of the early period of dress history in museums and wanting to be a contributor in the field of dress history as well as in the field of museology.[1]

Dress and Dance

The point of departure for my research is the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo, established in 1876. Belonging to a cluster of museums for the applied arts, it was closely connected to the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 and the world fairs which emerged in the new public sphere from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards (Bennett 1995; Brenna 2003). These museums were meant to be role models both for industry and for people in general (Glambek 2010). In November 1933 the museum in Oslo presented dress history as a separate subject in its own right for the first time through a big dress event called "Dress and Dance, City Dress in Norway from 1700 to 1900". The ten-day long dress event staged fashionable dress collected

from all over Norway and presented on about 150 live models. In retrospect, this event has been seen as the starting point for the dress collection at that museum and also as the establishment of fashionable dress as a field of knowledge in Norway (Bay-Sjøvold 1976). The curator at the museum, Mrs Åse Bay-Sjøvold, characterized in retrospect the arrangement as the biggest ever in a Norwegian museum (1976:19). The event itself took place in the museum building from 1904 located in the affluent western part of downtown Oslo. According to Bay-Sjøvold, the whole museum was transformed for the event. The vestibule was turned into a festive hall. In the banquet hall grandstands and a floor for dancing demonstrations were built. On the third floor dress was mounted on mannequins and exhibited in suitable interiors. Every day the museum presented new special exhibitions. There was a lottery with prizes consisting of objects of modern applied arts in the small baroque hall, and in the large baroque hall "Aunt Lisa" served tea to the audience. In addition, there were groups of live models presenting modern fashion clothes every day (Bay-Sjøvold 1976:20). Furthermore, lectures and practical demonstrations of clothing were a part of the ten-day event, which was greatly supported by a large audience every day. In other words, it was a huge success for the museum.

In a Scandinavian and European context this event was an early example of the promotion of fashionable dress as both a historical and a museological concept. At the same time the Nordic Museum in Stockholm opened the first part of its brand-new and modern Dress Gallery where dress was exhibited on mannequins in glass cases (Hjemdahl 2013a). Also at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, dress was exhibited in the British Gallery from 1920 onwards (Taylor 2004: 117). The situation in Oslo differed, though, in that dress was enacted here through a series of performances. It was presented as a spectacle and as theatre in motion and it took place all over the museum. Staging fashionable clothes with live bodies in theatrical performances turned out to become a quite common form of presentation among Norwegian museums up till about 1960 (Hjemdahl 2013b). In spite of this, however, this museological practice has only sparingly been described or studied.

The Dress and Dance event in Oslo might be characterized as a gathering filled with garments, people, bodies, practices, institutions, music and dance, where the clothes unfolded themselves through a number of practices. On the following pages, my aim is to unfold the historical event as a historical ethnography, or even more concretely, as a praxiography, to use a concept borrowed from Annemarie Mol (Mol 2002:31–32), and I will also focus on practice and temporality, but first I would like to outline the concept of multiplicity.

Multiplicity

It is my claim that dress became enacted with multiple temporalities in the 1933 dress event at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Oslo, which I will demonstrate by introducing the concept of multiplicity into dress research. Here I am inspired both by historical research focusing on *historicity* and by works in the field of actor-network theory.

In recent years the problem of historical time and the production and use of history have been given increasing attention. In philosophy of history and cultural history, time-concepts have been historicized (de Certeau 2006; Hartog 2003; Simonsen 2003; Koselleck 2002; Jordheim 2012a, b; Eriksen 2014). In other words, the relationship between the past and the present has moved to centre stage in many historical debates (Bevernage & Lorenz 2013: 7−8). The history theorist Reinart Koselleck has developed a concept of "multiple temporalities" by emphasizing how every linguistic term has its own temporal structure inherent and is characterized by being "multi-layered" and "complex" (Koselleck in Jordheim 2012:165). This temporal constellation is a three-part structure comprised of all three dimensions of time: past, present and future (Jordheim 2012b: 165). Even if Koselleck's theory is primarily concerned with linguistic terms, his theoretical insights have been transferred to historical research (see e.g. Jordheim 2007; Kavanaugh 2010; Bevernage & Lorentz 2013). Based on Koselleck's work, then, I see both past and future as inherent in the present. In other words, historicity is about ways of living with the past and about the relationship between the past and the present. We do not talk about history as a matter of fact, but about historicity and the complex temporal nexus "past-present-future" (Hirsch & Stewart 2005:262, in Jordheim 2012a:63). In the following analyses, I will highlight how the past came into being in the dress event and the effect of the ways in which the past was done.

Science and Technology studies (STS) and Actor-Network Theory (ANT) also offer ways of approaching multiplicity. ANT focuses on relations and has been characterized as a "semiotics of materiality" (Law 1999:4; Brenna 2003:47). A position within ANT also offers ways of approaching entities and objects in terms of fluidity, mutability and multiplicity (Laet & Mol 2000; Mol 2002; Law 2004). The philosopher Annemarie Mol claims that "an object that seems singular in theory is multiple and fractional in practice". Mol states that objects only come into being through different *practices* and as such they are *enacted realities*. By placing *practices* in the foreground, there is no longer a single passive object in the middle. Objects come into being – and disappear – with the practices with which they are manipulated. "Since the object of manipulation tends to differ from one practice to another, reality multiplies," Mol claims (2002:5). As such, entities and objects are enacted in different *versions*. They are more than one, but less than many (Mol 2002:55).[2] This means that even if different versions of the object co-exist, these versions also hang together. The question is how they are related (Mol 2002:55). Inspired by the concept of multiplicity, I ask how different concepts of time and temporality were enacted within the Dress and Dance event in Oslo and how they were intertwined with the enactment of the clothes and the bodies. What was the work of these temporalities and how did they communicate with each other? Even more importantly, how did the different temporalities help constitute the individual garments as museum objects?

Mol's work helps us to see how objects and therefore different time concepts are

The Empire evening: From the evening when the "Empire dress" was enacted as a separate period of time at the Museum of Decorative Art and Design in Oslo. From: *Kunst og Kultur* 1934.

enacted in different but simultaneously entangled practices. At the event in Oslo, time was enacted as abstract and diachronic in an art-historical version by structuring the display of dress according to art history's style periods. Time was also enacted as a contrast between then and now, a perspective well known from cultural history museums producing a national past (Bennett 1995:146ff; Eriksen 2009: 175ff). In addition, the live models on stage produced versions of temporality related to the concrete and the human body.

A question several researchers within ANT discuss is how the multiplicity and non-coherence, or the mess so to speak, operate and are made coherent and kept together (Mol 2002; Law 2004; Law, Afdal, Asdal, Lin, Moser & Singelton 2014). There are many styles of non-coherence, and the concept of *syncretism* or *modes of syncretism* have been used to work with these questions within STS (Law, Afdal, Asdal, Lin, Moser & Singelton 2014:175). Applying these thoughts to the great dress event at the Museum of Applied Art in

Oslo in 1933, the question is how multiplicity co-existed and how the different versions were related and held together. I will address these questions at the end of this article.

Enacting History as Live Period Rooms: The Diachronic Version

From the very beginning it was clear that fashionable dress was going to be displayed on living human bodies. The museum's objective was to stage a number of consecutive performances with old clothes displayed on live models dancing historical dances. The curator, Mrs Aase Bay-Sjøvold, claimed that the whole thing started as a loose idea during the spring of 1933. The Museum Director Thor Bentz Kielland, and the art historian and curator at the museum, Mr Henrik Grevenor, wanted to present historical dress together with historical dance and music (Bay- Sjøvold 1976:19). If we read the museum's 1933 annual report and protocols it is obvious that the museum had at least two different interests in bringing fashionable clothes to the museum stage. One was commercial. The event was seen as a popular form of entertainment for the public and an appropriate way for the museum to make money to finance its building plans. The other interest was more scientific in the sense that the museum wanted to document all existing old types of dress in Norway and to put together a research-based historical publication on dress.

Preparations started by distributing information about the planned event around the country and by asking whether the museum could borrow old clothes. Scandinavian museums were also asked if they had any old Norwegian garments in their collections. Friends of the museum and people that the museum staff knew could have old clothes in their possession were also asked. The museum ended up collecting about 1200 pieces of clothing. In addition, about 150 live models were recruited from friends and acquaintances of the museum. Several ladies' committees also became involved to help the museum with the restoration of the clothes, to establish a lottery and to run a tea-salon at the museum during the event.

Museums transform the things they are meant to reflect. The fashionable clothes collected and displayed at the museum in Oslo were transformed so that they could fit into the museum context and be established as what the Swedish ethnologist Wera Grahn has called *museological facts* (Grahn 2006:42). The concept of museological facts describes how objects obtain their identity and how they may be staged as material facts through a series of practices. At the museum in Oslo the garments were transformed so that they could be staged and presented as museum objects belonging to a more overall and abstract history.

The 200 years portrayed during the event were dated according to a chronological method and divided into five distinct periods, each one presented through its own show in the evening. The periods covered the years from 1720 to 1933 and it was the different styles of the garments that constituted the basis for the different categories. The first period covered the years from 1720 to 1770, the next period presented was the Rococo dating from 1770 until 1790, the third was the Empire period from 1790 until 1830, the fourth

ran from 1830 till 1865 and the fifth and last period presented was from 1865 to the parade's present day, 1933.

My point here is simple. The way the museum organized the dress event into five parades also produced a chronological and diachronic time. As the historian Helge Jordheim has emphasized, diachronic time involves movements, process, changes and fractures, and continuities (Jordheim 2012a:59). At the museum, fashion history was subsequently presented in close relation to art history and in accordance with a periodical and chronological way of thinking history. Each period was logically connected to the next and the latest fashion was just added on to the final period of this chronological sequence. It was the art- historian's way of organizing diachronic time.

According to the historian Dorthe Gert Simonsen, historians tend to use an overall concept of chronological time to synthesize time of past worlds, both the time referred to within historical representations and the textual timing of representations (Simonsen 2003:53). The point is that periods and chronology are maintained as an external measuring instrument for the historian. Abstract chronological time makes it possible to draw a sharp distinction between past and present, between the research object and the research subject (de Certeau 2000: 216). This meant that placing dress objects into different periods not just established dress as art history but also made it possible for the museum experts to position themselves as subjects outside the field, away from the clothes and the bodies on display. The experts in this case were mainly male and trained within art history. This art-history based chronology approach gave history an objectifying function, while helping to establish the male researchers as experts clearly distanced from the live models on stage – who were mostly women. This strategy also helped to draw up a hierarchy and produced relations of power between male and female.

The art historian's way of creating history also gave the dress event in 1933 a structure and a *particular temporality* through the way each period of style was performed during its evening show that took about an hour and a half. Each period of style was presented almost like a fashion show in itself where the public got plenty of time to watch and admire, and also, through lectures, to learn about the historical clothes presented on stage.[3] According to the Norwegian newspapers that gave the museum's evening events full coverage, these shows were very popular.[4] If the audience wanted to learn about the whole 200 years of dress history in Norway, they had to come to the museum every evening for five consecutive days. If not, they could still see the summarized and abridged final version given as the final big evening show.

The way the museum in Oslo enacted the collected clothes as art history did not just transform the clothes into museum objects, it also established the structural principle for how the entire event was enacted. When presenting fashion dress as a museum subject, the museum chose the diachronic and art-historical strategy which also made it possible for the museum to stage these garments as art-histor-

ical facts and rightfully belonging to a museum of applied arts.

Enacting Past and Present as a Contrast: The Comparative Version

What are historians doing when they let the past become past? How can historians tell when exactly it is time to put the past in its place? These are questions asked by the history philosophers Bevernage & Lorenz (2013:23) and they play a pivotal role in this discussion. Letting the past become past affects our notion of both the present and the future.

When the museum started work on the upcoming dress event during the summer and autumn of 1933, it soon became clear that contemporary fashion was going to be a central part of the programme in order to provide a *contrast* both to the fashion of older times and to the dances and other cultural expressions of the ages in question. In the annual report, the Museum Director Thor Kielland emphasized that: "in connection with these arrangements, it was our intent to present models with fashion from various Norwegian fashion companies. It could be one or several companies who performed their fashions each day. In addition we wanted to have a show where the first ladies of Oslo were exhibiting the latest fashion creations."[5] Several leading fashion companies were involved in the parade, presenting the latest fashions from Paris. By bringing the latest fashion into the museum, the older clothes became just old while contemporary fashion came across as new, fresh and fashionable.

This is how the museum transformed the collected pieces of clothing to become part of a set past. At the same time the museum worked hard to create clear contrasts between old and new fashion trends, between the past and the present. As Director Kielland wrote in the museum's annual report: "Only when seen against the background of our own time does the past stand out in its proper relief" (Kielland 1935:84–85).

> The museum therefore wished to make a contrast between styles, dances and music of the various historical periods and contemporary fashion. This ran like a common thread through the lectures and shows and was further underlined during the opening show and the shows that followed, as they were followed every time by a demonstration of 1933's rhythm in music and fashion. Every day one of the leading fashion companies in the city would present its own models and creations in the fashion shows (ibid.).

Through the way the entire event was organized in lectures, exhibitions and historical fashion shows, the museum emphasized the contrast between the past and present, then and now. This comparative way of enacting time was part of an overall dramaturgy and could be experienced in the evening shows with dress and dance and more particularly in the demonstrations of dress, such as the underwear demonstration described below, and other types of dress lectures combined with practical demonstrations of the garments. The past was thus established as a stable entity according to the present and enabled by the presence of both "old" and "new" objects.

The effect of enacting time in this way was a physical one. The museum created a physical space for the audience to visit the past where they could both look at and meet the bodies and the subsequent bodily regimes of past times. After this visit that same audience could return to their con-

temporary world of fashion with its models and experience the relief of their contemporary body ideals – which at the time were characterized as modern by simple design and short skirts and which was considered to be clothes that allowed women to move freely. The article "Old and New Age Meet!" in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* described the impact on the journalist:

> One studies and marvels over the intricate clothing they used to wear in the old, old days. The clothes could be decorative and great, but how awkward and bulky, even if the young ladies from the Rococo, Empire and the other eras lived in a different environment, where work and sports were not a part of daily life. In our eyes, the ladies of 1933 have a charm that outperforms all past women and their clothing.[6]

This comparative strategy also helped to actualize dress history by pulling it into the "contemporary". It produced a qualitative difference between past and contemporary bodies where the modern fashionable body was seen as a physical emancipation, a social improvement and as progress; contemporary women were both free and freely moving.

The history of dress was also used to explain how contemporary women "got here" in 1933. This was part of a chronology where the movement from past to present was understood as social progress. This approach to time and history is similar to what Michel de Certeau finds in modern historiography. He has likewise suggested that modern historiography traditionally begins with the differentiation between the present and the past and he claims that: "It takes the 'perishable' as its object and progress as its axiom" (de Certeau 1975:18, in Beverage and Lorentz 2013:14−15). As such the museum followed an established tradition and constructed a normative hierarchy between past and contemporary clothes, where the past somehow became the traditional versus the present that was modern. It was the fashionable woman of 1933 that was seen as the correct role model for contemporary women and which the museum wanted to hold up as a role model for the female museum visitors. This also highlights Helge Jordheim's argument about the relationship between the past, the present and the future: "How we ended up here" is thus entirely intertwined with how we consider ourselves to be on the way and what we should do to get there with our expectations for the future and our opportunities for action and intentions in the present" (Jordheim 2012a:64). Jordheim's arguments, transferred to the museum field, show how this museum enacted time: by letting the past become past in an art historical way, the museum also presented its expectations and even guidelines of how women should dress in the future and subsequently influenced the female public, their future consumption and dress practices.

My point is that the two versions of doing time described above – the diachronic art-historical view of time as categorized into periods and the comparative view of time, the comparing of past and present – co-existed throughout the event. Together these versions transformed the clothes on stage into one museological and historical field of knowledge while at the same time legitimizing the presence of the contemporary. Together they managed to emphasize both the changing character of female fashionable dress and the educational and moral aspect of fashion.

Synchronizing Historical Concepts and Bodies: One Body Version

Let us take a closer look at the body and the bodily practices at play at the 1933 event. In recent years, the close relation between the clothes and the body has become the core issue for several dress researchers (Entwistle & Wilson 2001; Klepp 2009; Gradén & McIntyre 2009; Hol Haugen 2014). As the British fashion theorist Joanna Entwistle claims: "Fashion is about bodies, it is produced, promoted and worn by bodies. It is the body that fashion speaks to and it is the body that must be dressed in almost all social encounters" (2000:1). In this last section I will examine the bodily enactment of the clothes and explore what kind of versions of time were enacted with the 1933 live bodies. When studying the live bodies in the dress event closely, we see that the already described time concepts were in fact distorted.

To display clothes as objects belonging to a body, the museum needed a bodily form. In addition they needed linguistic concepts. I have already mentioned that actor-network theory has been characterized as a semiotics of materiality (Law 1999:4; Brenna 2003:47). The relationship between linguistic concepts, fashion dress itself and the bodies wearing these clothes became visible in two situations: when choosing a concept for the garments and when finding the right bodies to present these clothes on the museum stage. Time became intertwined with the garments and bodies through these issues.

Let me first point to the issue of *naming the garments*. When the museum started work on the event it first presented the objects it wanted to put on display as "old dress" and "Norwegian dress", which meant "garments belonging to the past". When dress was searched for through announcements in the newspapers, these were the terms that were used. At that time the garments did not have a fixed museological identity. Instead, the concept of old garments referred to earlier dress events arranged by the housewives' organization "Hjemmenes vel", where old dress as objects did not belong to the present and which established a border between present and past. Old dress was clothes belonging to earlier generations, preferably women's clothing rooted in earlier generations (Hjemdahl 2013a:108).

About one month before the opening the situation changed and the clothes were transformed in line with a specific concept. In an interview with Director Kielland in the newspaper *Morgenbladet*, he said: "we have obtained about 200 outfits that fall within the framework of the event which we may call '200 years of urban dress in Norway'. We are only interested in clothes worn in the cities since we believe that peasant costumes belong to the Folk Museum" (*Morgenbladet* 21 October 1933). The concept of urban dress referred here to the way the Norwegian cultural history museum, i.e. the Folk Museum, categorized its objects as either changing and urban or rural and stable. Whereas the art-historical perspective seemed to govern the interpretation of "objects from the city", the ethnographic perspective seemed to govern how objects characterized as rural and belonging to the peasant culture were interpreted and understood. It also referred to the way dress had become categorized in Nordic museums (Gradén 2011:13; Hjemdahl 2013a:

107). In other words, clothes were given a social identity. Urban became almost synonymous with the upper class and dress history was seen as a particular type of history belonging to the upper classes.

Another core issue arising in the period before the event was: *How to find the right bodies to model the old clothes*? Clothes might be seen as a "second skin" (Horn 1975), tailored, used and belonging to one singular body. They might also be approached as relics in the way they remind us of bodies and people who once existed (Wilson 1985:1; Mavor 1997). Most of the old garments collected were bespoke, tailored to the one particular body that had owned it. According to Director Kielland, the bodies of 1933 differed from these past bodies often both in size and bodily shape (*Arbeiderbladet* 6 November 1933). In the newspapers of the day we may read about the public's interest in the museum models and who they were. The newspaper *Morgenbladet* wrote about the work of getting the right models and bodies for the garments:

> On this occasion they are more concerned about getting every detail of the clothes historically accurate and to get the right silhouette rather than to boast the names of the families who have lent the museum clothes for the exhibition. The museum does not want to create sensation but a sense of cultural tradition. In some cases, young ladies wear clothes that have been in their respective families but we will have had to take the wearer's bodily measurements and her girt more into account than her family traditions (*Morgenbladet* 9 November 1933).

In earlier dress parades arranged by the above-mentioned housewives organization "Hjemmenes vel" there had been a tradition for choosing models that had a familiar connection to the garments. At the museum in Oslo it soon became clear that they wanted something different. They wanted a scientifically accurate and "correct presentation" which emphasized the right style and silhouette of the dress. Therefore, they also wanted bodies with the right shape and measurement for the clothes. In other words, it was the art historian way of enacting time as style periods which was the preferred time concept and which they wanted the bodies to stage.

The museum ended up showing the dresses on a limited selection of bodies. The lists with names of the museum models that I found in the archives, however, imply that the models were largely recruited from relatives and friends of the museum's staff and from the museum's committees, all resident addresses being in the affluent western part of down town Oslo. In other words, the museum's live bodies modelling the clothes all came from the upper classes. These bodies also helped transform and stabilize the garments as objects belonging to the upper classes. Hence, the bodies presented the garments and influenced perceptions of the clothes on stage in the way the museum wanted them to. By emphasizing the materiality and the measurements of the individual bodies, and not the individuality of the models, these live bodies enacted dress history as a more general and abstract piece of art history.

The museum, however, did not always manage to present dress history as abstract and art historical. In some situations, relatives wore garments obtained from their own families, such as Miss Wikant who was presented as a relative of the only female national hero, Anna Colbjørnsdatter,

and who wore her dress of red brocade (*Morgenbladet* 9 November 1933). In this case, personalized genealogy became a way of enacting dress history. In the case of Miss Wikant, the past was presented as a singular and individualized piece of genealogy with another temporality than the style periods and in the comparative way of enacting time presented. This was a past that was not an abstract one, but a singular past with both names and personal bodies. This genealogy practice and the live body of Miss Wikant were staged as an alternative to the official art-historical way of enacting dress history.

My point is that although the museum may have wanted to present dress in an abstract and chronological art-historical way of viewing history, the presence of the live bodies not only opened up for other temporalities but did in fact insist on them. This was also the case when the garments were presented through music and dance.

Enacting the Past as Modern Dance: Second Body Version

The museum opened the event on Friday 10 November 1933 with a dress parade consisting of live models wearing dress belonging to the Rococo period. First, the models danced the Polonaise, then they danced the Minuets, the Contre and the Gavotte. On Saturday evening, the museum staged dress from the Louis Seize Age and presented it to the rhythm of a new version of the Minuet and the Allemande. The following Sunday evening the museum staged "simple dress" from the Empire period together with the Waltz. It was then time for the Biedermeier and the New Rococo periods from 1830 to 1865. These garments were presented with dances such as the Polka, the Mazurka and the Rheinlander. Finally, garments from 1865 till 1930 was presented with dances like Lachelier, Pas d'Espagne and in the end, the Cat Walk.

Alongside the enactment of historical dances, both time in general and the past in particular were co-produced in concrete ways. In the annual report, the Museum Director Thor Kielland described how he saw dress, bodies, dance, music and even the structure of the garden as an integrated whole (Kielland 1935:80−82). Time was understood as organic periods, an understanding belonging to the German philosopher Johan Gottfried Herder (Herder 1967). The whole concept of aesthetic periods, including music and dance, was based on the style periods of art history and was unfolded in front of the audience.

When the museum event was being prepared, a question arose: How to get the contemporary bodies of 1933 to understand the historical way of moving? How to get the dancers to understand that their great-great-grandparents touched the floor with their toe first when dancing? (*Dagbladet* 6 November 1933). It was the Norwegian dance instructor Inga Jacobi, married to the curator at the museum, Mr Henrik Grevenor, that organized the dances. Jacobi belonged to the free dance movement, inspired by famous dancer Isadora Duncan and emphasizing an improvised and natural dance that was performed barefoot (Johansen 2001:167−168). The free dance movement has been seen as a reaction to the rigidity of the ballet inspired by the idea of the free human being (Ibid.: 40−43). It was also a part of the

Underwear: This photo, found in the dress archives as documentation of the female bright blue corset dress dated 1750−1770, gives an impression of how the female underwear was documented and presented in 1933. From: The Dress Archives. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Norway.

then modern way of dancing . Unfortunately, the sources do not tell us how Jacobi worked with her dancers although they all tell us about the result and that she did manage to choreograph the historical dances in a modern and elegant way (*Morgenbladet* 20 November 1933).

In this case, the museum did not struggle to re-enact historically accurate dances. It was all about presenting the clothes in ways that appealed to a contemporary and "modern" audience. In other words, it was about producing the past with a contemporary temporality and aesthetics. The modern way of movement was a way of letting the past become present, both relevant and modern to the audience. The past and the present were intertwined in the way Koselleck emphasizes in his theory about multi-layered linguistic terms: all three dimensions of time were simultaneously included: past, present and future (Jordheim 2012b:165). The dance was also multi-layered in the same way. In the enactment of historical dances at the museum, we see the "contemporaneity of the past", to use a concept from the cultural historian Helge Jordheim (Jordheim 2012a:63).

The Temporality of Dressing the Female Body: Third Body Version

The last version of bodily temporality that occurred in the dress event which I will underline also refers to bodily practice: the demonstration of the act of dressing. Research on clothes and fashion has seen clothes as an integral part of bodily practice and of "body dressing". Dress is approached as a situated bodily practice (Entwistle & Wilson 2001). As an extension of this approach, some researchers inspired by actor-network theory emphasize how wearing specific types of clothes also affects bodily practices. Clothes are seen as actors having their own agency and as providing a certain bodily choreography (Knuts 2006; Damsholt 2010; Simonsen 2011; Hol Haugen 2013).

As previously mentioned, there were a number of different garment demonstrations during the event, among them presentations of underwear that took place at noon on the day after the great dress event

opened. The announcement read: "The women at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design reveal their secrets" and the newspaper reported:

> On Saturday at 1 p.m. only women ran up the stairs to the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, to uncover the secrets of Rococo, Empire and later times' underwear. Slowly the elegance that characterized the models in the opening day parade was to be revealed garment by garment – and with no limits (*Aftenposten* 11 November 1933).

The presentation was open to women only and it was arranged by the sisters Dorothea Fischer and Lilleba Kielland; Fischer was the expert and Kielland her model. These women gave the audience a bodily demonstration of the various garments and devices found under the outfits, such as iron corsets, skirts and so on. The whole demonstration was presented as a story about how women had to suffer in the past because of their underwear and about the physical effort it required to get dressed in these garments − as demonstrated by Mrs Kielland who groaned and almost fainted when Mrs Fischer tightened her iron corset. In a newspaper article reporting this

Tea salon: As a part of the dress and dance event the ladies from the "ladies' committees" arranged a tea salon in the museum. These ladies too were dressed in old costumes and the salon became a part of the reenactment of past style periods. From: The Dress Archives. Owner: The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Norway.

event, the journalist ended the story by writing:

> The demonstration was observed with enormous interest. The atmosphere was cheerful and intimate and afterwards the public was served tea and cakes. In addition, the women were so relieved that corsets and such installations constructed to shape the human body no longer were a part of female fashion anymore (*Dagbladet* 11 November 1933).

Time was related here to bodily tasks and co-produced as bodily temporality and as a daily routine: the time it took to dress the female body in past times. The dressing was enacted as a bodily practice with all its effort and its slowness. Also the agency of the underwear was emphasized to demonstrate how the female body would get the correct silhouette for a certain style period. These garments had a clear agency, to shape the female body. As such the demonstration was pedagogical. It let the audience get to know the past through the workings of underwear. Furthermore, this practice was also about the slowness of historical clothes.

The act of dressing was also performed as a moralizing tale. The agency of the underwear was demonstrated as oppressive to the female body and therefore problematic. This aspect of the clothes was performed as qualities belonging to the old clothes, while contemporary clothing and underwear were considered to enable free movements and not to be suppressive agents. Again the contrast between the past and the present was staged in a progressive way where modern and contemporary clothes were presented as social improvement and an ideal for women in the future where it seemed that clothes no longer would have a suppressive agency. Koselleck's concept of multi-layered time (past-present-future) was thus inherent in this demonstration too.

Concluding Remarks: Synchronizing Multiple Times and Bodies…

As I mentioned, the museum transforms the things it is meant to reflect. In this article I have wanted to open up for a more complex understanding of how time was co-produced with fashionable clothes in the first half of the twentieth century. I have also sought to underline how multiple temporalities were produced and how they co-existed in the event described in Oslo, how old fashionable dress became enacted as museological artefacts with different temporalities and how the different practices described had all three dimensions of time inherent: past, present and future. The enacting of the past occurred in dance, demonstrations and the parades at the same time as the present and the future were enacted as modern and as social progress.

At the beginning of the article, I asked for what purpose the past came into being. In the interwar period female fashion turned towards "ready to wear". New technical principles in clothes production and simple and "comfortable" designs made it possible to mass-produce fashion in new ways. Fashion became cheaper and a product for the masses (Myrvang 2009: 173−195). In this climate, the fashion industry needed agents to spread information about modern clothes and get female consumers to buy these new, simple and what were considered to be aesthetically correct garments (ibid.). The museum in Oslo was such an agent, distributing modern fashion ideals with its great dress

event. As such, the narratives that the museum produced and presented about female dress history were attempts to make the female audience conscious of the bodily restrictions and limitations inherent in past dress and attempts to make future consumers choose modern fashion. The great dress event was not just about establishing fashion dress as a field of museum research, it was also about educating a female audience with the objective to get them to purchase new and simply designed fashion garments both in the present and in the future. My point is that staging fashion pasts was also about staging a modern fashion future.

In this article I have highlighted the different versions of temporalities that unfolded in the dress event of 1933: the art-historical way of organizing history into different kinds of style periods and the contrasting way between then and now which both established and confirmed the past and present clothes as just old and modern. These temporalities co-existed and made up the main structure of the event.

Even though they were embedded in different logics, the art-historical narrative might be seen as an argument for the whole event and lending legitimacy to the collection of old clothes by the museum and also establishing a scientific structure and logic of the garments. The comparative narrative, on the other hand, seemed to belong to both the educational and economic aspects of the event. As mentioned, the method of contrasting emphasized the positive aspects of contemporary Norwegian fashion and appealed to the female audience and was aimed at possible future consumption. In addition, time was co-produced in more concrete ways when it was related to the human body, which also seemed to disturb the two main time concepts as already described. Time was enacted as a concrete bodily style and as particular silhouettes, while time was simultaneously enacted as both genealogy and private history. It was enacted as the slow temporality of the dressing act and as the way of moving these dresses across the dance floor. The clothes became objects related to the human body in that they stabilized the overall and chronological time concept as well as challenging and disturbing it.

The great dress event with all its different practices may be seen as an examination of the various aspects of fashionable dress, intentional or not. It has been my aim to show how the different concepts of time were in play and how it was important both to establish facts and narratives about female dress and also to establish fashion dress garments as museum objects. The core question is thus: how may the different versions of time and temporality be understood and how do they relate to each other? And finally, how was any non-coherence handled?

One could imagine that the different versions meant that clothes did not emerge as a singular or coherent phenomenon or as one particular object of knowledge, and that fashion dress came to be several different phenomena. However, this was not the case. According to Mol, there seem to be number of ways these differences are regulated and held together to make them appear coherent. One of Mol's observations is that one *single and strong narrative* may be important, a narrative that smoothly joins different theories. In the

dress event at the museum in Oslo the situation was that, although the singular and private narratives might challenge the art-historical understanding of history as a chronological evolutionary line divided into different style periods, this seemed to represent such a strong narrative that the varieties were just subordinated to this main narrative. The garments remained "city dress" with a shared historical past, stylistically speaking, despite the fact that the clothes also were enacted as private genealogy and additionally presented with an emphasis on the physical practice of dressing a body, i.e. the temporality of getting dressed. In other words, there seemed to be a hierarchy between the different versions of time and temporality. Here, the history of art appeared as the most powerful time organizer while the other versions of time and temporality somehow joined in this grand narrative. The order could be seen in the temporal and spatial organization of the different practices involved. However, an effort was made to separate some of the practices from each other. The art-historical perspective dominated in the evening shows, while the underwear demonstration was held in the middle of the day and was open to women only. The implication of this was that the main narrative was staged at prime time, in the evening, when the museum was filled with a large audience and also with a number of prominent visitors, while the other narratives to a certain extent were reduced to other parts of the day and to other parts of the museum, often also with a female audience only. As such, the multiplicity was handled by separation time-wise and location-wise. Hence, there was not only a hierarchy among the narratives, but also between the different spaces in the museum and among the gendered bodies in the museum.

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Notes

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2 Or as John Law puts it: "if we turn to practice, we tend to discover multiplicity" (Law 2004: 61).
3 This analytical point comes from my studies of the archival sources and newspaper reports, which describes the duration of the events and the things going on there.
4 *Morgenposten* 11 November 1933, *Dagbladet* 11 November. 1933, *Tidens Tegn* 15 November 1933, *Aftenposten* 15 November 1933.
5 NKIM – archive. "P.M. angående Museets dragtutstillings-arrangements høsten 1933"
6 Quotation: Man studerer og undres over den omstendelige og "innviklede" påklædning i gamle, gamle dager, som nok kunde være dekorativ og flott, men hvor upraktisk og plasskrevende? Imidlertid, rokokkoens, empirens og de andre epokers unge damer levet jo i et annet miljø, hvor f. eks. arbeide og sport ikke hørte meget med i dagliglivet.

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"I Am A Skirt Person"

Resistance to Women's Trouser Fashion in Oral History Narratives

By Arja Turunen

Probably the most significant change in Western women's dress in the twentieth century was the adoption of trousers because traditionally trousers have been men's wear and a symbol of masculinity as well. Fashion designers have designed women's trouser suits since the beginning of the twentieth century but it was only in the 1970s that they were commonly accepted as women's wear (see e.g. Wolter 1994:222ff). At the beginning of twenty-first century women's trouser wearing has still sometimes been disapproved of (see Vincent 2009:132). As dress historian Susan J. Vincent (2009:131) has pointed out, "although the twentieth century brought two world wars, universal suffrage, contraception and the Equal Pay Act, it did not give women equal access to trousers".

The history of women's trouser wearing has therefore been seen as a story of women's battle for the right to wear them and as a story of gender equality (Ribeiro 1986:132–145; Wolter 1994; Vincent 2009:122–132). In this article I discuss how Finnish women have experienced the arrival of trouser fashion. I focus on those women who do not like to wear them and who even criticize women's wearing of trousers. I ask why they prefer skirts and why they are not interested in having 'equal access' to trousers because their stories are interesting counter-narratives to the "battle" narrative.

The history of fashion and dress has been typically represented in the academic and popular literature as a story of inevitable evolution and emulation: new fashions emerge one after another, replacing the old fashions and diffusing from the fashion centres and the fashion-conscious elites to the masses. These views have been criticized in the new dress studies by pointing out, for example, the role of subcultural styles, creolization of fashion and dress, the eclectic mixing of styles and the subjective experiences of dress (see e.g. Hansen 2004). As Joannne Entwistle has pointed out, fashion does not dictate our dress: individual clothing decisions are framed both by personal preferences and by a wide range of social factors and cultural norms. Fashion is only one factor influencing dress, and not all fashions are adopted by all individuals (Entwistle 2000:49–52).

In this article I study the individual clothing decisions of those women who have not adopted trouser wearing or whose dress is influenced by it only in to a lesser extent. The article is based on the premises of the ethnological and anthropological dress studies that are interested in the individual and social meanings of dress and that analyse dress as part of the social and cultural context in a specified time and place (Eicher 2000; Turunen 2011:35–37). "Dress" refers here to the everyday dress and the act of clothing the body, and "fashion" means the abstract fashion system that produces new styles and garments as well as aesthetic ideas and discourses of dress. The relation between these two is best described as follows: fashion provides the "raw material" of daily dress and it becomes recognized only when it is accepted and worn by people (Entwistle 2000:1–4, 48).

With the methods of oral history research, the aim of the article is to give voice to those women who have rejected trouser wearing in one way or another and to investigate their perspective on the matter, as well as to interpret their views by

looking explanations for their opinions (Fingerroos & Haanpää 2012:87). I will start by discussing, how and why the fashion of women's trousers emerged in the fashion world and how and why it has been valued positively as sign of women's liberation and emancipation. After that I scrutinize the views of those women who do not share these interpretations of the meanings of women's trousers. Who are they and how do they validate their arguments?[1]

Research Material and Methods

Research material for this article consists of written narratives collected in 2006 and 2007 as a part of a project that was launched to gather and study memories of women's wearing of trousers in Finland. Research material was collected by circulating a questionnaire through the Folklore Archives.[2] The questionnaire that was initiated by me and titled (in Finnish) "Women's Wearing of Trousers" (Naisten housujen käyttö) was aimed at women who were alive for example in the 1950s when trousers were not commonly worn by Finnish women. I was especially interested in women's own experiences and choices of dress. I wanted to study, how the trouser fashion had arrived in Finland, how the respondents themselves had made the decision to start wearing trousers and how it felt to wear them for the first time. Respondents were also asked to tell how other people reacted to their trouser wearing or the new trend in general. It was defined in the questionnaire that I was collecting memories of the wearing of (all kinds of) long pants,[3] not underpants, but some respondents wanted to share their memories and stories of them as well. The questionnaire included questions about both purchasing and wearing of trousers. I asked, for example, in which situations and for what purposes the respondents had worn trousers and how and when they acquired their first pair of trousers. In order to get a better picture of their dress style I included questions about their preferences in dress in general: for example, what are important qualities in dress when they purchase new clothing.[4]

The questionnaire attracted a total of 108 responses, ten from men and 98 from women. The oldest female respondents were born in the 1910s and the youngest one in the 1980s, but the majority of the female respondents, altogether 91 women (91% of all female respondents) were born between 1920 and 1949, which means that they were born at a time when women's trouser wearing was uncommon and disapproved of.[5] Respondents contributing this kind of written material collected through writing competitions and questionnaires in Finland typically represent all social classes and all parts of the country (Helsti 2005:151). This was also the case with this material. Questionnaires were returned from all provinces, and from manual workers, farmers and farmers' wives, salespersons, housewives, nurses, teachers and university professors etc. The responses were mainly thematic essays that followed the order of questions. The length of the responses varied from one page to more than twenty pages.

The research material for this article consists of seventeen responses that are written by women who never wear trousers or wear them only occasionally. In this article I use the reminiscences both as source material and as the object of my re-

search (see Fingerroos & Haanpää 2012: 88–89). First of all, the reminiscences are sources to the respondents' view of the matter that I am interested in. As I analyse the respondents' views, the reminiscences are the objects of my research because I am interested in structures and devices in their narration, i.e. in how they validate their choices of dress and what kind of meanings they attach to women's trousers. In reading and analysing the reminiscence I follow Jyrki Pöysä, who has named his method of reading written reminiscence as "close reading of the text". By "close reading" he means reading the text as a coherent whole and – like a book – with a beginning, middle and end (Pöysä 2015: 9–37). In my case I am interested in the life story of the respondents, especially their personal dress history, because it forms the context for their history of trouser wearing.

Trouser Wearing as a Symbol of Gender Equality

The first initiatives for women's trouser wearing were made in the mid nineteenth century by American feminists who encouraged women to change their long dress into a more practical short dress with long pantaloons underneath. With the so-called "bloomer-dress", as the trouser suit was called, feminists also highlighted the impractical aspects of women's current fashion. The dress provoked a storm of critical and amused comments since contemporaries considered it a public attack against men and the hierarchic gender order that was seen as natural (Fischer 2001:79–94; Wolter 1994:48–82; Vincent 2009:122–125). At the end of the nineteenth century women's increased participation in sports resulted in improvements in women's sportswear which made trousers an alternative for women who liked, for example, gymnastics, riding and biking and who dared to wear them (Warner 2006; Wolter 1994:119–195; Vincent 2009:126–129). Fashion designers started to include trousers in their collections around 1908 and 1909 but they were disapproved of even in the fashion magazines (Wolter 1994:223ff). Only the First World War made trousers an appropriate work wear for women who worked in the factories and fields replacing men who were at the front (Grayzel 1999).

Women's trouser wearing made a breakthrough in the fashion world in the 1920s as part of the modern leisure wear that included beach pyjamas, shorts and other trouser suits for the modern New Woman who took care of her health by actively participating in sports and by sunbathing (Horwood 2011:79–81; Skillen 2012:165–179; Wolter 1994:237–258). This fashion arrived in Finland as well but it was adopted only by the upper-class and upper-middle-class women who engaged in sports. For the majority of Finns who lived in the countryside, the new fashion was both expensive and exotic: the ready-to-wear garments were too expensive for the rural women who, at the beginning of the 1920s, still wore mainly home-sewn clothes made of homespun fabric such as wool and linen (Lönnqvist 1974:85–88; Kaukonen 1985:12–13, 266, 270). Women's trouser wearing was also strongly condemned as unnecessary and indecent fashion. One respondent wrote: "There were five daughters in my family and our mother thought that it would have been too expensive to make such unneces-

sary purchases for us all, especially as we got along quite well without them" (SKS KRA Housut 119.2006, born in 1928). The worldview of the common folk was largely shaped by religious literature and teachings, according to which women wearing trousers heralded the end of the world. Women's trousers were therefore criticized as an indecent and immoral fad (Mikkola 2009). The respondents pointed out that not all older women even wore panties in the 1930s, for the same reasons, so the idea of women wearing long pants was both exotic and terrifying.

The Second World War was an important turning point both in Finland and in the other countries that fought in the war because women were allowed and also recommended to wear trousers as work wear and even as everyday wear, not only as sportswear as was the case before the war (Turunen 2015; Turunen 2016). After the Second World War, as the hyperfeminine New Look was in fashion and the ideal women was a housewife, Western women were again asked to restrict their trouser wearing to sports. This dress code was however soon challenged by the jeans fashion and, since the 1960s, by the hippie and other counter-culture movements' anti-fashion dress styles that criticized elitism and favoured practical aspects and social equality in dress (Wilson & Taylor 1989:155ff; Jacobson 1994:174–193; Turunen 2016). An important factor that advanced women's wearing of trousers was women's emancipation: the increased number of educated women who entered in businesses and professions started to wear them as work wear from the 1970s onwards (see e.g. Cunningham 2005: 201ff).

Quite a few of the respondents who participated the oral history project on women's trousers seemed to have answered the questionnaire because they wanted to tell how happy they were that also women can wear trousers nowadays. These women wrote how as children they had envied boys for their trousers and how happy they were when they got their first pair of trousers (see Turunen 2016). Most of the female as well as male respondents highlighted the significance of trousers by pointing that women's life was hard in the past, especially in the winter time, as they were not allowed to wear trousers:

> When I started the first grade in elementary school in 1953 I wore a dress and an apron, just like all other women and girls in my village at that time. The winter cold brought nothing but pain to the womenfolk. Even though the legs of panties reached almost to the knees, a narrow area of thigh between the bottom of the legs and the top of the wool socks remained uncovered, stinging and becoming flaming red in the cold weather. […] I can still remember how relieved I was when my mother bought red and blue fabric and took it to Hilma, who was our seamstress. She made a ski suit with trousers out of the fabric, which I liked a lot (SKS KRA Housut 157.2006, female, born in 1946).

> It was mid-winter in 1957–1958, when my sister's legs froze. On her way to Helsinki, she had had to wait for the bus in a snowstorm for quite a long time. As she had a skirt and nylons, the freeze had done its job: her legs were covered with blisters. We took her to the hospital where the blisters were punctured and her legs were bandaged. When this story comes to my mind, I can only bless the civilized modern world that also lets women wear functional clothing (SKS KRA Housut 431–432.2006, female, born in 1936).

For them, the fact that women can now wear all kinds of trousers means important progress in gender equality and significant

improvement for women. They wrote, for example, as follows: "The one who invented women's trouser wearing should be awarded a medal" (SKS KRA Housut 339.2006, female, born in 1940). "Long pants have liberated us women from the slavery of skirts" (SKS KRA Housut 474.2006, female, born in 1932). In this narrative, the moment the respondent got her first trousers is described as a moment of relief and happiness. Many of the female respondents described themselves as "trouser wearers", which means that they wear trousers all the time nowadays.

"I Don't Feel at Home in Trousers"

So, who are the women who do not remember the day they got their first trousers as a special, happy day? First of all, they represent the oldest respondents of the inquiry because fifteen of the seventeen respondents who do not like to wear trousers were born 1919 to 1935; the rest were born between 1941 and 1952. Maria,[6] the oldest of these seventeen respondents, wrote as follows:

> I bought my first everyday trousers relatively late, it was probably in the 1970s. But I didn't become a trouser wearer, there they are hanging in my closet. I prefer skirts much more. On many occasions I have noticed that I'm the only one in a skirt (Maria, SKS KRA Housut 3.2006, born in 1919).

She had actually got her first trousers relatively early, in the mid 1930s, as she had gone to study at a girls' housekeeping school that was also specialized in gardening. In the gardening lessons the students wore breeches as work wear. During the Second World War, Maria had bought herself a pair of woollen skiing trousers that she had used as outdoor wear: "they were very useful during those frosty winters [during the war]. I had to ski everywhere because there was no other transportation available" (SKS KRA Housut 2.2006, born in 1919). After the war she had worn sweatpants as work wear for gardening and other outdoor work. Maria nevertheless preferred skirts, as she wrote, "I didn't become a trouser wearer", which means that she wears trousers only for outdoor work.

The respondents' stories show how the adoption of a new fashion or a style is not just a matter of approving and liking the new aesthetics or the meanings attached to dress; our choices of dress are also based on our experiences of wearing the dress. The respondents who haven't adopted trousers explained it by writing that they feel at home in skirts, but not in trousers:

> I bought long trousers in the mid 1970s. I noticed as I tried them on that I don't feel at home in them. I gave them to my sister. I have skiing pants in the closet, I have worn them three or four times. Then I have a reddish sports outfit that consists of a shirt and trousers. I bought it ten years ago in the sales. It happened to be the sales season. I have never worn them. But who knows if I'll need them some day. I wear trousers when I clear up in the garden and when I go picking berries in the forest but otherwise never. I just simply don't feel at home in trousers (Kaija, SKS KRA Housut 275–277.2006, born in 1941).

The respondents' stories illustrate that dress is important for our identity because it is intimately connected to our sense of self (Entwistle 2001:48); the respondents explained their dislike of trousers by writing that they are "skirt people" and not "trouser wearers". Stories also highlight how our opinions and choices of dress are based on "embodied experiences of dress" which means that dress has an important role in how we experience our body (Ent-

wistle 2001:44). Anna wrote that she doesn’t wear trousers because they do not suit her body:

> My trouser history is non-existent. I don’t belong to the trouser people, I mean I never wear them in normal circumstances. Of course there are situations when they are useful, for example in exercising, in some trips and on travel. For these situations I have purchased trousers. […] Why don’t I wear trousers? Because trousers don’t fit a body like mine. They look good on a long and slim figure, if one must wear them. I think that I look ridiculous in trousers, I’ve got too short legs! (Anna, SKS KRA Housut 410.2006, born in 1925).

In these stories, the reason why these women do not wear trousers is that they found them strange to wear and their experiences of wearing them were not pleasant. Therefore, they didn’t become “trouser wearers”. Annikki wrote that she does not like to wear trousers because she didn’t like the first trousers that she had tried on. She had got the trousers from the Swedish charity right after the war: “They were too tight at the thighs and also scratchy and I felt so anguished in them that I even didn’t want to show off in them. I have never been a trouser wearer, dresses have been my basic clothing till today” (Annikki, SKS KRA Housut 110.2006, born in 1928). In her study of the adoption of panties by Finnish women at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century Maija-Liisa Heikinmäki (1967) showed that some women didn’t wear them because the first panties they tried on were too tight and made of coarse fabric. This was the case also with the long pants. Helena wrote that she had bought her first trousers, skiing pants, in the mid 1960s when she was almost forty years old: “They felt a bit strange and I took them off as soon as I got home from the skiing track” (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 196.2006, born in 1928). For Annikki and Helena, the first trousers they tried on felt uncomfortable or strange to wear. Therefore, they weren’t impressed by the new item of clothing and they were not interested in wearing them even later.

“There Were No Long Pants for Women in My Childhood”

As almost all the seventeen respondents were born before 1935, one explanation for their view of women’s trousers is their age. They are women who were children as the trouser fashion arrived in Finland. As Eila explained, “there were no long pants for women in my childhood, therefore I cannot appreciate them” (Eila, SKS KRA Housut 383–384.2006, born in 1925). The responses indicate that “becoming a trouser wearer” means that a woman should have *learned* both to appreciate trousers and to wear them. When the seventeen respondent describe themselves as “skirt-people” or that they are not a “trouser wearer” they mean that trousers are not part of their everyday dress, let alone evening dress. Their responses indicate that their individual clothing decisions are framed by the conventions and expectations about proper dress that dominated in their childhood and youth. They learned in their childhood and youth in the 1920s and 1930s that trousers were not decent dress for women. As I have argued elsewhere (Turunen 2015), attitudes towards women’s trouser wearing did not change much even during the war. Maria, for example, wrote that the fellow villagers didn’t approve her trouser wearing during the war: “they gave me a

mouthful for wearing such an indecent outfit" (SKS KRA Housut 2.2006, born in 1919).

Women's wearing of sports trousers became more common only after the war, but still, at least in the remote country villages, women and girls were mocked for it. Kaija, who was born in 1941, wrote that in her youth in the 1950s girls who wore trousers were called "surrogate boys" (Kaija, SKS KRA Housut 272.2006, born in 1941), which was a way to tell the girls that it is ridiculous and inappropriate for them to wear trousers. As the older respondents were young adults or in their thirties in the 1950s, the dress code allowed women to wear trousers only as sportswear and work wear in blue-collar work, but even that was in some cases seen as too masculine behaviour for women. Liisa, who was born in 1935, wrote that "It took a long time until I accepted trousers into my dress. I've been a skirt-person. Trousers [in her childhood and youth] were worn by tomboys and by those [women] who exercised" (SKS KRA Housut 30.2006, born in 1935). Nowadays she wears trousers only as sport wear and work wear and she doesn't accept their wearing as evening wear: "My opinion and choice of an evening dress is a full dress or a skirt and a jacket, *not* trousers. […] I'm old-fashioned. I don't dye my hair either" (SKS KRA Housut 31–32.2006, born in 1935), emphasis by Liisa. Also other women who do not like to wear trousers explained their dress style by saying that they still follow the old dress code:

> I started to wear trousers "in public" only after they became in fashion. I however enjoy wearing elegant dresses and also skirts. My mother and her family as well as my father and his sister(s)[7] always dressed smartly, which means that they always took the time, place and occasion into consideration when they chose dress. I'm used to hearing that people comment on my dress by saying "She's always elegantly dressed with matching accessories, including the earrings" (Marjatta, SKS KRA Housut 461.2006, born in 1925).

> I never saw my mother and grandmother in a trouser suit. I started to wear trousers at school at sports lessons and I only wore them for sports. In my youth I did like to wear Marimekko's[8] colourful trousers but for all my life I have shunned trouser wearing. The reason for this is my upbringing, I think. For example, I have never worn jeans and it makes me sick to see young people's tattered jeans and jeans that are made to look like they're worn out (Anja, SKS KRA Housut 185.2006, born in 1932).

Many of the respondents have never worn jeans and they also criticized other Finnish women for wearing jeans all the time. One of the respondents had even titled her answer "Jeans people" because

> Finnish women love jeans. They wear them everywhere and in all ages. […] My daughters fell for them so much that they didn't want to wear anything else, they had them, to my horror, even at the school's Christmas party. Mother's insistence on smart dress was not paid attention to (Ritva SKS KRA, Housut 41.2006, born in 1935).

Those respondents who do like to wear trousers also wrote about how women's trouser wearing was still sometimes disapproved of in the 1960s and 1970s, but they didn't mind because they liked to wear them. For them, the dress code of the 1950s and 1960s represents an outdated and conservative dress code and they are happy that we don't have it any more, whereas those respondents who do not like to wear trousers, miss the fashion and the dress code of the 1950s and 1960s.

Resistance to Change

In the histories of fashion and dress, the 1950s are described as an era of conservative and rigorous dress code that was challenged by youth fashion, especially by the jeans that preceded the liberation fashion in the sixties. The seventies are described as “style for all” and “anti-fashion”, which means a fragmenting and subdividing of fashion. Both the liberation of fashion and dress codes and the subdividing of fashion have been seen as explanations why trousers became gender-neutral wear: as the formal dress code was replaced by a dress code that emphasized casualness and practicality in dress, even in formal situations, and labelled the wearing of formal dress as a sign of negatively valued conservatism, women’s wearing of trousers became acceptable and fashionable. Both men and women started to demand clothing that is more casual and practical and to wear casual clothing also in public places and on formal situations. Fashion itself was condemned as an elitist phenomenon (Wilson & Taylor 1989:155ff; Jacobson 1994:166–191). At schools, for example, pupils were allowed to wear jeans and even some teachers started to prefer the combination of jeans, t-shirt and pullover instead of formal dress. In the 1950s, this kind of dress was out of the question for both pupils and teachers (Turunen 2016; Jacobson 1994:180–190).

For the younger respondents, meaning those who were young in the 1950s and 1960s, trousers have been a part of their dress since childhood and they have also adopted the later trouser fashions easily:

> I got my first pants, dungarees, at the age of four. This happened fifty years ago, but my dress hasn’t changed much since then because I like casual clothing. I wear jeans, knits, t-shirts, quilted jackets, beanies and flat-heel shoes. As evening dress I wear fancy black or linen trousers with jacket and blouse (SKA KRA Housut 191.2006, born in 1952).

Those respondents who do not like wearing trousers admit that they are old-fashioned; they haven't changed even though the world around them has:

> I’m a skirt-wearer. I do wear trousers on some occasions but I don’t wear them as formal wear in any case. I wear a skirt also when I ride a bike, in cold weather too, with a long coat. When I go to church and to other religious events, I always wear a skirt. I just can’t go to these events in trousers even though I know that many other women do (Aino, SKS KRA Housut 53.2006, born in 1921).

Many of the seventeen respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the changes in women’s dress since the 1950s and 1960s. Helena, for example, wrote:

> A while ago my female relative got married in a trouser suit. I wasn’t there. But her mother said that it was a practical choice because she can wear it afterwards on many occasions. I don’t think that a trouser suit is a proper dress [for the bride] in a wedding – even a combination of a jacket and a skirt would have been better. And she could have had use for it as well. Oh, how beautiful we used to be in the old times as girls always had beautiful dresses at parties (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 387–388.2006, born in 1930).

Helena is not the only one who underlines her point by nostalgically reminiscing about women’s fashion and dress code “in the old times”. Aino pointed that in her childhood and youth it would have been a shame to wear tattered clothing. “Clothes had to be patched up nicely and the seams had to be finished with flat strings. Nowadays, it’s all the same” (Aino SKS KRA Housut 53.2006, born in 1921).

As researchers of nostalgia have noted, a nostalgic picture of the past is a reconstruction for current needs (see e.g. Koskinen-Koivisto 2015). In other words, nostalgia is cultural practice through which one can evaluate today's world against the past (Koskinen-Koivisto & Marander-Eklund 2014). In the respondents' stories, nostalgia, the melancholic longing for the past, functions as a reaction to change. It is especially used to express resistance to changes (cf. Davis 1979:9-10; Cashman 2006; Koskinen-Koivisto 2015) as in Helena's story. For women like her, today's fashion and liberal dress code as well as the idea of "style for all" represents "no style at all":

> Many times the legs of the pants are too long, they drag the ground, the edges of the legs are frayed and dirty, it looks so untidy. Sometimes there are even rips from dragging on the ground. Sometimes they are so tight that the bottom of the trousers is worn-out and even ripped. Even the knees can be ripped, that's the top of it all. In my youth everybody wanted to dress beautifully and smartly (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 387–388.2006, born in 1930).

In these kind of stories, the respondents associate women's trouser wearing, especially the wearing of jeans, with overall lack of manners or disrespect for them. They explain their attitudes by saying that they do not value positively the social and cultural changes in Finnish society since the 1960s and 1970s that emphasize liberalization of dress codes and diminishing of social hierarchy and gender distinction:

> A few years ago I saw the vicar's wife, who is as old as me and who has always been very conservative, in trousers. And my sister had seen also the dean's wife, who is younger than me, in trousers in the centre of village. I know that they are ordinary people like us, but we [she and her sister] are used to thinking that wearing trousers is not proper for women of their status. But nowadays people respect nothing and nobody (Aino, SKS KRA Housut 54.2006, born in 1921).

> When I look at the fashion plates, you can see any sort of dresses in them. Why go to the extremes, I think women should look like women, shouldn't they, and not like men. Isn't it so that women are created as women and men as men and they should dress according to their sex and to the circumstances, women should wear trousers only at outdoor wear and as work wear and when they get the groceries and as skiing wear to go skiing in Lapland (Eila, SKS KRA Housut 383–384.2006, born in 1925).

The nostalgic longing for the past, for example for the 1950s, when men were men and women were women, usually express an anti-feminist counter-narrative to the grand narrative that praises the increased level of equality between men and women in today's Finland (see e.g. Koskinen-Koivisto & Marander-Eklund 2014). In the narratives quoted above, however, the respondents are not so much against gender equality as they are critical towards the social and cultural changes that Finnish society underwent in the 1960s and 1970s. These significant and thoroughgoing changes have been discussed a great deal in the media, in literature and in research (e.g. Karisto *et al*. 2005; Peltonen *et al*. 2003; Miettunen 2009), but it is noteworthy that these changes have been mostly discussed from the point of view of baby boomers who were young at that time and actively participated in the changes. For them the social changes of the 1960s and 1970s represent positive changes and the 1950s represent a time of conservative values and narrow-mindedness. The views of those people who do not see the changes in positive light have

only gradually been brought into the academic discussion (Purhonen *et al*. 2008).

Defending Their Own Role, Identity and Style of Dress

Many of the seventeen respondents are sorry that the meanings of dress have changed. Kyllikki, for example, pointed that even after the war women dressed beautifully, "They probably valued the fabric and clothing that was finally available as the shortage of goods ended" (Kyllikki, SKS KRA Housut 401–402.2006, born in 1930). In this narrative, the elderly respondents argue that in today's world, people do not seem to value clothing. Women's wearing of trousers as formal wear is in their opinion an example of how fashion dictates women's dress. Helena pointed that now as trousers have become the new norm for women, it is difficult to find proper underskirts anymore: "I like those beautiful silky underskirts there were in the old times. If there are underskirts [in the shops] they are made of synthetic fibres, I don't like them, they are so sweaty" (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 388.2006, born in 1930).

Anna and Helena discussed the trouser question by comparing modern women to the traditional agrarian mistress of the farm:

> How would my grandma have looked like if she had had trousers as she was standing by the stove with a scarf on her head? Quoting a saying she often used, that would have made her a laughing stock of the whole village. At my childhood home women never wore trousers. […] I wouldn't mind revisiting those times of long skirts! It was a time of femininity (Anna, SKS KRA Housut 410.2006, born in 1925).

> I've seen women in trousers [cooking] by the stove, they don't look like the mistress of the house to me. In the old times, mistresses of the house had a long dress in the kitchen and it looked good. And you could also tell who was the mistress of the house (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 383.2006, born in 1925).

The status of a woman in agrarian society and the patriarchal family was low and subordinate to men (Olsson 2011; Helsti 2000). Helena and Anna, however, saw her as a highly respectable farm mistress who would have lost her high position if she had worn trousers. They were probably also standing up for themselves since one of them had been a farm mistress herself and the other one a housewife.

As Jyrki Pöysä has noted, a reminiscence that is written as an answer to an inquiry is essentially an action that strengthens the agency of the person. The decision to write, the framing, style of writing and, in the end, the decision to send the final text to the archive are made voluntarily and subjectively (Pöysä 2015:129). This means that respondents decide, from what kind of perspective they discuss the topic and what kind of role they gives to themselves. By writing a text the author always creates a discursive representation of her/himself. The "I" in the text is always situational and partial; it is never the whole truth of the writer (Pöysä 2015:133).

When the narrative identities of those respondents who are against women's wearing of trousers are analysed, they are usually positive although they might note that they are old-fashioned in their dress and in their views. By presenting their views and validating their opinions and dress style they construct a representation of themselves as women who are *not* oppressed even though they do not like to wear trousers. They construct their own

identity as active agents: for them, wearing a skirt is a conscious decision to dress differently, not a sign of incapability to follow fashion. To the contrary, they see women who do wear trousers as women who are lured by fashion and not able to think themselves. For example, the respondents noted that trousers are actually not as practical wear as they are usually seen; in many cases a skirt would be a more practical to wear than trousers:

> Sometimes this women's wearing of trousers amuses me. On some occasions a skirt would be a better option. Once as the weather was really hot, I had a skirt and I even had to fan with the hem of the skirt to get some cool air. These other women were sweating with their jeans. I said to them, take off those jeans and put on a skirt, that would help, at least a bit. They kept quiet (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 388.2006, born in 1930).

Helena and Kyllikki also criticized women for imitating men:

> You don't know nowadays who is a man and who is a woman because men may have earrings and women wear trousers, just like men (Helena, SKS KRA Housut 387.2006, born in 1930).

> It makes me especially sad to see women wear a black trouser suit with a jacket and even with a tie. It is a direct copy of men's pinstripe. There is so much fuss about women's equality. Shouldn't women progress as women? […] What is equality? Don't women have their special value as women and especially as mothers? I have never felt inequality in my life even though I have lived in a very male world (Kyllikki, SKS KRA Housut 401-402.2006, born in 1930).

By arguing for the wearing of skirt Kyllikki and Helena highlight what they see as problems of the women's so-called emancipation: diminished status of those women who are feminine and who are proud of it. They point that the idea of "style for all" has led to a situation in which there is only "one style for all" – meaning only trousers, usually jeans, for women – and the original idea of liberation of style and the co-existence of multiple styles has been forgotten. In this narrative the criticism of women's emancipation is most evident; the respondents value traditional representations of femininity and masculinity. A closer reading of the narratives shows that in reality the respondents are questioning the way women's emancipation has been carried out and represented, for example in dress and appearance. As Kyllikki asks, "What is equality? Don't women have their special value as women and especially as mothers?" and "Shouldn't women progress as women?" She also commented that

> I have sometimes asked young girls who have problems in approving their womanhood to dress in a skirt and a hat. They have been surprised themselves at their feelings (Kyllikki, SKS KRA Housut 402.2006, born in 1930).

For these women, the trend for women to wear trousers doesn't represent equality but deteriorating standards of dress and behaviour as well as the loss of certain aspects of bodily control among girls and women, who are not used to wearing skirts and dresses and are no longer taught to observe and control their bodily movements and gestures. Another woman who likes to wear trousers was worried about the disappearance of traditional femininity as a flip side of the increased wearing of trousers by women:

> Women of my generation know how to wear a skirt: you should not stride along or stoop, because the hem of the skirt has to be straight and the zip fastener should be either on the side or in the middle (at the front or at the back). In those times

you also had to have straight stocking seams and should not show your slip. Sitting on a low-slung sofa in a narrow skirt needs special skills: the hem should cover the knees, the thighs should be together, only ankles can be crossed, you should sit bolt upright, and you should rise at an angle (SKS KRA Housut 343.2006, born in 1947).

It seems that the decision to write an answer to an inquiry about the history of women’s wearing of trousers was based on their will to criticize and question both the current fashion and the general ideas of gender equality and women’s emancipation: if emancipation means becoming a man and diminishing of feminine attributes, isn’t gender equality understood in a totally wrong way? For these respondents, the trends in women’s fashion since the 1970s have not represented progress but steps backwards. As Helena put it, “I wish this trouser boom would decline someday” (SKS KRA Housut 388.2006, born in 1930).

Women Who Do Not (Like To) Wear Trousers

The aim of this article was to study why some women never or seldom wear trousers and are even against women’s trouser wearing. The starting point for the article is the general conception of the history of women’s trousers as a history of women’s liberation and emancipation. The analysis of the reminiscences, especially of those women who were born in the 1920s and 1930s or before, shows that they were too old when women’s trouser wearing made its breakthrough in Finland after the Second World War. In their childhood and youth they had learned to think that women’s trousers are indecent clothing that no respectable woman would wear. As they were adults in the 1950s, trousers were seen as suitable mainly for young women and only as outdoor wear and workwear. In the 1970s, as trousers became women’s everyday wear, it wasn’t easy for them to dress according to the new dress code; they preferred the old dress code.

They do not, however, see themselves as oppressed women. Some of them admit that they are old-fashioned, but they also point out why they think that things were better in the past when women didn’t generally wear trousers. They argue that wearing a skirt is a conscious decision on their part and not a sign of incapability to be an active agent. To the contrary, they see themselves as individual agents who consciously do not conform to the norm that they consider too narrow. They also question the general ideas – or what they think as general ideas – of gender equality and women’s emancipation: if emancipation means becoming a man and diminishing of feminine attributes, isn’t gender equality understood in a totally wrong way? With their own dress style they want to represent a different kind of positive role model for other women: a feminine woman who appreciates good manners and is proud of being a feminine woman in a skirt.

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Notes

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Academy of Finland (project number 137923).

2 The questionnaire was sent to the Folklore Archives' network of respondents and information leaflets were available for Folklore Archive's visitors. The network of respondents is open to anyone, but most members have a connection to the archive and are willing and able to express their memories in writing (Helsti 2005:150; Hytönen 2013:89). I also published the questionnaire at seminars, and in public presentations and radio interviews.

3 In Finnish the word *housut* is equivalent to the English words "trousers", "pants", "bottoms" and "pantaloons" i.e. *housut* means all kind of long pants that aren't underpants (*alushousut* in Finnish). *Housut* is also term for all long pants, such as jeans, leggings, sweatpants etc.

4 The questionnaire is available in Finnish at http://neba.finlit.fi/kra/keruut/naisten-housut.htm.

5 Altogether 35 respondents were born in the 1920s (36% of all female respondents) and another 35 in the 1930s (36 %). Twenty-one respondents were born in the 1940s (21%).

6 All the names of the respondents are pseudonyms.

7 The Finnish word *siskonsa* means both "his sister" and "his sisters".

8 Marimekko is a Finnish design and fashion house that was established in 1951.

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Collaborative Knitting

Experiencing Tradition and Space

By Anna Rauhala

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) defines traditional craftsmanship as part of the intangible cultural heritage.[1] Even so, the position and status of craft has been considered threatened, and the need to find active ways to support craft traditions has aroused discussions.[2] Craft reflects its own time and culture and is often associated with tradition (Luutonen 2014:94–95), but it can also be considered timeless and combing cultures as well as crossing cultural borders (Risatti 2007:xv).

At the National Museum of Finland knitted artefacts are among the objects which have not been exhibited recently. A temporary knitwear exhibition was arranged in 1972, concentrating on Finno-Ugrian knitted artefacts. There has been no dedicated knitwear exhibition since then, and very few knitted objects feature in permanent exhibitions.[3] Nevertheless, traditional knitting and knitwear still attract a great deal of interest among hobbyists, and there is a desire for more information about craft making in the past.[4]

This article reports on an ethnographic study of four Knitting Cafés, arranged at the National Museum of Finland in January–April 2015, where knitting hobbyists could gather in the museum to knit together and to hear about museum knitwear and knitting tradition at the same time.[5] I was asked, as an expert and researcher on knitting, if I would be interested in planning and implementing four Knitting Cafés in 2015. As part of my dissertation[6] research material consists of the knitted artefacts from the collections of the National Museum, and as I have a diploma in crafts and design besides my education as an ethnologist, I considered Knitting Cafés to be an interesting experience. At the same time I saw it as an opportunity to gain material about contemporary knitting for my research, and the idea arose of using collaborative ethnography as methodological experiment (Lassiter 2005). The educational role of the museum was not discussed in the planning context nor aspired to as a main target for the events. The Cafés were rather to be reciprocal events where the visitors could gain new ideas from traditional knitwear for their contemporary knitting and take an active role in sharing ideas and experiences with each other.

In this article I will examine how the meaning of tradition was constituted, and how the different spaces impacted on the creation of spatial practices in the Knitting Cafés. On an empirical level I will contemplate the reasons and expectations of the participants' attendance, when they came to continue an active tradition in a place where tradition has been collected and still is built up. How did the participants experience the museum as a place for communal knitting, the atmosphere of the Knitting Cafés and their relation to the knitting tradition? And furthermore: What actions were planned and what actions took place? And how did these actions relate to the different spaces that were used for the Knitting Cafés?

Since the museum knits are referred to as "traditional knitwear" and as the participants in the Cafés were asked about their relation and attitude to "traditional knits", it is necessary to look into the concept of tradition. Tradition as a process can be compared to a process of chain reaction in which tangible and intangible

skills, knowledge and behaviour are passed on in chains of different length from one person to another. Usually tradition is transmitted from older generations to younger ones as part of everyday life in close interaction with different age groups (Bringéus 1986:103–110).

According to the current knowledge knitting was adapted in Finland by the seventeenth century (e.g. Luutonen 1997: 77–79). Knitting has a rich tradition and has been deeply rooted in Finnish culture, particularly in women's lives, until recent decades. In earlier times knitting was passed on as tradition from older women to younger girls in the family. Learning at home took place gradually, imperceptibly and collectively, which affected the perception of the natural inheritance of craft skills. (Heikkinen 1997:45–46). Knitting has been considered such an important skill that every girl used to learn the basics of knitting, if not at home then at the latest through education at schools. Not only was the craft skill itself considered important, but also educational, economic and social values were attached to knitting, as it provided necessary clothing in a cold climate and a possibility for making additional income (Marjanen 2003:31–33; Rauhala 2003:206–212).

The artefacts and other archived material of the cultural heritage organizations cannot replace the importance of learning and transmitting the craft skills in practice. Marketta Luutonen argues that if the chain of traditional craft knowledge evolved over hundreds of years breaks down, it is difficult to restore it. Craft traditions unite generations and communities and maintain cultural identity, and they are continuous, changing, developmental and transnational in nature (Luutonen 2014:96–99). Distinct skills which have been learned in interaction with the surrounding natural and cultural environment maintain the continuity of tradition (Siivonen 2011:166–168).

Methodological Context and Research Material

The National Museum of Finland is situated in the centre of Helsinki. Information about the Knitting Cafés was disseminated in the museum's own advertisements, as well as in social media and via the Martha Organization's and the craft teachers' mailing lists. Some yarn shops even advertised the event, which was free of charge and open to everyone. This starting position implies the coincidental setting of participants in the field – a field that was created in a place that could be considered the official "cradle of Finnish heritage". In this sense the National Museum played the role of a so-called "third space", a new and experimental, yet intentionally created field (Marcus 2012:429–430).

According to the definition in the Oxford online dictionary, to collaborate means "to work together with somebody in order to produce or achieve something".[7] The collaboration in the Knitting Cafés entailed knitting together, sharing experiences, learning from traditional knitting techniques and using them to produce creative, contemporary knitting. Ethnographical work is based on interaction and recognition of the researcher's effect on the environment, and on creating knowledge through interaction. In this sense collaboration is essential during all stages of the ethnographic process. Collaborative ethnography is even more de-

liberate and explicit in practice, and "pulls together threads of collaboration between ethnographers and their consultants", as Lassiter (2005:17) states. It can be used as a theoretical and methodological approach, and can also be applied to museum work (Hämeenaho & Koskinen-Koivisto 2014:10, 21; Lassiter 2005:15–16).

Collaborative ethnography was used in the Knitting Cafés case as a methodological experiment combining the interests of the museum and of ethnological research. This could be considered a "double-agency" method, with a smaller ethnographic project, my PhD research, within a larger main project, in this case the National Museum's Knitting Café. Both agendas created conditions for this experimental approach and performed this double-agency role in action (Marcus 2012:440). Aside from the double agency of the event, I had a dual function. First, I considered myself a specialist and an inspirer, whose role was to introduce the audience to the secrets of traditional knitting using examples from the museum collections. I chose the topics of each of the four Knitting Cafés on this basis. Second, I was a researcher who wanted to participate in and observe the event. I realized that there could be risks associated with this double role: I would not have time to make any field notes during the event, for example. The questionnaire was distributed to provide backup and at least some written data covering the events.

The collaboration was also implemented in the research setting, as the museum visitors were considered research participants with influence over the research process. In other words, the implementation was based on reciprocal relations between the researcher-presenter and the participants as well as their mutual relations and active involvement in the Knitting Cafés.

The empirical sources on which this article is based include qualitative data reflecting my expectations, experiences and observations as a presenter of the Knitting Cafés before, during and after the events; my discussions with the visitors at the events, and 23 written responses to a questionnaire related to the events. In my approach to the material I use reflexive ethnographical reading and analysis. Reflexive ethnography refers to the way in which the research is affected by the personnel, and the included engagement of the researcher in all stages of the process of doing research (Aull Davies 2008:3–7).

Since answering the questionnaire was voluntary, the respondents do not represent the range of all the participants in the Knitting Cafés. Nevertheless, the people who answered considered it important to have their views, experiences and understanding of knitting tradition documented for future generations, as they were informed that their responses will be archived permanently in the Archives of the National Board of Antiquities for further use.[8]

The questionnaire comprised six questions prepared beforehand. The answers I use in this article concern the following main questions put to the visitors: How did you experience the Knitting Café? What were your expectations of the event? How do you relate to traditional knits? The participants were informed to write their answers freely, adding anything they thought relevant, and consequently the

material is qualitative in character. Most people returned their answers after the event, although some people completed them during the event. Because not all the respondents were willing to have their names published, all the responses are treated anonymously. The respondents ranged in age as follows: three between 32 and 40, three between 51 and 56, 16 between 62 and 73 and one aged 80. In the following the abbreviation "KC" is used with reference to the Knitting Café, and the birth years of the respondents with reference to the participants, all of whom were women. The majority of respondents were people of retirement age, and this may also reflect the age distribution of the participants in the Cafés.

Contextualizing Contemporary Knitting

Since the turn of the millennium knitting has become ever more visible, "big news" as Joanna Turney (2009: 1) states. Knitters have "come out of the closet" and feel they have a "licence to knit" in public, as *Helsingin Sanomat* reported on 31 March 2006. However knitting has also been popular before this so-called "new coming" and never really went away, although the images related to today's craft activity are drastically different. Historically knitting has been associated with domestic life and images of elderly ladies sitting in rocking chairs. Knitting has been linked to those everyday activities representing the mundane, the routine and unnoticed actions. By these associations knitting has been strongly gendered as women's craft activity which has also affected the valuation of knitting (Turney 2009:9–17).

In recent years the images associated with knitting have changed significantly. Knitting has become an active action associated with public, explicit, explosive and even political elements.[9] Today knitting is part of the "DIY" phenomenon and the new Arts and Crafts movement which seeks alternatives to mass production and consumption. The passion for craft reflects the attitude in everyday life not only through creativity, the process and joy of making but also as aroused environmental and political awareness, by making craft people connect with material, other people and the world (Gauntlett 2011:2, 45–79; Wolfram Cox & Minahan 2015:239).

The political elements of craft activity appear in people's choices to make things on a voluntary basis, as doing craft activities is not a necessity in today's world. By making artefacts themselves people have the possibility to control their own labour, the materials and the conditions in which the objects are made. Knitting can also represent ethical and political choices when the knitter chooses to make clothing to avoid buying industrially manufactured garments made by poorly paid workers (Gauntlett 2011:45–47, 69). The political statements can also arise in more concrete manner: a pink cover for a tank was knitted as a protest against the 2003 war in Iraq (Wolfram Cox & Minahan 2015: 242).

The craft activism of "yarn bombing" or creating environmental graffiti is an active way of taking over public spaces. It spread over the western world largely through the ideas shared on the Internet (Arnqvist Engström 2014:34). Not only the streets, parks and statues but also pub-

lic buildings, such as museums, are tagged by yarn bombers. The soft, colourful, woollen objects can be used as a means of critical comment, but still in many cases the motivation is simply pleasure, humour and joy. The yarn bombing phenomenon remains strongly gendered; it is mainly women's activity (Wolfram Cox & Minahan 2015:239–240). Even elderly ladies today can take an active role in creating street art: 104-year-old Grace Brett is a member of a secret band of guerrilla knitters who have filled their Yorkshire town with artful knitting.[10]

Arranged events, such as Knit 'n' Tag in Helsinki and Turku[11] and the global Knit in Public day, encourage people to assemble in public places and to make their knitting accomplishments visible and connect with other enthusiastic craft people. The increasing popularity of the Knit in Public day attests to this knitting boom: it started in 2005 with 25 local events, and in ten years has spread to become a global happening with more than 800 events in 56 countries.[12]

Along with spreading the ideas of global knitting events and phenomena related to knitting, the Internet offers new visibility for presenting craft activities and pieces of work. As the knitting groups used to be small and informal gatherings where participants drew on patterns from the past, they are no longer ruled by local tradition or personal relationships because knitting groups are accessible online. The enthusiasts throughout the world can be inspired by the work and ideas of people with the same interest (Gauntlett 2011:62; Wolfram Cox & Minahan 2015: 239). Knitters have their own social networks, such as Raverly, Knitideas.com and various Facebook groups where they can exchange patterns, ideas and get visibility for their work. On YouTube there are plenty of knitting tutorial videos to support knitters all over the world, as the entry word "knitting" gives more than a million hits.[13]

However, many knitters gather regularly in yarn shops or cafés to knit together face to face. In Tampere, for example, people meet at the Kerä yarn shop every Saturday and knit for three hours. This event is so popular that participants come from other places, such as Helsinki.[14] Nowadays knitting is not considered a craft exclusively for women, because men also knit and even have their own knitting events.

Making can play a positive role in local and global communities through direct engagement with particular charity campaigns, by helping or impacting local groups or the environment (Gauntlett 2011:66–68). This phenomenon can be recognized also in knitting. Not only do people knit for themselves and people who are close to them, they are also willing to knit for those in need. Campaigns promoting charity knitting for different targets, such as clothes for premature and newly born babies,[15] Mother Teresa blankets for India[16] or items for local children (e.g. *Nastola-lehti* 11 July 2012) are publicized in the media. The current refugee situation in August 2015 inspired a campaign to knit woollen socks for asylum seekers. This led to the creation of Facebook groups, one of which, called "Workshop Refugees welcome! Knits" meets weekly, its aim being "to create a warm and communal space and to offer the possibility to provide concrete assistance to

people in need".[17] Knitting for those who are vulnerable and in need, and wrapping them up in something warm and cosy, are not only symbolic in terms of caring for others (Corkhill, Hemmings, Maddock & Riley 2014:40), but are also practical and concrete actions. Knitting together for unknown people creates opportunities for social interaction in contemporary life.

Western media emphasize the wellbeing-related aspects of knitting. Headlines report positive effects on the memory and the mind (e.g. "Knitting improves the memory",[18] *Helsingin Sanomat* 22 January 2015; "Knitting your way to a healthier, happier mind", *NZ Herald*, 17 September 2015[19]). A substantial number of self-help knitting books have been published since the turn of the century (e.g. Corkhill 2014; Gant 2015; Skolnik & MacDaniels 2005). These contributions are not really new to seasoned knitters such as myself, but they have attracted research interest in recent years. Eija Vähälä (2003) has confirmed the relaxing effects of knitting in her research, and the related feeling of wellbeing is manifested physically in a decreasing heart rate. Knitting also affects people's mood, making them feel happier, calmer or less depressed. The repetitive movements and rhythm create a meditative-like state, whereas colours, textures and the sense of creativity have also been reported to have positive effects on the knitter's mood. On the group level, knitting improves social confidence and feelings of belonging, and is also used for therapeutic purposes related to mental health, to soothe pain, and to soften the effects of dementia and addiction (Corkhill, Hemmings, Maddock & Riley 2014).

In the Auditorium the Knitting Café changes into a lecture during which it was possible to knit. Photo: Laura Svärd, The National Museum of Finland.

The Ethnography of the Knitting Cafés

The themes of the Knitting Cafés were related mainly to traditional Finnish knits and tied to the knitted artefacts in the collections of the National Museum, but Estonian influences in them were also taken into account. The events started at 4 p.m. and some 90 minutes was reserved for the occasions. This was due to the opening hours of the museum. In the information notices people were advised to bring their own knitting or alternatively knitting needles and yarn for experimental knitting linked with the theme of the evening.

The first Knitting Café took place on 29 January 2015 in the room next to the museum café. The doors of the café were opened to give people the chance to walk

around and take more coffee while staying in connection with the primary space. The museum staff[20] had placed tables in the room, the idea being that people would bring their coffee with them and sit around the tables in small groups, knitting. They had also brought some new colourful knits to brighten up the room, and yarns and knitting needles in case people did not have the equipment with them. Five pairs of knitted socks and mittens from the museum's collection were on display in a vitrine. Each event was to have different knitwear on display, related to the specific theme.

The theme of the first Café was "Knitting patterns in everyday and festive knitwear". The presentation was based mainly on the knitted mittens and socks, altogether some 400 objects from the museum's collections. I had prepared carefully for the evening in terms of content. I divided the event into two parts. The first 20 minutes comprised my introduction to the subject, after which there was time for questions and free discussion and a workshop on traditional knitting based on the museum's collections. I was to pass on knowledge and skill of knitting tradition through practice by using the examples of museum's collections, and moreover, by showing and advising on the making of traditional knitting patterns and techniques participants could try and experience in practice. Three students of craft sciences,[21] who worked at the museum as trainees, were present and ready to help with the workshop if necessary. On this basis I hoped also to arouse discussion of the ideas and the potential uses of traditional knitwear as inspiration for contemporary knitting.

I had drawn out the instructions for the knitting patterns of two mittens and one sock, which represented different Finnish areas as well as knitting textures, and had them copied for the participants. I had also started to knit one of the mittens, whose pattern is based on knit and purl stitches, and took other knitted samples with me as well, so the texture could be seen and touched in practice. People started to come into the room with their knitting needles just after three o'clock, an hour before the starting time 4 p.m. By a quarter to four the room was full and the museum staff started to bring in more chairs. By four o'clock it was crowded. People were standing at the back and in the doorways leading to the corridor, and the café next door was filled with people knitting. The students counted some 130 altogether, all of them women.

I noticed some people leaving when I finished my presentation, although most people sat down and continued with their knitting. The number of people surprised all of us. The trainees ran back and forth taking more copies for people, who grabbed them gratefully. I realized that it was not possible to have the workshop because of the lack of space and the size of the audience. I had to give up my original idea of interactive knitting, and to change the concept and my role. An hour that was still left was to be filled with the questions and free discussion. I started to act more like a host trying to inspire people to share their experiences and knowledge of knitting, rather than a participating researcher, teacher and knitter revealing the secrets of traditional knitting. In this now changed situation, passing on knitting tradition was possible only by sharing my own and the

audience's knowledge and experiences orally. The knitting samples were going around the room from one person to another, and people had the possibility to try the knitting technique in them. Still, when passing on intangible heritage, such as skill, where tacit knowledge[22] is involved, it is not possible to pass on with pictures or oral instructions only, but would have required closer interactivity and sharing of experiences in practice.

The discussion that arose after my presentation was active and the atmosphere in the room was lively. At the end of the Café quite a few people went to the trainees asking for advice on interpreting the knitting instructions, for tips about different knitting techniques and instructions for making the knitwear that was on display. There was also a small queue of people who wanted to have a word with me in private. They asked questions about knitting techniques, talked about their own or a relative's experience of knitting and gave me some ideas for my research. So, I was also a gaining part in the process of passing on knitting tradition. The space and the changed character of the event created a different kind of ground for research than I had planned beforehand. Thus, the lively interaction with and within the audience produced an unpredictable and utilizable field for researching the continuity of tradition.

Following the success of the first Knitting Café the museum staff decided to hold subsequent events in the Auditorium. The change of place also signified a change in the nature of the Knitting Cafés and in my role. The Auditorium is a space used for presentations, with raked seating for the audience and a stage for the speaker. Consequently it was not possible to move around or to have the workshop, and people were not even allowed to bring their coffee into the space. This drastically changed the composition of the event, which largely consisted of my own presentation. Thus, the second Knitting Café on 26 February was not really a "café" but a lecture. The topic of the evening, "Various cuffs and edges from ribbing to lace knitting", had been settled before we knew about the change in the venue and the character of the event. When I chose the title the workshop had been my starting point, and it was challenging for me to change it to a lecture with such a limited topic. This time there were about 80 participants, and some questions did arise at the end, but there was not the same enthusiasm or involvement that I witnessed in January. The lack of interaction with the audience in the Auditorium did not create a potential field for the research.

To make it easier to talk to people face-to-face after the lecture, I asked for some tables to be placed at the front of the stage for the third event on 26 March, which we filled with books and knitted items. The topic of the Café was "The regional specialities of Finnish knitwear" and I had also asked people to bring along some of their own knitting they would like to show to others. During my lecture, when I was talking about "the Korsnäs sweater",[23] an elderly lady wearing one of these sweaters came down to the stage and started to present her garment. Her pride in the piece of work she was wearing was obvious and I gave her some time to present the skilful knit before continuing with my topic.

This time, quite a few of the approximately 80 participants came down after the lecture to touch, see and feel the knitted examples on the tables. Pia Ketonen, one of the four writers of the knitting book *Sukupolvien silmukat* ("The Stitches of Generations", 2014) which has 30 patterns for old knitted socks and mittens from the museums' collections, had brought her template knits on display. Another lady had brought Estonian socks that old women had knitted in the 1990s and also mittens her mother had made in the Savo region in Eastern Finland. This setting and gathering together by the tables led to more discussion and sharing of experiences than in February, when most people left straight after the lecture.

Because the Auditorium was booked for something else, the last Knitting Café with the topic "The Estonian influences on Finnish knitwear" on 23 April took place in a spare room on the second floor of the museum. The room seemed cosy in comparison to the Auditorium, and the tablecloths, rag rugs and provision of free coffee, organized by the museum personnel, restored the café atmosphere. There were tables around which people could sit in small groups, and this time there were about 60 participants. My place was in the middle of the room, with the audience around me, and I felt more like a storyteller in "the main square of a village" than a lecturer in a room. The room created a communicative and homely atmosphere. The warm feeling was such that after the lecture many people stayed on, and we talked until 6 p.m. when a member of staff came to tell us that the museum was closing. The differences between the colourful, detailed and technically demanding Estonian knits and simpler Finnish ones proved an eye-opener of Finnish knitting tradition for many and raised questions about why the Finnish knits have such neutral colours, have fewer details and the making of them requires less skill than the Estonian knits. At this time I was rather more like one of the knitters than an expert and discussed with them rather than just answered their questions. Together we wondered how and why our knitting tradition has developed in such a way.

The Spatiality of Different Spaces

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill emphasizes that "education is one of the prime functions of a museum and the reason for the existence of a museum" (Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 229). Yet the museums' role in today's society is changing and finding new forms, as museums have become increasingly interdisciplinary in focus and include broader constituencies and activists along with custodial agendas (Wolfram Cox & Minahan 2015:235). Though the educational role of the Knitting Cafés was not outlined in the planning of or information about the events, the desire to learn more about knitting traditions was the primary reason why many visitors came to the events as was pointed out in their responses.

> The only reason I came was for the lecture. I am interested in all kinds of crafts and their history (KC 1949).

> I am interested in all sorts of information related to knitting. [From Knitting Café] I expected an introduction to museum knitwear (KC 1950a).

> I came mainly because of the lecture. So the reason I came was my thirst for knowledge (KC 1952).

The first knitting Café was filled with surprisingly many enthusiastic knitters. Photo: Hanna Forsell, The National Museum of Finland.

Consequently for many visitors the museum was especially a place for education and gaining information, but how they experienced the museum as a place to practice living knitting tradition does not stand out in their answers. Only one person commented on the museum as a place in which to knit. She thought the museum and knitting were a "promising combination for people who are into traditional craft" (NC 1951). For the others it was rather the lived space inside the museum in which the Knitting Café was held that mattered to them as it played an important role in creating the atmosphere at the events.

The National Museum represented the institutional spatiality by being an officially created space for preserving, generating and sharing knowledge of the tradition, and serving the events as a tool for action. It was remarkable how the different spaces inside the museum led to different spatial practices and formulated the occasions.

The space where the Café was held in January created spatiality where people found it easy to participate and have interaction with each other. However, a sense of connection and community between the participants was partly lacking. As a lived space the Auditorium created spatiality where the audience was more receptive than participating, and the spatial interaction was non-existent unless it had been created on purpose, as I aimed to do with the Café held in March. The room where the April Café was held created a feeling of warm cosiness, the same feeling that can be related to knitting and wrapping oneself in warm and comforting knits. The small elements, such as the tablecloths, the rugs and the placing of the tables, made the room a place for relaxation and a positive atmosphere and also created a good environment for spatial interaction

between individual knitters practising tradition together.

The participants' feelings related to the spatiality and the atmosphere reflected my own experiences and feelings about each event.

I went to two Knitting Cafés. The events were very different. I came to my first one, which was held in the Auditorium, with my friend. The lecture was interesting, but there was no discussion with other people apart from with my own friend. Well, that was nice too. The April event was held in a confined room and I got a seat at a table. The discussion about yarns, knitted items and needles started immediately. The atmosphere was different, even though I came alone. […] What I expected from these events was an introduction to museum knitwear, which I got, and I especially liked the event in April. When people get together it's nice to compare working methods and so on. This did not happen at the February event, but it did in April (KC1950b).

Knitting together itself created a sense of communal spatiality, where the participants found it easy to talk with people they did not know beforehand. Through individual spatial practices, the feelings towards knitting as a very personal act, revealing something about the knitter, intensified the sense of togetherness and visitors' spatial interaction.

It's more sociable to knit with other people than alone at home. There's a sense of togetherness when everyone shares the same hobby (KC 1942).

I came alone and was surprised there were so many people there. Knitting together is nice. It connects people, and conversation related to knitting and yarn flows easily (KC 1951).

The event was wonderful. The possibility of knitting brought a different kind of feeling than there would have been if the audience just listened to a lecture. People reveal something about themselves when they are knitting – the yarns, the colours and the product all say something. This created a feeling of personal presence and a strong sense of community (KC 1959).

Implementing and Feeling Tradition

In the Knitting Cafés my role was to pass on craft tradition in the forms of knits that had been quiescent for decades in the museum stores. I had brought up the concealed artefacts in the collections, made them visible and brought them to public consciousness. What followed was that the value of traditional knits also rose in the context of the museum's collections.[24]

There was plenty of time for free talk in the first Knitting Café, and the enthusiasm and activity constituted a good basis for conversation. The questions from audience members related to the details in the knitwear, knitting traditions in general and in other countries, and the originality of the knitting pattern. Questions about what kind of knitted accessories there are in the national costumes, where the instructions for them could be found and who is in charge of making them, were also raised. Along with these issues people asked about quality, about buying yarns and what is the right way to knit the heel of a sock. Because there was not one right answer to the questions related to techniques and yarns used for knitting, I encouraged the audience to share their own experiences on the matter. People who took part in the discussion had quite a strong emotion relating to some manufacturers' yarns they did not consider to be of good enough quality, but beside those comments experiences of "good quality yarns" were also shared and manufacturers mentioned by name. The experimental knowledge of suitable yarns for different knits was passed on. When the question

was brought up, people showed a great deal of interest in the knitted accessories of national costumes and were astonished by the fact that there is no one organization that is in charge of producing, preserving and selling the instructions.[25] The randomness of finding the patterns for traditional knitting was considered as a threat to our costume and craft tradition.

The issue concerning the sock heels struck me as the most interesting one. The questioner was an elderly lady, and she wanted to know what I felt about the socks sold at fairs. She felt strongly that many people did not know how to knit a good heel, and found it astonishing that people were selling socks with heels that were too short or not reinforced. My response was that there were many ways of knitting a sock heel, and that the heels in most of the socks from the 1800s held in the museum were not reinforced, this was presumably not the preferred answer. I heard someone comment that a heel that is not reinforced does not last long enough, with which I agreed, adding that some of the museum's socks clearly had re-knitted heels that replaced the worn-out ones.

I was told afterwards[26] that some of the younger participants sensed a slight tension between the younger and the older women in the first Knitting Café. This had something to do with the atmosphere and different attitudes to knitting, as if the elderly ladies did not approve of the younger knitters' more carefree and creative approach. At least one person felt that someone of my age could not yet be a knitting expert. I had introduced myself as a researcher on knitting and a trained craft practitioner specialized in knitwear, and also as a knitter with over 40 years' experience[27] of active knitting. I was told that an elderly lady had sighed at this: "Forty years, that's nothing!"

Another question about doing things the right way came up at the April Knitting Café, related to the way of knitting the thumb in a mitten. A lady who was born in Estonia but had lived her late-childhood years in Finland wondered why the thumb had to be widened in the Fair Isle mittens they made at school, because in Estonia the thumbs were knitted straight. In the discussion that followed one of the attendants recalled that she had learned from her mother in the 1950s that widening the thumb was "the right way of doing it".

These questions about shaping heels and thumbs, and the views expressed in response, show the extent to which emotions are attached to these small details in knitting, which has been a compulsory part of craft education for Finnish girls since the establishment of elementary schools until the 1970s (Rauhala 2003: 207). Many children found knitting the heel of a sock the most frustrating element of learning to knit. If it was not done properly the teacher made the pupil unravel her knitting, and in some cases the girl's mother or housemaid knitted heels for her at home to take back to school as her own work. Teachers and mothers have traditionally had the right to criticize girls in their knitting, even though the demands at home and at school were not always in line with each other (Manninen 2003:78–79). The ideological justification for teaching knitting was not only as a useful skill to be learned, but also as an educational method for learning patience, obedience and discipline, which were con-

sidered feminine virtues (Marjanen 2003: 31–33; Turney 2009:13). This ethos of "knitting the right way", the way that is acknowledged and authorized, and considered the right kind of tradition, seems to be passed on via knitting traditions, and is visible in the narratives of women of retirement age. This seems to separate the older and younger generations and the way they experience and practice the knitting tradition. The younger generation questions the old ways of "right kind of knitting" and use the traditional patterns more freely and creatively, while the older generation considers it more important to preserve and redo the old, "authentic" knitting patterns and technical details.

In the participants' approach to traditional knitting two kinds of attitudes came up. To some the knitting tradition primarily meant using and re-creating old Finnish knitting patterns, whereas others saw it in a wider context, as a transnational craft tradition for women that involved using old patterns from different countries. They all appreciated traditional knitwear even if not all of them reproduced it in their own knitting. The availability of the relevant knitting instructions was considered important for continuing the tradition. Some had a deeper interest in the aspect of tradition.

> Traditional knitwear means a lot to me. It makes me feel part of a chain of knitting generations who want to preserve the original culture for future generations. […] The traditional materials and patterns are natural, inspired by nature, which for me means aesthetic and harmonious. It also makes me feel part of a global tradition of women of all nationalities, we share similar elements, except that the materials and colours reflect the nature of each country. […] Tradition disappears if the patterns have to be traced from different sources in an extra industrious manner (KC 1951).

> I am very interested in the knitting traditions and traditional knitwear. I admire the active knitting traditions of Estonia and Latvia, and want to play a part in continuing that tradition. I use traditional patterns in my own knitting and I have also compiled knitting instructions from old museum knitwear (KC 1961).

Concluding Remarks

When accepting the opportunity to be a presenter at the Knitting Cafés, my aim was to find out whether a museum event could be used as a site for research, where the method of collaborative ethnography could be implemented in practice. Knitting Cafés constituted a field and a space in the Finnish National Museum within which to conduct an experiment on this subject. The planned vision of the Knitting Cafés was not realized because of the unexpectedly large number of participants, which made it impossible to have the workshops and obliged the museum to change the venue. My intention was to assume the role of an inspirer and a participant, but it became something else: I was forced to act as a host and a lecturer. In the case of the Knitting Cafés the dual function of researcher did not work out in the anticipated way, and all this also changed the planned set-up for my research. Still, the visitors who answered the questionnaire appreciated the collaborative nature and spatiality of the events as they were active participants who shared an interest in knitting tradition and knitting together.

The museum implies a place of preserving, creating and sharing of tradition and knowledge. The visitors at the Knitting Cafés experienced the museum primarily

as a place to gain information and this was the main reason for their attendance. The museum's institutional spatiality created a frame for the Cafés and for practising tradition, but it did not catch the audience's conscious attention. Instead, the different spaces inside the museum led to different spatial practices and had an impact on how the research field and the interaction with and within the audience were constructed. The spatiality was different in each of the three spaces used, and influenced not only my role as a presenter but also the audience's experiences and the atmosphere of each event.

Although the space in the January Café could have created a cosy, warmth and communal environment, it was not achieved because of the large number of participants. For the same reason the planned workshop did not materialize. In February and March the Auditorium and the lecture format replaced the previously planned café and changed the character of the events. In spite of that, the majority of participants were satisfied because their expectations mainly concerned the knowledge of knitting tradition. The April event was the most successful of the four in conveying the idea of the Knitting Café. The space had a strongly positive effect and created a relaxed, warm and even "homely" surrounding. Active knitting resulted a sense of communal spatiality, a strong sense of togetherness which was accomplished as a relaxing and sociable atmosphere.

The Knitting Cafés attracted ladies of retirement age in particular, although younger women also came along. One explanation for this could have been the starting time at four o'clock in the afternoon, which may be difficult for those who are working, as one participant pointed out (KC 1952a). Men also knit, but this approach of communal knitting in the museum and the themes related to traditional knitwear did not seem to interest them, at least not this time. On the other hand, one could conclude that the contemporary younger knitters who relate to the wilder DIY phenomenon of creativity, political and environmental awareness and global Internet networks do not identify so closely with "traditional knitting".

Age seems to have something to do with how people understand and feel about knitting traditions. Some elderly ladies, at least, seemed to be slightly uncomfortable with the apparent disappearance of what they considered the "right" tradition. The influence of the old institutional learning was still strongly present among those of retirement age. Tradition is understood as something authentic, permanent, repeatable and instructed, that should be preserved and should continue in the same way – "the right way". The younger participants had a broader understanding of the knitting tradition. To them tradition was connected to the global heritage of women of all nationalities, and practising tradition meant not only the repetition of old patterns but also new ways of using traditional knits as a source of inspiration. They also saw themselves as tradition carriers in a chain of knitting heritage.

My role and work as a researcher who passed on knitting tradition in the National Museum also drew the public attention to the museum collections' knitwear. The increased interest had an influence on values concerning the museum collections and

led to the systematic downloading of museum knits for Finna.fi search services, which provides free access to the material available on the Internet.

Knitting nowadays is transnational, global and innovative in nature. It is not simply passed on as tradition from one generation to another as it also develops in peer groups that include knitting groups gathering face to face, Internet communities, blogs and videos, all of which play a major role in learning processes and the passing on of ideas. Knitting as a skill is no longer a necessity to be learned and accomplished, but rather an enjoyable leisure activity that gives a sense of achievement through the creation of a product. Traditional knitting patterns convey a feeling of tradition in a transnational field of women's craft. Old patterns and craft knowledge from the past are not only copied but are also used creatively. All this proves how different ways of perceiving the knitting tradition are alive and active, changing and developing in Finland today, as is characteristic of living tradition.

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Notes

1 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention, accessed 16 February 2016.
2 For example in UNESCO World Forum on Culture and Creative Industries 2009 (Luutonen 2014: 94, 118).
3 This information is based on discussions with Hanna Forssell, Head Curator of Education at the National Museum of Finland.
4 Feedback from active knitters who participated in the courses and lectures on traditional knitting I gave in 2005–2006.
5 The idea of Knitting Cafés arose in my discussion with the National Museum's Head Curator of Education and ethnologist Hanna Forssell. The idea was inspired by the example of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, the Swedish National Museum of Cultural History, where Knitting Cafés had been arranged earlier.
6 I am currently working on my dissertation *Knitting as Skill, Heritage and Wellbeing in Finland from the 1800s to the Present*. I am grateful to the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Seurasaari Foundation for kindly supporting me in my research.
7 http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/learner/collaborate, accessed 9 August 2015.
8 As my further PhD research material, beside the knitted artefacts, consist of questionnaires of the Ethnological collections of the National Board of Antiquities, it was justifiable to create a new questionnaire to be used in the Knitting Cafés. By this questionnaire my aim was to get in contact with contemporary knitters and collect research material of their experiences as knitters and their relation to knitting tradition. Ultimately the material would be stored in the archive of the National Board of Antiquities to supplement the older questionnaires, originally created by the National Museum of Finland and produced in 1956–1996 (Olsson 2014: 65; Snellman 2014: 239–242).
9 On everyday and active actions, see Pink 2012.
10 http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/trending/video-104-year-old-knitter-who-yarn-bombed-local-town-thought-to-be-world-s-oldest-street-artist-1-7460171, accessed 23 August 2015.
11 http://taitoaboland.fi/suo/projektit/knit_n_tag_turku_2015/, accessed 23 August 2015; http://www.supafly.net/knitntag-2012/, accessed 23 August 2015.
12 http://www.wwkipday.com/, accessed 17 August 2015.
13 https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=knitting, accessed 16 February 2016.
14 http://kera.fi/, accessed 23 August 2015; NC 1963.

15 http://article.wn.com/view/2014/09/18/Tee_hyvaa_neulo_pipa_keskoselle_SOK_Suomen_Osuuskauppojen_Ke/, accessed 23 August 2015; http://www.savonmaa.fi/index.php?option=com_content&id=2778:martoilta-sukat-jokaiselle-vauvalle, accessed 23 August 2015.
16 Many churches in Finland arrange blanket-knitting events: see, for example: http://www.vantaanseurakunnat.fi/tapahtumat/2015-09-01/peittopiiri#, accessed 2 September 2015.
17 https://rednet.punainenristi.fi/node/33388, accessed 25 August 2015; https://www.facebook.com/events/159795477692184/, accessed 25 August 2015.
18 The author's translation: the original headline in Finnish was "Neulominen parantaa muistia".
19 http://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=11513344, accessed 17 September 2015.
20 The workshop instructor Ulla Kostiainen and the conservator Vuokka Ahlfors were in charge of the preparations. Senior Assistant Sari Tauriainen ordered the knits from storage.
21 Enna-Matilada Kukkola, Anniliina Omwami and Hanna-Kaisa Poutiainen.
22 Tacit knowledge is especially included in experimental craft skills learned in practice (e.g. Ranta 2004:117).
23 In Finnish "Korsnäsinpaita" and in Swedish "Korsnäströjan".
24 Because of the growing interest in the museum knits the senior assistant of the National Museum of Finland, Sari Tauriainen, uploaded the pictures and information of collection's knitwear to Finna, the internet service giving access to the material of Finnish archives, libraries and museum. She also presented the use of this Internet service at the Knitting Café held on March.
25 The Council of Finnish National Costumes worked during the years 1979–2010 and since then the National Costume Centre of Finland has been working on the issues concerning the new Finnish national costumes of Finnish-speaking areas. From the 1980s onwards the instructions and patterns for new national costumes have been made, but the instructions for making the older costumes have not been systematically created (The National Costume Center of Finland's consultant on national costumes, Taina Kangas, November 12, 2015).
26 I have since met some of the participants at other knitting events, for example. Their feedback came to light in personal discussions, not in the questionnaire responses.
27 I learned to knit when I was five years old and have been knitting ever since.

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Implied Meal Partners

Ethnographic Accounts of Elderly Participants in a Clinical Intervention and Their Meals

By Marie Haulund Otto

A couple who have been married for 15 years are sitting on the double bed in what used to be their shared home. The man has just moved out. It was his wife who made the decision that they should go their separate ways. They have just shared a cordial dinner and fraternization may be on the cards – perhaps even make-up sex. They laugh at themselves, recalling their numerous attempts at partner therapy. But the memory of a particular therapy session with a Freud-inspired psychotherapist suddenly brings the couple's unrealized expectations, habits and deeply rooted reaction patterns back into their conversation. They end up having yet another heated argument.

This scene is from the American comedy film *The Story of Us* from 1999. The film shows how different outlooks on life and family values are brought together and sometimes clash in marital relations. The couple bring their parents' viewpoints into everything they do. In the film, this is illustrated by showing the parents' physical presence in the double bed. They are seated next to the couple and participate in their conversation. In this way, the parents are very tangibly implied partners in the marriage relationship. The film scene makes explicit how the parents are a part of the couple's marital routines, their repeated arguments and their day-to-day negotiations.

In this article, I argue that something similar applies to meal practices. The article is based on ethnographic studies in and around a clinical lifestyle intervention with elderly participants aged 65 and above. For just under a year and a half, I have been following 28 participants throughout the intervention.[1] During this period, I have conducted life-history interviews in their homes. On several occasions during the interviews, it struck me that the elderly participants almost never eat or even plan their meals alone – not even those who have lived alone for a long time. As is the case in *The Story of Us,* other people are always implied. These others may be a participant's spouse, late mother, children who moved out a long time ago or the researchers in the clinical intervention.

By developing the concept of implied meal partners in this article, I investigate how the elderly participants' meal practices are formed and transformed. The concept should not be understood as something clear-cut or rigid, but rather as an analytical approach to understanding and explicating how the elderly participants' meal practices imply and connect a number of different people, bodies and feelings across temporal, biological and geographical distances.

I have drawn my theoretical inspiration for *implied meal partners* from the Norwegian cultural historian Ole Marius Hylland (2002). In his thesis on public education, Hylland uses the German literary historian Wolfgang Iser's ideas about the *implied reader* (1972) to investigate how the people are present in the Norwegian journal *Folkevennen* (Friend of the People) and their particular significance in relation to the form and contents of the texts in the journal (Hylland 2002:96). Hylland argues that the people are often more than just a possible receiver: they are *intended readers* and they are offered an active, however, non-explicit role in defining the text; they become *implied readers* (ibid.: 99−100). The implied meal partners are not representations but rather people who exist or once existed. They are involved in several different ways in the organization of the elderly people's meals. Like Hyl-

land's interpretation of the *implied reader*, however, the implied meal partner is also a kind of role or personification of specific logics or rationales, which are created by and contribute to the formation of the elderly participants' meal practices (cf. Hylland 2002:100). Sometimes the implied meal partner is explicitly present in the daily lives of the elderly person, which is consistent with Wolfgang Iser's use of the concept of the *intended reader*: he points out that the reader can be present in a text via the author's communication to him/her (Iser 1978:33). At other times, the implied meal partners are only present via the elderly participants' perception of them. Thus, implied meal partners can also be a "fictional resident" (Hylland 2002:98) in the elderly people's meal practices – their own future bodies, for example; i.e. bodies that can take care of themselves and perhaps also continue to take care of others. These bodies are implied meal partners because they are not simply an idea but rather they are assigned a specific role in the organization of meals.

In order to understand how meals always imply more participants than just those who are partaking, I also draw upon the work of the Swedish ethnologists Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren. In their joint publication *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*, they indicate that everyday practices and routines are collective patterns rather than individual habits (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:120). Several recent ethnographic studies focus on eating as an analytical tool – a "new way of seeing" – and, at the same time, investigate eating itself as something that occurs both inside and outside of bodies in an "assemblage" of both human and non-human actors, memories and habits as well as biology and sensory engagement (Abbots & Lavis 2013). Indeed, by choosing not to discuss the act of eating and instead focusing on meal practices, the aim is to grasp how meals are embedded in everyday situations and routines. For Ehn and Löfgren, everyday life goes from being a given, where things just happen, to being something *significant*. When everyday life is pointed out, the invisible emerges and becomes visible and interesting. For example, something as banal as whether a kitchen door is open or closed can show power structures or class struggles (Ehn & Löfgren 2010). Similarly, meals are often the site of negotiations and resistance (Löfgren 2010:99). My argument is that this involves not only people who are physically present but also implied meal partners who are, in a number of different ways, involved in ways in which the elderly participants structure their meals.

The Elderly Participants' Meals

> Eating habits do change with age… but at the same time, they are still similar to the rest of us when it comes to what they eat: Sunday is still pastry day.
> – Dietician, meeting at the Clinic for Sport Medicine, 4 March 2015.

The quotation above comes from a meeting about food registration I participated in at the beginning of my fieldwork. The elderly participants are asked by the clinical researchers to register everything they eat for three days on two occasions during the twelve months they are involved in the clinical intervention. This involves weighing their food and keeping a food diary. The aim is to investigate how a dietary

supplement of either whey protein or sugar that the elderly participants are taking twice a day as part of the intervention might gradually change how or what they eat over time. This is, in turn, part of an investigation of whether an increase in protein consumption can prevent age-related loss of muscle mass.

The dietician had been invited to the meeting by the physiologists and doctors in charge of the daily work with the study participants. She was asked to share her experiences regarding measuring cups, kitchen scales and registration forms. At the same time, she was also able to contribute with her knowledge about elderly people's meals. According to the dietician, there is a turning point when people's working life comes to an end and they retire: elderly people tend to eat less regularly after they stop working. However, the dietician pointed out that the participants are still likely to drink one too many bottles of wine at the weekend and, apparently, eat pastries on Sunday. Therefore, the conclusion reached at the meeting was that the elderly people should register their food intake on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, because: "this is as close to normal everyday life as possible."

Although this exchange implies an awareness of continuity, of the durable structures of everyday life (Damsholt & Jespersen 2014), people's eating habits change *with age* according to the dietician's experience. The others who were present at the meeting, who are all either physiologists or doctors, agreed with her basic premise. The assumption that people's eating habits change over time, and that they consume smaller amounts of protein is a central tenet of their work. According to the physiologists in charge of the clinical intervention, the decreased consumption of protein is one of the factors that lead to age-related loss of muscle mass. In this sense, the intervention aims to produce more robust bodies by stabilizing them with dietary supplements based on whey protein, and physical training. Thus, in the logic of the intervention, the good life in old age is an active and, first and foremost, self-sustaining life. However, according to researchers from a different academic discipline, i.e. the microbiologists who are also involved in the clinical intervention, giving the elderly participants a protein-enriched dietary supplement may not necessarily work. The microbiologists have a kind of ethical mandate in the clinical intervention. Their hypothesis is that people's intestines become less effective at breaking down protein with age. The microbiologists study the participants' faeces and, among other things, observe how the participants' guts convert the extra protein. Thus, their hypothesis with regard to why we change our eating habits over time is that our tolerance to the same foods may decrease throughout life. The connections between the body and food are by no means clear-cut. They are not only manifested in the different academic approaches but also in the elderly people's meal practices.

Indeed, one of the objectives of this article is to challenge and add something new to the apparently stable assumption expressed by the quotation above, which is also fundamental to the clinical intervention; that is, that eating habits change *with age*. Thus, the point is not to refute the idea that individual, biological bodies change their taste preferences and eating

patterns due to the biological ageing process, but rather to bring other relations into the equation in order to qualify the present intervention and future, similar studies aimed at changing people's eating habits.

Ethnographic Fieldwork and Three Ethnographic Accounts

This article consists of ethnographic accounts about three study participants' meal practices based primarily on life-story interviews. The interviews have been conducted as part of fieldwork which took place approximately 18 months from winter 2014 to summer 2015. As the ethnologist Lene Otto has stated, the life-story is not a prearranged narrative or a detached retelling, but rather a problem in itself (Otto 1998:124). The pasts of the research participants and the life-historical elements and experiences are not merely waiting to be unveiled, but rather these are explicitly thematized and shaped relative to the problems I want to work on and, all at once, picked out and organized by the research participants. All life-story interviews have revolved around the same five themes: embodiment and experiences of ageing and ageing processes, everyday routines, meal practices, physical activity and experiences with the clinical intervention. The life-story interviews thereby interconnect pasts and present, home and clinic, enabling the research participants to crisscross back and forth in time and space, establishing multiple chronologies in generative processes between me as interviewer and the research participants as informants. The life-story interviews offer common spaces for reflection, but they also configure space for specific analyses of meal practices and implied meal partners. During the 18-month period I have been going back and forth from the clinic, my writing desk and the homes of the research participants. The overall fieldwork included observations of daily routines during entire working days in the offices and participant observation in the testing rooms as well as in the training facilities of the clinic. While in the clinic I have engaged with scientific staff about their work and also in more informal conversations with research participants. Yet, my primary focus on research participants and their experiences and relations with the clinical intervention have provided insights into how scientific knowledge travels outside the clinic and the laboratories and how it is reshaped and reproduced (e.g. Mol *et al*. 2010; Moreira 2004; Brives 2013).

Thus, I chose the three participants because they are each involved in the clinical intervention in a different way. For Tove, the intervention is an exceptional state especially with regard to the protein supplement. Her meals are carefully planned and she is put off by the idea of consuming something that she considers to be artificial or unnatural. Furthermore, she has experienced physical discomfort due to the supplement and continually negotiates with the physiologists and doctors as to whether she must take it. For Finn, in contrast, the intervention is a revelation. His body has manifested itself in new ways and he tries to adapt his everyday life to the norms of the clinical trial. For Christian, who used to be a managing director in the food industry, the clinical intervention is a part of an ongoing process of personal development; for him, the in-

tervention is a community that he recognizes and of which he can comfortably be a part.

Meals as Markers in a Daily Rhythm

In the following section of the article, I focus on how Tove organises her day around mealtimes. As the dietician also indicated at the meeting about food registration, retirement tends to mark a change in meal practices. However, some continuity from a long working life still remains. I show how the three main meals become markers in a daily rhythm and how daily life is sustained by virtue of meals. This is significant to the clinical intervention in several different ways. In particular, when the dietary supplement has the same function, and fills up the participants' stomachs in the same way as a complete meal.

The Swedish ethnologist Åsa Alftberg argues in her study of ageing, the body and materiality that the organization of meals is a way in which her elderly informants, who are all retired, can control or tame time so that it is not simply wasted (Alftberg 2012:86). Something similar can be said of Tove. She is 70 years old and lives alone in a rented terraced house in a Copenhagen suburb. She retired four years ago from her job as a librarian, which she evidently enjoyed a great deal. She worked at the same library for 42 years.[2] The union magazine is still visible in her home and she speaks animatedly about a new era with more IT, and also more top-down management, of which she is glad to be free. For her, meals help to create continuity between working life and retirement. In this sense, meals connect the past and the present in a very concrete manner. They maintain the structure in which working life also functioned.

Tove: I eat lunch at precisely twelve o'clock. It was the same when I was at work. It is also a way of marking that, okay, now I am moving on to the next thing. And again, on the radio, there is also an hour of classical music. And that too is a transition, so there is an hour of peace and quiet when I can read the paper and things like that.

By looking at the details, the habitual, Ehn and Löfgren (2010) describe how routines that otherwise tend to be perceived as insignificant repetitions help to make everyday life function. Mealtimes and the role they play are subject to renewed scrutiny when a person retires, and they take on a new significance for Tove, primarily because they maintain a kind of cohesion in her everyday life. Time can easily pass unnoticed when a person no longer has somewhere to be or finishes work at a set time, but the three main meals remain constant points of transition in everyday life. However, Tove is not worried about wasting time as Alftberg's informants were. Rather, Tove's days are so full of activities that she needs peace and quiet to do things she really enjoys, like reading the paper and listening to the radio. The three main meals are, in this sense, a contrast to times of activity. Mealtimes become almost a space outside of time, in which Tove is able to relax. However, she rarely does so alone. At lunchtime in particular, she tends to get her fill of either knowledge or company. When she meets people now, it is often for lunch. Previously, she ate with her colleagues.

Tove: A lot of my social circle is also retired, so we have some clubs. And then when I see people it is for lunch instead of in the evenings. Like I used to eat with other people at work.

Once again, this points towards continuity between working life and retirement and shows how meals, and in Tove's case lunch, almost demand some form of social interaction. The idea that it is better to eat with others than alone is a persistent norm, which is produced and reproduced in both research and health recommendations (see e.g. Wilk 2010; Kayser Nielsen 2003).

Although Tove has lived alone for a long time, she prefers not to eat alone. At the very least, she has the radio on. Maintaining a kind of lunch break is also a way of breaking up the day into more manageable segments. Breakfast, lunch and dinner can have different durations and content depending on other temporal factors, such as the season, for example. However, the three main meals provide transitions or fixed points around which everyday life is structured – even if participation in other activities causes them to be moved or skipped entirely.

Tove: Even though it is a bit rigid in that way... But I have also… Or no, I never skip meals. I wouldn't dream of doing that. Some people do, I suppose. I am also the type who, if I am going somewhere, then I make a sandwich to take with me. But if I am going to something or other, then things can be moved around a bit.

Thus, even in their absence, the three main meals are still important as a daily point of reference. In his book *After Method: Mess in Social Science*, the sociologist John Law shows how a situation, an expression or an object is a pattern of presences and absences (2004:84). Law argues that presence and absence are enacted with, and constitute, each other. In his conceptualization of a method assemblage, he distinguishes two types of absence: *absence as otherness*, which I do not go into here, and *manifest absence*. The manifest absence is recognized as relevant to, or represented in, presence; however, it is not directly visible in that which becomes present (cf. Law 2004:157). Similarly, the three main meals are still significant routines even when they are missed or combined into a single meal, and are fundamental to the smooth functioning of daily life. Drawing upon Law, I suggest that they become manifestly absent and thereby significant to the daily rhythm even when they do not take place.

Tove and Her Late Mother

For Tove, completely skipping a meal is almost unthinkable. Mealtimes represent a fundamental, physically embedded temporal order, which structures everyday life and which also helps to create or maintain Tove as an independent and self-sustaining subject. In Tove's case, it is clear that consuming and preferably producing three main meals is part of taking care of oneself and living a "proper" or well-ordered life – as opposed to a life where one is dependent upon being served by others or even fed, as was the case for Tove's mother, who suffered from Alzheimer's late in life.

Tove: My mother needed help with everything at the end. With eating too. In fact, she needed help to eat… (Tove sighs and wells up). It made her into a child again. She was unrecognizable in a way.

For Tove, feeding epitomizes an asymmetric relationship; the person being fed is objectified, she is barely a subject, she loses her personality, becomes a different person or at least someone unrecognizable. A key point here is that the person

who is eating cannot be perceived as detached from the relationships in which the meal is involved. The British anthropologist Marilyn Strathern points to something similar in her publication on *feeding and eating* from 2012. Based on her fieldwork in Melanesia, Strathern shows how mealtimes can be an incorporation of complex kinship relationships and she argues that eating in particular ways constitutes subjects and bodies. The meal does something to people; it forms them and vice versa. Strathern emphasizes the process whereby the person who feeds transfers something to the person receiving the food, and argues that in the concrete Melanesian context this movement may constitute the person being fed as a subject. Her point is that not only does the digestive process that follows a meal co-create the subject, the meal is also a distribution of agency (Strathern 2012:12).

For Tove agency is closely tied to the individual subject, to her ability to produce a meal *herself* and to decide when, how and what to eat. In her view being independent is both possible and crucial for being a subject. In this sense, Tove's mother is actively present in her meal practices. Just as the parents in *The Story of Us* are present, sitting on the edge of the bed, Tove's mother is an implied meal partner with whom she still debates. She is not merely a memory but rather a part of Tove's rationales regarding the significance of meals, and she is present in the choices Tove makes in relation to food. Tove's mother and her mother's illness are inherent to the ways in which Tove's meals are structured and structure Tove's daily life. Tove does not want to end up like her.

Tove: A lot of things about my mother's medical history have weighed heavily on my mind in relation to getting older. But really, she did have a decent life – good – until it went wrong, with Alzheimer's, that is.

Through her mother, Tove's concerns about the future and her ideas about the worst-case scenario – being dependent on others – become a part of Tove's mealtimes. Similarly, a future self and a future body that can cope without help from others is also an implied meal partner. The future independent ageing body and the old age that the clinical intervention promises offer Tove a possible way to avoid the decline that she witnessed in her mother. As Orvar Löfgren (2015:14) also points out, memories, practices and rationales help to form everyday activities, as do plans, dreams and concerns about the future.

Implied Meal Partners and the Extended Household

The involvement of Tove's mother shows how working life is not the only partner that is present at mealtimes. Several logics and rationales are materialized and personified in the meal due to the implied meal partners.

Indeed, the implied meal partner is never singular. Tove's mother is present in Tove's meal practices in several different ways. The mother who suffered from Alzheimer's is implied in her meals, but the mother who ran her childhood home is also crucial to the ways in which Tove organizes her meals.

Tove: My mother was also like that. We always ate lunch at twelve o'clock and then it wasn't really possible to break up the day, so it could get a bit – we just did it, but suddenly, when it was no

longer relevant, then there was the option of breaking up the day in a different way. Now as it happens, I still do it. It is almost set in stone. I am probably quite rule-bound in that sense.

Rather than being something that only changes with chronological age, it is clear that Tove's meal practices and adoption of particular eating habits cannot be represented by a chronology, but rather, in the words of the ethnologist Tine Damsholt (2012:43), this chronology "collapses into a simultaneous temporal plurality". There is not only a before and after; rather, presents, pasts and futures form Tove's meal practices. Thus, Tove's mother is present in a variety of ways and she is decisive in relation to Tove's routines. However, she is nonetheless a meal partner to whom Tove has an ambivalent relationship. Tove has tried to liberate herself from her mother's routines without success. Although Tove has, as previously mentioned, lived alone for many years and brought up three children alone, she is never alone in *organizing* her meals. This lends support to the point made by Damsholt and Jespersen (2014) that even when a person is single, their everyday life is socially and culturally organized rather than defined by individual needs. Tove lives alone but she organizes herself into a household nonetheless. When she buys her groceries, the now adult twins are still with her. Her children and grandchildren should also benefit from the priorities she makes. In this sense, the household extends beyond Tove's own home; it is an extended household.

Tove: I am an active member of a cattle-rearing club. When I make food for myself, it is often something that is just thrown together. Or with the good veal. The twins get the best cuts and I get the pieces for braising.

Tove considers others, there are more people involved than just herself in the household and in food preparation. One example is her daughter-in-law, who in Tove's opinion has a somewhat questionable relationship to *natural ingredients*. For Tove, natural ingredients are organic ingredients and foods without any additives. Her grandchildren should not be fobbed off with additives and flavour enhancers. Thus, when her daughter-in-law buys food with added flavourings, Tove has to bite her tongue in order to prevent herself from taking on the role of educator.

Tove: I mean, I have to be careful, you know… Sometimes I can hint a bit that… I mean, I have a daughter-in-law, and to her, I say that there is a difference between something with strawberry flavouring and something that actually contains strawberries. It's not exactly the same thing.

As a single mother, Tove was responsible for the home and, not least of all, was the guarantor of her children's good health. Her daughter-in-law upsets this order with her differing norms for what is good and bad food. This shows how implied meal partners can also challenge rigid family patterns. Tove was used to being the only mother and educator, but there are now several people who share that role. This role appears to often be fulfilled by women (Wilk 2010), and I look more closely at this in another section of the article.

The Intervention as an Exceptional State

By preventing the loss of muscle mass, the aim of the clinical intervention is to maintain and create elderly bodies that do not require outside care. For Tove, however, it is not necessarily easy to fit the clinical in-

tervention and the dietary supplement that she required to consume into her meal practices. In Tove's view, the dietary supplement is an extra meal, and it also consists of something that she considers to be unrecognizable and unnatural.

Tove: Fullness is something else. It is when you can feel that your body is well, that it is getting what it needs. I don't feel full from that protein stuff. I think that I would rather eat food, not all that nonsense there… not vitamin pills or that sort of thing.

Tove still wants to eat, but she is unable to do so. She becomes constipated and is only able to drink water in the morning. Tove describes how the dietary supplement fills her stomach and decreases her appetite. However, she does not feel at all satiated, and longs to be able to eat as she usually does.

Tove: I am doing it now. I take it. But as soon as this is over, I will never ever go near that kind of thing [the dietary supplement] again.

The dietary supplement displaces her meal practices and disturbs her daily rhythm. As well as the fact that it is not, in Tove's view, real food, the dietary supplement is a biological barrier for Tove when it comes to keeping the three main meals as markers in a daily rhythm. The dietary supplement is a parenthesis in her life, which she accepts while she is a trial participant. In this sense, the clinical intervention becomes a kind of exceptional state, in which normal household rules and routines are threatened or displaced.

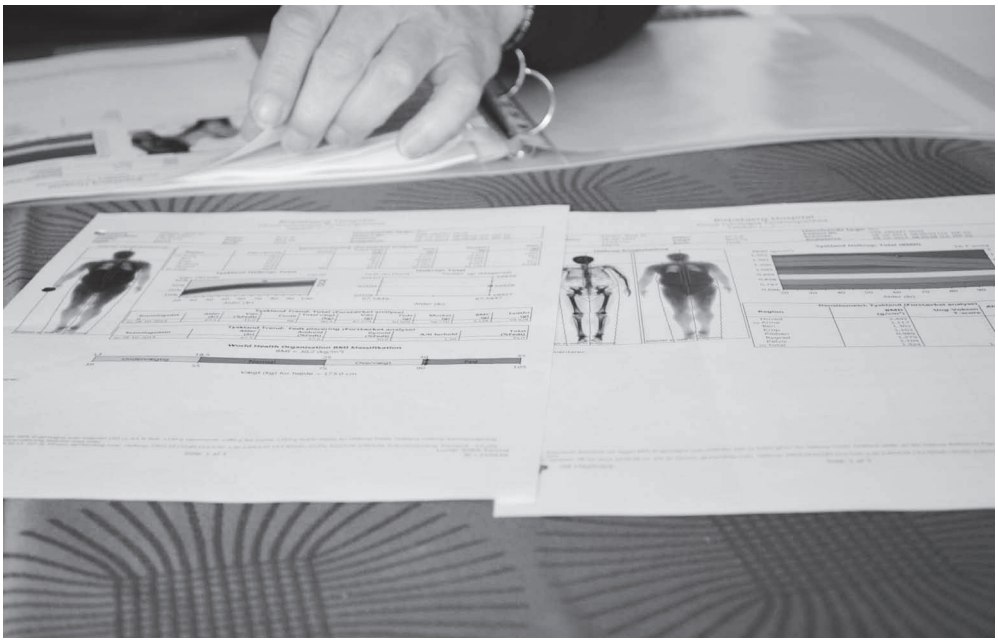
Finn and Grete, the Family and the Researchers

According to Löfgren, it is precisely in the home and in the organization of the household that it becomes readily apparent that routines are a site for negotiations and resistance, and he shows how mealtimes in particular are a battleground upon which feelings, hierarchies and power are distributed (Löfgren 2015:15).

This is evident in Finn's example. Finn has been married to Grete for 38 years. Their everyday life is synchronized in a number of ways. Although Finn has retired, he gets up at six o'clock every morning to make coffee for Grete before she has to leave for work at the local nursing home. They eat together when she gets home, and then they relax by watching television or taking a stroll around a lake. However, participating in the study has given Finn a different experience of the link between food and the body, which does not necessarily match the routines he has constructed with Grete. He is thinking about continuing the training at the local rowing club once the study is over. At the same time, with this new knowledge he moves into a domain that previously belonged to Grete. To a great degree, Grete had always taken care of the tasks of care including the detailed coordination of their meals. Although Grete was active in the labour market just like Finn, she was responsible for most of their grocery shopping and food preparation. With Finn's participation in the clinical study, these gender-segregated practices are suddenly open to negotiation.

Finn: We do probably eat unhealthily.
Grete: Oh stop it! We don't eat as unhealthily as Finn is making out! That's probably why he has become aware of it – because of the study. We eat too little. But the food we make, when we make something, is healthy enough.

When Finn was weighed at the clinic for the first time, the needle on the scales



Finn shows the DXA scan image of his overweight body from the beginning of the intervention period.

pointed to 90 kg. Furthermore, Finn was given a scan image to take home, which showed how overweight he actually is. He was shocked. He was aware that he was no longer slim, but in the image, he could suddenly see the outline of his stomach and his high body fat percentage.

Finn: I got this [picture] from the DXA and it was shocking. Yeah, damn. It was a kind of wake-up call, you know? Because then you can see your bones, but you can also see the fat – the distribution. It's a shock. Wow. You have to do something about that, I thought. It is also a matter of avoiding those lifestyle diseases, diabetes and that sort of thing. A lot of times, when you stop working you also have a tendency to just take it easy. Thinking that you have worked for so many years that now you can relax. It's dangerous.

The scan image disintegrates Finn's understanding and sense of his own body but replaces it with something else. As a study participant, he is made aware that his body has got out of control. At the same time, the intervention provides him with an opportunity to regain control. The intervention invites him to take control of his *own* meals and physical training and thereby also of a future body. For Finn, the scan image, along with his relationships with the researchers in the study, the training and the protein drink that he consumes daily, produce new norms for what his body is, and what it can and should be able to do. The sociologist Christina Halse points out how the twenty-first century has been characterized by a moral panic about a potential global obesity epidemic (Halse 2009:45). This moral panic has fostered a particular bio-citizen who bears a personal responsibility not to become overweight. If an individual neglects to

exercise or eat right, s/he is then an inadequate citizen who chooses to ignore the common good and is therefore a danger to a well-ordered society (ibid.:50−51). As such, Finn's transformed sense of his own body can be said to be formed in material-discursive practices (Haraway 1991; Butler 1993). The clinical intervention is a revelation for Finn. He has made himself available to science, but he is not just an object. The intervention co-creates a different body as well as changeable and entirely new subject positions (Cussins 1998).

For Grete, the scan image brings forth feelings of shame and inadequacy, feelings she would rather do without. Whereas Finn, due to the intervention, suddenly sees a danger in "taking it easy" in old age, and thereby being less active and less conscious of his body, for Grete, old age is a welcome opportunity to be much less concerned about food and her body.

Grete: We probably used to live a healthier life than we do now, because as a woman, you think a lot about whether you weigh too little or too much. So we probably have done so since I was about 32−33 [years old]. When I was very young, I lived unhealthily to maintain my weight, but when I was in my thirties, I did it in a healthier way. There were the kids too. But now it is more like I can't be bothered with all that. It is probably quite common, I imagine.

Indeed, according to Löfgren, one important feeling associated with the organization of a household is guilt or the feeling of inadequacy (Löfgren 2015:10). Throughout her life, Grete has been the one who worried about whether she was slim enough and whether they were living a healthy enough life as a family. Feelings of inadequacy and guilt plagued Grete in relation to eating, and just as she finally feels that she can afford to let go, Finn reawakens these feelings with his questions and scan images.

Damsholt points out how the home in the late eighteenth century was designated as the stage upon which the feminine emotional life could play out and where women were able to live up to their obligations as citizens, among other things, by raising their children (and their husband) to be good patriots (Damsholt 2015:104). In this sense, the home became a precondition for new civic practices and the public order. As Damsholt notes, in spite of being a private sphere, the home is not exclusively a site of private subjectivity (ibid.). In line with this, the ethnologist Sigrid Leilund argues that women in Denmark in the 1950s were recognized as citizens via their position in the home and family, and were encouraged to take responsibility for the household *"taking into account the changing state and scientific recommendations*" (Leilund 2012:8). Grete was a child in the 1950s. Thus, she grew up in what Leilund calls a "dense grid of nutritional science, bacteriology, the home economics movement, state commissions and so on" (ibid.:9), which ensured that girls and women became housewives and which equipped them to translate this knowledge into material practices in various ways. Leilund's point is that it was not a particular bourgeois ideal of womanhood that made women into housewives, but rather specific historical circumstances (ibid.). Whereas being a disciplined housewife – in a number of different ways – is something that belonged to a specific period of Grete's life as a woman, her *bio-citizenship* will last for the rest of her life. It is not something

that she can abandon because she has grown older or because her children have moved out, and Finn's scan image reminds her of this.

Thus, it has been Grete's job as a woman to keep herself and her family healthy and slim. As is the case for Tove, Grete was a housewife, *mother* and educator. Just as women in the late eighteenth century were supposed to raise new patriotic citizens, Grete was responsible for ensuring that her family were good bio-citizens (Halse 2009). Grete was the one who took responsibility for the health of the whole family. She tried to keep up with and live up to health guidelines. Previously, this was not something that had interested Finn. He used to be more interested in his wine club, and was primarily the one who established relationships outside of the family. This also applied to his work as a property manager for the rental company that also owned his family's residence. Grete always worked in the traditionally female caring professions. Thus, the objectification of the household and the home as a female domain has, to a great extent, produced Finn and Grete as gendered meal partners and their gendered everyday practices. This, in turn, was one of the constitutive factors for Grete's feelings of inadequacy and guilt, which now return. In this sense, Finn navigates between several implied meal partners in relation to his meals. Grete and her feelings explicitly co-create his meal practices, but the researchers involved in the study are also peering over his shoulder. Similarly, a future elderly body is also an implied meal partner and is important in relation to Finn's food choices. This clearly shows how food choices are not an individual decision, but rather take place with a collective in mind. Finn attempts to live up to his perception of the intervention researchers' ideas about the correct way of eating. At the same time, he has become aware of the health recommendations for which Grete used to be the sole custodian.

Finn: We eat breakfast. And we usually eat breakfast when Grete gets home. Then dinner is at half past five or six. It is normally vegetables, chicken and beef patties. And salmon – I am crazy about salmon. Salmon for lunch too, even though it is damned expensive. When the kids come home, we have pizza, spaghetti, lasagne and things like that. The slippery slope, as we call it. Otherwise, we live quite reasonably. I also eat a lot of oats. And we have started to eat skyr, or "skir", right? But I prefer the one with vanilla otherwise it is too damn sour for me. But Grete can eat it, but then again she can also eat a sour apple and I can't.

The health guidelines that are fundamental to the clinical intervention, such as increasing protein intake, as well as also other recommendations for achieving a slimmer body, are interwoven in Finn's meal practices. These are personified in the researchers who are involved in the intervention.

Finn: But it is to gain muscle mass that you eat all the proteins, you know. That's what they say over there. And they are researchers after all, and they know these things. They give me an extra shove, you might say.

However, in Finn's attempts to adapt his lifestyle and navigate in relation to them, he clashes with Grete. The roles they each have been assigned in their marriage and in their working lives are suddenly threatened. In this sense, meals connect various and contradictory rationales and feelings. Their shared "normal state", their co-ordinated and highly gendered everyday practices and routines suffer a blow. As Ehn

and Löfgren (2010:117) point out, crises often displace seemingly ingrained and synchronized everyday practices and routines. For Grete, the intervention is exactly this kind of a crisis. The intervention mobilizes feelings of irritation and anger, even though she tries to support her husband. Thus, at one point I ask Finn whether it is hard to be involved in the study. The response comes rapidly from the sofa across the room where Grete is sitting:

Grete: No, it is just a huge burden for the families.
Finn: No, what do you mean by that?
Grete: Oh, it has a big impact on our lives… But that is just because Finn is so into it. And that is a good thing, of course. We all think it is positive to have something to get up for three times a week instead of just sitting at the computer.

In the terminology of the ethnological life-mode analysis (Højrup 1983) Finn has, in his working-life, been a typical wage earner. He was fond of his job, but he worked in order to provide for his family and indulge in his hobbies. Thus, the intervention also ensures continuity between working life and post-retirement life. Finn has apparently found a new hobby – a hobby that turns his marital life and his relationship with his body upside down.

Managing Director Christian and his Business Partners

Whereas the clinical intervention is a revelation for Finn, but also constantly negotiated with his wife, Christian participates in the intervention on a completely different premise. The intervention is, to a greater degree, a continuation of his previous rationales and practices. Christian is an engineer and has a PhD in Food Science from a prestigious university in the US, where he developed nutritionally complete food products for NASA astronauts among other things. Later, he became the managing director of a large international food company. To a great extent, Christian's relationship to his body reflects the food science discipline of which he was a part; that is, a food science that promotes a bio-medically fragmented body by finding localized solutions for specific body parts and bodily processes in the form of vitamins and dietary supplements (McCabe & Fabri 2012:50). In this sense, the incentive to take care of himself and have control over his body has been part of Christian's life and work for a long time, and this has had a concrete effect on his meal practices. In a number of ways, Christian is an exemplary bio-citizen, which Halse (2009) and other Foucault-inspired researchers (e.g. Rose 1996) argue corresponds to a historically specific governmental rationality, in which individuals' desire for personal development is strengthened via a variety of strategies of empowerment, as a precondition for a well-functioning liberal-democratic society. In his close relationships with biomedicine, Christian has managed and actively considered his body and his health for his entire life.

Christian: I learned when I was a student that if you take 1g of vitamin C every day, as I have done for over forty years, it is good for your health. And I actually learned it from someone who won the Nobel Prize twice. I followed his example. And later, I learned that Q10 is good for keeping your brain going, so I have been taking that for thirty years. And fish oil helps to keep your blood vessels clean, but not your cholesterol level. And for the past five years, I have been taking selenium because it is good for the prostate. I do that slavishly every day.

Thus, like Finn, Christian is interested in eating *healthily* and *correctly* as stipulated by the intervention, but he is already a member of the specific community that the clinical intervention represents. He is familiar with the doctors' and physiologists' hypotheses and methods, and is aware of the nutritional value of specific food products. Indeed, in one conversation I had with the intervention doctor, he also highlighted Christian as an approachable and knowledgeable participant in the study, who is immediately able to understand very complex information. Thus, Christian is easily able to assimilate in a particular community: he is part of a so-called *biosociality* (Rabinow 1996). The American anthropologist Andi Johnsson describes *biosociality* in a study of athletes in a laboratory as being based on a complicity related to the possibilities and limitations of the body (Johnsson 2013:881).

In this sense, the intervention is just one element in the ongoing process of self-improvement and introspective evaluation that has characterized most of Christian's life. Thus, in contrast to Finn, a future body and an ageing self was already an implied meal partner in Christian's meal practices. Christian constantly tries to keep his body functioning optimally, and the dietary supplement in the intervention has a clear function for him: Christian is married to a vegetarian, and he is convinced that he does not eat enough protein.

Christian: My wife makes good vegetarian food and I understand that it makes sense to eat less meat. But… sometimes I am afraid that I am eating too little protein, and therefore this study has been interesting for me. So now I get forty gramms of milk protein a day at least. I don't drink milk. I only used to do so when I was younger. In that way you also consume some. I sometimes eat cakes, they can contain a bit of protein. There is protein in bread, of course. I know that you have to get protein from a variety of sources, because otherwise you don't get all of the amino acids, so I think that with this project, I am meeting my protein requirements. Because I suspect that I tend to consume too little in relation to the carbohydrates I eat.

For Christian, the protein supplement is just one experiment out of many that he has carried out with his body, and at the same time, it fits in well with his daily routine as he had already replaced breakfast with dietary supplements.

Christian: I take my Q10 and my vitamin C and fish oil. I have done so for decades, and then some strong coffee, sometimes with a glass of fibre. I am not hungry in the morning. Because I have travelled so much, I used to eat often in hotels and restaurants abroad. And then 20–25 years ago, I stopped being hungry in the morning, and I often used to skip lunch as well. Then I only used to eat in the evening. I think it was because of those dinners in the evenings abroad with colleagues. There, you would eat and drink a lot. You could almost get through a bottle of wine each in one evening. Fortunately, I always withstood it. The others used to keep on going with cognac afterwards. I stopped doing that many years ago. Luckily. I think that those heavy dinners we ate in the evenings meant that I could skip breakfast, and then I would think that I could also skip lunch, because in the evening we would do the whole thing again. I think that is how it slowly came about. Then I ended up not being hungry in the morning.

Christian's lack of hunger in the morning was brought about by his long working life. Retirement has meant an obvious departure from his previous meal practices in the sense that Christian no longer travels or eats with business partners to the same degree. Although he stopped working at his managing director job two

years ago, the numerous meetings followed by rich business dinners still play a crucial role in his meal practices. Thus, his business associates are implied meal partners in a number of ways. Christian sees himself in contrast to those who let their hair down and drank large amounts of alcohol when they were away from home. Similarly, meeting his vegetarian wife got him to stop eating steak. Nonetheless, the norms of eating as a managing director and the way in which mealtimes are organized in working life still have an impact on Christian's post-retirement life. As opposed to Finn, Christian's working life has never been separate from his leisure time and his career still affects his meals. Specifically, he skips breakfast and still eats a lot in the evening. His appetite or lack thereof is thereby rooted in something very different to the biological process of ageing. The lack of hunger that, in the logic of the intervention, is linked to biological changes is, in Christian's case, a socially mediated embodied practice, a kind of naturalized effect of a repeated meal pattern. In this sense, skipping breakfast is not the result of either a momentary experience or of an age-related reduced desire for food. It is an embodied incorporation of the routines and relationships of working life and travel. Thus, appetite links and is linked to various levels of time in everyday life, in the same way as feelings such as euphoria or boredom (Löfgren 2015:8; Ehn & Löfgren 2010:27).

Conclusions

In this article, I have looked for implied meal partners. They were not difficult to find. On the contrary, they have been a constant presence in my fieldwork and a focal point for analysis, although I have only rarely referred to the concept itself. Instead, I attempt to show how, using the implied meal partners as a point of departure, it is possible to understand how meal practices are multi-dimensional and do not only change *with age*. Thus, I argue that the implied meal partners synchronize, connect and structure time, feelings and routines in ways that are crucial to how meal practices are created and how they can be transformed. Meal partners do not belong to the past, present or future, but past, present and future are materialized side by side, and are implied by the ways in which the elderly study participants organize meals, which are often contradictory. When the study participants go shopping, store things in the freezer, or lay the table, their meal partners are always already present. At the same time, they are implied in a very concrete manner in the cultivation of physical needs, which can be seen in relation to Christian's breakfast as well as in the case of Tove, for whom skipping a meal is an anomaly. Thus, it is not only the biological ageing process, understood as a chronology, that is significant to changes in meal patterns and meal practices. Rather, what and how the elderly eat is both socially and temporally distributed and formed.

In this sense, the article highlights two very central points with regard to this intervention and those that may follow it. As Ehn and Löfgren (2010) show, changes to everyday practices are often unpredictable and invisible, even for those involved, until they suddenly become apparent as something dramatic and clearly evident. The changes that the lifestyle intervention

attempts to bring about are therefore unlikely to occur as abrupt shifts, but are instead a slow process, which requires constant negotiation and consideration. This negotiation and consideration must also include the social and material constellations of which the study participants are a part. In this sense, changing everyday practices – including the organization of meals – is not a matter of understanding individual behaviour. Instead, ethnology can play an important role by taking into account people's life history and everyday life as collectively created routines and patterns (Ehn & Löfgren 2010). As well as showing how meal practices can be a site for negotiations and slow transformation processes, the article also points to ethnology's potential when it comes to providing alternative and complementary understandings of practices, which are inextricably linked to norms of the *good life in old age* and the *healthy* (ageing) body.

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Notes

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2 A Pierre Bourdieu-inspired analysis focusing on class could have been developed here. Tove belongs to an intellectual middle class and possesses a great deal of cultural capital, enjoying and being familiar with classical music and literature. As can be seen between the lines, Tove's class affiliation is markedly different from that of Finn and Christian, and is important to her meal practices; however, the article format does not allow for me to develop this further. In the sections about Finn and Christian, I briefly refer to concepts from Højrup's life-mode analysis to show how working life and class affiliation affect their meal practices and form different perceptions of the clinical intervention.

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Cells in Suspense

Unboxing the Negotiations of a Large-scale Cell Transplantation Trial

By Andréa Wiszmeg

Throughout scientific work and research, many processes and procedures are made routine, mundane and then taken for granted. So are some underlying assumptions – not only about the state of the natural world, but about what its different actors are *supposed* or *expected* to be or work like. These assumptions are not only descriptive, but prescriptive. If we proceed from the notion that expectations and beliefs are written into our everyday practices and made opaque even to their practitioners, it becomes an urgent issue to find tools to better scrutinize and evaluate them. This is, I argue, a matter of ethics. *How* such assumptions are written into practices is perhaps as available as ever, in the instructions, documents and processes of evidence-based science. When some premises and practices are locked to each other, others are excluded. The aim of this article is to explore the dynamics of this process in a biomedical research practice, with regard to how it affects what are considered ethical issues and how they are handled.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork, I will investigate what happened when staff in a large-scale and multi-site cell transplantation trial in Parkinson's research had to scrutinize their procedures. I want to understand what subsequent negotiations needed to be done in order to progress; or, more specifically, what deliberations about perspectives, procedures and ethical issues of the project were required to see the trial through. The focus is on what the staff described as causing the major delays that they faced, and temporality is subsequently conceptualized as an important factor in the homogenization and reproducibility of science. I discuss how the necessary changes and negotiations relate to the aims and standards presented by the rationale of evidence-based science, and the implications they have for research practice of future trials and for research ethics.

I argue that investigations such as this are crucial to better understand how ethical dilemmas are not primarily abstract deliberations addressed in policy documents, but embedded in everyday practice. I will also address the importance of ethnographic practices to this end.

In the following, the content and the conditions of the trial will be presented in context.

The Fetal Cell Transplantation Trial

Parkinson's disease is a neurological degenerative disease becoming more common with an ageing population. The most widely recognized symptoms are tremor and rigidity of limbs, but often also include dementia and depression. Researchers have been able to pin down the major cause of the disease to damage in a specific brain region and subsequent loss of dopamine production. Dopamine is a neurotransmitter that, among other things, regulates body movement and plays a major role in mood regulation. Even if the cause of the disease is known, the treatment of Parkinson patients still today mainly consists of relieving symptoms. Many biomedical research initiatives and resources are directed at finding ways to treat the cause of Parkinson's disease directly, and ultimately, it is hoped, to be able to cure the disease. One of these is the TransEuro study (http://www.TransEuro.org.uk), which in the first large-scale trial will transplant fetal neural cells to the

brains of patients, with the aim of making their brains start producing dopamine again. This trial is the empirical case for this article.

Being the first large-scale cell transplantation endeavour, pose some formerly unseen challenges of coordination and standardization. These changes are required in order to produce the big data sets needed to legitimize the results as "evidence-based science",[1] a concept and a standard that has, it can be argued, more or less grown to define "good" medical basic research, as well as its implementation in health care. An infrastructure allowing not only the procedures at hand to be done, but in the long haul with stem cells from leftover IVF[2] embryos or further along, reversed skin cells, needs to be established and up and running. These new circumstances require clear guidelines, reproducibility and better outcome predictability. Such implementation needs adaptations to new standards and to other trial sites, which is a contrast to earlier work done on a small scale and locally. All of a sudden – when forced into a new narrow, but large-scale, framework – the cells seem to start to behave in an unruly fashion.

The trial process includes the harvest of cells from aborted embryos, their preparation and preservation and the subsequent implantation of the fetal cells, in the form of a liquid cell suspension, into the brains of a number of affected individuals volunteering as research subjects. Lund University has from the start been at the forefront of cell transplantation research and performed very early fetal cell transplantations back in 1987. Proof of principle was then established that fetal neural cells can connect to their surrounding tissue and start producing dopamine, once transplanted to a host brain of a rat or a human. This trial aims at developing a better template for being able to move on to using e.g. stem cells from leftover IVF, with the final (but still distant) aim of curing Parkinson's disease. As such, the fetal material derived from abortions used in the trial is not regarded as a final solution. Four aborted embryos are required for one transplantation in a human, but the medical abortions which are so commonly performed in the home of the patient nowadays have created a shortage of donated embryos available for research. In addition, the sometimes failing logistics between abortion clinics and research facilities jeopardizes the already scarce material. The situation is not helped by that fact that the material, since it is developed "naturally", is not homogeneous and therefore not reliable in terms of quality and usefulness. It has not formerly been relevant to prepare for moving on to human embryonic stem cell lines for transplantation, mainly due to risks of tumour growth. But with developments in the field and the recent breakthroughs in autogenous skin cell reversal, a new flame of hope in cell transplantation has been lit.

Methods and Materials

Being part of an interdisciplinary endeavour where my project is co-financed by the Medical Faculty of Lund University, I was granted access to planning group meetings and to general information on the project. Based on their own interest and availability, I also made contact with some staff for interviews and observations, for example, in the laborato-

ry. When the local planning group of TransEuro met at BMC or the research hospital in Lund, I often attended and made observations and notes regarding perceived progress, obstacles and measures needed to be taken. The nine meetings that I attended took place during spring 2013 and onward throughout 2015. BMC just as often rather functioned as a virtual node of reference to or from e.g. legal and practice documents, notes from meetings, e-mails and phone calls. Documents used as source material could be, for example, SOP (standard operating procedure) and GMP (good manufacturing practice) protocols, which are supposed to inform and guide the minutiae of laboratory processes, and ensure that cleanliness and reproducibility are guaranteed. These are the kinds of heterogeneous sources I used to construct my material. The story that I let my empirical material tell here is centred on junior researcher Emma,[3] who was my main field contact whom I usually e-mailed, called or met when I wanted something confirmed, explained or problematized, or just needed access to the BMC building or other sites relevant for my research. She was truly invaluable for my research.

In the following I will, with the help of the materials described above, trace how and why occasions perceived by the planning group and by my main contact as passive and uneventful, could rather be – as argued by Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren (2010) – seen as productive and creative within, and of, the process. I have gone through my notes and e-mails in chronological order and recreated the course of events as they were described to me. By combining the recreated course of events I have also made a relational analysis of sorts, of the different documents (which will be addressed in more detail in the empirical and analytical parts of this article) with regard to how they facilitate the creation of the cell suspension and try and make it mobile, by managing the delay in the course of events. For my purposes in this text, they are not so much analysed with respect to their detailed textual contents, but rather for the processes they enabled, disabled or in any way regulated; i.e. how they were put to work as actors. The analysis will be made of the materials as a combined source of information.

After first backtracking and describing the events that occurred while the staff were waiting to get started with the trial, I will investigate what kind of negotiations of procedures and rationales were taking place. I will use the concept of black boxing and unboxing (as will be developed further below) to understand the role of the events. I will return to my field material to discuss where certain problems arose and how and where their subsequent solution was sought by the different staff involved. In order to make sense of how different events, actions, actors and problems were connected to each other and to questions of knowledge, scientific standards, ethics, evidence and mobility, I started to map out how different problems were dealt with in different ways.

My diverse research practice taps into a long tradition of creating ethnographic material of a *bricolage* kind, which combines and compares diverse materials to each other so that a new picture will emerge (Ehn & Löfgren 2011:203f). It is a multi-methodological inquiry of sorts. Such an approach has advantages, I argue,

when researching knowledge-producing practices, since they are in themselves highly heterogeneous in both the forms of information used for constructing and for expressing, legitimizing and communicating knowledge.[4] The context of my research also lends itself well to the kind of shorter, sometimes close-to-home fieldwork reality of applied cultural analysis, often producing a compositional ethnography (O'Dell & Willim 2015).

The mixed material was constructed through what can also, to some extent, be called a mobile ethnography (Marcus 1995:96) done over the course of about three years between late 2012 and late 2015. I mainly follow the relation between the time, delay, negotiation and progress of the project, in order to create my ethnography and my arguments. The construction of the cell suspension and the framework needed to produce and maintain it took place in meeting rooms, in policy and practice documents, in frustrated discourse and in the subsequent negotiations taking place between sites. In a sense I have been "following things" (1995: 106), the things in this case being the delays in relation to the creation of the cell suspension and its maintaining networks.[5] I have let the staff, and the documents they produce, explain to me what the sources of delay are, where they occur, what the effects of this delay may be, how it is connected to other processes and how this connectedness may in turn cause more delay. The delay of course had different causes, and theses causes led to suggestions as to how they could be overcome to prevent further delays and move on. Following the chain of delays led me to the vital points of negotiation of new structures and procedures that the project underwent.

Having defined my method and materials, I will now move on to the perspectives I will use for analysis. The aforementioned concept of unboxing helps direct attention towards the production of the fetal cell suspension and the negotiation of the network and structure needed to make it homogeneous, reproducible and mobile in a multi-site trial.

Production, Homogenization and Mobilization

The cell suspension carries an inherent value of vitality (Rose 2006:7), or "force of life", since it has the ability to repair the brain and restore some functions. The vitality can be transferred to the human brain and repair some of its functions. This value is the main reason for taking on this challenging research endeavour. The value of vitality is, it can be argued, a kind of potentiality. This inherent potential points to expectations and promises of the future but also to the ability of humans to control and manipulate the potentiality in the desired direction. This gap between present and future and the imagined evolution in between also grants mythical and magical qualities to this potentiality (Taussig, Hoyer & Helmreich 2013:4ff).

For the cells to finally fulfil their potentiality, they need to be made mobile in order to reach the patients in the trial, and this requires getting a certain infrastructure in place between sites of supply, production and research. Logistics, timetables, measurements and protocols must be standardized, formerly having been a local issue only. The construction of this infrastructure tends to get messy the more

sites that are involved simultaneously, and delays and subsequent waits occur. It is the role of time and delays that I will now set out to investigate in the "mangle of practice" (Pickering 1993) as it occurs in the project. In order to better understand how the homogenization and mobilization of both procedure and product are enabled, the concepts of black boxing and unboxing can help us visualize and rationalize the negotiations and unveiling of former opaque practices and points of departure that the staff have to go through.

When procedures are established and routinized so that a process runs smoothly and a technology or science is successful, its workings are "black boxed"[6] (Latour 1999:183). For instance, as I press the keys on my laptop writing this, I do not (usually) spend any time wondering about the microprocessors and the wiring enabling the impact of my fingers to be turned into signs on a screen through software. I doubt that I would even if I were a computer scientist or and engineer, and not a scholar of the cultural sciences. When the results that come out of a research practice or method make sense and are coherent, there is no focus on internal complexities (ibid.:304), whether you are intimate with the workings or, like me, in the example with the laptop, are oblivious. It is only when some things break or stop working, or when results are inconsistent, that it is necessary to open the box (ibid.: 184f). If something inside the box breaks, it needs to be taken apart by someone who understands the relation between the parts and can identify what component or connection is faulty. If, let's say, the products of a biochemical procedure start varying in content or concentration, someone with knowledge of the biological or chemical material processed, as well as of the components of the system and their relation, will have to make a judgement and take action. Once action is taken so that everything works as expected and parts and operators or staff are once again aligned (ibid.:184), the process will once again become routinized and black boxed. The "black box" status is what is always striven for, and a default setting of sorts. When a process is black boxed, its separate parts will behave and be perceived as one. They are acting together as an assemblage in which they can be hard to distinguish from one another. It is important to remember that this goes for viewpoints, analyses, positions, philosophies, concepts, politics and ethics just as much as for parts, components, materials, elements, people, animals, etc.

Beginning to unbox something is often done on the basis of something not working, and it is the part suspected of failing that is first recognized as a separate and discrete part again. If it turns out not to be faulty, or that exchanging or repairing it did not fix the problem, a trial-and-error process will begin. This process is the essence of unboxing. In the case of the start-up of the cell transplantation trial, the "breaking down of machinery" is to some extent foreseen. The participating sites know that they will eventually need to unbox some or many of their formerly locally taken-for-granted routines in order to be able to cooperate; both on a practical and on a more abstract level. What this can mean will be demonstrated in the empirical material and analysis to follow below. But if black boxing is the almost unconscious process of making something an in-

visible routine by habit, how does one go about unboxing the "forgotten" and opaque? To unbox something or to make what is described by Latour as a "reversed black boxing" (ibid.:184) takes a whole lot more work and effort than the opposite.

In larger cooperative endeavours where abstract goals and concepts and not "only" concrete matter need to be manipulated in order to reach the level of smooth functionality that the new subsequent black boxing offers, a lot of negotiation and mediation has to be done. Attentive readers will probably themselves spot many of these instances in the story of the trial, but I will now join you and the researchers of the trial in unboxing this story.

Preparing a Large-scale Trial – Dealing in Delay

Prior laboratory results on which the participating research sites wished to base the trial seemed inconsistent between the sites. Guidelines, practices and ultimately timetables, partly, therefore needed to be revised and the project was facing an increasingly serious delay. A lot of practices and points of departures were questioned, rethought and rejected during these times, but maybe just as many new ones would ultimately need to be established and consolidated in order to move on. The researchers needed to go through an uncovering of formerly opaque practices and processes in order to make such change happen.

Since December 2012 I had been in contact with junior researcher Emma, who happily agreed to help me gain access to the sites that I would need and to guide me through all the steps of the process. In order to prepare the staff for when the transplantations of the medical trials were eventually to be carried out, a number of dress rehearsals (called "dry runs") had to be done. Finally, after seven months of anxious and frustrating waiting for me, the staff and the patients, these started to be prepared for. I had been informed that the dry runs were to start in early February 2013, and that I would be updated as soon as any information relevant to me was available. I got some preliminary dates for planned dry runs throughout February and was very much looking forward to starting my fieldwork. However, as February passed, there was negative information week after week that they had not got the right amount of fetal material in order to be able to perform any dry runs. I received weekly e-mails with an aura of resignation from Emma, stating that there would be no dry run this week either. Transplantations to rats could, however, still be done with the available amount of fetal material.

At this point, I started to realize that these delays could be said to be quite normal in such a large cooperative medical trial. All the coordination and common standardization that needed to be done, in combination with reliance on a delicate and obviously scarce material such as fetal tissue, paved the way for delays. Recurring practice in order to get into routines for performing the procedures was much needed by all involved parties in such a big project. Sites and procedures needed to be coordinated in order for a common goal and a common understanding of it to be imagined and created. So far, there was consensus that the participating sites would produce a cell suspension for transplantation in a common fashion, do all transplantations the same way and have a

shared follow-up procedure within a certain time frame. At this point, the local procedures were in a sense black boxed from each other and from everyone at their local laboratory due to routine, and even more so for the staff at the other trial sites.

Achieving Stability, Reproducibility and Mobility

Throughout the process and later during the spring of 2013, participating in the meetings of the project's local planning group gave me even further insight into and information on how this coordination was performed. At a meeting in late April, points of concern were a number of legal and procedural documents that needed to be homogenized and standardized between the researcher groups in the participating countries. One such critical document was the ethical permit for donation of fetal tissue and the informed consent sheet that needs to accompany each donation. There seemed to be differences regarding how the information on the consent sheets was to be formulated, depending on whether the tissue was to be used for experimental or clinical (as in this case, transplantation) purposes, and general differences between the countries. Further, if the tissue is to be used clinically for transplantations, the UK legislation demands total traceability of the tissue. This circumstance presented another issue for the Lund researchers, now having to first establish a tagging system for the tissue, and second, to establish a biobank to store the traceable tissue. Traceability is needed to make sure that any possible infection in the patient caused by the transplant – however minimal the risk of this happening – can be traced to the right fetal source. Otherwise it cannot be considered safe enough to transplant. If this is not achieved, the cell suspension cannot become mobile, neither over research sites nor between donor and receiving patient. By making the tissue and the recipient anonymous but traceable by allocating the corresponding numbers or codes, a tagging system is created. The key to the code system, containing the "real" identities, is held by one trusted person and is protected by strict secrecy. This procedure may be familiar to the ethnographer anonymizing interviews.

Since the researchers – because of the constant shortage of fetal tissue – wanted to be able to use all available tissue for both experimental and clinical purposes, this posed a practical problem for them. How were they going to design the use-of-tissue ethical permits in order to make most use of the total amount of tissue, whether it is earmarked for experimental or clinical use? It was suggested that including a pre-clinical stage in the project plan could help overcome this issue. It was suggested that the constant overarching shortage of fetal tissue should be targeted by allowing not only gynaecologists but also midwives to ask aborting women to donate their embryos. They also planned to present the project and the procedures to gynaecologists in clinical facility in a neighbouring city, in the hope of obtaining fetal tissue from them too. The researching team hoped that this would generate more fetal tissue all in all. The researchers delegated responsibilities for different tasks to be solved or at least targeted before their next meeting. The practical circumstances of access to and

the state of the right locations and equipment were to be taken care of by a surgeon and one of the laboratory staff – my contact Emma. The information and format of the ethical permits and finding a model for a tagging system for the fetal tissue, was to be taken care of by the official project leader.

It was stated by Emma and others in the laboratory staff that they needed to do at least three dry runs before Midsummer and one in early September, in order to be properly prepared for the transplantations planned to September. This was because they needed to practice the procedure of washing the fetal cells of all unnecessary tissue and other kinds of cells. The practice of washing could be done on untagged tissue, which would save them some time considering completing the tagging system and the special permits and consent sheets needed for it. They all agreed that the bottleneck for progress seemed to be the question of access to sites and equipment, and the traceability of tissue. One of the reasons why access to sites was a bottleneck was that the room in which the dry runs were going to be made need to be a strict cleanroom and free from polluting particles such as microbes. This too, would grant the cell suspension mobility from laboratory to patient. First, there was a problem in finding a room that can be guaranteed to have this status for such a long time, and that it would be available when needed. There seemed to be competition over such sites with other research projects. Second, guidelines and standards between the participating countries needed to be tuned and homogenized, and in this there seemed to be some ambiguities.

To get this in place was of the utmost importance to be able to make a standardized and reproducible cell suspension. The planning group agreed that what the laboratory personnel would need to look to was that there would be access to a controlled environment although not needed to be sterile, and that there was an airlock in this room. This was considered good enough for the dry runs. The researchers and the laboratory personnel referred to concepts such as good manufacturing practice (GMP) as being an index for the standard of the cleanroom, and standard operation protocols (SOP's) as the protocols regulating the procedures of cell washing and preparation. Both can be said to be crucial for creating a homogeneous product in the form of the cell suspension. It was concluded during the meeting that the laboratory personnel and junior researchers (such as Emma) would be taking care of adapting and homogenizing these documents, such as the SOP's, guiding the procedures of handling the cells.

Fetal Demand

In early May 2013 Emma and other laboratory personnel observed that three embryos were not enough for the dry runs, and at one of the recurring planning group meetings, a considerable amount of time was allocated to discussing this specific problem. Four embryos were needed, which made it even more difficult to reach and complete the dry runs, since there is a constant shortage of embryos throughout Europe. The demand for the vital force embedded in the embryos is larger than the supply, which hinders not only the production of cell suspension, but of the specific and homogeneous cell suspension needed. Even if the staff in Lund had for-

mal access to supply from at least three locations, they couldn't seem to meet the demands of using four embryos.

The traceability issues remained, and project management had nothing to report on the progress of this. However, they suggested that they could copy the procedures of tagging insulin-producing cells, from another facility. Doing this would save time and avoid further negotiation and unboxing of rationales behind the system, which could possibly have been needed if a system were to be first invented and then agreed upon.

The group of researchers was now hoping for fetal tissue to use in the dry runs to arrive from the UK in the middle of June. Related to this, they discussed how the differences in fetal tissue collection procedures within this project deviated from normal procedure, and that these differences needed to be communicated to their contact at the abortion clinic in the nearby city from which they hoped to collect more tissue. The testing of the donating women for sexually transmitted, and other, diseases was also a question of negotiation. While the other participating Swedish location tested for a variety of infections, in Lund they tested only women who were considered to belong to risk groups for two of them. Here, a consensus between researching sites had to be reached as well, in order for the cell suspension to be made mobile. If consensus was not reached about the level of safety (or risk) concerning infections the cell suspension, it could not travel between sites without worrying the staff in some of them. In a sense, this negotiation was a matter of instilling trust not only in the patients to be transplanted, but also between the researching sites. Someone would eventually have to adapt to the other's routines, but so far it was not clear who would.

The concept, or the idea, of the cell suspension had to be homogenized and made geographically mobile in order to be discussed, understood and reproducible between the research sites. In the same way, it also had to be homogenized as a concrete, material and specific object with specific properties, to be made mobile between organisms and fit for transplantation in the human brain.

The participants at the meeting were informed by project management that the other participating Swedish research site had also decided to expand its fetal tissue collection from one to three days a week, which was the number of days Lund already had. The meeting ended with Emma bringing up for discussion the gravity of not being able to access the cleanrooms soon enough. Was it possible for them at least to perform dry runs out of cleanroom so that they could get started? She argued, without success, that they needed the practice in order to be able to perform correctly when the actual trial was to be done.

Fetal Supply

In order to best manage the shortage of embryos and to get most material available from the abortion clinic in the nearby city, a meeting with a midwife there was arranged. I went there together with Emma, who was to hand over protocols describing the new routines needed for handling the embryos for dry runs and transplantations. She was also going to supply them with new pots and a different hibernation fluid.[7] Formerly, whatever

plastic pots were available in the laboratory had been used, the lid on it kept in place with tape, and the pot put on ice. But now, moving from small-scale experimental research to a large-scale trial involving human patients, a more standardized procedure was required. The temperature needed to be monitored and only sterile equipment was to be used. It did not seem certain that this new procedure would actually make a difference to the state and quality of the embryo as material, but when material is to be transplanted into a human being, there can be no risk of contamination, no matter how minimal. All measures taken were to serve the end of achieving a reproducible cell suspension, mobile between the organism of the embryo and the organism of the patient.

When entering the midwife's office, we were asked whether a recently aborted embryo in their fridge would be of use to us. The aborting woman just gave her consent for using it in research. Emma could immediately tell that it was way too old and developed to be of use to us. The TransEuro trials require fetal material from embryos six to nine weeks old. This age span is where the neuronal cells of the fetal brain are at just the right pre-stage of development needed for transplantation. We found out that in their normal schedule of abortions they usually obtained the embryos of interest to TransEuro on Fridays. This was unfortunate, since the transplantations within the trial were to be made those weekdays, which made Friday the one day impossible for the researchers to receive material. Emma seemed confident that adjustments of the schedule could be made to better fit the trial, provided this did not impact the women's decision to donate or not. The midwife told us that with the procedures they had at that time, no pot for collecting the passing from the abortion was used in such early stages of fetal development as we required. This, however, seemed like something they could easily incorporate in their practice. Emma handed over the protocols and informed the midwife that they needed to use sterile cloths and disposable forceps.[8] Emma and the nurse promised to look to supply the abortion clinic with these things. Emma also gave instructions to the midwife on how the new hibernation fluid was to be used. They agreed that Emma would inform the midwife when a dry run week was to be expected, so that they could prepare at the clinic. The shared responsibility for implementing the new guidelines and practices across the sites made the creation of a unified and reproducible cell suspension simultaneously messier and more necessary. An unboxing of procedures had been done, and establishment of new ones awaited. The more parties involved, the more work.

Later, back at BMC, Emma told me that access to the cleanroom was still the major issue of delay. This was felt to be extremely frustrating. No one seemed to know what had happened, or what would happen. Here, the cleanroom itself was in a sense a black box, into the workings of which not many seemed to be allowed to peer. The lack of a cleanroom went on hindering the staff from proper practising of the routines. The practice was in this case not hindered by, say, financial issues or by lack of knowledge but by lack of access to a specific site. The question of the cleanroom was an interesting example of how issues of place and materiality were

so highly interconnected with issues of knowledge and evidence. Cleaning procedures for normal working laboratories still have high standards to prevent pollution. However, the need for a legitimate cleanroom was based on the need to be able to be trusted to produce evidence-based science, and subsequently to be allowed to take part in the large-scale trials and thus enable the mobility of the cell suspension. Gaining access to a cleanroom was not an end in itself, but aimed at the production of a homogenized fetal cell suspension accepted for travelling on to a patient and at gaining the legitimacy of evidence-based science.

Earlier during that year, problems with very varying results in cell survival were found across some participating sites. This caused a lot of confusion and worries among staff and management, but was finally overcome when Emma travelled to make observations in the laboratory of the site with the largest deviations. Not until she witnessed their procedures live could it be detected that they treated the cells somewhat differently. After this, an even more specific SOP (standard operating procedure) was created to use across the involved cell laboratories. It was also discovered that there were differences in the measurement and calculation of the innervation (nerve growth) in rat brains across some sites, and this too was handled by establishing a new standard for all. These measures aimed at establishing a homogeneous cell suspension for transplantation and at a way of making it mobile as a conceptual object of knowledge, across the sites. As Jonas Frykman (1990) pointed out (concerning the need to develop and establish better field work methods for capturing and understanding practices and practical skills), it is difficult to understand and even more so, to master a technique only by reading about it or having it described to you. It is not until you try, practise and embed the knowledge into your own body that you will truly have learned (1990:50f; 60).

Finally, in October 2015, the laboratory had undergone major renovations and a dedicated cleanroom was established. The shortage of fetal material did not seem to have been solved, even though the procedures and logistics between abortion clinics and the cell laboratory had got better. However, it was a system based on former personal contacts and oral agreements, rather than on routinized or formalized procedures. When staff changed or went on sick leave at the abortion clinic, there were recurrent hold-ups in the supply. It seemed to be a fragile system. Up until the autumn of 2015, not all dry runs planned and needed had been performed. Some had, but not enough to get reliable data. Just during October, they had been cancelled three weeks in a row. Another later occurring cause of delay was the clearance of the permit for the procurement and use of tissue, which still needed to be issued by the Health and Social Care Inspectorate (HSCI).[9] This was the last legal hurdle for the project to overcome in order to be able to transplant. On top of the problem with the deteriorating state of health of the waiting patients as time passed, HSCI being dilatory concerning the permit was another reason for concern since the funding would run out in December 2015. The planning group perceived the chances of Lund getting added funding less probable if they could not

show any transplanted patients before then. Fortunately, the project was nevertheless prolonged, and as of February 2016 was hoping for their first transplantations to patients to be performed during that same month.

Negotiating Time

As it seemed, time passing and "nothing happening" as it was experienced by the involved researchers and other staff waiting for access, information, protocols, signatures, equipment etc., actually contained a lot of productive components. Following the delays of the trial proved to be a crucial move for understanding the moulding of the fetal cell suspension, the common understanding of it and the paths to its mobility. The black box may be a spatial metaphor, but it certainly also has temporal dimensions in this case. The opaqueness of its surface in a sense makes the box itself invisible. The lack of information was rather experienced as a frustrated waiting and eventless time passing, rather than the non-transparency of a box.

The biomedical trial I have been observing is both large-scale and aiming to develop a future research model on cell transplantation with hESC. These circumstances make it, I argue, a case where future generations of trials are concerned. The trial has what Karin Knorr-Cetina calls genealogical time (1999:186ff), since it "matches collective mechanisms with long-term thinking" (ibid.:188) in its negotiation of procedures and guidelines. Opening the box, reassembling its contents and their relations, enables a new knowledge-producing machine. In order to make this machine endure over time and future trial generations, the scientific rationale behind the procedures must be so firmly built into it that no there is no need again to open the black box in which it lies. In reality of course, such strong locks can never be made. The cell suspension and the new knowledge produced around it was created by reaffirming old knowledge (Walford 2013:30f), such as data on expected cell survival and innervation. This was because the cell suspension to be created already has a script to follow. There is a "right" cell suspension, and all other variations are wrong. If this were the first cell suspension around which all to follow would be moulded, it would allow and presuppose an openness to uncertainty, past as well as present and future (ibid.; Pickering 1993:579), which is not the case now.

Managing manuals and guidelines seemed first of all to be a matter of adjusting either material procedures or circumstances to what had been written; as in the case of adding pots for the fetal passings at the abortion clinic at certain dates, or the other way around, adapting what had been written to the concrete materiality and adjusting what had been written in one location or on one level to what had been written on another, which we have seen in the cases of local guidelines and permits being homogenized. The adjustments were a way of coordinating the process with its involved actors in order to be able to reach a common product for transplantation. Some of these adjustments, such as how the ethical permits relate or dissociate women to embryo and patient, were a result of unboxing the process. As such, they acted to create discrete objects in specific categories. The subsequent new black boxing that inevitably needs to fol-

low upon the unboxing of the former order at some point will act to establish the categories as rigid and "truthful", as an effect of the new opaque and black boxed process. Such categories make simpler the process of creating laboratory procedures, medical trials and thus, evidence-based science. The documents of course have a great influence on the end result of the cell suspension and the trial as a whole. They are an important part of the network of making it all work − or part of a knowledge-producing apparatus (Barad 2007: 148, 176).

The preparations for the trial can be said to have been aiming at maintaining the vitality of the embryo throughout its transformations into a mobile cell suspension and a subsequent treatment. A "snapshot" was, as mentioned earlier, made out of a biological process with technological aid. This was required for fitting this object into the evidence-based framework of knowledge required for the trial. Still, it was a simultaneous moulding of a new relational infrastructure and of the travelling object: the cell suspension. The trial can be said to aim for creation of sameness rather than difference, since the aim is homogeneous and reproducible procedures, as well as a cell suspension made to these same standards. The delays, the time passing and the subsequent frustrating wait were mainly a product of trying to create sameness out of a resisting nature insisting on being different. So, if it is the "differences that make a difference that matter" (Barad 2007:36, 72), it is here more precisely a question of the *material differences which tirelessly resist being made the same.* In evidence-based science, quite contradictorily, the creation of sameness could be said to be aiming at proving an even more *specific difference;* the difference *this* specific treatment does in *that* specific situation; a tailored vitality. Charis Thompson writes, concerning in vitro fertilization practices, that it is the spatial and also temporal separation between the donor, the created object (the fertilized and implanted egg) and the patient that creates a successful treatment and practice (Thompson 2005:100ff). This is true also for the cell suspension I studied. However, evidence-based science takes it further, by reducing what has already been enacted into discrete objects and started to act independently, to a controllable behaviour pattern that, by producing *sameness*, produces the specific sought-after *difference* that the trial wants to prove. One of the reasons why the staff needed to unbox their procedures was that a working and intact black box in biomedicine requires homogeneity and reproducibility. These are two characteristics that do not naturally apply to the fetal material.

Delay and wait can therefore also be seen as consequences of the priority of creating *general sameness* or reproducibility within the trial, in order to produce, identify and prove as a result the *specific difference* that is the effectiveness of the specific vital force. This is a force that can be essentialized and removed intact from its original context: the aborting woman and the embryo. Thompson's perspective on temporality can help us better understand that matter not only matters in space but also in *time*, when we consider how the laboratory-working researchers in the trial tried to backtrack for errors that produced failures and how this was a way of

managing past and "lost" time into the future (ibid.:105) as part of producing the cell suspension. The reaffirmation of old knowledge (Walford 2013:30f) was used to create a standardized object. In a way, the researchers can be said to have tried to reverse or transpose time.

Time and delay helped visualize the crucial negotiation points of the project, and made visible to the staff what procedures and premises had to be unboxed and what could maybe, in later phases of the process, be routinized and put in another opaque black box. Since premises are not neutral however simple and small they may seem, we now need to consider what implications the black boxing process may have for ethics.

Ethics in Practice

How did the negotiations of practices in and of the trial affect what were considered ethical issues and how they were handled? What unconscious premises were black boxed, and which ones had to be unboxed in order for the trial to progress?

The fact that there was a constant shortage of embryos did not stand unaffected by other problem clusters in the project. For instance, in order to find a solution to the shortage (a problem in itself unsolvable by ethics regulation) management tried to adopt or to design a tissue tagging system and a biobank, which would allow the use of more of the already available tissue. The system had to fulfil the ethical demands on both preserved integrity of donors and the safety of recipients. They hoped to be able to do this by adding a pre-clinical stage to the trial, with less rigid regulations on traceability. This way, more tissue could be available for making cell suspension to implant to rats. When the transplantations to humans are to begin, the clinical stage regulations must be put to use again. A tagging system is always required when using biological material in clinical trials to make the tissue traceable in the event of contamination or disease. This helps create chains of reference and makes back-tracking easier, and is in itself a requirement of doing science (Latour 1999:25−79). This chain of reference allows not only for abstract knowledge production of the fetal cell suspension and its relations, but also for putting a matter-creating apparatus (Barad 2007: 148, 176) into action, producing e.g. documents and biological samples and a filing system.

Trying to adapt abortion schedules and add pots to collect fetal passings in the abortion clinic was considered a safe way of trying to gain more material without having to enter ethical deliberations, as was necessary with the adoption of tagging systems, biobanks and adding SOP's (standard operating procedures) for a pre-clinical stage as described above. The manipulation of matter described above did not seem to be directly considered by the staff as being connected to ethics, in the way that manipulation of documents and permits seemed to be. However, the local procedures still install a new order, which comes with premises. Here, the premise was that other facilities' routines can be remade and unboxing "outsourced", so that unboxing and negotiation in one's own project could be avoided – as long as no pressure is put on the aborting women.

As we have seen, both ethical and sci-

entific considerations meant having to open up the black box for relational reconfigurings, which meant more hard multi-sited work from the staff: for instance, having to remake and then homogenize permits, or needing to travel to see and understand how practically different but theoretically equal procedures at other sites could produce inconsistencies between them. Taken at surface value, it looks as if connection and reference to the making of the fetal cell suspension and of evidence by pursuing more fetal material ended here. This holds true if we only consider the efforts to obtain greater volumes. However, it was just as much a matter of selecting the right embryos, since their size and age were crucial factors in making the cell suspension an accepted traveller, with the right qualities, to the brain of a patient.

The documents that seemed to cause most problems and subsequent delay were the national ethical permits for the trial itself, for the donation of fetal tissue, and the tissue permit. The adaptation of the SOP's and other protocols of more practical and manual-like character was handled by laboratory personnel and junior researchers. This, for two reasons, made this process easier and faster. Firstly, the junior researchers and laboratory staff did not have the same load of paperwork needing to be taken care of as did more senior researchers in managerial positions. Secondly, this adaptation was done in dialogue with an actual material research environment, which the document was mainly produced to describe and to some extent manipulate. The adaptation was also done in relation to the other involved research facilities and their procedures, in order to be able to create evidence-based science (as discussed by e.g. Kruse 2006 and by Berner & Kruse *et al*. 2013) and to progress in the trial.

Problems that were handled by management in the first instance as administrative ones were issues such as responsibility for testing the fetal tissue for sexually transmitted and other diseases in an acceptable and standardized way; which of the protocols were to be adapted to regulations and homogenized (which is in practice done by laboratory staff), and how randomization of human research subjects – the participating patients – was to be done. On a closer look, however, these problems inevitably connected to issues of evidence and knowledge. This was because since they all dealt with issues of how knowledge can be reached in a legitimate way and how all surrounding systems needed to be adapted to support such credible knowledge production, thus reproducing a homogeneous fetal cell suspension, a certain research paradigm and a worldview based on the assumption that certain mechanisms and causations are valid even outside the specific paradigm. This is also a good example of when issues of knowledge connect to ethical issues. For instance, deciding which of the donating women is regarded as belonging to a risk group, or how randomization of patients is best arranged in order for them to still be granted anonymization and unaffected health care can very well be regarded as ethical decisions. In a way, these are examples of instances where invisible premises are being black boxed into the apparatus of evidence-based science.

Problems causing delay seemed to occur most often concerning issues of either access or supply. In some occasions the problems arose directly on a prescriptive and almost metaphysical level, as in the cases of e.g. homogenizing protocols and ethical permits. Decision making in specific issues, planning ahead both on local level and in communication with the other sites and with ethics boards, required managerial and administrative action. Most often these actions had direct consequences for questions of knowledge and evidence. Curiously enough, they did not as often have a direct effect upon the more practical issues of supply of fetal material or access to sites. These issues were more often targeted directly by the staff most affected by and in closest contact with the situation. The problems handled by staff in e.g. the cell laboratory almost exclusively had to do with practicalities of solid, material infrastructure not working to make the healing potential of the fetal cell travel as expected. The problems handled by management had more to do with the judicial and research-ethics problems of making the cell suspension mobile. However, both had their roots in issues of reproducibility and mobility and subsequently a legitimate evidence-based trial with intact notions of ethical conduct. And they both, I argue, had a comparable amount of influence over the areas they related to.

As has been addressed earlier, however, once negotiation is done, procedures and material stabilized and problems forgotten, it will all be routinized and mundane, and eventually black boxed again. Premises will be written into the procedures themselves and made invisible. Not until an unboxing must be done for some reason will some ethical issues need to be revisited. It is therefore of great importance to try to be aware of and accountable for what one locks inside the box. However, this is easier said than done. As has been discussed over time and at length by ethnologists (and medical anthropologists), there is a constant need to investigate (and revisit) the everyday practice of medicine from a cultural-analytic perspective in order to get at how the ethical dilemmas are most often embedded in their contexts and mundane actions (see e.g. Fioretos, Hansson & Nilsson 2013; Lundin (ed.) 2007). Even if these points have mainly been made in relation to health care and doctor-patient relations (see e.g. Hansson (ed.) 2007; Skott, Dellenborg, Lepp and Nässén 2013), I argue that they are just as applicable to basic research and medical science as such. It is important to map out the black boxed assumptions of what research in medicine *can* and *should* do, even in the absence of, and prior to meeting with, a patient of flesh and blood. Only then can also the most routinized processes be unboxed and opened to scrutiny. The close-to-practice and context-aware "everyday ethics" perspective, as suggested by Ingrid Fioretos, Kristofer Hansson and Gabriella Nilsson (2013), is just as relevant here.

Ethics in Suspense

Entering philosophical (and ethical) deliberations complicates things. It opens up for the possibilities of a topic to become heatedly debated and consensus impossible (or at least much harder) to reach. If a topic is instead discussed and unboxed mainly as practical matters, such debates can more easily be avoided, consensus

kept and progress of process continued at a steady and faster pace. The rationale of avoiding discussions of knowledge and of being is the gain of a maintained consensus and a less fragmented staff opinion-wise, as well as an ultimately faster trajectory towards a homogeneous cell suspension made to travel within a legitimate evidence-based trial. I cannot argue that this process is in any way exclusive for biomedical or life sciences research, but one can see how it effectively helped to create and distribute the value that the cell suspension is attributed due to its vitality (Rose 2006).

It is important to point out that the value of the cell suspension will not be available on an open market, since it is not patentable due to European Union legislation on commercialization of materials of human origin.[10] Neither can the production or distribution of the cell suspension be large-scale, because of the scarcity of the fetal material. Still, it can be considered a prototype for future embryonic stem cell therapies, which may not be patentable either, but still tentatively possible to apply on a large scale since they can be more easily homogenized and reproduced. The investment in the trial itself cannot, due to the given limits of the fetal material, yield any gains or advancements for this specific form of therapy. However it is arguably still important for them to move forward within the trial, so that it can eventually "pay off" in the form of development of embryonic stem cell trials and hopefully future therapies.

The tendency seemed to be to prefer and suggest easily incorporated practical solutions in answer to raise ethical or philosophical topics, rather than extensive discussion of them. The possible consequences of such a pragmatic strategy in my case study is not easily observed or summarized. There certainly is an ethical awareness, adherence to ethical guidelines and accordingly a plan of action that the group agrees on; not much discussion seemed to be needed to sort out acceptable from non-acceptable actions when sensitive issues appear. All discussions, however, were based on the assumption that the transplantations *would* be carried out.

What is made to come into being to endure and the knowledge of this being is in itself an ethical issue. Science as such has great influence over, and therefore great responsibility for, what is created and acknowledged as being and what ought to be. The ethical aspects in need of consideration in the case trial were most often integrated into questions of knowledge, evidence and meeting goals. It was most often also embedded in the negotiations of practices. Ultimately, the aim was to be able to continue the trials, even if large changes were needed to make it ethically acceptable to donors, patients, the public, their peers, themselves and to ethical boards. Since the researchers needed to lock the opened black box as fast as possible in order to continue, some ethical perspectives would be approved while some would be left out. Keeping both the cells and staff in suspense also enabled practical solutions to ethically delicate matters, which would otherwise have led to quandaries about issues of knowledge, evidence and ethics. The delays that occurred for practical reasons helped keep some ethical deliberations at bay. If a procedure did not immediately by its design suggest a certain perspective, premise or problem,

it would not be considered relevant – or rather, not considered at all. This gives a very pragmatic outlook, and is in accordance with what Susanne Lundin (2012) states concerning her study on ethical reflexivity in biomedical researchers: "The fact that everyday practice is connected to professional ethics leaves no visible effects on how biomedical knowledge is produced – as I have discussed here, ethics mirror the conditions of the laboratory in a pragmatic way" (2012:35). This effect, being more or less a "natural" part of the black boxing process that inevitably needs to take place in order to progress the research, fortunately does not need to be completely opaque.

The ethnographic method can help visualize to researchers, stakeholders and to the outside world what is unconsciously being locked into the black box of scientific negotiations. O'Dell and Willim (2015), among others, raise questions concerning "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?" (2015:98). My field of research is an example of where ethnographers can offer a valuable oscillation between an insider-outsider perspective and help add new knowledge and insights, which may have potential to raise awareness and spur change in some scientific processes. It is crucial that we continuously develop and evaluate our ethnographic methods, so that they better target the practical dimensions of possible ethical or philosophical blind spots in research processes.

Medical ethicists can offer valuable perspectives on how different choices that ethical dilemmas offer relate to different philosophies of ethics, and give practical advice based upon that. Still, their more abstract working methods do not lend themselves as well to scrutiny of practice and the effects of routinized and unreflected behaviour. To some extent, the ethicists themselves often also need to be part of the black boxing process in order to further the progress of the research, hence locking some premises and practices to each other while excluding others.

Ethical questions concerning guidelines and permits without doubt still need to be raised and discussed in board meetings. The crucial role of policies and guidelines in regulating the demeanour of science and research cannot be stressed enough. However, since research in practice inevitably enters a state of oblivion when becoming mundane to its practitioners, it needs to be examined and addressed just as carefully as do guidelines and policy documents.

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Notes

1 For the limited scope of this article, I had to omit definitions, the historical background and discussions of the concept of evidence-based science and its consequences. I will be referring to evidence-based science as a referential framework without further developing the concept considering its presumed ideal logic and rationale in science theory. My interest for this article primarily lies in how the staff of the project work practically to achieve this ideal and the legitimacy that comes with it, rather than what it is thought, or ought, to be. Thus, for me, evidence-based science here is equal to the practice and procedures of the trial, as well as how the material and machines are used to achieve it. Last but not least, the discussions and deliberations on how to best achieve reproducibility and mobility of the fetal cell suspension and the procedures of its production, is of course of the utmost importance here.

2 In vitro fertilization, an artificial reproductive technique.

3 Emma is an alias given in order to protect my contact's privacy.

4 Entering the field of biomedical research and practice as an ethnologist, I also affiliate with a modern and strong tradition of Lund University ethnologists researching relations of health, illness and sickness to the cultural and epistemological consequences of medical research and practice – as well as the boundaries of life and death, of nature and culture, of body and mind and the body and its parts, in medical research (see e.g. Hagen 2013; Hansson 2011; Idvall 2006; Jönsson 2013; Lundin 2015; Lundin, Liljefors & Wiszmeg 2012; Lundin & Åkesson 2002).

5 Besides what will be used for analysis in this article, numerous observations in laboratory and interviews have been performed throughout these years. These materials are excluded from analysis here since the topic of this text is delays.

6 I am aware that actor network theory (see e.g. Latour 1999; 2005), from which the concept of "black boxing" has been borrowed, has a strong focus on things and materiality. The same is true for ethnology, which has a strong and long tradition of investigating the role of things in everyday life (see e.g. Löfgren 2015). Things are also very present and active in my empirical material, but I have still chosen to omit any deeper theoretical and analytical elaboration on the topic. This is primarily due to the need to limit my analysis for the purposes of this article, but also because the things in this specific empirical material are, as will be shown, primarily experienced by me as abstract entities in the discussion and negotiations of the staff. I believe the abstract level would disadvantage an analysis of things.

7 A fluid inducing a state of inactivity and metabolic depression in the cells, hindering development into neurons.

8 A special kind of nippers used in medicine and medical research.

9 In Swedish: Inspektionen för vård och omsorg – IVO.

10 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31998L0044 (retrieved 9 March 2016).

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Changing Rural Paradigms

Rural Ethnology between State Interest and Local Activism

By Jeppe Engset Høst

Despite the Internet, television, cell phones and other technologies supposed to connect and even out spatial and cultural differences, rural-urban divides are still widely articulated. We can observe these spatial differences in media and academia, but they are also all around us in places like food festivals and in the packaging of supermarket products. From an ethnological point of view, distances and differences between urban and rural localities and their inhabitants are also culturally produced. What is understood as the extreme geographical outskirts in Denmark ("Udkantsdanmark"), would hardly qualify as even semi-peripheral in Finland. Thus, what is close-by in one country can be far-away in another. Even in policy discussions, problems and solutions to regional development are sometimes culturally shaped and change over time and place. Examples include the very notions that describe the rural, the outskirts or the periphery and the pictures and dynamics linked to these categories. Implicitly politicians, planners and probably everyone else have cultural images of distinct livelihoods and ideas of the (often deterministic) direction of "development". Indeed, far from just a definition in public planning laws, the rural and urban are cultural categories with composite connotations, which are important ingredients in decisions on where to live and with which activities to achieve "the good life".

The Rural in Transition

During the last hundred years ethnologists have engaged in rural-urban divides, occasionally serving as the mediator between the state and local communities. This has given ethnologists a central but also contested position. This is true also today, when ethnologists are still engaged in the rural and in regional development: as academics, civil servants, consultants, museums or as private individuals. From the first documentations of rural customs, to the present engagement in territorial development: when ethnologists have been involved so too has the state.

In this article I will review the historical, cultural and social formation of rural development policies in Denmark and situate these in a Scandinavian context. The review is based on a reading of commission reports, law documents and texts produced by the planners and scholars involved in regional development, the latter often reflecting upon and justifying their work. This gives us a retrospect on how ethnologists have interacted with rural policies and rural areas in transition. In the latter part of this article, I will have a particular focus on examining the so-called "new rural paradigm" (OECD 2006) and its implications for ethnological scholars and practitioners of today. In the "new rural paradigm", bottom-up processes, "place-bound" cultural and historical values are highlighted as essential to local development. This of course empowers the ethnologists, but also put us in a position at the very centre of a commodification of "the rural" and rural communities. The article therefore concludes with a discussion of current trends in regional and rural development and the challenges it poses to ethnologists today.

Rural and Regional Perspectives

The central focus in this article is rural and regional development. In a policy context, these can belong to different ministries or

even be distributed between the EU, state, regional and local authorities. The shifting distinctions between rural and urban, local and regional can be accessed in different planning documents and similar sources. In this article, however, I will treat rural development as a unified number of practices, policies and efforts aiming at developing a locality, small community or area. Regional development is understood as policies and strategies concerned with the regional balance and distribution of income in a national perspective. Thus the notions here include more than the mere policies, but also local practices and ambitions. It is an important point in itself that should be made already here, that rural development in Denmark is only partly (and mainly negatively) related to agriculture. Rather, rural development began as a distinct policy object and activity when agriculture *ceased* to employ the majority of the rural population and serve as the image of growth and development. Only later have diversification and linkages between agriculture and other sectors entered the policy agenda. This will be further elaborated in the section on the formation of rural and regional development in Denmark. For Denmark, as in Sweden and Norway, regional development is connected to an industrialization of rural areas and to the promotion of (urban-based) welfare services. In other words we are dealing with a profound "modernization" of space, social life and its material basis. Regional development and equality is thus inherently linked to underlying assumptions of benefits and causes of urbanization and to modernistic beliefs in rational planning. I will discuss these beliefs and images later.

Regional Development in Scandinavia

Despite some rather diverse geographic settings, there are many similarities in the Scandinavian countries with regard to regional development. As a common trait the Scandinavian countries have all been involved in a wide-ranging industrialization of provincial areas and towns. These processes have arguably been functional in shaping the basis for "modern" welfare societies, but in ways which have also led to controversies between rural dwellers and state authorities (Hansen 1998; Vike 2012). Industrial production and infrastructure have been promoted and installed in order to supply the population with stable incomes and living conditions, but urban housing and recreation activities have not always appealed to the rural population, and ethnology have tried to answer why (see for instance Højrup 1983). In fact, the spatial reshaping, distribution and centralization of private and public services linked to the industrial economy and planning regime have been the root cause of continuous conflicts between local populations and an increasingly professionalized state planning authority.

On the other hand, rural development has happened in Scandinavia against a background of very different experiences and starting points. Seen from today's point of view Norway has perhaps led the most progressive regional policies, using differential tax incentives to decentralize people and businesses while actively moving public institutions to remote towns. But this has also been done on a historical background of war-torn northern parts, an extreme geographical situation and a to some degree economically

marginalized rural population. Swedish regional policies in the 1960s are an example of a more active and determined urbanization process. The combination of wage control and a massive housing programme was imperative in centralizing the Swedish population in specific cities, while at the same time creating the dwindling rural settlement ("glesbygd") as a cultural image of decline and impoverishment (Hansen 1998). By building a million flats and houses in and around urban agglomerations, the Swedish government engaged in a centralization of people and industrial development. Likewise Finland shares traits with Sweden and Norway with urban agglomerations being mainly in the southern parts of the country, while rural core activities like agriculture and forestry have been under increasing pressure from economic globalization in recent years. On the other hand, tourism is often promoted as the new key industry. The "rural idyll" with its beaches, forests and mountains lends itself (as an image) to recreational activities which in turn influence everything from housing costs to social composition (George, Mair & Reid 2009; Ilbery 1998).

Today, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, as EU members, have rather similar rural development strategies, with the Common Agricultural Policy (for agriculture) and the Local Action Groups (for rural development) as the most central tools. Norway stands outside this policy framework, but on a general level has similar strategies and methodologies (Det kongelege kommunal- og regionaldepartement 2013). Common for all countries has been a population reluctant to move and to adhere to rationalistic planning proposals (Hansen 1998; Højrup 1983). This reluctance, according to Ottar Brox, has resulted in a sort of friction against modernity (Brox, Bryden & Storey 2006), that is, a force of local resistance creating the social drive for alternative planning solutions and welfare services. Interestingly, in the end these alternatives often went beyond and improved the initial rationalistic planning proposals.

Ethnology in the Periphery

Historically Scandinavian ethnology has been deeply involved in agricultural, rural and peripheral areas. Firstly, rural communities and agricultural practices were the intrinsic object of early ethnological and folkloristic attention, carried out in order to understand, save and document the vanishing traditions of peasant life and community (Campbell 1957; Rasmussen 1968; Steensberg 1969; Stoklund 1972; Sundt 1971). This disciplinary heritage is still visible today in museums and archives. At the time a theoretical lens of diffusionism and evolutionism was used to view the material, articulating a divide between traditional and modern, between community and society (inspired among others by Tönnies 1957). However, later the remote and rural communities became a favoured destination for community studies of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, rural villages and peripheral fishing towns served as stepping stones in a disciplinary transformation introducing social anthropology approaches and community studies into Scandinavian ethnology (see for Scandinavian examples Daun 1969; Löfgren 1977; Moustgaard & Damgaard 1974). The influential works of Fredrik

Barth and Ottar Brox in Norway should also be mentioned here (Barth 1963; Brox 1966), as they had an innovative focus on social change and state policies in rural Norway. As the Scandinavian welfare states evolved, ethnology became involved with the complex transition of rural areas. In Sweden Kjell Hansen has thoroughly examined the relation between public policies and rural populations with a keen interest in the diverse interpretations and "reluctant counteractions" coming from rural dwellers faced with welfare state planning schemes (Hansen 1998). A similar conflict between 1970s welfare state planning and local resistance served as the entry point for Thomas Højrup with regard to developing an understanding of rural and urban life-modes (Højrup 1983), a theme also taken up by Palle Ove Christiansen (Christiansen 1980). Today, the rural has become a busy field with which ethnologists engage in many different ways, academically, politically and practically. The following section will examine the formation of regional and rural development as a governance problem in Denmark. This perspective is partly inspired by *interactive governance* (for an introduction see e.g. Kooiman 2003; Torfing 2012) and partly by ethnological exploration of social groups through a structural analysis, in which the state has been introduced as a central focus (Højrup 2003). In this perspective policy changes may be linked to transformations in strategies in the governing system (state and municipalities), but the analysis must also have an open eye for the local resistance and individual counteractions wherever the policies are introduced.

Rural Development as a Governance Problem

To understand the beginning of rural development as a public governance area, that is, as a distinct concern for the Danish state, it is necessary to look at the shifts in primary and secondary production. What explains the beginning of "rural development" is on one side the loosening economic role of agriculture and farmers in rural areas (a process occurring in the 1950s) and on the other hand the growth of industrial production as the economic and ideological backbone of the economy.

Historically, the political stronghold of Danish farmers went back to land reforms in the nineteenth century. From around the 1790s land reforms enabled individual operation of farmland and by the end nineteenth century Danish farmers had attained a strong political position as an important element in the Danish export economy. Faced with the declining grain prices in the latter decades of the nineteenth century (Ejrnæs, Persson & Rich 2008), Danish farmers succeeded in reforming the sector by introducing communal ownership and joint investments in processing facilities (i.e. dairies and slaughterhouses). With individual farm ownership and joint ownership of new and modern steam-powered production facilities, production was streamlined and directed towards the more lucrative dairy and meat export markets (Bjørn 1988; Svendsen & Svendsen 2000). From these many family-owned operations and their co-owned production units, Danish butter and bacon reached the British breakfast tables in large quantities. Agriculture was the backbone of the rural economy and featured

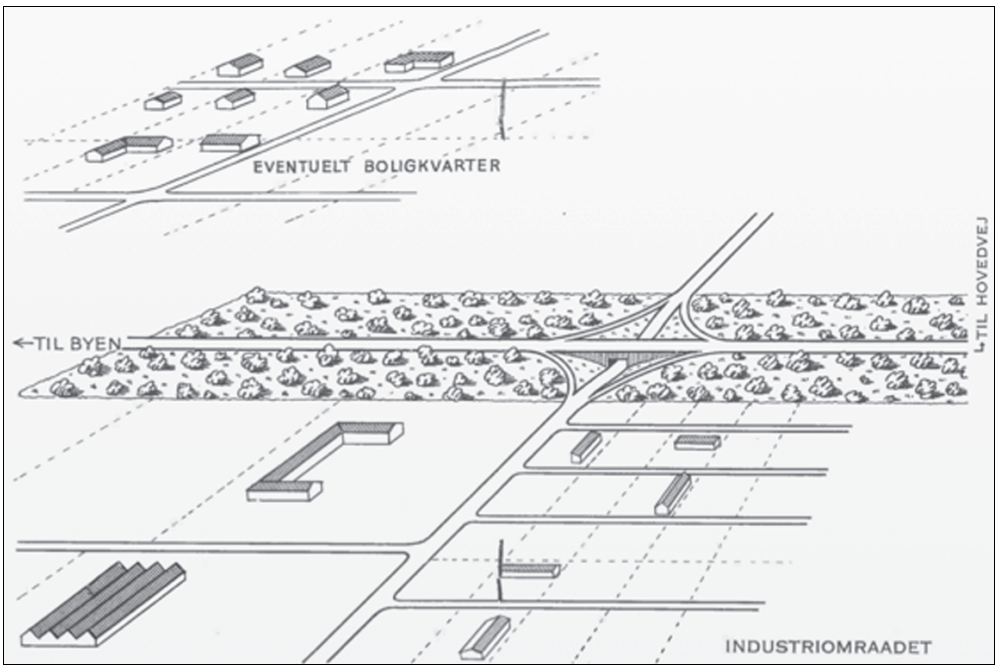
significantly in the national economy as well. As a result farmers were a respected and powerful social class. However, with the intensive utilization of land (up to 76% by the 1930s) and with the simultaneous mechanization of agricultural production, the employment potential in Danish agriculture was soon reached. By the 1950s the sector was beginning to produce surplus labour power. It is against that background that the first Danish regional development policy from 1958 (Egnsudviklingsloven) should be understood. The policy was therefore not related to the development of agriculture, but to the surplus population coming from agrarian communities struggling to find a new economic basis. This became known as the unemployment problem.

The Unemployment Problem

The law in 1958 was the result of almost a decade of discussions of the so-called "unemployment problem". What is important to note in this context is the discursive shift that took place in the 1950s. In this period the perceived solution to unemployment changed from solving unemployment through improvements in the primary sectors (more farms and farmers) combined with increased labour mobility, to a solution based on a country-wide promotion of industrial production. In the early 1950s a number of rural areas had become known as "unemployment islands", and as late as 1955 a commission proposed labour mobility as a solution (in other words to move the surplus population to urban areas), a proposal that was met with widespread local opposition (Illeris 2005). However, through the 1950s, and as the problem grew, there was a rising recognition that the problem could neither be solved by a growth in the number of farms nor through labour mobility. What was needed, it was argued, was industrial development and stable occupation (Andreasen 1957; Kampmann 1957). Factories and industrial production was, accordingly, the only mode of production which could provide year-round jobs for the rural populations.

This shift in means and goals mirrors the change in primary production outlined above, a change that is much easier to observe retrospectively. However, as a special commission established in 1956 stated, they anticipated a future "where urban and industrial occupations would become more important" (Arbejdsministeriet 1958:15, author's translation). In relation to that is a concern that is easily forgotten, but pointed out by the commission, namely the costs of further concentration and urbanization around Copenhagen (Arbejdsministeriet 1958). At that time, almost one third of the population was settled in the Copenhagen region, including half of the jobs in industrial manufacture in Denmark. Continuing this development would lead to further economic and social inequality between the regions and would increase the costs of urbanization and infrastructure.

From other sides it was argued that an expansion of public infrastructure such as roads, electricity and water supply into the rural areas was not only reasonable but also fair (Kampmann 1957). The industrial protagonist behind Cheminova, Gunnar Andreasen, author of several leaflets on local development, emphasized the fairness but also the business case in rural



1. From the late 1950s and onwards regional development meant an industrialization of provincial areas. The illustration above is from a booklet published by a regional development board, imagining a spatial future complete with factories, roads and housing quarters. From the publication "Landsudvikling" (Andreasen 1961).

development. In a radio interview he stated that

> We ask for support based on the fact that we are citizens in a society with equal rights, and we will explicitly express the point that it will be a good business to invest in us.[1] (Quoted from Høst & Radoor Larsen 2016)

By the end of the 1950s, and as a consequence of the discursive shift in the policy discussions, rural areas had become known as "neglected areas". The shift here is more than just semantic. It is a shift that indicates a new position in the wider societal economy. "Neglected" should thus be understood as seen and measured from an urban and industrialized point of view. The discussions in the 1950s led to the passing of the law in 1958 focusing on an industrialization of Denmark's provincial areas.

Over the first ten-year period of the rural development policy, the number of policy instruments was significantly enlarged in order to prepare and install what was necessary for the industrial mode of production. Initially the policy was based on the use of state-guaranteed loans, but the law was continuously expanded and soon allowed municipalities to carry out business analysis and investments in industrial facilities. The actual investments and developments coming from the law itself were limited, a mere 4 per cent according to one estimation (Illeris 2005).

However, the law and the discussions leading to it probably paved the way for a recognition of the rural areas as (a neglected) part of the industrial economy and thus to an inclusive national growth concept with regard to regional economic development (Illeris 2005).

The 1960s – Industrialization and Changes in Production

For a short assessment like this, the industrialization of provincial Denmark can be summed up as a success. The largest changes occurred where there was the least manufacturing industry to begin with. While the industrial mode of production was rolled out rather successfully, there are a few structural characteristics that should be noted here as they might nuance the understanding. To some degree the first phase of investments and "movements" of factories to the provincial areas were only movements of the space-consuming production facilities, while the headquarters often remained in the capital region (Gad 1968; Hovgaard Christiansen & Hovgaard Christiansen 1973). This was facilitated by the telephone and fax on one hand and the improvements in roads on the other (tar, truck and automobiles).

Another point is that a large portion of the labour consumed in these new forms of production was unskilled labour, of which 40 per cent were women entering the workforce for the first time (Hovgaard Christiansen & Hovgaard Christiansen 1973). Thus the driver seen from company perspective was access to cheap labour and land. Also seen from company perspective, the policy support and subsidies were in that respect just one aspect of a larger number of factors. As the range of instruments in the law grew, the municipalities became more and more involved, while more factors became instrumental in attracting companies from the outside. Looking at the rural development policy from 1958, it thus has clear signs of exogenous state-driven development, while processes on the ground are more diverse (Illeris 2005) and changed over time. In the 1970s and 1980s there was evidence that the most successful industrial endeavours in Denmark were in provincial areas and in fact initiated locally (Maskell 1986).

A final characteristic that should be noted in this regard is the changing occupational pattern in the Copenhagen region. While the industrialization of provincial Denmark brought stable wage-earner jobs to the rural populations, the occupational composition of the capital changed simultaneously from being 50 per cent in manufacture to a larger weight on the service sector. This development was parallel to that in many other big cities in the Western world and related to the so-called inner city problem or urban crisis (Harvey 2012; Zukin 1980). Thus a new problem of regional development began to emerge with slums and de-industrialization in the inner urban areas. The profound implications of this change were not well understood at the time and were interpreted as a logical function of the division of production, thus conceived in a thinking still dominated by the industrial mode of production: space-consuming operations moved to places where land was cheaper. However, more than just a concentration of service activities in city centres, research, legal services, cultural and knowledge-based activities were becoming a

proper basis for a metropolitan urban economy. Only later were these processes acknowledged and studied under notions such as *the creative class* and *the network society* (Castells 1996; Florida 2004; Zukin 1995). As described above, from the 1950s onwards industrial activities were rather successfully redistributed to and later initiated in provincial, rural and coastal areas. The successful industrialization of provincial Denmark did not happen with the 1958 policy as the only driver. The expansion of infrastructure played an immense role and so did developments in technology. Through time, development and adaptation of new technologies enabled industrial production in much smaller setups and allowed the division of production, management, administration and research into different locales. The economic boom in the 1960s brought optimism about welfare services, and in 1970 the municipal structure was changed to better fit the social democratic ideas and a modern welfare state (Blom-Hansen 2012; Nordrefo 1991). In the following section I will describe the municipal reform of 1970, which in many ways served as the motor behind the welfare state and its policies of rural and regional equality. Interestingly, Denmark has recently gone through a process of municipal amalgamation (similar to processes occurring now in Finland, Norway and Sweden), and the crucial role of the former municipal structure (from 1970 to 2006) in regional equality can now be better understood.

Welfare State Planning

With regard to welfare service the municipal reform in 1970 not only changed the geographical shape of public service, but also decentralized a large range of services and – to some extent also – political decisions from the central state level to the new 275 "large" municipalities (amalgamated from approx. 1,100 municipalities). The municipal reform was important in creating regionally distributed occupation in the growing public sector. In the new consolidated municipalities, new professional administrations were to take care of social services such as schools and nurseries – but also of business facilitation and public infrastructure. This profoundly changed the quality and nature of service deliveries and transformed the relation between citizens and the public service provider (Blom-Hansen 2012). It was also in the 1970s that a disconnected number of city plans and agricultural maps were integrated and institutionalized into a fully modern and nation-wide planning system.

Contested Planning

In 1970, a new "planning law" divided Denmark into a rather inflexible system of urban, rural and holiday zones. These are still in place today, rigidly protecting rural landscapes from industrial development, but also hindering new activities (and therefore keeping the rural rural). The new planning law contained a section describing its overarching aim as "equal development in the country". The balance between the wishes and ambitions of an individual place and the overall economic rationality was to be coordinated through a number of "regional plans" (from 1977). On the local level, however, large areas of industrial zones were planned for and highways called upon to attract development. Almost every small town or city

wanted to be part of a growing industrial economy and its welfare system. On the other hand, seen from the state perspective, funding was limited and the impact lost if efforts were too scattered. One theoretical approach to this puzzle was the idea of *growth poles*, which were cities large enough to support a region, and through which development could be initiated and controlled. The idea of growth poles was discussed internationally in regional economics and promoted by the economist Perroux (1950). Through growth poles public investments could be targeted and redistributed regionally while not being too much scattered around (Illeris 2005). The theory of growth poles was central in Danish (as well as Swedish) planning and gave the planning system a crucial role compared to laissez-faire economics. However, the tension between localism and state centralization still divided the national parliament and ultimately led to a less strict interpretation, where the municipal plans were not changed according to state needs and overall rationality (Nordrefo 1991). Instead of supporting a limited number of already existing regional centres, the actual political outcome led to a new category valid for governmental support, namely that of "regional centres under development". However the actual discussions and tensions with regard to limited funding and the location of new investments were often just postponed or moved to other fields (Illeris 2005).

Social Democratic Ideologies: A Good Life for All

As we learned above, the central motor in the Danish economy from the late 1950s onwards was perceived to be industrial production and the stable wage-earner lives it provided as its product. This was institutionalized through the 1970 municipal reform aiming at delivering identical service to all Danish municipalities (Blom-Hansen 2012; Nordrefo 1991). A social democratic policy paper on planning from 1978 stated that "All people should be able to get well-paid and varied work in the immediate vicinity of the place where they want to live" (*Socialdemokratiet* 1978, author's translation).

Thus, the spread of the industrial mode of production was considered (at least in the social democratic leadership) as a goal, as long as it formed the basis on which life conditions could be improved and regional inequality decreased. Life was to be structured around *the good life* of a wage-earner, which in reality meant a life in the vicinity of factories and welfare services, in other words intrinsically urban facilities (Højrup 1983; *Socialdemokratiet* 1978). The Danish social democratic vision was ambitious in scope and covered all aspects of life, from wages, property relations, housing, work relations, social security, education, health and traffic services to spare-time activities (*Socialdemokratiet* 1978). On the state level this – somewhat elitist – vision was induced and modified into a concrete planning scenario, where urban centres (growth poles) were to be distributed in Denmark, each big enough to motor a regional economy fully equipped with hospitals, high schools and other advanced services. Later in this article I will discuss the theoretical underpinnings and in-built image of development that was contained in this planning ideology – ideology

meaning the intrinsic ideas of good and bad in regards to different ways of life, society and development. However, despite being ambitious, the social democratic vision was lacking sensitivity to local cultural variations and aspirations (Højrup 1983; Nordrefo 1991). In the social democratic planning culture was something to be delivered in a modern and urban way, not something to be preserved and nurtured locally, or performed outside state influence. For rural areas this meant that public and private services were to be centralized and that development should be planned around urban facilities only.

The urban bias and concentration was an economic necessity in order to deliver top-standard housing, education, health and spare-time services. When it turned out that local populations were reluctant and voted against this development, ethnologists were employed in order to understand the (otherwise inconceivable) resistance to modernization (Brox, Bryden & Storey 2006; Hansen 1998; Højrup 1983). Ethnological enquiries revealed that rural life provided lots of opportunities and social networks. Rural life was not materially backwards, and modern material and equipment (cars, fibreglass, freezers, motors, etc.) were continuously employed to uphold and renew rural practices (Højrup 1983). What was at stake was different "modernities" and a political practice unable to see this (Hansen 1998; Højrup 1983). I will return to this urban and modernistic image of development below. Here I want to note one other thing, namely that this combination of welfare ideology, municipal structure and central planning authority was the concrete way that the *welfare society* came into being: with a strong external state holding the responsibility for regional development, but also with a vibrant and influential resistance from below. The dominant *image of development* in planning authorities was modernistic and urban biased, but also highly contested by rural populations.

Modernism in Crisis

For the first period described in this article, rural and regional development was strongly influenced by modernistic thinking in a broad sense. Part of this was a firm belief that future development was going to be urban and based on industrial modes of production. Modernization of the economy and society would bring about positive changes and was going to be a complete reform of traditional (rural) life. As a consequence, it was only in cities that modern, healthy and good lives could be assisted. In addition to this, through the second half of the twentieth century there was an increased faith in large-scale planning in everything from housing to the provision of health care, most evidently in the functionalistic planning and design tradition (Lefebvre 1991; Scott 1998). The Swedish efforts to build a million houses or the Norwegian efforts to construct industrial parks reserved for companies with more than 1,500 employees are concrete examples of this, as is the demolition of whole neighbourhoods for new highways and the zoning of cities into functionally distributed spaces. These modern developments were to be supplemented with supermarkets, schools, parks and playgrounds for the modern citizen and consumer. Rural areas and rural life were considered backwards and needed to be fully replaced with modern ways of life and

consumption. This thinking even had its impact in the discipline of rural sociology, which tried to tackle this dichotomy and its relevance (see e.g. Pahl 1966).

In the discipline of regional economics these assumptions were less questioned, and there was a strong modernistic and thus urban bias. Therefore the relocation of productive industries, especially from Copenhagen to rural and provincial areas, was also an object of scholarly debate in the 1960s. The dominant economic theory at the time, as already mentioned, saw industrial development and urbanization as inherently linked. Therefore *advanced* industrial development demanded *advanced* cities with research, legal service and other facilities to cater to its development (Illeris 2005; Kaufmann 1966). As a consequence, it was economically inefficient to relocate industries to provincial (non-urban) spaces. Although strongly represented in planning authorities and schools, these assumptions were challenged and contested, especially when industrial technologies (from around the 1970s) were adopted successfully in provincial areas, often with different scales and different social organizations. Rural family operations managed to grow and become successful exporters without the proximity of a large city (see further Maskell 1986). By the end of the 1970s it was evident that the most exporting and profitable business were located in provincial areas. This brutally challenged the modernistic and urban-biased theory on its very foundation, namely that "development" was linked to advanced urban agglomerations. Even though modernistic thinking and large-scale planning have hardly disappeared, they have to some degree lost their powers with regard to some public planning. Instead the continued industrial development has morphed and now occurs around notions of creativity, innovation and sustainable technologies. There seems to be a theoretical shift from modernist neo-classical thinking to a line of cluster theory emphasizing specialization and regional competitiveness. With this shift, however, there is also a loss of a state-coordinated planning and a greater reliance on market forces. As an image of development, *modernity* became contested, but the city did not. The big city, as David Harvey has noted, succeeded in a transition to become the site of post-modernity (Harvey 2008), and the image of development today is in that way still an image of urbanization. In the 1980s the partial recognition of the limits of large-scale planning and modernization fed into a broader process of deregulation and a search for competitive edge along the lines of technology and creativity, which also had an impact on regional and rural development policies (Nordrefo 1991). It is from this crisis and transformation that the new rural policies of today were shaped.

The End of Regional Equality and the Coming of a New Rural Paradigm

The rural development policy from 1958 and the investments that followed in its wake had succeeded in a wide-ranging industrialization of provincial Denmark. After peaking in the 1970s, subsidies for rural industries were reduced in the 1980s, partly by reference to the fact that regional inequality was now limited. In addition, by the end of the 1980s the image of development was transformed from the

industrial mode of production to a (somehow related) focus on technology and creativity (Nordrefo 1991; Olesen & Richardson 2012). Slowly, discussions changed into what we can recognize today as the idea of regional competitiveness and the new rural paradigm (see below). The tension between localism and state centralism was left somewhat unsolved, but with a strong recognition that it was necessary to respect local diversity and ambitions. In fact these re-emerged as the central resources and potentials and fitted well into a growing focus on creativity, local adaptation and life-long learning. An example from a 1989 national planning paper illustrates the point:

> A regional balance is primarily promoted by local initiatives, building on locally based opportunities. Absolute equality and homogeneity is a utopia with terrifying perspectives, especially when it is the specific local potential that is the engine of development (National planning document 1989, author's translation).

In this quotation the distancing from the former social democratic doctrines and the idea of homogeneity is clear, as is the positive focus on *the local* as a *starting* point and *solving* point of development. But it is also assumed that market forces will be better at finding and initiating "development" than the exogenous state power. There is however more to it than traditional political division over state and market. On the state level a new recognition was beginning to influence regional planning, namely that of growing international competition between regions and a subsequent search for a regional competitive edge:

> The current specialization between the different regions is not regarded as negative, but on the contrary as a precondition for a strategic effort for development in the different regions according to their own terms (National planning document 1990, author's translation).

What was beginning to be conceptualized was an understanding of a new regional dynamic in an EU with an integrated inner market (Illeris 2005; Nordrefo 1991; Olesen & Richardson 2012). In 1990 the rural development policy from 1958 was phased out and, in fact, the aim of "equal development in the country" was deleted from the planning laws. In the quotations above we also begin to recognize a focus on the individual locality, valorization of local assets, specialization and local potentials. These aspects are all part of what has been termed territorial development, new rural governance *or* framed in the notion of the *new rural paradigm*.

The New Rural Paradigm

In rural sociology many scholars have pointed to the significant shifts that occurred in rural development and governance somewhere along the 1990s and 2000s, and which were also observed in the Danish case above – in short, the shift is caused by changes in geography, demography and the economic situation of rural areas (Ilbery 1998). These changes have led to new forms of rural governance and development discourses (among others see Horlings & Marsden 2012; Ray 1999; 2001; Shucksmith 2010; Svendsen 2004). On the other side of the coin, old paradigms have supposedly failed to deliver development. In an EU context, for example, the emergence of a "new rural governance" can be linked to the establishment of the partly bottom-up rural development method named "LEADER" in

2. Food festival, cooking competition and picnic-to-go at Knuthenlund estate in Southern Denmark. In the new rural paradigm "place-bound qualities" are to be promoted and social, cultural and human capital activated in the search for development.

1991 (Ray 2000). This came about when the Common Agricultural Policy was highly contested for producing the vast surplus situations popularly known under names such as "wine lakes" and "butter mountains" (see further Rieger in Wallace & Wallace 2000). But the scene for new rural governance is wider than agricultural policies. On a more general level, we are witness to a long-lasting and profound change including

> a new role for the state as co-ordinator, manager or enabler rather than as provider and director; the formation of tangled hierarchies, flexible alliances and networks through which to govern (often to the confusion of most citizens); the inclusion of new partners, notably from the private and voluntary sectors; and indeed "governing through community" or "government at a distance" (Shucksmith 2010:4).

These shifts in rural development are, as described in the above quotation, argued to include many actors and institutions and are claimed to introduce new modes of rural governance. Through the EU these have been implemented and mainstreamed in Denmark, Sweden and Finland through the Local Action Groups, today under the notions of Community-Led Local Development. New roles are accordingly assigned to civil society and also to the state as governor, which has to facilitate networks and participation, more than to enforce hierarchical planning. Similarly, also voicing a clear shift, the transformation can be described as a change from *exogenous* (externally induced) development to a *neo-endogenous*

mode of development (Ray 1999). In the first the state and other outsiders initiate, sponsor and control development, while in the latter these come together with local "bottom-up" forces. This shift was captured by the OECD through the much-referred-to publication "The New Rural Paradigm: Policies and Governance" from 2006 (OECD). The OECD report articulated the change from an "old" to a "new" rural paradigm in a rather schematic way (see table).

Table 1. Source: (OECD 2006)

	Old approach	New approach
Objectives	Equalization, farm income, farm competitiveness	Competitiveness of rural areas, valorization of local assets, exploitation of unused resources
Key target sector	Agriculture	Various sectors of rural economies (e.g. rural tourism, manufacturing, ICT industry, etc.)
Main tools	Subsidies	Investments
Key actors	National governments, farmers	All levels of government (supra-national, national, regional and local), various local stakeholders (public, private, NGOs)

The binary positioning and the descriptions of a shift in Table 1 could easily give rise to an idea that an old paradigm has been surpassed, and that we are now – or should be – via a "radical change", in the midst of a new paradigm (OECD 2015:2). It should be noted, though, that both conventional agriculture and the industrial sector have – so to speak – carried on in the old paradigm – and still take up a substantial part of state attention and subsidies.

The OECD publication is however an indication that the idea of a new rural policy – and a technocratic need for the same – has been widely accepted and is now discursively urged by OECD on its member countries and their civil servants. A recent 2015 OECD report repeats this claim and its pervasive implications for rural policies. The policy focus is however on local development, small-scale entrepreneurial activity and diversification, and in more general terms on the "softer" sides of development in rural areas; attracting highly educated people, facilitating service innovation, improving life quality, etc. The resources articulated and involved in this new paradigm are indeed of a diverse kind, ranging from cultural-historical assets to an emphasis on innovation and generation of entrepreneurial spirit. Central keywords are "area-based" or "place-bound" resources, and the development paradigm is also referred to as "territorial development", pointing to the human and social capital that can be activated only from within a locality. The question is; where does this put the ethnologist engaging in the new rural paradigm?

Conclusion: A Neoliberal Turn?

In the above I have described the formation and change of rural policies. These have changed in accordance with the larger transformations in material and social conditions in Denmark as well in response to the Danish position in a globalizing economy. The Danish state has had shifting responses to rural crises, but overall the above reveals a process where the state has withdrawn as the central

3. The current remaking of rural communities based on entrepreneurship and tourism and based on the cultural images of the rural is also a precarious process introducing commodification and gentrification of rural areas. Development also means new lifestyles, seasons and opportunities for some, while others are potentially marginalized in the same process.

caretaker of rural and regional development. As I have discussed, ethnology has engaged with the rural in many ways and on different bases. Former museological, community-oriented and state-critical practices of ethnology have now been extended with an ethnology engaged with the territorial and cultural development of rural areas. For a discipline like ethnology it is tempting to quickly grasp the methodology and terminology of the new rural paradigm. Instead of industrialized agriculture and large-scale planning trends, we suddenly see a positive focus on bottom-up methods and a cherishing of our core disciplinary attributes; culture, history, creativity and other human capitals. The new rural paradigm presents itself almost as a methodology we can follow in order to institute development. However, we should not engage in rural development unaware of the potential undesirable implications and the critical questions that are left untouched. As I have argued above, regional and rural development revolves around social and cultural transformations as much as around investments in roads, parks and factories.

Firstly, the new rural paradigm suggests that the overall policy objective has changed from *equalization* to *competiveness* of rural areas by valorization of local assets. The historical process described in this article supports this shift. However, there might still be an important role for the exogenous state in securing equality in

opportunities (instead of equality in outcome). In Denmark the change in planning can be summed up as a shift from a positivistic Keynesian rationality to "ad hoc project planning without any overall coherent spatial policies" (Olesen & Richardson 2012). In addition the "state's role was reduced from provider to enabler of development" (Olesen & Richardson 2012). Inherent in this shift from equalization to competitiveness is what could arguably be termed a neoliberal turn; a withdrawal of state responsibility and an empowering of markets and individuals (Hadjimichalis & Hudson 2007). There is a risk that the ethnologist becomes the co-driver of this process as the new rural paradigm might have a specific function in this process. We might fear that the new rural paradigm is the governance instrument that endows civil society, civil groups and certain individuals with the task of rural development instead of the state. By engaging in this process we therefore risk legitimizing the withdrawal of the state in rural and regional development.

Secondly, engagement in the new rural paradigm as a policy might limit our focus and attention. As an integral strategy "best practice" reports are used to spread well-proven methods and projects to other areas and countries. The winners and their fascinating projects are picked up and circulated in policy evaluations and media coverage. However, for each best practice example and winner produced inside the new rural paradigm, there is an even larger number of ordinary places losing ground in terms of equality and opportunities. Processes in these places will also need to be documented and understood in order to grasp the current remaking of rural areas. This is a risk as the social science with an interest in rural areas is often policy-driven, producing policy evaluations and impact analysis for the bureaucracy. We might have a role as a discipline to balance this research with an eye for the ordinary.

Thirdly, while rural entrepreneurship and linkages to tourism and urban markets have proven to be promising development paths, there is also a risk of producing tourism-dependency and a commodification of rural communities (George, Mair & Reid 2009; see figure 3). This might lead to a urban-rural relationship where the latter will have to simulate or produce "rurality" in order to be accepted or even given a voice (Anderson 2000). This is of course out of the hands of the single ethnologist, but with our role as communicators of cultural history and ability to identify "place-bound" qualities there also comes a responsibility to do this on a reflected basis.

Finally, related to the above points, we should be aware that the processes we participate in are similar (despite many differences) to the urban gentrification and renewal that has taken place in larger Scandinavian cities and towns. If the old rural paradigm was built upon the factory and promoted the life of a wage-earner, the new rural paradigm revolves around creative entrepreneurs and territorially devoted human resources (Ray 1999). We should be conscious of the new social patterns we take part in promoting, and refrain from treating development as linear and unquestionably good. In conclusion, therefore, while the ethnologist can engage in rural development and through that empower communities, create cul-

tural wealth and new livelihoods, there is also a risk of participating in a harsh competitive and potentially undemocratic remaking of rural areas and regional balances. To avoid this we should, as ethnologists have done so often before, look for the diversity, the unspoken, the ordinary, the hidden practices and networks that sustain and produce the rural communities.

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Note

1 "Gunnar Andreasen i radioen om arbejdet med V.J.-planen." *Amts-Bladet* 3 January 1958. Author's translation. I wish to thank Sille Radoor Larsen for finding and sharing this quotation with me.

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Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen/Kaare, 1948–2016

Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen/Kaare was born in Oslo on 25 March 1948. She passed away on 21 February 2016 after a serious cancer illness which she suffered in her last year.

Birgit took her master's degree in folklore at the University of Oslo in 1976. In 1979 she became a research associate in folklore in Oslo and in 1986 gained a scholarship from the Norwegian Research Council. In 1988 she was appointed to the post of senior conservator (corresponding to lecturer) at the Department of Folklore in Oslo. In 1995 she became professor at the Department of Culture Studies in Oslo and in 2005 professor at the Department of Media and Communication at the same university. She retired in 2013. In the 1990s she was member of the board of the Nordic Institute of Folklore, NIF. She has had several administrative positions at the University of Oslo and she was highly appreciated for the care with which she fulfilled her duties.

An important research area in Birgit's works was the festivals and rituals of the life cycle. In 1985 she published a popular standard work on confirmation in Norway entitled *Den store dagen*. She wanted to illuminate the experiences that confirmation candidates had in older days. In 1993 came her doctoral dissertation on confirmation and memory, *Konfirmasjon og erindring.* The first opponent at the disputation, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, noted that the author deserved praise for having "moved the focus from the narrative to the narrator, from the object to the subject".

Birgit was early in bringing women's studies into folklore. In 1982 her book about the wicked stepmother, *Myten om den onde stemor*. An essay in 1986 about the insider perspective in women's history has been frequently cited in Nordic women's studies. In 1990 Birgit, along with Beth Elverdam in Denmark and Åsa Ljungström in Sweden, edited *Kvinnfolk: Kvinnor i tradition och kultur*, a NIF publication about women in tradition and culture.

Birgit was also early in studying mass-media culture. The book about stepmothers from 1982 has a subtitle meaning "From folk tradition to mass literature". Magazines were central source material here. The studies concentrated on "the potential of commercial mass culture for meaning making and the relationship between media culture and folk culture".

Birgit occupied a prominent position in the Nordic study of humour. The central work here is the book *Hva ler vi av? Om nordmenns forhold til humor* (1997), about what makes Norwegians laugh. She wrote: "As culture researchers we can focus on social and cultural variation in humour and its forms of expression, its use and significance". She considered humour from a gender perspective in an essay in *Ethnologia Europaea* 1999.

During the twenty-first century Birgit was busy studying the way young people use the Internet. It was therefore logical that she moved in 2005 to the Department of Media and Communication in Oslo. In this way she became a link between folklore and media studies and continued to be a productive author and lecturer.

Birgit's passing leaves a large vacuum in Nordic culture and media studies. Her broad scholarly contribution will live on for a long time to come.

Birgit was socially open, which made her a much-appreciated colleague and friend. When I took up my post as professor at the University of Oslo in 1997, it was Birgit who welcomed me with a bouquet of flowers that I was long able to enjoy in my office.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo, Norway/Henån, Sweden

Anna-Leena Siikala, 1943−2016

Anna-Leena Siikala (née Aarnisalo) was born on 1 January 1943. Her family background was partly in Helsinki, partly in Pori, and partly in the countryside of eastern Finland – as a small child she heard *Kalevala*-metre lullabies from her grandmother. She went to school in Helsinki and studied at Helsinki University, with Matti Kuusi as her professor, and finally gained her doctorate in 1978 there on the topic of the rite techniques of the Siberian shamans. Apart from Kuusi's supervision, she was also guided by Martti Haavio and Lauri Honko. Her interest in folk belief, *tietäjät* and shamans had already fascinated her from an early age. In her lectures she related how in her fieldwork in the early 1960s she had met a genuine, ecstatic *tietäjä*, but the true nature of the dramatic encounter dawned on her only later.

Anna-Leena Siikala worked in Finland in many universities, taking care of professorial duties as a locum in Turku and Helsinki. She was appointed professor of folkloristics at Joensuu University in eastern Finland in 1988, and from there she was invited to become professor of folkloristics at Helsinki University in 1995. In the early 2000s she worked as Academy professor for a five-year period, devoting herself primarily to her research projects. As a young researcher she had become familiar with academic life in the USA on visits, and later she worked as visiting professor at Hamburg University in Germany.

The project "Mythology of the Uralic Peoples" that Siikala led had a long history. In the 1970s she had lectured on the folk religion of the Finno-Ugric peoples, and at that time was of the opinion that the ancient folk religion had sunk into history. The opening up of the Soviet Union from the 1980s radically changed many things.

In the spring of 1990 Siikala found out from a colleague in Tartu that ancient folk religion still thrived in places in Udmurtia in the form of communal village sacrificial rites. Hence she travelled with an Estonian research group in the summer of 1991 to Udmurtia, through the collapsing Soviet Union, and got to see and document the sacrificial night festival arranged in honour of the god Inmar. From this began a lively collaboration with the Finno-Ugric world, which also led her on demanding field trips to the Khanty areas of Siberia.

With her husband Jukka, Anna-Leena Siikala also made long research trips to the Polynesian Cook Islands. This gave rise to a contextual investigation of the Maori narrative tradition. Thus she was well positioned to investigate cultural processes on a global scale over the course of millennia.

Siikala was perhaps above all the student of Lauri Honko in that she was interested in living culture and tradition in its context. Nonetheless, her most important output has been a weighty monograph on the relationships between Finnish folk belief and epic tradition, *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry* (2003), and, expanded from this, the Finnish-language *Itämerensuomalainen mytologia*, which she tenaciously completed in 2012, as her strength had already weakened. On the other hand, her interest in the developmental framework of Finnish mythology and epic linked her with her old teachers Kuusi and Haavio, and at the same time with a long trend in Finnish folklore studies.

Another field where Siikala advanced research markedly is storytelling and narrator research. She took part in the field trip arranged by the Finnish Literature Society's folklore archive in 1970 to Kauhajoki in West Finland, and apart from gathering folklore, the researchers were interested in the narrators and even made social-psychological tests for them. The materials lay for many years untouched, but after completing

her thesis, Siikala applied herself to investigating the prose narration. The result was first a Finnish-language work in 1984, and, developed from that, the English-language *Interpreting Oral Narrative* (1990).

Anna-Leena Siikala was appointed in 2009 a member of the Academy of Finland, which was the highest recognition an academic may gain in Finland.

Siikala was pivotal as an organizer of research and research collaborations, both in Finland and internationally. Along with Lauri Honko, she developed the international Folklore Fellows' Summer School research courses, and, succeeding Honko, she worked as editor of the FFC publications series from 2002 to 2009; her own research projects too were of course widely international. At the same time she was a friendly and caring older colleague, who was easy to approach; she was generally not called "Professor Siikala", but "Anna-Leena". To many Finnish folklorists she was like a big sister, who listened and sorted out problems, and helped to forward careers.

Anna-Leena Siikala completed many important monographs and brought many research projects to a conclusion. She was also a main organizer at many international academic gatherings. With other projects she has left to younger colleagues a rich heritage to carry forward and complete, for example the Mythology of the Uralic Peoples project, mentioned above. *Ars longa, vita brevis.*

Pekka Hakamies, Turku

Jan-Öjvind Swahn, 1925−2016

Jan-Öjvind Swahn, one of the grand old men in Nordic folkloristics, passed away on 21 March 2016. He had studied with Carl Wilhelm von Sydow at Lund University and defended his doctoral dissertation, *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche*, in 1955. He was influenced by the idea of *oikotype*, a special kind of variant of a tale that was marked by the environment. According to the prevalent theory of his time he worked with the historical-geographical method, but he refined it by introducing the concept of subtype. He compared the subtypes and was able to tell which one was the oldest and which of the large number of subtypes had literary influence.

Today this kind of folkloristics seems obsolete. The historical-geographical method came under severe criticism and consequently, sixty years after Swahn's dissertation hardly anybody works in that way. Swahn, however, found his way out of the dilemma a researcher experiences when everything changes, from the research material and research questions over theories into methods. During Swahn's time this process was turbulent and ongoing. He addressed folklore as an expression of cultural history. His most important production is within this field of research. Being a folklorist he looked for genres that hardly anybody had studied, such as the verses made up when eating rice pudding at Christmas, or other expressions for a very down-to-earth kind of folk culture. The study of folktales remained his favourite field of research for a long time. Not only did he publish great commented collections of both Swedish and international folktales, but in the field of folktale research he was also a forerunner for he observed differences between female and male narration and he devoted interest to the important area that covers the relationship between written and oral tradition. This complex bond was really relevant when Swahn left Western folklore and turned to the Far East. There he collected folktales in Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam and all the research problems that are connected to field research were raised, such as how to collect and document oral tradition, what importance variants bring, how to archive the tales and other topics.

Customs and food were also targets of his writing. He published an impressive book about the Swedish Christmas, filled with facts about this complicated and many-faceted custom. His studies about food are mainly concentrated around everyday dishes, but he also combined his dual interest in cooking and customs in studies about feasts and food.

Jan-Öjvind Swahn was an excellent speaker. When he gave a lecture the auditorium was crowded. The combination of solid facts, a deep historical knowledge, acquaintance with local traditional culture and language and wit was a priceless foundation for captivating lectures. He was ahead of his time for he was able to create a brand of himself. This brand was certainly supported by his role as a television personality in several popular programmes in which scientists and scholars answered questions from the public. His profound knowledge of cultural matters came perfectly to the fore the bigger his audience was.

Swahn had never a chair at a university in Sweden but in 1955–78 he was a lecturer at Lund, Uppsala and Gothenburg Universities. Moreover, he functioned as a librarian at the University Library in Lund and in 1978–83 he was the chief librarian at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. He also had a publishing house Cygnus, meaning swan, he was the editor in chief of *Bra Böckers Lexikon*, *Bra Böckers Bildlexikon* and *Barnens uppslagsbok.* When the new national encyclopaedia in Sweden was planned he was engaged as a member of the scientific board and contributed to more than two hundred articles.

In the years 1974–92 Swahn regularly visited Åbo Akademi University in Åbo (Turku), Finland twice a year. Until 1981 the discipline of folklore was combined with other disciplines, and it was the obligation of the leading professors to find a person who would teach folkloristics. Jan-Öjvind Swahn accepted this offer and took responsibility for the quality of both teaching and exams. It was often a day of humour and laughter when he came, for his lecturing was not only filled with expertise but also flavoured with implied and silent puns.

I had the joy of knowing Jan-Öjvind Swahn for thirty-five years. Now an admirable colleague and a friend has passed away. He had a long and rich life and the traces that he left behind are good.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

Haci Akman, Professor in Bergen

Haci Akman was appointed professor of cultural studies at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religious Studies, University of Bergen, in 2015. Akman was born in Ankara in 1953 and came as a Kurdish refugee to Norway in 1982. He trained as a teacher in Ankara and studied anthropology and ethnology at the University of Bergen. After his master's degree in ethnology in 1988, Akman was research assistant at the section for the study of the language and culture of the Middle East, and researcher at the CMI in Bergen. In 1994 he finished his doctoral thesis in ethnology. The title of the thesis is *Exile: An Ethnological Investigation of Vietnamese Refugees in Exile.* From 1997 Akman has been associate professor of ethnology/cultural studies at the University of Bergen.

Akman has mainly been working within two research fields. At the beginning of his academic career he was especially interested in ethnological research concerning migration, refugees, exile and diaspora. In recent years he has also been interested in cultural communication and museum studies. One of his best studies of exile and diaspora is the monograph written together with Signe Solberg, *Ethnical Atlas: Cultural Diaspora of Urban Spaces in Bergen* (2001). Akman and Solberg were especially interested in the use of urban spaces. Their analysis of Torgalmenningen in Bergen is an original and stimulating piece of research. A more accessible introduction to this research is Akman's article "The cultural diaspora of place: Torgalmenningen – an urban space in Bergen" (in Norwegian), published in *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning* 3–4 (2002). The concept of ethnical territorialization has an important place in the analysis. From the beginning of 2000 Akman became increasingly interested in different aspects of diaspora culture, publishing articles on Jewish diaspora in London and on Kurdish diaspora more generally. In 2014 Akman edited the book *Identity in Scandinavia: Women, Migration and Diaspora Negotiating* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn). His own contribution to the volume is on art as a political expression of diaspora. Some of Akman's best research focuses on the challenges and possibilities of diaspora.

In recent years Akman has been working in the field of museum studies. In 2008 Katherine Goodnow and Akman edited the book *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Identity* (sponsored by UNESCO). Akman's contribution to the volume is "Pluralism, cultural heritage and the museum", an analysis of how Norwegian museums handle the question of cultural identity. This theme was further developed in the article "Museums and diversity in a Norwegian context" (in Norwegian), published in *Nordisk Museologi* 2 (2010). Akman has recently also published other interesting studies in museum studies.

Besides being a highly interesting researcher, Akman has also done an excellent job building up teaching modules in migration and ethnical relations. He is also very well known in Norway as a prolific public intellectual. He has given hundreds of extramural talks and lectures on refugees, diaspora, cultural identity and the conflicts in the Middle East. Akman has actively used exhibitions and newspapers in cultural communication, and he has taken part in many programmes on radio and television. In this way he has shown how cultural research and knowledge can be communicated and disseminated to the public.

Nils Gilje, Bergen

Pertti Anttonen, Professor in Joensuu

Since 2014 Pertti Anttonen has been working as the professor of cultural research and folklore studies at the University of Eastern Finland. He received his MA degree at the University of Helsinki in 1987 and a doctoral degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1993. His dissertation was entitled *Tradition and its Study as Discursive Practice: Modern and Postmodern Perspectives on Folklore Research*. Anttonen has worked as research secretary of the Nordic Institute of Folklore (1991–1995), associate professor of folklore studies (1996–1997) and researcher (1998–2000) at the University of Helsinki and research fellow of the Academy of Finland (2001–2004). Later he worked as professor of folkloristics and director of the Kalevala Institute at the University of Turku (2004–2006), professor of ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä (2006–2007) and professor of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki (2007–2009). In 2009 he became the university researcher and lecturer at the University of Helsinki and in 2014 he was visiting professor of folkoristics at the University of California, Berkeley.

Anttonen is one of the leading folklorists of the Nordic countries who has made a remarkable contribution to international scholarship. His monograph *Tradition through Modernity: Postmodernism and the Nation-state in Folklore Scholarship* (SKS 2005) has become a landmark in Finnish and European folkloristics. The work discusses tradition, one of the basic concepts in folkloristics, as a discursive tool for constructing modernity. Drawing on postmodern critical theories, the book reflects upon the "paradigm of loss" in relation to making traditions as a modernist project, the production of "nationalized antiquities", locality and identity, processes of homogenization and other topics of the politics of folklore. In 2014 a Greek translation of the book was published.

Anttonen has also published significant articles that addresses the political uses of folklore and its relationship with national identity. Unlike scholars who consider myths as an extinct genre, he proves the continuous relevance and cultural functionality of myths in the world today. In his article "The Finns' Party and the Killing of a 12th-Century Bishop: The Heritage of a Political Myth", published in *Traditiones* (2012), he has discussed the role of the myth about the murder of Bishop Henry in the ideology of the *Perussuomalaiset* political party.

Together with the great Finnish folklorist Matti Kuusi (1914–1998) Anttonen has co-authored *Kalevalalipas* (1985; 1999) – a general handbook for wide readership about the genesis of the epic *Kalevala*, its adaptations and role in Finnish national culture. He has also studied classical genres of Finnish folklore, such as folk songs. His article "Ethnopoetic Analysis and Finnish Oral Verse" (1994) analyses the aesthetic expressivity and poetic structure of Finnish folk songs. The article "The Rites of Passage Revisited" looks at Finnish-Karelian wedding rituals in the light of van Gennep's theory (1992). Remarkably, this article has been chosen by Alan Dundes to represent Finnish folkloristics in the prestigious international anthology *Folklore: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, published in 2004. In the article "Two Medieval Ballads on Betrayal and Deception: Interpreting the Story of the First Christian Bishop in Finland through the Story of Judas Iscariot" Anttonen has studied the ballad version of the myth of Bishop Henry in the medieval context, comparing it with a twelfth-century English poem and showing their connection in depicting a similar opposition – between a hero and his opponent, who helps to accomplish the hero's divine task (2013). (*The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Non-*

Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature. Mortensen, L. B. & Lehtonen, T. M. S. (eds.).)

Anttonen has been invited to deliver plenary lectures at the most important forums of his field, such as the 9th congress of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) in Derry, Northern Ireland in 2008 and the 16th Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research in Vilnius, Lithuania in 2013. In 2013 he was elected member of the board of SIEF. He is a leading author in theoretical folkloristics and in the critical study of the history of the discipline. Anttonen's works are important not only for folkloristics and ethnology but also for related disciplines, such as cultural studies, history of ideas, literary criticism and political science. Colleagues in many countries are looking forward to his next publications and welcome his appointment to a full professorship.

Ülo Valk, Tartu

Tone Hellesund, Professor in Bergen

In 2015 Tone Hellesund was appointed professor of cultural studies at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen. Hellesund has a master's degree in ethnology from 1997. Her doctoral thesis from 2002 has the title *The Norwegian spinster: on the cultural constitution of gender and the organisation of single lives*. Since 2002 Hellesund has had various academic positions at the University of Bergen, most importantly five years as a senior researcher at the Rokkan Centre, and three years as one of the chief librarians at the University Library in Bergen.

Tone Hellesund has an extensive publication list. She has published four monographs and a number of articles in journals and anthologies. The scholarly articles have been published in highly different journals such as *Dugnad*, *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning*, *Suicidologi*, *Journal of Homosexuality*, *Tidsskrift for den norske legeforening*, and *Sociology*.

Hellesund's doctoral thesis has a special place among her publications. She investigates women from the middle and upper classes who at the end of the nineteenth century found it possible to develop and realize a vocation either living alone or together with another woman. The thesis is based on a broad selection of different historical sources. Hellesund has done excellent research showing what made this form of life possible and how it was undermined by the sexual discourses in the 1920s and 1930s. Hellesund's research highlights in a very interesting way a specific form of female adaptation and marginalization and its many problems and challenges. Hellesund's work on the Norwegian spinsters has become a successful paradigm of how this kind of research can be done, and it has been an important source of inspiration for younger researchers.

Hellesund has also done some interesting research on young homosexuals. The monograph *Identity Concerning Life and Death: Marginality, Homosexuality and Suicide* (2008) is based on interviews with twelve homosexuals who in their youth either contemplated or attempted suicide. Hellesund's book focuses on what she calls a modern homosexual narrative about identity. The basic narrative is that homosexuality is a natural condition and not a choice, and that sexuality represents a truth about the self. Hellesund's interpretations of the material are very well done; the same can be said about the way she develops her arguments and conclusions. She has analysed similar topics both in articles and in book chapters. Recently she has also done research on remaking "intimate citizenship" outside the conventional family, published in *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe* (2012), a collection of texts based on a large EU project.

Besides being a very productive researcher, Hellesund has also been very active in obtaining funding for large-scale research projects. She acted as research leader of three RCN projects and one EU project involving 15 partners and 50 active researchers.

Tone Hellesund's main research areas include gender studies, homosexuality and history of sexuality. She is already actively engaged in developing new teaching programmes and modules within these fields. Hellesund will be a positive resource person and a fine asset to cultural studies at the University of Bergen.

Nils Gilje, Bergen

Kyrre Kverndokk, Professor in Bergen

In 2015 Kyrre Kverndokk was appointed professor of cultural studies at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religious Studies, University of Bergen. Kverndokk has a master's degree in folklore studies (2000) from the University of Oslo. He has a doctoral degree from Linköping University (2007). The title of the thesis is "Pilgrim, tourist and pupil: Norwegian pupils on school trips to death and concentration camps". From 2010 to 2014 Kverndokk held a postdoctor position in cultural history at IKOS (Department of cultural studies and oriental languages) on an RCN-financed project on the cultural history of natural disasters. In the period 2007−2010 he was lecturer at IKOS. In 2014 he became associate professor of cultural studies at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religious Studies, University of Bergen.

Kverndokk's published studies – monographs and articles – can be categorized under two headings: (1) cultural heritage, memory and ritual practice, and (2) cultural history of natural disasters. The doctoral thesis clearly falls within the first category. It is based on ethnographical material from fieldwork where Kverndokk followed pupils (tenth grade) on their way to Auschwitz. Kverndokk very convincingly shows how a Norwegian version of an international Holocaust narrative was produced and internalized in each pupil. The thesis is based on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and different approaches to rituals and narratives.

Two important articles can also be placed in category 1. An article from 2011 called "War heroes and victims: Akershus fortress as a landscape of war" (in Norwegian) was published in *Material Culture and the Materiality of Culture* (eds. S. Naguib and B. Rogan). Kverndokk's main argument is that Akershus fortress in Oslo includes several conflicting narratives. An article called "Negotiating Terror, Negotiating Love: Commemorative Convergence after the Terrorist Attack July 22, 2013" was published in 2014 in *The Therapeutic Uses of Storytelling* (ed. Camilla Asplund Ingemark). Kverndokk shows how Facebook and other social media played an important role in the mobilization after July 22. In articles like these, Kverndokk has documented that he has become a specialist in this field of folklore studies.

Kverndokk's second area of research is interpretations and narratives of natural disasters. An early contribution to this field is the article "'Ach! Hvilken Domme-Dag, min GUD! Ach! Hvilken Dag!' – on exemplarity and strange signs in the Danish-Norwegian reception of the Lisbon earthquake in 1755" (in Norwegian), published in *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning* (2010). The article is based on a poem by the Danish author Christian Henric Biering. Kverndokk develops an interesting interpretation of the semiotic cosmos of the early modern period – in this case also including the Enlightenment period. Another contribution to research on natural disasters is the article "Mediating the Morals of Disasters: Hurricane Katrina in Norwegian News Media", published in *Nordic Journal of Science and Technology* (2014). In the new monograph *Naturkatastrofer: En kulturhistorie* from 2015, Kverndokk sums up and further develops much of the research he has done in this field in recent years.

Professor Kyrre Kverndokk brings new competence and expertise to cultural history at the University of Bergen. The new professor will be a welcome and important resource person in several fields of teaching and research.

Nils Gilje, Bergen

New Dissertations

Cultural Analysis of the Brain

Michael Andersen, A Question of Location – Life with Fatigue after Stroke. Det Humanistiske Fakultet, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen 2014. 187 pp. Diss.

■ The brain has received little attention in ethnology. Yet it is the brain that in many ways both shapes our actual lives, and today, through neuroscience, shapes the way we look at ourselves. Knowledge produced by neuroscientists is to a large extent shaping our understanding of the Self. In simple terms we could say that we have gone from seeing the man with a Soul to seeing the man with a Brain. This is knowledge in constant transformation, which should be of ethnological interest as regards how knowledge is produced and reproduced in people's everyday lives. It can be neuroscientists' work in the laboratory or living with, for example, Parkinson's disease, a degenerative disorder that results from the death of dopamine-generating cells in the midbrain. But the reverse perspective is also of interest for the cultural analysis of the brain. Even if the brain is absent in our everyday lives and we don't need to think on or with the brain, it is part of our bodies' being-in-the-world. This becomes clear when a person gets a brain disease and the symptoms become something that defines the features of our being. From this perspective the brain becomes a thing that an individual starts relating to, but also something that the individual no longer can control. For a person with Parkinson's disease the brain is the uncontrollable factor that rapidly changes the perception of the everyday life of eating, walking and dressing oneself. The experiences of the brain, the everyday with an illness and the neuroscientific knowledge will together create and affect what we can call being-in-the-world. Ethnology should be more progressive when it comes to research questions that relate to these field because it is rapidly changing.

In Michael Andersen's PhD thesis *A Question of Location – Life with Fatigue after Stroke* these perspectives are highlighted and developed in a very exiting book. In the beginning he defines his thesis by writing: "*A fieldwork oriented cultural analysis of how fatigue is diagnosed, treated, understood and managed with an emphasis on the relation between science and everyday life*. In collaboration with Glostrup Hospital, the proposal presented a specific ethnological take that emphasized everyday life to address an overall question of the experiences of fatigue among people who have had a stroke" (p. 3). Here it is the stroke that makes the absent brain noticeable and a factor that changes the person's being-in-the-world. More specifically, Andersen is interested in the disruption that can be seen as that situation where the mundane everyday life becomes visible. From an ethnological perspective this disruption, as Jonas Frykman has pointed out in the book *Berörd* (2012), lets us notice the culture phenomena that we are enclosed in; it can be the body or how we relate to our brain. For Andersen the empirical fieldwork let him uncover fatigue as a consequence of the stroke and something that the persons he study is struggling with in their everyday life. Andersen writes: "As the exposition demonstrates, stroke is a disruption and, as such, an event that instigates a change to the experience of fatigue. Thus, it institutes a range of new locations as well as provides old locations with a new force" (p. 7). So, disruption becomes a central methodological perception to open up empirical and theoretical questions concerning location. In "Locating fatigue" these questions are defined from a theoretical background where Andersen connects his study to an existentialist-phenomenological tradition, as well as to the field of STS and ANT. But he makes an important remark here and it is that his study focuses more on the human subject than the object. At the same time as ethnology is the study of things and objects, it is "the study of how reality is perceived and how people attempt to create order and intelligibility in their world" (p. 15).

In chapter two, "Introducing fatigue through acedia and neurasthenia", the history of acedia and neurasthenia is focused on as a genealogical approach to give an explanatory framework for fatigue. Of special interest is how fatigue is explained as located in different positions and how location is central if we want to understand these conditions. But Andersen also has a theoretical objective for this chapter, which is to combine the genealogical approach with the existentialist-phenomenological tradition. This is a big assignment in which one chapter is not enough, but he opens up a number of interesting perspectives for ethnology to continue developing. Finding a methodology for historical

studies with an existentialist-phenomenological perspective is interesting, and as Andersen also points out, a possibility to avoid both essentialism and universalism.

The next chapter is more of a methodological chapter that is focused on the ethnological fieldwork. Most often these are placed in the introduction, but here it is between the more historical chapter and the fieldwork. Andersen justifies his different methodological considerations well and gives a good perspective on why he has chosen interviews as the main material. He also discusses how he develops this method, not only listening, but also observing how the interviewees become tired. "[L]istening", he writes, "is not only a passive exercise, but aside from body language etc., also entails saying the right things at the right time" (p. 63).

In "A disrupted return to everyday life" Andersen presents the interviews and what they can say about everyday life after a stroke and living with fatigue. He is interested in how the stroke impacts the narrative identity as a part of the individual's overall illness narratives. Important themes that are presented are the anxiety about returning to everyday life and living with the healthcare monitoring. Anxiety is also connected to loneliness and returning home to an empty house, or to a husband or wife who doesn't understand. From a theoretical perspective fatigue is discussed as something that after a while is incorporated in one's being and everyday life is once again filled with meaning.

A rather short theoretical chapter called "The narratives of fatigue" explains how narrations are an important part of how self-identity is constructed. Andersen discusses how multiple and contradictory configurations can make sense within a specific narrative. With these perspective self-identity is something that, as he writes, "is constantly open for changes and may co-exist along with other narratives" (p. 99). But the chapter shall be read in relation to the chapters that follow. In "The narrative as communal" history is used to understand how the individual makes sense of his or her own self. Here Andersen uses the stroke as the historical event where narratives can be used to make sense and provide meaning for one's own self. It is a chapter that focuses too much on psychoanalytical perspectives; the already used Kierkegaardian take would in fact be sufficient, that life must be lived forwards, but it is understood backwards.

The chapter "The regimes of hope" is related to the two previous chapters, and here the narratives of "hoping for progress" are analysed. Hope is related here to the bigger narrative that "being positive will change one's life for the better, even in case of immense crisis" (p. 110). Here the stroke can be seen or described as the crisis, but what follows is the search for a will. This can be a hope for progress, or a hope that no further negative changes will occur in life. But it is also related to Kierkegaard's perspective that the person understands the crisis backwards, and in this way narrates a hope for progress in the future.

Narratives are central in "Locating pain" too, even though the main theoretical perspective is that it is the body that is in pain. Andersen finds instead in his fieldwork that the pain is communicable, but, as he writes, "not by how it is physically felt, but by the location of the object to which it is connected" (p. 121). The thematic narratives in the chapter are very interesting, both how pain and sleep are intertwined, and how the persons manage the pain. Central for these themes is the analytical point that pain can "be located in multiple places at the same time" (p. 129), and that it is often intertwined with fatigue.

In "Being normal – stigma and progress" the issue of normality is further developed as one of the perspective that is dwelled upon in previous chapters. Andersen emphasizes that it is mostly in the interviews with the younger informants that questions of normality arise. This is interesting and could be used to give a culture-analytic understanding of the meaning of age when it comes to different illnesses. In the chapter the informants struggle to present themselves and their condition is discussed, and Kleinman's "sickness limbo" is used as a good metaphor. Also everyday stuff, like the bicycle, is explained here as an object that the informants use to appear more "normal".

In the chapter "This 'Other' brain of mine" Andersen focuses once again on the brain. What is central in this chapter is that he presents "the brain as both an invading force on one's sense of self and as an integral part of this self" (p. 140). Going to the narratives from the informants, Andersen explains how the brain becomes a retrospective Other that forces the person to (re)construct the self. Also central is the relation the body and Andersen has a presentation of how ethnology can study the brain and the body. So, even if the brain – as part of the human

body – has received little attention in ethnology, this chapter is a very good beginning of such a development.

In the last chapter, "A question of location", the concept of location is discussed and further developed as a perspective to analyse and understand that "location is both place and practice" (p. 161). Fatigue should therefore be understood not only as situated, but also experienced as tied to its manifestation in its specific location. Andersen argues here that ethnological analysis should understand and study the location of fatigue, and I would say all types of physical phenomena. A very good point he makes is that ethnology can bring in the experience of everyday life, instead of quality of life.

Andersen's study is an important contribution to the growing field of medical humanities, where ethnology has an obvious place as a subject that works in and with the medical field. To be established in this field, however, we need to rely more on and be even closer to the empirical data from the field. It is in the field that we can start to develop a cultural-analytical understanding of what it is like to have an everyday life with a brain that does not work as we expect it to do. Andersen's study is a good beginning of an ethnology that is interested in the neuroscience issues that are growing today.

Kristofer Hansson, Lund

Folding Time in Archaeology

Elin Engström, Eketorps veckningar. Hur arkeologi formar tid, rum och kön. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 63. Institutionen för arkeologi och antikens kultur, Stockholms universitet 2015. 287 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-152-2.

■ One of Öland's best-known tourist attractions is the Eketorp fort in the south-east of the island. Eketorp belongs to the archaeological group of ringforts, circular stone walls enclosing an inner area. In Sweden these are mainly found on Öland and Gotland. With its diameter of 75 m, Eketorp is regarded as a "fairly small fort" (Stenberger 1964:549). The site attracted antiquarian attention early on, with J. H. Rhezelius visiting it in 1634. Linnaeus saw Eketorp fort "with its ruins and fallen walls" on his tour of Öland in 1741 and stated that the fort had served as a "refuge" for the population. A couple of times in the nineteenth century the place was visited once again by antiquarians, and in 1931 the Uppsala archaeologist Mårten Stenberger (1898−1973) undertook a small test excavation for his dissertation on Öland's Iron Age settlement. In 1964, when Stenberger had retired from his professorship at Uppsala University he initiated a major research project about the fort called the *Eketorp Excavation*. The main purpose was to clarify the chronology of the fort, which had remained uncertain after the test excavation. In 1974, after eleven field seasons, the excavations were completed. By then the interior of the fort had revealed three settlement phases: the oldest phase, interpreted as a refuge stronghold from the fourth century AD, a fortified village in the fifth to seventh centuries, and a medieval fortified garrison from *c*. 1170−1240. Stenberger died suddenly in 1973, when the fieldwork still had not been completed. A huge corpus of material had been collected and was awaiting analysis and interpretation. In the meantime there had been discussions of a reconstruction of the fort. When the project *Eketorp Rediviva* was established by the National Heritage Board, work began on rebuilding the fort on a scientific experimental foundation. As the years passed, the work was increasingly geared to teaching the cultural heritage. The project was now managed by the County Museum in Kalmar, which created a visitors' site with various activities to bring the past to life.

In her doctoral dissertation, the title of which means "The folds of Eketorp: How archaeology shapes time, space, and gender", Elin Engström discusses the position of Eketorp in archaeology from the start of Stenberger's project until today's tourist attraction. With the "new cultural history" and its focus on meaning-making processes concerning how cultural history is *made* rather than what it *is*, Engström lets different analytical themes and empirical evidence meet. She formulates the purpose of the dissertation thus: "to show how Eketorp as a museal site interacts with archaeological text, and archaeological and antiquarian practice, and to show the material effects of these relations" (p. 32).

Engström's dissertation is part of the growing field of research in the history of archaeology. By focusing the questions on the meaning of societal processes, largely interpreted on the basis of archival material, Engström wants to view herself chiefly as a representative of externalist historiography (p. 94; see Gustafsson 2001).

The approach is interdisciplinary. Through a method that combines participant observation and interviews, she studies Eketorp Rediviva and its present-day form, what Engström calls *Eketorp as a museal place*. By analysing archival material and archaeological publications from the Eketorp Excavation she clarifies different processes by which the project came about and fundamental ideas about its implementation and the archaeological interpretations. As regards the temporal dimension of these different processes, and other processes concerning prehistoric and archaeological Eketorp, Engström does not perceive time as a straight chronological line. Instead time consists of different events and processes from separate occasions and contexts which are linked together by shared points of contact. This creates what Engström sees as *folded* time.

The discussions are conducted elegantly. The dissertation is arranged in a clear and analytically stringent way. The language is lucid and accessible throughout. The illustrations, with few exceptions, are good and well chosen. In several cases the captions add interpretations which take the discussion much further than the text sources alone would permit. Another great merit of the dissertation is that it tests several clear theoretical and methodological perspectives. All this makes up a well-composed whole.

Engström's outlook is influenced by ideas from critical culture theory – not to be confused with the traditional way in which archaeology, history, or other neighbouring disciplines understand different cultures as normative and holistic units. For Engström a culture-historical perspective means posing the research questions so that they can be studied with theoretical breadth, preferably at different levels of scale, and understanding the formation of knowledge as a process that is created and implemented in meaningful social practices (p. 24).

This perspective is combined with another of Engström's theoretical premises: that research and knowledge production are inevitably related to their own times, which in the case of Eketorp means both the temporal context in which the Eketorp Excavation and Eketorp Rediviva were conducted and the present-day context to which Engström herself belongs as a researcher. As an analytical tool for these discussions Engström, inspired by Evert Baudou (2004), uses the theories of the Polish physician Ludwig Fleck (1896−1961) about the emergence of fields of knowledge, or in Fleck's terminology, the question of how "a scientific fact" arises (Fleck 1997 [1935]). In a critique of the logical positivism of the Vienna school, with its demand for objective truth, Fleck declared that research work is related to historical, social, and psychological factors. Scientific practice takes place within a *thought collective*, the members of which exchange ideas and opinions. Through this interaction the members form a shared system of opinions, a *thought style*. Fleck thus acknowledges a social dimension of scientific work, whereby the implementation process, including its methodology and technical apparatus, creates the scientific facts of its time. In Engström's words (p. 27): "Knowledge is formed through the practices of the thought collective."

This leads on to Engström's third theoretical approach, the feminist perspective. Fleck's view of science as a historical, social, and cultural product, and his practice-based entities *thought collective* and *thought style*, according to Engström, are similar to the feminist view of the scientific gaze as *situated*. In feminism too, research is not regarded as being neutral and objective, but historically, socially, and culturally situated. Moreover, it is gendered, with a stamp that is shaped and confirmed through its use, or in Engström's words through *performative practices*. To arrive at knowledge that is as reliable as possible it is important, according to feminist analyses, to clearly identify and illuminate the situated scientific gaze. For archaeology this gaze has largely been in a masculine context which has been considered self-evident and natural and therefore has not been identified as a scientific problem. Consequently it is an important research question for Engström to investigate how masculinity has been constructed through the practices that can be observed in the Eketorp thought collective and thought style.

In the studies of how the Eketorp thought collective and thought style were shaped by the members' actions, Engström includes the actual fieldwork at the excavation site, the experiments and reconstructions. She also examines internal discussions as they are expressed in archival material and scholarly articles.

During the years of the excavations, about 150 people took part in all. The unifying figure was Mårten Stenberger. He acquired the finance, formulated the questions and excavation strategies, and set

the guidelines for the implementation and preliminary interpretations. At his side was his wife Lisa Stenberger (1904−2001), who assisted with the organization and practical tasks of all kinds. Stenberger had a lasting circle of about half a dozen close younger collaborators, most of them at the National Heritage Board or Uppsala University. The mood among the participants was good, both at work and in leisure time, and an " Eketorp spirit" developed.

In the exchange of ideas that leads to the rise of a scientific fact – a thought style − the members of the thought collective are divided into different circles, what Fleck calls an inner "initiated" *esoteric circle* with specialist knowledge and an outer *exoteric circle* with various participants, in this case more peripheral staff, administrators, local politicians, and members of the general public with an interest in the subject. Engström places Mårten Stenberger as the centre of the esoteric circle. This also included his close colleagues, all young men, with a single exception at an early stage of the excavation (p. 223). They had assignments such as site leader, report writers, and authors of essays and articles on various topics. Others who were involved in the study, "the big network of participants and financiers" (p. 87), are assigned by Engström to the exoteric circle. There was communication between the two circles, but it was through the inner circle that the outer circle had access to the thought style. The outer circle did not play any active role in shaping this. They were under the influence of the thought style and contributed to its maintenance.

Since Engström structures a large share of her analyses according to which circle the actors belong to, it is in some measure crucial for the results of the analysis how she has chosen to place any particular individual. Here, I think, is one of the unclear points in the study, since the author does not explain or discuss why she has placed people. It seems to be done on an a priori basis, as if it was self-evident where an individual belonged. This can be viewed as a problem, for example if the empirical material in the archives should point in a different direction – I shall return to this. Another matter concerning the two Eketorp projects is that an unusual number of supporting institutions in the archaeological world, such as the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, the National Heritage Board, the Swedish History Museum, and several universities were involved, albeit to differing extents and at different stages of the projects. To regard key persons in these network, who were moreover colleagues and specialists in their subjects, as parts of the exoteric circle is perhaps correct from Fleck's point of view, but it would have been interesting to see a discussion of which circle they belong to; in a research work it is no disadvantage to elaborate on the theoretical framework if observations and evidence point in an unexpected direction. Having said this, I must admit that Engström's consistent view of the esoteric and exoteric circles also has advantages. The hierarchical structure in Fleck's concept of circles does in fact work well when applied to the Eketorp excavations. It also makes the analysis well structured and clear, giving methodological clarity to the discussion of the source material.

Engström's source material is large. One category consists of the archaeological texts about Eketorp written by Stenberger himself and other members of the esoteric circle. About ninety titles by them are listed in Engström's bibliography. Engström uses these to study the thought style in the form of shared ideas about topics such as the spatiality of the place, the archaeological artefacts, social relations, and power practices (p. 157). Engström's suggestion is that the shared thought style creates an *Eketorp as collective text*.

The other type of source is a rich body of archival material from the Eketorp Excavation and Eketorp Rediviva. The Antiquarian-Topographical Archive (ATA) contains registered documents about Eketorp fort from the seventeenth century onwards, and documents from Eketorp Rediviva comprising a total of 13 archival units. There is also Mårten Stenberger's personal archive containing correspondence, documents about various subjects, and books of press cuttings. ATA also has a large photo collection and its archive "Eketorp as a Tourist Attraction" contains further material. In addition there are seven numbered find boxes with unsorted documentation from Eketorp fort. Altogether the material is enormous.

Work on a dissertation can sometimes bring surprises, and this happened here. Material unknown to Engström, twenty unregistered moving boxes of material from the Eketorp projects, were discovered early in her work on the dissertation (pp. 98, 99, figs. 27, 28). "Half through hearsay" Engström found out "that the boxes had been discovered in the

attic of the National Heritage Board but are now instead kept in the store in the basement. The boxes had been moved from Uppsala University, but no one knew when they had ended up in the attic" (p. 99; Engström later managed to sort out the history of the moving boxes, pp. 154−155).

Engström's starting point is to regard the archives as material phenomena, and she thinks that the archived documents express the materialized practices of the thought collective (p. 98, fig. 29). The archival material is compared to archaeological artefacts, which can be studied in terms of their "social life" (p. 98). In this way the placing and order of the different archival materials, including the unsorted wooden crates and the moving boxes, illustrate the dynamics of the Eketorp Excavation and Eketorp Rediviva.

The sorted and unsorted archives required different methods. The sorted documents need a critical eye in view of the general principles of archive management and the possible intentions of those who did the sorting. Engström's thesis is that the unsorted documents can shed light on other questions, such as structures and practices that can be lost with the reorganization that results from an ordering of archival material.

Engström sees here a possibility to develop new methods of analysis. Inspired by Per Cornell (2003), she compares the unsorted archive with an archaeological site. Engström takes this idea to its extreme by investigating two of the moving boxes in the same way as an archaeological excavation is conducted. She keeps a field diary, registers the documents and their position by means of photographs, plans and section drawings, and she draws up a Harris matrix to visualize associations and relations to the events that created the documents (figs. 41−45). With this method Engström distinguishes relationships between a number of actors and different temporal horizons. A marginal note may be made here. In box 4 the documents are in relatively clear chronological order, but the oldest documents are at the top − they were thus deposited last − and the youngest ones at the bottom; in other words the sequence of layers is the opposite of what archaeologists are familiar with. This indication that the moving boxes also had their own history could have been elaborated by Engström, thereby yielding clear evidence that the documents, their organization, and the time they came into existence can sometimes give contradictory materializations within the same unit.

A fundamental belief in the projects was that the Eketorp fort was a national treasure of unique value, of significance for writing the history of the nation. Engström shows how the practices in the Eketorp Excavation and Eketorp Rediviva confirmed this perception, not least of all because the projects bore the imprint of the ultimate national symbol: royal presence. This was evident in everything from Stenberger's archaeological discussions with Gustav VI Adolf over the years, and the king's recurrent visits to the excavation site, to the financial contributions through the King's Fund and private support from the king's own pocket. The symbolism is evident when the king, less than six months after Stenberger's death, at his last council in 1973 signed a decision to grant parliamentary funding to the project Eketorp Rediviva (p. 17). In an interesting analysis based on ceremonial speeches and press pictures from King Carl XVI Gustaf's opening of the new museum in Eketorp in 1984, Engström shows how the thought style of royal presence, including its value for national and regional politics, was given continuity (fig. 30) and illustrated the hierarchy of the thought collective. On one of the museum walls there is an enlarged photograph of King Gustav VI Adolf and Stenberger. They are both photographed in half-profile, one behind the other in similar poses. In the photograph they look like parallel persons, or as if one were the shadow of the other. Both are pointing in the same direction – and on the newly arranged museum wall this can lead the eye to a large commemorative medallion depicting Stenberger (fig. 31). The thought style could scarcely be given a more explicit material form, and the example demonstrates the strength of Engström's way of working.

One of Engström's purposes, as we have seen, is to study how Eketorp was a place where a gendered archaeology took shape. An example is the experimental and reconstructive elements. One aim of Eketorp Rediviva was to rebuild part of the fort and bring it to life. To give this scientific credibility, various experiments were performed. One of these was to reconstruct an Iron Age house based on excavation observations and then live in it for a time. Engström says that the archaeological interpretations overvalued masculine-coded artefacts and built contemporary ideas about public/male and pri-

vate/female spaces into the rebuilt house. Moreover, the actual dwelling experiment, with its shared hardships and discussions, confirmed that a homosocial masculinity with a thirst for adventure was an important part of the Eketorp spirit.

At the same time, Engström is able to show how the part of the thought style that consisted of the loyal and unifying Eketorp spirit, with a feeling for "gentlemen's agreements", began to crack and gradually led to "deep division" (p. 125), precisely through the work on the reconstruction. In the esoteric circle there were two attitudes to reconstructions. On one side there were people who wanted to follow the archaeological evidence strictly and refrain from things that could not be defended with certainty through archaeological science. On the other side there was a more open and permissive view of reconstructions, which were regarded as showing one possibility among many, above all bringing the place to life in an educational way. In articles in journals especially, the two approaches became increasingly polarized, while the educational reconstructions and experiments came to dominate in Eketorp Rediviva, the heritage site of Eketorp. The opposition noticed by Bodil Petterson (2003) between the archaeological side and the antiquarian or museum-education side is confirmed by Engström through her analyses of the unsorted archive.

After the death of Mårten Stenberger, the central figure in the Eketorp thought collective and thought style, his memory was cherished by the circles he affected. Engström shows that this process was complex by highlighting the importance of "the other Stenberger" (p. 121). Thirteen years after Stenberger's death, Lisa Stenberger donated her husband's private archive with correspondence, scholarly material, scrapbooks, and so on to the ATA. Lisa Stenberger had put the contents in order and sometimes added comments, for example, marginal notes. Engström says that Lisa Stenberger, through this kind of memory work, actively created an image of Mårten Stenberger for posterity. In this archive she made herself virtually invisible. In Engström's terminology "she strengthened her husband's place at the centre of the esoteric circle" while she herself took up a place in the exoteric circle of the Eketorp excavation (p. 123). When Engström goes to the unsorted archive, however, she gets a completely different picture of Lisa Stenberger and her influence. There are many examples here of how she was thoroughly familiar with relations and connections within the project, not least because she administered finances (e.g. figs. 39; 131; 136−137). The matter becomes even more complex in that the unsorted archive contained four files of letters and other documents about "Eketorp in the 1980s, Various documents from Lisa Stenberger" (see note 138:281). The material, which was arranged chronologically and alphabetically, contained many comments. This shows that Lisa Stenberger was still active in the completion of the Eketorp Excavation and the implementation of Eketorp Rediviva a decade and a half after her husband's death. This demonstrates once again the strength of Engström's method of treating the sorted and unsorted archives as different materializations of performative practices. In the archive that Lisa Stenberger deposited in the ATA, Mårten Stenberger's personal archive, she has created a picture of her husband as a central scholarly figure and made her own contribution invisible. In the unsorted archive, however, she seems like a strong and influential actor with a large informal network of contacts within the formal antiquarian field, and the formal field also permits her to adopt this place.

This is observed by Engström but not really problematized. There is room here for further reflection. Perhaps it can be seen as an indication that the Eketorp spirit and its thought style reached far beyond the actual cultural object and was in fact part of a larger archaeological field? Maybe the thought style was partly a product of this field, which thus "maintained itself" in the figure of Eketorp?

Likewise, Lisa Stenberger's position in the thought collective seems to have been more complex than Engström shows. I hinted at the beginning of this text that Engström's placing of the actors in either the esoteric or the exoteric circle might need to be reappraised on the basis of what the empirical material showed. As a reader one asks whether this might not apply to Lisa Stenberger, at least after the death of her husband. Engström writes that Lisa Stenberger, through her archival work, functioned both to order and to preserve the Eketorp thought style, at once concealed and fully visible (p. 247). The complexity is illustrated by the following astute observation of an archival note by Lisa Stenberger, shortly after her husband's death. As a comment on a memo to the Eketorp committee she writes that the

text was "noted down as a draft by Lisa Stenberger after views expressed in conversation by the late Mårten Stenberger. He never had the opportunity to read the transcription. The 'I' in the text is thus M.S." Engström's conclusion is that Lisa Stenberger virtually "takes over Mårten Stenberger's identity to put his voice across" (p. 127).

There is a complexity here concerning the thought style and its circles which Engström only hints at, although it could have been elaborated on. Engström admits that the boundary between the two circles could be fluid (p. 223), but allows this fluidity only to central collaborators whose subject changed direction after some time. After her husband's death Lisa Stenberger could possibly have been placed in the esoteric circle – she is in fact named in this circle on one occasion (p. 108). Fleck's principle for division into circles would thus have a less static effect. Another way to approach the question of Lisa Stenberger's special place could have been to develop the discussion about her mediating or linking position between the inner and outer circles, as Engström mentions (e.g. p. 91) but does not develop. The Hermes position assigned to Lisa Stenberger, inspired by Michel Serres, shows that Engström is conscious of her distinctiveness and significance in the thought collective. A clarification of this could have added something to Fleck's circles, a new constellation which sometimes coincides with the circle and sometimes follows an orbit of its own.

Engström shows in her analyses how a number of different events and processes can be linked to Eketorp fort. There can be many years between them, but it is still possible to demonstrate interfaces, associations, or ties. With a beginning in the fortified village and an end that gazes into future excavations on Öland, one could see the series of years as a long timeline. This could produce a "directed, homogeneous, chronological historiography" (p. 233), but Engström does not think that this would fit her analysis. She believes that the interwoven practices performed at Eketorp as an archaeological, antiquarian, and museal place require a different way of understanding time, namely, as "linked times" (*sammankopplade samtider*). Engström proceeds from the way the French philosopher and historian Michel Serres (Serres & Latour 1995) understands time as complex blends of fixed points, accelerations, and ruptures, as time "is folded and twisted, sifted and percolated" (p. 234). Here Engström develops a well-found analytical concept, *folded time*, to deal with the associations between chronologically distant and contemporary or parallel practices and events. For the Eketorp events treated in the dissertation, Engström visualizes connections and time with a model made of folded ribbons and pins (fig. 79). In this (positively meant) creative way the folds, waves, and ripples are shaped by the effects of the pins. What is connected by the pins marks a link between the time of archaeological and antiquarian practice. The ribbon is accompanied by an explanatory text and together they constitute a whole. Here Engström succeeds in the feat of using and developing an analytical perspective that can become important for many other archaeologists who want to work with time in other ways than linear chronology. As a curious reader, however, one would have liked to see some concrete comments on the model of the folded ribbon: how big it was, how long it took to make it, whether more hands than two were needed to make it, and so on.

Based on Donna Haraway's critique of the notion of a neutral and objective scientific gaze, Engström positions herself as the situated and critically subjective researcher. Critical subjectivity permits others to unfold the ribbon and pin it in new ways to discover other connections. With this perspective, Engström's ribbon model can be seen as a materialization of the thought style of the critically situated researcher. As Fleck claims, both method and technical equipment help to shape a thought style. Engström demonstrates this is a highly instructive way in her discussions of how Stenberger's documentation through aerial photography created an idea of the objective bird's-eye perspective, which moreover communicates the masculine connotations of the aeroplane. As for Engström, her pins and ribbons are material that is usually associated with a feminine practice. The folded time-ribbon with its reshapable materiality expresses an openness to new interpretations and other situated perspectives.

With her dissertation, Elin Engström has interpreted the Eketorp projects as a section from the history of Swedish archaeology. From the time when positivist archaeology flourished, she lets us follow Eketorp until it becomes a heritage site geared to the educational communication of living history. She thus demonstrates processes by which Eketorp's ar-

chaeology has shaped time, space, and gender. The author has also brought out the value of combining archaeological sources with multifaceted archival material. She also has detailed discussions of the methodology of archival studies. Perhaps Engström's major contribution is that she has performed a theoretically stringent analysis based on a situated research perspective. The dissertation invites reflection on the basis of many research interests: archaeology and its history, ethnology, archival research, and feminist research are the most prominent examples. It deserves to have many readers who will certainly enjoy a well-made dissertation with unusually many aha reactions.

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East German Supporter Culture

Joakim Glaser, Fotboll från Mielke till Merkel: Kontinuitet, brott och förändring i supporterkultur i östra Tyskland. Arx förlag, Malmö 2015. 384 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87043-61-1.

■ "Janusz: For me it was an extremely exciting time. Looking back now, I can say that I am happy that I was able to experience the two freest years for German youth in the history of humanity. I was able to be part of that at an age that was perfect for the time. I was 15, 16, 17, and those two years in eastern Germany were sheer anarchy. Everybody could do what they wanted, and for two years I could do what I [wanted], nobody cared. I was so free. I can smile now, because it's so wonderful, this experience. On the other hand, […] it was actually the biggest defeat in my life, even though I was just 15 years old […]. The DDR was my *Heimat*. No, no, no, wrong, wrong, wrong, my Heimat is Berlin. Prenzlauer Berg is my *Heimat*. The DDR is my fatherland and I no longer have it. I can live with that, I must. I don't run around with a DDR flag, but I wouldn't run around with a German flag either (pp. 182–183, italics in original).

The informant Janusz gives a good summary of the subject matter of Glaser's book, the title of which means "Football from Mielke to Merkel: Continuity, rupture and change in supporter culture in eastern Germany (2015), namely, how citizens of the DDR were affected by the DDR dictatorship, by the upheavals during and after the reunification in 1990 (*die Wende*), and what their lives have been like from the end of the German Democratic Republic until the present day. In this quotation Janusz expresses great ambivalence: On the one hand he felt free when *die Wende* came; on the other hand he felt great confusion when his old homeland, the DDR, suddenly disappeared and no one knew what the future would bring.

Glaser adopts an interesting approach in his dissertation where he sheds light on changes in society in Germany before, during, and after *die Wende* by looking closely at how eastern German supporter culture changed during this time. Football supporter culture constitutes an interesting micro-history which Glaser links in his analyses to the macro-history, namely, the political and economic changes in eastern Germany during this time.

Glaser examines the dialectic relationship between identity-making processes surrounding football clubs and changes in society. He seeks to show "how football supporters' identity formations are affected by and have affected historical and social changes in eastern Germany in the last 50 years" (p. 15). By looking more closely at how and why football supporters identify with certain clubs, he wants to get at the clubs as "meaning-making institutions" (p. 15). Glaser further studies the meaning of nation, power, and generation in these identity- and meaning-making processes. He also considers the significance of the clubs' history for the supporters' identity formation.

The dissertation is mainly based on interviews with football supporters and observations in connection with football matches, which is an interesting approach for a dissertation in history. Four supporters' clubs are particularly studied in the dissertation: Erzgebirge Aue, 1. FC Magdeburg, Berliner FC Dynamo, and FC Union Berlin. These clubs were selected partly because they draw crowds of locals who regularly attend home matches. They existed during the DDR era and they have managed to survive in eastern Germany since *die Wende*. These clubs have had some success but they are not among the big clubs and have not attracted much attention in the media except during certain brief periods when they were successful.

Glaser primarily examines the political, economic, and social context by using existing research and accounts in popular scholarship and the media. It would have benefited Glaser's study if he

had done some research of his own in the archives to get at the public aspect. Studies in the archives of DDR authorities, for example, could have given more detailed insight into what the plans for sports policy looked like and how different football clubs in the DDR were observed and judged by the authorities.

The theoretical framework seems rather large and somewhat diverse. There are theories of identification, narrativity, and memory, together with perspectives of discourse analysis. It is probably the discourse analysis à la Laclau and Mouffe that gives the analyses in the dissertation their greatest acuity. It would have been good if Glaser had elaborated more on the theories and analyses of memory and generation, since he has primarily analysed his informants' recollections of a bygone time. Another suitable point of access could have been through theories of place and memory, since place – for instance, the local and the regional – plays a major part in the study. A clearer gender perspective could also have given greater depth, since Glaser is dealing with an area with a distinct hegemonic masculinity.

The dissertation contains three analytical chapters with a more or less chronological structure making them easy to follow. One strength is that the empirical material is presented in a clear and comprehensible manner. In chapter 4, "Football in the welfare dictatorship", Glaser analyses the form taken by supporter culture in the DDR era. During this period there was increasing state control of all sport in the DDR, including football. For the football clubs this meant that the clubs were mostly financed by state institutions or big industries such as those in chemicals or steel. Many clubs took their names from the occupational category to which they belonged; this gave rise to some names that may seem rather strange today, such as Aktivist (the mining industry), Dynamo (the police), and Lokomotive (the railway). An independent sports movement was impossible in the DDR. Glaser shows in this chapter how everyone involved had to compromise to get football to work: The state could not govern local clubs exactly as it wanted, and local clubs had to adjust to some extent to state control, but they could also achieve some scope for freedom. Moreover, it was not easy for the state to force the supporters to back one of the state-controlled clubs against their will. Many continued to support their local clubs, which managed to survive because these clubs were given a certain freedom, but to some extent they also had to adapt to the demands of the state (for example, the club "Aue" who were allowed to play home matches on their home ground, but only under the name "SC Wismut in Karl-Marx-Stadt"). Glaser thinks that the supporters' identification with their club was not politically conditioned. Instead it was an expression of a local and regional identity and community. But sometimes the football arena could nevertheless be used for political stances or protests, although not to such a large extent as, say, in the evangelical church or the citizen's movement in DDR in the 1980s. Some clubs were described as being closer to the state than others. BFC Dynamo, for example, was positioned as a reflection of state power, as witnessed by the clear presence of Stasi people at matches. Something I find remarkable is that Glaser does not challenge to any great extent the way his informants make light of the racist and anti-Semitic statements that could be heard in the stadiums during matches.

After the reunification of Germany, football, like many other areas, was affected by a hegemonic West German discourse and in autumn 1990 the East German football association was incorporated into the West German association (*Deutscher Fussball-Bund, DFB*). The East German Oberliga also disappeared, replaced by the West German Bundesliga. This meant that East German football would now be played on West German terms. One consequence was that many good players from the east went over to clubs in the west, where they saw better economic and future potential for their careers. The East German clubs had to struggle against poor economy and competition from West Germany. But Glaser also shows how his informants themselves reproduced a hegemonic West German discourse, for example, when they say how, even in the DDR days, they admired several West German clubs (which they could see on television) and that they themselves also thought that these West German clubs played better football than their own club. "The west entices", as Glaser fittingly calls it. The attraction of East German football declined significantly during the first years after *die Wende*. Glaser explains this not solely in terms of the strong attraction of West German football but also the fact that many people in eastern Germany became unem-

ployed and they had to cope with many changes. Almost overnight they were incorporated in a completely different political, economic, and social system. In the 1990s hooliganism was also a problem at some matches in eastern Germany. Interestingly, the problem was greatest at the club which, according to the informants, was closest to the government in the DDR years, namely BFC Dynamo. After *die Wende* right-wing violence and hooliganism became a major problem at many football matches, which had the effect that some of Glaser's informants did not go to so many matches at this time. According to Glaser, these problems can also be linked to the confusion that arose after the fall of the DDR regime, where there was not yet any state to guarantee security and a kind of lawlessness prevailed.

Glaser has an important discussion of the *Nichtanerkennung* of East German experiences in the reunited Germany, which also contributed to unequal power relations between west and east Germany. His informants' narratives of the football reunification are full of a sense that their experiences were never acknowledged by West Germans, which reinforced the differences between east and west and added to the sense of inferiority. I would say that this does not only apply to football but to East German experiences as a whole.

In chapter 6, "East meets West", Glaser analyses the significance of the informants' perceptions of and encounters with West German teams. West German football was generally considered to be of high quality by the informants, and most of them had already had a specific West German team that they admired. Of course, those in power in the DDR disapproved of this, so it had to happen in secrecy. The informants nevertheless stressed in the interviews that this admiration had nothing to do with politics, only football. They sometimes felt that football in the DDR was limited, since the same teams met so often. Before the reunification their interest in football in West Germany and in Europe sometimes allowed supporters to travel to international matches in the DDR or elsewhere in the Soviet block. In the 1980s, however, these journeys had an additional meaning. They also became an expression of a longing to travel freely, to be able to go wherever you wanted. But despite this interest in West German and international football, support for the local or regional team always remained strong.

The informants mostly spoke in positive terms about the reunification of Germany in connection with football, which surprised Glaser. What was found most positive was that the informants now had access to "more" football, in both eastern and western Germany, and international football, which they found stimulating. But one disadvantage was that football in the east now had to be played on western terms, as a result of which few clubs in the east managed to get into the Bundesliga – partly because many of the best East German players were bought by West German clubs. Even today the clubs in the east are regarded as inferior to those in the west; a West German hegemony is still articulated here. It was interesting to read Glaser's discussion of the informants' opposition to the commercial football that the East German clubs encountered after *die Wende*. Big commercial clubs, such as RB Leipzig, are not regarded as genuine; it is felt that they are bought. Here the supporters object to a structural inequality in sport, in that those with the most capital can buy up the best players and managers at the expense of the smaller regional and local clubs. This critique, however, is not only typical of East German supporters but can also be heard in West German supporter circles.

One can compare Glaser's findings with earlier studies of aesthetic forms of expression such as art and music, and of politics. There too it is common that artists and musicians regard artistic creation as something genuine that is above politics and has nothing to do with that. At the same time, they are dependent on economic means with which to pursue their activity and they have to compromise with the state in which they live. It is also common for artists and musicians to criticize the commercialization of art. An artist who is thought to adapt too much to suit the audience and the sponsors can be viewed by colleagues as not being sufficiently serious and professional, acting more like an entrepreneur than an artist.

Glaser's study gives good insight into how the sports world, in this case football, is always influenced by its political and economic context and how much a sport like football can say about the political and social conditions of its time. One deficiency in his study, however, is that there is quite a lot of repetition in the text. This could have been avoided if he had incorporated his excellent analyses, which mostly come in the "Conclusion", in the parts where

he describes his empirical evidence. But his way of writing can also be an advantage for a reader who is primarily interested in Glaser's empirical material and less so in his theoretical reasoning. This kind of reader can thus concentrate on the empirical descriptions and the summaries in the analytical chapters.

Glaser's study is not just a fine analysis of football's supporter culture in the DDR and eastern Germany before, during, and after *die Wende*, but also gives a fantastic glimpse at micro- and macro-level of changes in Germany in the last fifty years. Glaser manages to show how major political and economic changes affect individuals and groups and how their actions at local and regional level simultaneously help to make changes in society possible. For this reason his dissertation should be read not just by people interested in football but also by all those who want to learn more about changes in Germany in the late twentieth century.

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The Lives Lived in the Shadow of Kidney Failure

Martin Gunnarson, Please Be Patient. A Cultural Phenomenological Study of Haemodialysis and Kidney Transplantation Care. Södertörns Högskola and Lund University. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences, Lund 2016. 435 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-981458-3-0.

■ Martin Gunnarson's doctoral thesis *Please Be Patient* deals with the lives lived in the shadow of kidney failure. It is a book about how persons become patients and how kidney disease on the one hand reconfigures their lives while they, on the other hand, reconfigure the disease as they strive to make sense of their illness experience and the available treatment options. Work on kidney failure typically focuses on the transformative drama that a kidney transplant is associated with according to which a 'gift of life' is passed onto a patient who is restored to normal health. Gunnarson outlines the patient route from early detection of symptoms, to becoming ill, entering hemodialysis, and sometimes acquiring a transplantation only to find that it is in a sense just a new stage in the illness trajectory. A transplant requires continued medication and care, and it can lead to rejections or organ failure, which then throws the patient back to hemodialysis. Gunnarson shows how, from the patient perspective, a kidney transplant is *not* a final cure restoring 'normal' health; it is *not* a 'solution' the only barrier to which is a 'shortage of supply' as the campaigns for more organs would often suggest. By following the patients throughout their illness trajectory, Gunnarson uncovers an untold story with an important message about transplantation as a pragmatic solution rather than a final cure, a story that deserves to be read not just by ethnologists and other scholars with an interest in disease and organ transplantation, but by health professionals and policymakers in the organ transplant field and dialysis care, as well as by patients and their relatives as they strive to make sense of kidney failure.

The thesis builds on what Gunnarson calls a cultural phenomenological framework. Taking point of departure primarily in the work of philosophers Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Drew Leder, read in the company of Swedish phenomenologists Kristin Zeiler and Fredrik Svenaeus, Gunnarson focuses on the bodily meaning-making processes through which people live their lives and learn to orient themselves. Gunnarson goes back to the original philosophical texts and does not engage the anthropological adaption of phenomenology to ethnographic fieldwork developed by Michael Jackson (1998) and others. The theoretical framework is elaborately and, I must add, beautifully laid out and Gunnarson carefully describes how it has shaped not only his methodological choices but also the analytical orientation and nature of this findings.

The methodological design is both simple and complex. Gunnarson encounters patients at dialysis units and observes their care. Through interviews he reconstructs their path into illness and disease as well as their treatment paths. While it might sound simple, Gunnarson engages dialysis in both Sweden (Stockholm) and Latvia (Riga). In Sweden (not Latvia) there are three different forms of hemodialysis with varying degrees in self-care, wherefore Gunnarson has enrolled all three in his study. The two countries are different in many ways, not least with respect to the economic situation of the healthcare systems, but Gunnarson strives to show that the patient lives are in many ways similar. The language differences do however add to the methodological

complexity because Gunnarson does not speak Latvian. Observations in Riga were marked by the inability to understand what was said and interviews with patients had to be done with an interpreter. To ensure an adequate flow in Latvian interviews Gunnarson had to delegate some of the questioning to locally trained ethnographers understanding his research interests. Gunnarson interviewed 15 Latvian patients and 10 Swedish patients and including interviews with health professionals and policymakers he interviewed a total of 42 people. Though 27 of the interviewees were Latvian, the Swedish material is more frequently referred to throughout the book which might partly reflect the different qualities of the material from the two countries, partly the fact that degrees of self-care was only observed in Sweden, wherefore the differences between forms of care remain based on Swedish material only.

So what does *Please Be Patient* convey about living with kidney failure? Gunnarson describes how multiple routes can lead to the dialysis unit, but he also emphasizes the elements patients share as they learn to cope with kidney failure. The prospect of a transplantation can enter into the patient life in different ways and at different stages, and it changes its meaning in the course of the patient trajectory, not least when patients realize the difficulties involved in living with a graft – or even experience rejections and organ failure which takes them back to hemodialysis. He argues that people typically engage kidney failure through three modes of coping. Firstly, they embrace a biomedical notion of organ failure whereby part of their bodies is construed as an object with a function that can be replaced either by a machine or a kidney transplant. This objectification is part of a phenomenological reorientation and not, as some ethnographers would have it, a biomedical alienation. Secondly, patients undergo a process of acceptance. Thirdly, they enter a form of 'thought monitoring' whereby Gunnarson means that they learn to 'think positively' and with particular prospects in mind. This thought monitoring potentially involves a sense of guilt when they cannot live up to the expected patient role. Gunnarson also unfolds how people bring the hopes and concerns of their private lives (and what he calls their personhood) into the clinic and how the experience of illness and clinical care affect their understanding of who they are and what they strive to achieve in life. Chapter 7 is in many ways the culmination of the thesis as Gunnarson revisits the transplantation narrative and now, building on the elaborate understanding of the wider patient experience, allows the reader to understand how the widely spread narrative both misrepresents patient experience and is politically dangerous because it focuses resources on procuring more organs. Gunnarson illustrates how many patients consider transplantation much more as a pragmatic choice than as a final solution. They also learn to think of hemodialysis and transplantation as complementary treatment options each having their own downsides.

The book can be read as a contribution to Swedish ethnology in as far as it brings the phenomenological strain of this tradition into closer dialogue with its philosophical heritage and because it serves as an invitation to think beyond local contexts while retaining a focus on the mundane practices of everyday life. It can also be read as an empirical contribution to philosophical phenomenology as it teases out the complex temporalities of the processes involved in acquiring a bodily orientation. The thesis can furthermore be considered a contribution to the social science study of organ transplantation, which has often replicated the focus on the transplant experience identified by Gunnarson as characterizing the public policy discourse. Scholars such as Sharp (2006) and Lock (2002) have shown how living with a transplant can be difficult and how the difficulties are deeply embedded in social narratives of body, self, illness and disease. Kaufmann (2015) has shown how transplantation can be a double edged sword which is anything but easy to embrace, and how it can become a duty to pursue ever more health according to standards that are set by a medical system and surrounding societal discourses rather than by patients living lives that will never be 'perfectly healthy'. Gunnarson adds to this literature both with his local ethnography and by including an even wider patient path. As mentioned above, the book also ought to be a contribution to health policy discussions in this field and to patients and relatives. However, it will require different formats to address these audiences.

Martin Gunnarson has written a deeply engaging book. It does a fine job of situating and relativizing the transplant narrative and of providing its readers with a better understanding of what living with kidney failure and getting a transplant really implies.

Gunnarson furthermore situates patient lives in wider societal developments with prominent ideals of freedom and activity which can in turn come to feel as obligations. I personally think the book could have been shorter and that it would have helped the best parts of the thesis to get the attention they deserve. I also think Gunnarson could have done more to theorize central concepts such as that of 'person' and 'personhood', 'hope' and what it means to say that a choice is 'pragmatic'. Furthermore, the comparative setup with its inclusion of both Latvian and Swedish patients comes across as a consequence of the thesis being carried out as part of a bigger project imposing this comparison on Gunnarson rather than a matter of searching for the optimal research design to pursue the research questions Gunnarson sets out to answer. Still, this is probably partly an effect of contemporary funding structures, and it should be said that Gunnarson does his very best of turning this premise into an advantage and making it serve his own purposes. Irrespective of these critical remarks, the thesis remains well-construed and it contains very important messages.

The thesis therefore deserves a readership way beyond Swedish ethnology and philosophical phenomenology. I hope that Gunnarson will engage the work in front of him of translating his insights to formats that can be read by health professionals and policymakers as well as patients and their relatives. In the end, it might be in the living rooms and dialysis units from which this book emanates that the real impact is found as these ethnological narratives find their way into the coping mechanisms with which people come to make sense of disease and the multiple treatment options offered for kidney failure.

Klaus Hoeyer, Copenhagen

Textiles in Eastern Norway

Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, Virkningsfulle tekstiler – i østnorske bønders draktpraksiser på 1700-tallet. Humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo 2014. 327 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ This dissertation deals with a classical and fascinating topic in ethnology, folk dress, but in a new way. The aim is both ambitious and well thought out, and it builds on a large body of varied source material. The main empirical foundation is preserved costumes or dress items in Norway from the eighteenth century, made of worsted cloth manufactured in England. The geographical span is large yet demarcated, from the production in England to the forms of practice in the plains and forest districts of eastern Norway, with the centre of gravity in the source material from Hedmark, where Haugen has worked for years as museum curator.

The main question in the dissertation is how these textiles acted in the dress practices of the peasantry, and Haugen tries to elucidate this through different categories of sources. These categories provide the structuring principle for the chapters and analyses. The aim of the dissertation is to follow the textiles into and out of a selection of historical dress practices, as the worsted textiles appear together with and in opposition to other textiles – and together with the people who used them. "Agency" is clearly assigned to the worsted textiles right from the introduction to the dissertation, where the author notes that: "The worsted textiles thus open up the historical dress practices, and involve both people and other textiles. Occasionally the worsted textiles are in the shadow of other materials and people, at other times the shiny, sleek, colourful textiles move dress practices in new directions" (p. 13).

The source material comprises, firstly, costumes preserved in museum stores, in other words garments that can be accessed by professionals (conservators, researchers) and the interested general public. An important key to understanding the garments is non-textual, the material and the concrete catalogue cards. The written descriptions of the garments in the museum catalogues are supplemented with and analysed in the light of other sources: collections of cloth samples, topographical descriptions, accounts of travels, reports by officials, estate inventories, auction records, contemporary paintings, and so on.

The dissertation follows the textiles from their production in England and across national borders in order to find out why they became so popular and widespread among Norwegian peasants. How did these clothes become a part of the Norwegian cultural heritage?

By following the textiles from the producers in eighteenth-century England to the consumers in Norway, the dissertation aims to shed light on the networks and circumstances of which they were a part and which they simultaneously helped to shape. Here the most important theoretical resources are Ac-

tor-Network Theory with Bruno Latour, John Law, and Annmarie Mol. The focus is on the effect of the material objects in the peasants' dress practices, with a deliberate symmetry between human and non-human actors and with an ambition not to reduce objects to expressions (or symbols) of something else.

Occasionally, however, it seems as if the ANT approach is toned down in favour of more classical strategies and problems in cultural history, although the author does not specifically explain why. This is seen, for example, in his rather ambiguous position in relation to classical ethnology, which he pays homage to and simultaneously claims to be radically different from. At the same time, the dissertation brings other analytical strategies, such as phenomenology, into the analysis of the objects.

The dissertation is successful primarily thanks to the detailed and nuanced analyses of an ambitious and impressive body of source material which is rich, extensive, and composite – and here the unambiguous and dominant focal point is the extant costumes and dress items of eighteenth-century peasants in eastern Norway. Not only are the objects in the focus of the analysis, they are present throughout the dissertation in the form of thick and detailed descriptions and high-quality photographs. Haugen shows his ability to communicate knowledge about his objects through the text and other visual means, nicely using the interaction between objects, text, and pictures.

After the introductory chapters where Haugen's own position and his contribution to the field are clearly expressed, the analysis begins with chapter 4 about "Pockets of time". What is problematized here is chronological time and its division into stylistic periods, but his expression "non-simultaneous simultaneousness" (*usamtidig samtidighet*), which he coins as an alternative perspective, could well have been used more. In chapter 5 the questioning of relations between dress and place is an innovation that works well, convincingly puncturing notions about national dress, folk dress, and place-specific dress. Chapter 6, about the British trading houses, sheds an original and welcome extra-national light on the peasants' dress practices. The use of the ANT perspective in this chapter is not as successful, however, serving more as a glaze without permeating the analysis. The deliberate and promised symmetry between human and non-human actors often takes second place to more traditional cultural history.

Chapter 7 gives a much-needed problematization of the widespread belief in dress research that state regulations and ordinances to restrict luxury did not mean anything in practice. This chapter presents a fine analysis of the role of rural officials in ensuring propriety in the border zone between peasants and other classes in society, convincing by virtue of the huge amount of source material. Haugen's thoroughness in his archival work flourishes here to its full. In chapters 8 and 9, about socio-material practices in relation to class and gender, the ANT angle is used in a performative version with a focus on "doing", with convincing argumentation about how dress is a crucial component in the socio-material practising of class. This gives important nuance to the idea of class as something unambiguous and exclusively social.

In chapters 10 and 11 the inspiration of ANT is clearly visible and used to the full, not least in the complex analyses of "dress bodies" and how the way of doing gender and movement is practised and can be brought out. Here the author also activates the phenomenological impulses by bringing in other senses than vision to get at bygone and gendered dress practices. At the same time, however, one can discuss to what extent Haugen manages to free himself in his analyses from the gendered optics and the dominance of the visual sense, when the dissertation is permeated throughout by a personal and subjective aesthetic with special attention to strong colours, sheen, and patterns – everything that made the English worsted textiles special. So even though we have here an experienced museum person, who has had the textiles in his hands and who cites the book *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Smith 2007), there is not much sound, smell, or taste in the descriptions, which do not go beyond the strong colours, the patterns and the shiny surfaces. But clothing is much more than visual communication in that all the senses are affected for the person who wears or handles the material. Cloth has a particular smell and a special sound when one wears it and moves around in it. It has a special feel against the skin, and the weight and density of the weave are crucial for the way we sense a garment. Dress and movement shape each other and shape the experience of the individual wearing or touching it. All this could have added further dimensions to our understanding of how materiality matters.

The dissertation has a clear theme running all through it, displaying how theory, concepts, and empirical evidence are connected. Haugen presents theories and concepts while simultaneously clarifying his own position. The author's voice is clearly heard all through the dissertation. Although he proclaims a principle of symmetry between human and non-human actors, there is one human subject who stands out very clearly, beyond any form of symmetry with others, and that is the researcher subject: *Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen*. This researcher subject stands out so clearly that it often has to have its own font style to underline its subjectivity: *it prefers to speak in italics!* It is a matter of taste whether this works, but the usual dissertation genre is expanded to contain the strong sensory and subjective experience of the textiles. In any case, it is a researcher subject with distinct preferences that emerges: a researcher subject with great veneration for classical ethnology, and a researcher subject with a clear aesthetic, as the reader encounters detailed descriptions of the "colourful and glossy textiles".

The use of pictures raises some questions. Text and pictures appear to be integrated, even though the pictures in places are more like mere illustrations than actors and resources in the analysis. An alternative strategy could have been to use the pictures as analytical commentary, expanding on aspects of what is said in the text. Here it would also have been good to see a more detailed discussion of the digitization of the collections and its significance for our understanding of the textiles and the material characteristics that Haugen highlights.

This dissertation is nevertheless well thought-out in every way, well substantiated, informative, and nicely written. It is an impressive piece of meticulous work based on an overwhelming amount of source material and with skilled and nuanced analyses, making it a significant contribution to basic research which provides new knowledge to Nordic dress research. It can also serve as a model for how museums can contextualize their collections, and as such it is a clear result of a deliberate drive for research in interaction between museums and universities. A particular strength of the dissertation lies in the extensive international references and the material's own strength, and we may wish that the dissertation will reach a broad international research community.

Lizette Gradén, Stockholm
Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Fashions as Museum Objects

Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl, Liv i museet. Kunstindustrimuseet i Oslo gjør kropp med moteklær 1928–1960. Universitetet i Oslo 2013. 318 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

■ What happens to bodies and people when things once used are incorporated in collections and exhibited in museums? To find an answer to how bodies and people are performed in relation to artefacts, Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl investigates fashions as museum objects in the collections of the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo. When things are turned into artefacts in a museum's collection they are also detached from the life and the people who used them. They are transformed from being parts of someone's life to become objects in an ethnographic collection and an element in a different knowledge system. The objects become museal facts which the museums use in different ways when they create and recreate narratives and write history. The severed relations to body and life are the museums' problem, to which they seek solutions by means of presentations, educational programmes, and experience-oriented exhibitions. In this dissertation, the title of which means "Life in the museum: The Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo performs body with fashion clothes 1928–1960", Hjemdahl focuses on some conceivable solutions to restoring the close relationship between things which have become museum objects and their former users.

Hjemdahl starts with the establishment of fashion dress as artefacts and a field of knowledge at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in Oslo from 1928 to 1960. For Hjemdahl body does not necessarily refer to the concrete physical body. She uses the word in a broader sense: how the body comes into existence and is done in practices. She shows how the question of the body's presence was particularly relevant at the time when fashion clothes came to the museum and were transformed into museum objects in accordance with the bourgeois ideal of the female body in the 1930s. The effect of the living bourgeois women's bodies was that they also helped to define the kind of knowledge field that fashion dress constituted at the time. The dissertation explores the different practices associated with fashion garments as they were collected and exhibited in the museum, with the work of

exhibiting, registering, and photographing, and with the research into the clothes. Hjemdahl shows that, as the fashion clothes were incorporated in the collections and established as museum objects, the living bodies disappeared from both the exhibition and the registration. Fashion dress was related to life and body in completely different ways, through formalized art-historical catalogue texts and standardized systems. Personal narratives disappeared. The effect was that the fashion clothes appeared to be objective and free-standing, on the verge of being isolated objects, as part of a field of knowledge in applied art with professional credibility.

With the aid of actor-network theory (ANT) and the concept of *doing*, Hjemdahl refers to different ways in which bodies with fashion dress, what she calls "dress bodies", are enacted at the museum, for example, in fashion parades, in exhibitions, and in archives from the re-establishment of the museum in 1928. The author puts special emphasis on the actors taking part in the shaping of the bodies: the founders of the museum, the curators working with the material, and the exhibitions themselves. She shows that museums tend to produce lives in a way that is all their own, and perhaps the material is given eternal life in that the museum is managed while the material is being collected, selected, and displayed, later becoming an object of research.

Hjemdahl's dissertation is a good example of what detailed studies of archival material can add to analyses of the rich collections built up in museums and exhibited to the public. The author has gone through and examined a large corpus of source material in the museum and has also looked at institutions abroad with similar collections – chiefly the Costume Institute in New York. The source material comprises archival documents, photographs, exhibition programmes, and fashion garments from the collections of the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design. The way Hjemdahl identifies the museum's archival material and brings it to life is an impressive research achievement in itself.

The task that Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl has taken upon herself may at first seem well demarcated, perhaps even too convenient. Firstly, the material consists of a whole separate category of objects, namely, fashion clothes. Secondly, these fashion clothes are in the collections of a specific museum, moreover within a clearly defined period of time. Thirdly, the author further delimits the study by investigating only the clothes shown in the exhibitions, that is, those displayed to a general public, along with the archival material related to the exhibitions. Through a relatively narrow focus, the dissertation gains depth on the empirical level.

The aim of the dissertation is "to show that the museum too is connected to bodies, lives, and humanity" and that it is "these connections" that the author seeks to bring out. The main question she asks is: "How is body done in the museum?" This is then broken down into: "What kinds of bodies are co-produced with the knowledge of clothes? How does the museum enact body in its daily dealing with clothes? How does the museum relate to bodies that were there, and what kind of bodies are added? Where does the museum get its bodies from?"

The material is analysed in terms of actor-network theory, with Bruno Latour, Madeleine Akrich, John Law, and Annemarie Mol as the main sources of inspiration. One of the points taken from ANT, as formulated by Latour, is about making visible what has been rendered invisible through oblivion and neglect. A strong driving force is the desire to analyse marginalized actors and give them the power to act. Through her meticulous analysis of the source material the author shows that Museum of Decorative Arts and Design was inhabited by privileged rather than marginalized bodies. Besides references to Latour and Law, Hjemdahl also attaches great importance to a small selection of dissertations and articles published in recent years by Nordic colleagues using ANT to analyse museum collections.

With inspiration from Annemarie Mol, Hjemdahl applies a performative ANT perspective. Here it is less clear how these practices enact different delimited versions, and the way these versions are expressed in the encounter between different actors seems arbitrary. The discussions of *performance* in relation to the performative variant of ANT (Mol and Law) could have been written more clearly; now it is somewhat difficult to follow how the performances that take place in the museum happen and how they contribute to the performative versions investigated by Hjemdahl. The result is that certain actors' practices are toned down. Yet another actor that is not taken

into consideration is the role of the researcher, and also the author's own role. What bodies are performed in the museum through Hjemdahl's selection and analysis?

Hjemdahl's dissertation has 318 pages, divided into eight chapters. After chapter one, "Lost bodies", and two, "The museum as a laboratory", which present the aim, questions, and theory, there come six empirical chapters. The dissertation ends with a brief chapter summing up the results. Let us present a summary of the empirical chapters.

In chapter three, "Prelude: Versions of practices", Hjemdahl describes the different practices through which fashion dress was established as a field of knowledge at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design and which versions of bodies arose, for example, through the collecting and exhibiting of fashion dress. She also describes how the garments were a part of practices that presented class, gender, and the like. In chapters four to seven Hjemdahl continues with a deeper examination of the practices that are particularly characteristic of the museum. These are: the process of establishing a collection and a field of knowledge; making exhibitions of the objects; and doing scientific documentation. Throughout all the chapters the author asks how bodies are made through these practices and what the bodies do with the practice.

This spiral process drives the discussion in chapter four, "The thing: The body and the clothes". In this chapter Hjemdahl analyses a ten-day long festival entitled "Dress and Dance" arranged by the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in 1933. The dress parade was the culmination of a nationwide collection of dress, and the author convincingly argues that the clothes become one with the pageant of which they were a part, the event itself. There scientific correctness was central, while the event simultaneously made the historical fashion clothes into a specimen of Norwegian applied arts, chiefly through the way the aesthetic and craft qualities were emphasized above other aspects. During this period scientificness was identical with historicization and musealization. The problem that the collected fashion garment deviated from more natural bodily ideals of the time was dealt with by historicizing and musealizing them. They are presented as belonging to the past. This transformation of the view of fashion clothes in a museum context is brought out very nicely through the many thick descriptions resulting from solid work in the archives. The material in this chapter could have yielded a dissertation in itself, and literature about festivals, parades, and international exhibition could have put the local event in a wider global content.

Chapter five, "Technologies: Shaping the individual mannequin", focuses on the mobile technology of the exhibition medium. In this chapter, however, there is no discussion of miniature exhibition mannequins – the dummies that were particularly important for spreading knowledge of new fashion collections in times of economic recession. They were easy to send and required a minimum of cloth, and they became very important for the European fashion industry in the 1930s. The fashion houses of Paris sent these to private customers and to fashion houses in Europe and the USA. This example of a network, *acting at a distance,* was a perspective that could have been used in the analysis; movements of miniature bodies created connections that would not otherwise have been possible. As regards bodily ideals as *script* in this chapter, discourses of health and gymnastics could well have been included and developed in an analysis of how the dressed bodies came into existence. The museum's work of creating dressed bodies was done in relation to the past but also in relation to the surrounding society and its current bodily discourses.

Chapter six, "Documentation I: Photographs of clothes – versions of bodies", presents photographs of dress taken both inside and outside the museum. These photographs are now in the archives of the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, the starting point for Hjemdahl's interest. In this chapter she successfully explores the bodies produced in the museum's pictures and how they were represented in the texts about them.

Chapter seven, "Documentation II: 'Photos of Edle Due Kielland and Tor B. Kielland in attire from the 1950s (of private character)'", contains photos of a different, private kind, with the focus on the museum director and his wife, Thor and Edle Kielland. This chapter considers a unique collection, and together with chapter four it is one of the strongest in the dissertation. It analyses the museum's management and employees as actors, the executive bodies and how these bodies make knowledge in the museum.

Chapter eight, "Life in the museum", brings the

thoughts together as the author sums up the bodies that are enacted in the museum – from the official bodies to the most private ones. Although Hjemdahl does not herself use Erving Goffman's concept of performance in her analysis, one can say in his terminology that the author and the dissertation transformed the museum's backstage to frontstage.

The dissertation can be read as a good example of careful methodology, where the researcher has a thorough knowledge of the material. It can also be read as an example of a dissertation whose empirical focus is on the collection itself. The close-up reading of the archival material and the garments in the museum's collections and exhibitions is particularly interesting for research in museology and ethnology, since it makes a contrast to Internet-based research where the actual objects are mediated and the analysis is limited to a visual representation. Hjemdahl had devoted considerable time to getting to know the material itself, its texture and tactile qualities.

One of the chief strengths of the dissertation is the excellent archival work; the author's systematic and dogged efforts have yielded previously unresearched material. This means that Hjemdahl makes a collection available for further research. Her major contribution is to basic research, digging out material that was unknown and scrutinizing it to arrive at fine analytical insights and nuanced observations. The merit of the dissertation thus lies in the analytical details rather than the large theoretical lines. Because the dissertation offers so many observations and analytical insights, it would have been beneficial if they had been twined into a clear red thread, explicitly linking theory, concepts, and empirical material. The strength of the dissertation, which lies in the close reading of a limited corpus of material, also sheds light on some of its challenges.

The treatment of existing literature and the ongoing discussion of the clothed body in ethnology, museology, and fashion studies seems less fully worked than the solid grounding in the material. Hjemdahl could well have cited the extensive discussions that have been conducted on the subject in the last ten years, at conferences, in journals, and in the international networks for dress and fashion. Particularly lacking is a dialogue with current Nordic research on museums, clothes, and body, especially since the museums' collections have been at the centre of much of this discussion. The museums in the Nordic countries have a unique position in that folk dress, upper-class dress, and fashion have long been collected and have thus helped to make the dressed body a museological topic. The fact that clothes have been collected and registered in terms of categories such as folk and upper class has consequently produced rural and regional bodies, urban and international bodies. Hjemdahl refers to a small number of Norwegian colleagues who have studied dress collections, such as Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen. But she does not relate her research to the discussion of the clothed body that has been going on among Nordic scholars working in museology, ethnology, and fashion studies in the last ten years.

The theoretical position adopted by Hjemdahl in her dissertation is thus not wholly clarified. The theoretical and methodological argumentation lacks a number of building blocks, such as several recently published Nordic ethnological works about museums and fashion which use the same theoretical framework. The author could have included these in the dissertation to clarify her own position and her approach to the material. The link between the performative and the more phenomenological theoretical resources is used in an instrumental rather than a reflective way. The same applies to the concept of practice as it is used in the dissertation. One consequence of this is that the selected versions of practices presented in chapter three seem somewhat arbitrary, lacking historical background and a systematic presentation. Some of the theoretical resources are presented in the form of secondary literature, which diminishes the impression of an independent grasp of the theoretical material.

The strongest part of the dissertation is in chapters four, five, six, and seven, which contain good, thick descriptions of the material. Theory is not always used as convincingly in the analysis, but many good analytical points are made in these chapters. Among the very clear strengths of the dissertation are the profuse illustrations with their precise and nuanced observations. In chapter seven in particular, there is an archival scoop with the private photos of the Kiellands, which are analysed in a convincing way, also revealing how their vision of a future Norway was embodied in the collections.

To sum up, we would say that this dissertation, despite certain theoretical weaknesses and the lack of a discussion of recent research in the field, is highly readable and a fine contribution to an understanding of how a collection is built up and peopled. A summary in English could spread an interest in the rich material to be found in the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design and contribute to the international discussion. The dissertation has the potential to arouse other researchers' interest in building on Hjemdahl's work and continuing to ask burning questions about how dressed bodies perform life in museums.

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Dracula Tourism

Tuomas Hovi, Heritage through Fiction. Dracula Tourism in Romania. Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Sarja – ser. B osa – tom. 387. Turku. University of Turku, Faculty of Humanities, School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, Department of Folkloristics, Turku 2014. 224 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29-5764-4.

■ Count Dracula is the very archetype of the aristocratic vampires known in popular culture for more than a century, beginning with Abraham "Bram" Stoker's famous novel in 1897. For almost as long, there has been speculation about whether the novel has any basis in real history, or if it is purely based on the author's imagination. Views on this have varied considerably, but in recent years it has become common knowledge that the Romanian fifteenth-century prince (*voivode*) Vlad Tepeş ("Vlad the Impaler", also known as Vlad Dracula) is the historical model for the novel's character, Count Dracula. This theory was widely spread by a work of popular scholarship published in 1972, written by the two historians Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu: *In Search of Dracula*. In this and some following books, the authors presented extensive and seemingly convincing evidence that Vlad Tepeş was the template for Bram Stoker's Dracula.

Ever since Stoker's novel gained its fame, Transylvania has been known as a land of superstition, vampires and myths. In the Western popular imagination Transylvania has become synonymous with Dracula's country, the home of vampires and other supernatural beings, and many foreigners actually think that it exists only in the minds of fiction writers and film-makers. They express surprise when they learn that Transylvania exists as a real region.

Transylvania – today part of Romania – is therefore strongly associated with both the historical Vlad Tepeş and Count Dracula from Stoker's novel. How these two figures – the real and the fictional – affect the heritage of history and tourism in today's Romania is the focus of Tuomas Hovi's doctoral thesis, presented at the University of Turku (Department of Folkloristics) in 2014. The book comprises 224 pages including references and index, and consists of 7 chapters, including a summary and synthesis (7). It represents a very interesting case study on the interplay between fictional and historical facts regarding the use of history and heritage. Hovi investigates heritage in the context of Dracula Tourism in Romania, a term that refers to tourists visiting places connected with either the fictional vampire Count Dracula or Vlad Tepeş.

Is it possible to uncover Romanian heritage through popular fiction in Dracula tourism? And if so, how can Romanian heritage and culture be shown and promoted through a seemingly superficial Dracula tourism which is based on Western popular culture? Tuomas Hovi approaches these problems through several smaller research questions and with concepts like authenticity, heritage, folklore process and popular culture. In the introduction (Chapter 1), Hovi introduces his research questions, as well as methods, key concepts and research material. He describes his research as mainly empirical in nature, with the fieldwork carried out in 2010 and 2011 as the main sources, together with the websites of ten Romanian travel agencies that offer Dracula tourism. The stories and images they present form the bulk of the research material.

The emphasis and perspective of the dissertation is folkloristic, with the main theoretical approach formed by what is described as critical discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. Tuomas Hovi defines discourses as manners of speaking, ways of thinking and ways of representing a subject, and multimodal discourse analysis as an approach which focuses on how meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication. In addition the research material is approached through intertextuality, folklore process, hybridization, authenticity and social constructionism.

According to Hovi, tourism is a field where intertextuality can be adopted, especially in literary tourism, movie-induced tourism and media tourism, as a helpful tool to understand both the appeal of this particular form of tourism and the tourist's own experiences. Dracula tourism is well suited to this kind of approach because it utilizes different sources, literature, movies, fiction, history and tradition, and is therefore intertextual in nature. Another analytical tool is the folklore process outlined by the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko. Hovi has the ambition to see if it is possible to use, redefine and improve Honko's original idea and use it when dealing with concepts such as authenticity, tradition and tourism.

In chapter 2 Hovi introduces the two central characters of Dracula tourism, Vlad Tepeş and the fictitious vampire Count Dracula, with a brief but informative historical overview of Vlad Tepeş and the traditions connected with him. He also explains the connections – or rather lack of genuine connections – between the two characters. The reason why they are often linked is mainly because of the writings of Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu, mentioned above. Nevertheless, Tuomas Hovi traces this connection earlier, and he is probably the first researcher to refer to Stephen Csabai's article from 1941 "The Real Dracula" as being the first scholar to suggest the link between Vlad and Count Dracula. Previous research has indicated that this connection was first made by Bacil F. Kirtley in his 1956 article "Dracula: The Monastic Chronicles and Slavic Folklore".

Hovi also outlines the Romanian vampire tradition and offers some possible explanations as to why it is rather downplayed in Dracula tourism. His theory is that this can be explained as being for both political and cultural reasons. The political reasons had to do with the official reaction towards Dracula tourism and vampire lore, especially in the 1980s, when the words Dracula and vampire were applied to Nicolae Ceauşescu in the Western press. This dissuaded the government from associating itself with the Western Dracula, making both this character and vampires something negative. This is also something the author of this review has personal experiences of, from my travels in Romania in those days. The other reason has to do with cultural identity, with many Romanians not wanting their country to be reduced to the "home of vampires". One further explanation has to do with semantics. Because the word vampire is not known or used in Romanian folklore it can technically be said that there is no such being in Romanian tradition. It is, however, clear that the vampire as phenomenon is common in Romanian folklore, under indigenous names.

Chapter 3 introduces Dracula tourism, its history and the locations that are visited on the tours. The author investigates the stereotypes and discourses used on the websites of the studied travel agencies. Through this analysis Hovi suggests ways of understanding the interplay and negotiations between tradition, history and fiction and how Romanian tradition and history coexist with Western fiction in Dracula tourism. One interesting result is that the tour agencies do not use much imagery involving Dracula from popular culture, but mainly pictures of locations visited on the tours, promoting the historical and cultural side of Romania. It is very clear that the tour agencies do not want to promote the idea of Romania as Dracula's country or as the mysterious and magical vampire-infested land known from popular culture. By using historical and cultural imagery and by narrowing the use of fiction discourses to the places that are connected to popular fiction, they actively try to separate the fictional and foreign elements from the factual history and culture.

Chapter 4 shows the kind of tradition and history that are used in Dracula tourism and the eras of history highlighted at different sites. Hovi argues that even if some traditions may be constructions, selections or even inventions, they can still be seen as authentic and interesting in themselves and form cultural phenomena that have value. Because Dracula tourism is very much a composition of fiction, tradition and history Hovi finds intertextuality useful in order to understand the experience and expectations of tourists. In Dracula tourism this intertextual reading of the locations visited is set against a background of a preconceived conception of Romania, Transylvania and Dracula. The questions about whether Dracula tourism can be seen as Romanian culture or tradition and whether all Dracula tourism can be reduced to divisions between foreign popular culture and Romanian culture, or between inside culture and outside culture, or between global culture and local culture are further considered in chapter 5. Tuomas Hovi approaches these questions through the concept of hybridization, which basically means the mixing of cultures to produce new forms of culture. Although the origins and demand

for Dracula tourism are very much a global phenomenon and Dracula tourism can be seen as a hybrid form of culture, cultures have always been hybrid. The conclusion is therefore that it may be futile to make a strict difference between global and local culture in this case. Dracula tourism can be seen both as a form of hybrid culture and as Romanian culture which has been influenced and affected by global cultural forms.

In chapter 6 the author researches the connection between the concept of authenticity and Dracula tourism and how heritage is manifested in Dracula tourism. Authenticity and heritage are concepts that might seem difficult to link with Dracula tourism in Romania at first. Although authenticity is a controversial concept within folklore studies, Hovi found it necessary to address it because it is widely used both in tourism studies and in tourism itself. He also tests the concept of the folklore process, introduced by the late Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko in researching the use of folklore and tradition. Hovi finds that by simplifying the process that Honko described, it can be used as a framework to research a piece of folklore or tradition, its history and its current form and use. The folklore process can also be seen as a dynamic construction of a tradition, a process that is constantly evolving and is constantly negotiated. In Dracula tourism the understanding of authenticity has been one of the main reasons why this kind of tourism has been opposed in Romania. Still, most of the stories used in Dracula tourism are authentic pieces of Romanian folklore, if what is meant by authenticity is something that is old and has been alive and used in the community for a number of years. On the other hand, even if the stories and narratives used were new, they would still be authentic as pieces of current folklore and tradition. Tuomas Hovi therefore divides the concept of authenticity into so-called historical or scientific authenticity and experienced authenticity. This form of authenticity is not so much connected with the actual historical knowledge of a certain site or tradition, but rather with the experience of authenticity of the tourist.

When the first Western tourists started to travel to Romania in the 1960s and 1970s, some of them wished to see the places connected with Dracula that they knew from Bram Stoker's novel and from the movies. The locals in Romania for the most part did not know what the tourists were talking about, because the Western Dracula myth was almost completely unknown there at the time. For many of those Dracula enthusiasts who wanted to see the literary or the supernatural roots of the Dracula myth, the most sought-after place was Dracula's castle in the Borgo Pass in northern Transylvania, on the border with Bukovina, where Stoker had placed his fictional castle. Since there was no castle there, foreign tourists were instead taken to Castle Bran, far from the Borgo Pass, which had already become a tourist site, although as a museum of feudal art. Bran has been dubbed Dracula's castle since the 1970s because it is easy to get to and it looks like a Gothic vampire castle. Vlad Tepeş might have visited it on occasion, but it was never his castle. Yet the castle is being marketed as Dracula's castle even today, and is the most visited of Dracula sites in Romania and one of the best known. Bran is a place where the historical Vlad and the fictitious Count Dracula are merged, something that Hovi finds especially interesting since neither has very little if anything to do with this place.

The local reaction in Romania towards Dracula tourism has been ambivalent and mixed. Most of the criticism has been because it is seen as something strange and unfamiliar or even non-authentic. It may be seen as a foreign and unfamiliar form of culture that has been forced on Romania or as a combination of indigenous and foreign culture, or even as a part of modern indigenous culture. It can also be seen as a case of global versus local culture and even as "glocal" culture. Hovi approaches these definitions through the much-debated concept of hybridization. By definition and in origin Dracula tourism is very much derived from Western popular culture and the expectations of Western tourists coming to Romania. Although originally a foreign idea, many Romanians have become very heavily involved with Dracula tourism.

I consider Tuomas Hovi's dissertation a very valuable contribution to research into cultural heritage and tourism, as well as into modern folklore. It is a thorough study, well written, with an interesting theoretical and methodological approach. Of special interest is the analysis of the interplay and the negotiations between tradition, history and fiction in Dracula tourism, how Romanian tradition and history coexist with Western fiction, and whether Dracula tourism can be considered as Romanian local culture and tradition or if it is purely global culture.

Hovi's study also shows how this Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into broader aspects of Romanian history and culture, how popular culture can be used to present heritage and how heritage can be used as a form of protest against a cultural threat.

A few minor factual errors are present in the text, but nothing that disturbs in any significant way. An example can be taken from page 115, which states that Castle Bran is not located in Transylvania but in Wallachia. It is true that Bran (a medieval fortress of the Teutonic Order in the early thirteenth century, later Hungarian Törcsvár) constitutes a border fortress, but it is nevertheless located in Transylvania, on the border with Wallachia, 30 km south of Braşov.

Finally, I cannot refrain from presenting some personal reflections on the possible relationship between Count Dracula of the novel and historical characters. As Tuomas Hovi mentions in his book, Vlad Tepeş as the inspiration for the fictive Count Dracula is far from undisputed. Alternative theories have been put forward, more or less spectacular. One example, but not the only one, was presented to a wider audience in the acclaimed Austrian film from 2007, *Die Vampirprinzessin*. The film illustrates the hypothesis that the Austrian Princess Eleonore von Schwartzenberg (1682−1741) served as the inspiration for Bram Stoker's novel, not least for the existing prologue to the novel, named "Dracula's Guest" (published posthumously in 1914), in which a female vampire occurs. According to this hypothesis, Stoker chose to place the story in the more remote Transylvania instead of Bohemia, primarily for atmospheric reasons.

My own interest in Transylvania and its cultural history goes back more than thirty years, when as a young student in the 1980s I travelled extensively in Eastern and Central Europe. I then had the good fortune to get to know people who gave me insight into a world that today is largely gone. Especially one man, the Romanian historian Dr Paul Binder (1935−1995), who belonged to a German-Hungarian family in Braşov, Transylvania, deepened my knowledge of the cultural history of this region. This fine scholar, who was a dissident during the late Ceauşescu era, unfortunately died much too early although then completely rehabilitated. As part of his interest in Transylvanian cultural history, he also studied the genealogical history of some noble Transylvanian families. In this research he made some very interesting discoveries, possibly of great importance for the understanding of the background of Bram Stoker's novel.

What he came across was the history of Vlad Tepeş's descendants, with one branch forming a Hungarian noble family using the name Dracula (Drakulya) as family name until the late 17th century. Unlike Vlad Tepeş himself, his descendants actually were rooted in Transylvania, in manors situated in its northern part, not far from where Stoker places Dracula's castle in the novel. One of these places is Sucutard (Hungarian: Szentgothárd), where the castle was destroyed by the regime after the Second World War, and Ţaga (Hungarian: Czege) where part of the mansion is still standing. The connection to theses places is due to the fact that Vlad Tepeş's great grandson Ladislaus married Anna Wass de Czege, a member of the famous Hungarian noble family Wass. Ladislaus and his descendants are also connected to the village of Band, and especially the place in its vicinity that until this day is called Draculea after the family name. Even though it is a fictive novel and nothing else, the consistency between the story of the Drakulya family in northern Transylvania and the story told by Count Dracula to Jonathan Harker in Stoker's novel looks more than a coincidence. Unfortunately this theory had little or no impact, although Paul Binder managed to get an article published in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 1988 (vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 301–314: "Une famille noble roumaine de Transylvanie: les Dracula de Sintesti"). This article is unfortunately still almost unknown in research, despite its well documented and interesting content.

Paul Binder became a personal friend of mine, and I got research material directly from him with his blessing and desire that I should use it, as I later did in the Swedish popular science book *Dracula och hans arv – Myt, fakta, fiction* (Dracula and his heritage – Myth, facts, fiction), published in 2009 (Efron & Dotter: ISBN: 978-91-85653-40-9). For an alternative and intriguing view of the cultural historical background of the fictive Dracula, I recommend Paul Binder's article as well as this reading.

Last but not least, I of course strongly recommend the reading of Tuomas Hovi's very interesting and well-written dissertation.

Anders Kaliff, Uppsala

The Meanings of Paid Work

Kirsi-Maria Hytönen, Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut. Naisten muistelukerrontaa palkkatyöstä, talvi- ja jatkosotien jälleenrakennuksen aikana. (English summary: "There was no time for holidays in my life": Women's memories of paid work during the Second World War and in the years of rebuilding in Finland.) Suomen Kansantietouden Seura, Joensuu 2014. 282 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-951-9451-05-03.

■ The quotation 'there was no time for holidays in my life' in the title of Kirsi-Maria Hytönen's dissertation in ethnology captures the message Finnish women have wanted to pass on about their wartime experiences: a great deal of work was done at the time by women without question or complaint. This is something that has been shown also in earlier research on Finnish women's wartime experiences. As such, for Hytönen this is only the starting point for her research, which concentrates especially on women doing paid work.

In Finland, the proportion of women in the labour force was relatively high already before the Second World War. Still, the war has been seen as a game changer for women's lives with respect to their role at home and in working life. Although Hytönen critically examines the ways in which war affected women's lives, she also agrees with the idea that the decades surrounding the war years represented an exceptional time for re-negotiating gender roles. No doubt, these negotiations were visible in women's everyday lives during the war, but what did it mean in the longer term perspective?

In her research, Kirsi-Maria Hytönen analyses women's experiences of paid work both during the Second World War and the so-called 'years of rebuilding' that followed. To do this, she has analysed an extensive range of material compiled from four different archives and eight different collections, including both women's written reminiscences and some interviews. Altogether, her material includes the personal reminiscences of 411 women. The professions they represent are multiple, including industrial work, office work and sales as well as those working in crafts trades, nursing and the building trade.

To contextualise the reminiscences, she also analysed women's magazines published in the 1940s and 1950s. The magazines helped her to understand both the ways of narrating and the preconditions for women's paid work. They give an idea of the ways in which womanhood(s) has been constructed and how they were part of the social reality at the time. However, it is the reminiscences and the experiences they describe that play a central role in the research; the magazines are highlighted mainly when discussing the different discourses concerning the integration of motherhood and paid work.

Hytönen has focused her research on women working on the home front, which she sees as a group whose role has long been overlooked in research. As such, her research is also part of a wider research field that has become popular especially at the beginning of the 21st century, where the experiences of war as told from the viewpoints of gender, family, children and other groups and actors previously dismissed have become of interest. The research questions approach women's experiences from various viewpoints. She is interested in the ways women depict their experiences decades after the events took place, and in what kinds of meanings they have given to their paid work, work community and working environment. She also discusses the ways gender was experienced in the work places and the ways the women tried to fit motherhood into their working lives.

Hytönen connects her research to the oral history tradition, although her material is mainly written material. She emphasises the meanings of personal experiences and the ways people talk about them. She also positions her research within women's history instead of gender history. Through her research, she wants to take part in the discussion within Finnish ethnology and history about the ways in which the image of the 'strong Finnish woman' has been constructed and to question the hierarchies, values and patterns based on gender.

In doing this, the reflexive role of research and the researcher is also important. This is why she also carefully describes the processes by which the reminiscences were produced and in what contexts and the role of archives with different kinds of aims. However – and perhaps surprisingly – the different collections did not add diversity to the general overview; in the end, the stories told were quite similar to one another. Or, at least the differences cannot be traced to the different archives. Hytönen points out, though, that this observation

mainly applies to the contents of the reminiscences. A more diversified picture might have appeared if the focus had been on the means of narrating.

Stories of loyalty and obligation, of learning and surviving, and of new responsibilities are central when analysing women's reminiscences from wartime. On the other hand, the material reveals insecurities about managing new duties because of the physical difficulty or because of a lack of experience, training or proper instruction. However, the descriptions of changes in duties emphasise the more positive aspects: the women were motivated to take on the new role they were being offered and they also felt they had a chance to make choices in their working life – at least more freely than later in life. The descriptions of conflicts reveal, however, how ideas of professions were intricately connected with ideas of manhood and womanhood. Despite the changes in and negotiations about gender roles, the material creates a picture of gendered work, especially in industry.

The uniform stories of women who could successfully do a man's job create a crystallised narrative whole. The ability to manage and to learn are the positive elements when talking about paid work during wartime. According to Hytönen, the men are invisible in these stories, away at the front or in a supportive role, like foreman, in the work places. She argues that the changes in gender roles may have been more visible on the micro level, in the concrete work done by the women, than in the statistics or discourses at the macro level. However, the narrated experiences also have varying emphasis in terms of how well the changes were adopted in the end. This depends partly on the way the women themselves contextualise their stories within either the circumstances before the war or after it.

Hytönen has paid special attention to the way in which the women have narrated experiences of tiredness and exhaustion. This is an interesting choice, as women's war-time narration often stresses resiliency and fortitude. To do this, Hytönen analysed the factors surrounding feelings of tiredness: haste, experiences with the work being difficult, a sense of hunger and uncleanness. All of this had to do with the war, which seems to have become intertwined with all aspects of life, and the stories are structured as part of the shared war effort. As the author states, this way of narrating is very much connected to the way the archives have wanted to record wartime experiences.

The themes analysed in the study concentrate mainly on the wartime period. This is understandable because of the sources used. The analysis proceeds chronologically, and in the end attention is paid more to the years of rebuilding. Some of the themes, however, recur throughout the various contexts. Nonetheless, I think – as the researcher herself does – that women's experiences during the rebuilding years and the way they themselves analyse them still form an interesting research theme that Kirsi-Maria Hytönen could continue working with. The research at hand provides a solid foundation for doing just that.

For some of the narrators, the change from war to peace was just as big as the change from peace to war. Those who experienced this change most negatively seem to be those who reacted most strongly to them in their narrations. The individual narrations are also more polarised than a more general homogenous narration of war. This means that the stories are as much about continuities as they are about breakages. What is interesting is the way the styles of narrating also change when the women start to discuss the post-war period. Hytönen briefly analyses her material within the context of nostalgia for the 1950s. Although her examples do not create a uniform picture here, the time of rebuilding seems to be pictured in quite positive terms. There might be differences when compared to rural women struggling outside the field of paid labour, for whom the years after the war did not seem to become any easier.

The number of stories analysed by Kirsi-Maria Hytönen is massive. Still, or because of that, the story of the strong Finnish woman can also be heard in this material – loud and clear. The uniformity of the narration is broken, however, by the researcher bringing out counter narratives and different points of emphasis from her sources. The analysis shows that there is no easy answer to questions of why or when. Instead, questions of how help us understand the nature of change: the different kinds of factors promoting or inhibiting it and the different ways of reacting to it.

Pia Olsson, Helsinki

Mothers from Rural Areas Discussing Their Wellbeing and Networks

Pilvi Hämeenaho, Hyvinvoinnin verkostot maaseudulla asuvien äitien arjessa. Etnologinen tutkimus palvelujen käytöstä ja hyvän arjen rakentumisesta. (English Summary: Everyday networks of wellbeing in sparsely populated rural Finland. Ethnological research on mothers' perceptions regarding public services.) Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos, Helsinki 2014. 236 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-952-302-221-8.

■ Ethnological dissertations today are often written in co-operation with the field of ethnology and other disciplines. Pilvi Hämeenaho's dissertation is the result of a co-operative project between the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) in Helsinki and the University of Jyväskylä's Department of History and Ethnology. This aspect is quite evident in the study, and it offers some good points and also challenges for the dissertation, which I will discuss at the end of this review.

The dissertation is a study of everyday practices and perceptions regarding the good lives of mothers living in sparsely populated rural areas near the town of Jyväskylä, in Central Finland. The opinions of young mothers, public welfare services and their importance in everyday life are the focus of the study. The author studies public services as part of a wider network of distributing wellbeing. Wellbeing consists here of the private, local and public resources available to mothers in their everyday lives.

The author focuses on the following questions in her study: 'How do mothers define a good life and what elements does it include? What is the meaning of the countryside and the local community to those living their daily lives in sparsely populated rural areas, and what role do public welfare services play in the everyday networks of wellbeing in mothers' daily lives?' (p. 8). Her intention is to give space and voice to mothers, who will provide answers to the questions based on their own points of view. In addition, the mothers – or this study – will unravel the cultural stereotypes so easily attached to life in rural areas. This is an important part of the study, since we can all so easily tap into our own preexisting stereotypes with when discussing life in the countryside.

This study consists of five main chapters. The division of the study is logical, but it somehow deals more with health care and welfare studies than ethnology as such; the whole disposition resembles more the fields of medical or the natural sciences than ethnology. But all in all, the logical approach taken by the author describes well the content of the study. The first chapter, 'Rural Services in Focus', includes background information on the study, main terms and concepts as well as how the countryside is viewed as a place and a space. It also includes the analytical tools used to study everyday life. Hämeenaho describes carefully her main concepts, which is one dimension and aim of the study and which is firmly grounded in ethnographic study. Her main concepts include everyday life, countryside, services and wellbeing. In addition to these concepts, she also uses other concepts as an aid; they include rurbanisation, social capital, idyll, living countryside, everyday life knowledge, networks of wellbeing and timespace. All in all, Hämeenaho studies local rural society as a part of the wellbeing network where the families are living. The networks and everyday life are quite important issues throughout the study.

The second chapter focuses on Hämeenaho's material and methods. Her principal material consists of ethnographic fieldwork, interviews and participant observations, which are the result of two different projects conducted in 2008 and 2009. The main material consists of 14 focused interviews and several diaries written by the informants. These however, seem not to have played a large role in the study, though they might have been more central in the interviews. In addition to this material, she also uses interviews from another project in which she interviewed seven social leaders in municipalities. Hämeenaho discusses quite clearly the positive and negative aspects of her material, but she might still have paid more attention to how the material has – or could have – directed the study. Would it have been better to write two separate publications; one for the project and a second one as a dissertation? The ethnology is barely visible in this book, although it is a dissertation done in the field of ethnology.

The choice of informants is very important in these kinds of studies, and Hämeenaho pays a great deal of attention to it. The focused interviews might have been good choices for this study, but the number of them is still quite small. The reader also needs to bear in mind the choice of municipalities and vil-

lages. The author has used the so-called snow ball method, which is very often used in ethnological studies. In this study, however, it might have had its own particular effect on the results, which Hämeenaho describes well. The informants and the material seem to be quite homogenous and unchanging. Is the area in which the study was conducted so homogenous that no religious differences, families with a large number of children or families experiencing some problems could have been included in the material? To my knowledge, there are families in the area who might belong to different religious minorities or have a large number of children, for instance. In that sense, the overly homogenous picture given by the study seems at odds with reality. The author has, however, reflected on her own point of view quite carefully and describes her role at the border of what is common and unfamiliar. Thus, the study describes Hämeenaho herself at the same time that it describes the informants.

As the basis for the whole study, Hämeenaho uses critical theory and phenomenology. She also uses an ethnological 'from below' aspect or point of view, which is very suitable to the study. One good point of the study is how carefully Hämeenaho reads and introduces her material together with the questions. Ethnological knowledge shows its relevance and importance in her analyses, even in spheres other than where we ethnologists are used to using such knowledge. In that sense, this book can serve as a good example of how ethnological tools and material (ethnographical fieldwork) can be used by ethnologists to answer questions in other fields of the study.

After the two introductory chapters, the two main chapters discuss the everyday life of families in rural areas (Chapter 3) and the networks and agents responsible for wellbeing (Chapter 4). In these chapters, Hämeenaho discusses how difficulties with accessing services and the problems surrounding their use reduce locals' trust in the social service system and at the same time also weakens their feelings of security. She also shows how public welfare services are very important to mothers, who are in desperate need of services on a daily basis. A day care is a good example of the type of service that mothers desperately need.

In Chapter 4, the author discusses the networks and agents responsible for wellbeing. She discusses how the services are changing and why they are important both from the point of view of the informants and current developments in the municipalities. We can read about positive and negative examples and about the local practices that help users manage in the face of weakening networks. Social networks are also important for maintaining or obtaining wellbeing services in rural areas. The local community is quite important in terms of both giving and receiving help and care. As Hämeenaho writes, nevertheless the local informal networks cannot replace the public services needed by people on a daily basis. The hard and difficult role of mothers in participating in and contributing to local activities is described well. However, the author should also have included more about the role of other members of the extended family. For instance, she could have interviewed fathers on this question. They might have provided a slightly different picture – or perhaps not. Then, the name and the perspective of the study would have needed to be different.

In the final chapter, Hämeenaho discusses what constitutes a good and safe everyday life in rural areas and the role of networks in wellbeing. The results of the study show that public services play an important role in constructing the subjective sense of wellbeing of mothers. As the author writes, the importance of services is twofold: they are an important system of support for everyday life and at the same time they are the basis for feelings of basic security. The study calls attention to the fact that mobility and multi-sited spaces of living in the countryside are current and relevant topics with respect to the realities of everyday life in the countryside.

This study also reflects current ethnological knowledge about everyday life in rural areas and the services provided to families in such areas. Both are very important issues, and in the next years they will undoubtedly undergo many changes, which will have even more of an impact on the everyday lives of families living in the countryside. The Finnish countryside is undergoing big changes and this fact is also in the background of Hämeenaho's study. It would be interesting to read more about everyday life in rural areas after several years and maybe get a more heterogeneous picture of the families.

This publication is also an example of the increasing co-operation and joint-projects being conducted between ethnology and other disciplines, where publications also serve as applied studies. It is

a good and desirable trend because we ethnologists are experts in everyday life and ethnographic fieldwork. However, the results must not be obtained and presented in such a way that the original discipline, ethnology, occupies only a minor role in the study.
Helena Ruotsala, Turku

Cultural Heritage Built through Stories

Eeva Karhunen, Porin Kuudennen osan tarinoista rakennettu kulttuuriperintö. (English Summary: Narrating Cultural Heritage in the Sixth District of Pori.) Turun yliopisto, Turku 2014. 302 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29-5697-5.

■ Home and hometown are concepts that bring forth a great deal of meaning and emotions for each and every one of us. Homes are places for engaging in daily life and activities. Hometowns are often viewed sentimentally in a world where people migrate more now than ever before. Therefore it is important to stop and think more closely about the concepts and what they mean to us. With time and age, we seem to appreciate both home and hometown more and more as part of our identity. Nostalgia for times gone by and anticipation of what the future may bring are also present in Eeva Karhunen's study of the cultural heritage constructed through stories of the Sixth District in the Finnish town of Pori (*Porin Kuudennen osan tarinoista rakennettu kulttuuriperintö*).

Karhunen's book is a good read for anyone interested in questions concerning home and hometown. In this book, which is also Karhunen's doctoral dissertation, attention is given to the interaction between officials and inhabitants in the process of urban planning. The study is anchored in the Sixth District in the town of Pori. The district is one of the largest nineteenth-century wooden house districts in Finland and has been classified as one of Finland's most significant cultural sites due to how well the homes have been preserved.

In 2012, 405 buildings in the Sixth District were listed as protected objects. This means that the buildings were guaranteed preservation for future generations via planning. Meanwhile, Karhunen's study shows that the preservation of the district was done from very different perspectives. The officials dealing with the preservation efforts based their appreciation of the district on explicit, official knowledge. The inhabitants, on the other hand, value their neighbourhood based on immaterial values such as the sense of community spirit and the intangible heritage transferred from generation to generation. The inhabitants' experiences are encapsulated by the concepts of home and hometown, which are built around and reflect collective stories about the buildings. As Karhunen puts it, this interpretation both challenges and completes the knowledge of the officials.

Karhunen's research material consists of official documents, reports and historical data as well as the inhabitants' personal experiences and memories of the Sixth District. The variety of research material enables the researcher to study the district from multiple perspectives, giving the study a solid context and a platform for scientific discussion. This dissertation not only sheds light on the process of giving meaning and value to an old wooden town environment. It also raises questions about who gets to decide what is valuable in an old wooden house environment and what is not. It also sheds light on questions of why homes and hometowns are meaningful and valuable for us and in what way.

The content of the book is divided into seven main chapters, including a fairly long introduction, contextual chapters with historical data, theoretical and methodological chapters, and an analysis of the research questions. At the end, Karhunen briefly summarises the findings and outcomes of her study and topic of research.

Karhunen's study highlights the complexity of the legislation and the different types of enactments that help ensure the preservation of old environments. Karhunen describes the legislation policy concerning the old town districts and shows how intertwined the legislation and different kinds of practices around them can be. She demonstrates that the web of actors playing a role in the preservation is vast and that the uses of the old urban sites are numerous. She also discusses the role and importance of the plans, projects and people involved in these preservation processes.

The chapters are impressive in their scope. They offer readers a thorough insight into the problems and questions concerning the preservation of old environments. I was impressed to learn how many people and factors are involved in the processes. Still, in the end, old environments like the Sixth District in Pori are in practice in the hands of the inhabitants, who add their own flavour and twist to the di-

lemma of preservation — how to preserve and, most of all, why.

I was also impressed by the theoretical discussions and applications to the inhabitants' experiences and contextual knowledge about the Sixth District. Karhunen applies a hermeneutical-phenomenological approach to her material of the stories told by inhabitants and to the wider connections attached to the environment. The study emphasises the birth, inheritance and evolution of local cultural heritage. It also includes interesting discussions about the key concepts, such as cultural heritage, preservation, oral history, memory and locality as well as hermeneutics and phenomenology. These concepts are well worth continuous discussion and re-evaluation at a time when their content and importance are undergoing a transformation.

The concepts are also in focus in the negotiations between the different parties involved in the preservation processes as well as in the current use of the Sixth District. From page 139 onwards, Karhunen explains and discusses the intense interaction between the different actors during the years when the preservation plan came about. No one wanted to preserve old buildings during the modernisation period in the 1950s and 1960s, but later on environments with old building stock became more and more important for both town inhabitants and the decision makers. This process of becoming cultural heritage is discussed as a political and socioeconomic issue, but also as a personal and private issue dealing with roots and personal heritage.

One of the important questions discussed in the study is the question of *why* it is important to preserve old environments. This discussion takes place from page 142 onwards, providing the dissertation with a valuable addition. The stories shared by the old and contemporary inhabitants of the Sixth District are presented fairly late in the dissertation. I would have preferred to hear their voices much earlier in contrast to the official discussion. At the same, I understand the chronological layout of the content in the book. Nevertheless, the personal insights and memories attached to the Sixth District give a broader and more complete background to the individual voices presented and analysed from page 173 onwards.

The 50 pages dealing with the memories and experiences of the inhabitants are the most interesting part of the dissertation from both an ethnological and personal standpoint. They give a valuable addition to the view of the experts and to the general discussion of life in the neighbourhood. With the help of personal viewpoints and memories, we are given the chance to dig deeper into the life of the inhabitants of the Sixth District. The whole environment is filled with different kinds of stories, revealing the back stage of the environment for those of us used to only seeing the front stage.

Therefore, the study conducted by Eeva Karhunen is a welcome and important addition to ethnological studies done in the past decades. Karhunen's study reflects the interest that ethnologists and cultural scientists have in trends, processes of change and continuity in society and among individuals. It is timely and part of an ongoing discussion in which old environments are compared to new environments and the values that play a role in our actions regarding such environments are shifting. Therefore, an English summary of the study and its outcomes would have been necessary and would have opened up the questions, which are a global topic of discussion, to a larger audience.

Karhunen's study not only gives new insights into the Sixth District and its existence in Pori, but broadens our understanding of a built environment with multiple meanings and connotations in relation to immaterial and material values.

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The Good Late Life

Aske Juul Lassen, Active ageing and the unmaking of old age. The knowledge productions, everyday practices and policies of the good late life. Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences & Department of Ethnology, SAXO-Institute, Center for Healthy Aging, Copenhagen University 2014. 252 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ This dissertation examines the way an ageing population is formed, disputed, negotiated and transformed into a societal challenge and thus a matter of concern, using Bruno Latour's concept. More specific, the object of inquiry is *active ageing*, which the author Aske Juul Lassen claims to be a concept or key policy response to the global challenge of ageing. Active ageing radically transforms the view of old age as a limited period of passiveness and dependence into a long life phase of activi-

ty and independence. How is active ageing practised, negotiated and formed, and what kind of good late life does active ageing produce? How can ageing as a matter of concern be researched empirically, and how can ethnology contribute to this research? These are some of the questions posed by the author when he considers ageing and active ageing on several levels: policies, knowledge productions and everyday practices.

This is an ethnological dissertation, but presented at the Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences at Copenhagen University. The growing number of ethnologists working in multidisciplinary fields and constellations will of course affect the design and layout of the ethnological texts that are produced. For example, this is a compilation thesis, which is not so common among ethnological dissertations. The first part of the dissertation is introductory or summary chapters, followed by four articles and a summary. The structure of the dissertation and its consequences for the content will be dwelled upon below.

The point of departure is that the ageing process has been transformed from a historical matter of fact to a contemporary matter of concern. Ageing as a matter of concern means that it is perceived as a problem that needs to be solved. The solution that has come to be presented globally, through the WHO and also the EU, is active ageing. The concept of active ageing is created by different knowledge productions and policies, aiming for a new and different approach to later life. Active ageing is an ideal of the good late life, which emphasizes participation and activity. The aim of the dissertation is to engage in the way active ageing is formed. However, the author declares that it is not a matter of deconstructing, criticizing and dissecting active ageing, but of engaging in its formation and recomposing the threads that constitute it. This position should be understood in the light of the origin of the dissertation project, as part of the Center for Healthy Aging at Copenhagen University and the Public-Private Innovation Partnership, which is thoroughly described in the summary chapters and further developed in one of the articles. The dissertation project was initially an innovation study with the aim of developing new technologies that would target different aspects of older people's everyday lives, mainly health improvement. This innovation study contained collaboration between Danish municipalities, research institutions, humanitarian organizations, entrepreneurs and private companies. The way ethnology may sometimes be trapped and treated as a "help science" more than an equal partner in multidisciplinary projects is well described in article A, "Innovating for 'active ageing' in a public-private innovation partnership: Creating doable problems and alignment" (written with Julie Bønnelycke and Lene Otto, published in the journal *Technological Forecasting & Social Change* 2014, Vol. 93, pp. 10−18). Lassen states that ethnography often brings forth practices and users that do not fit into the predefined scope of the innovation process. The dissertation project thus ended up by studying the innovation project as well as participating in it.

Lassen then describes how the fieldwork from the innovation project led to an interest in different versions of good old age and a study of how policies, practices and technologies form ageing. In a very detailed and transparent account in the summary chapters, the reader is given the possibility to follow the research process and the formulation of research questions. The author adopts Bruno Latour's concept matter of concern and outlines the actors within it: the different sciences and knowledge practices, predominantly from social gerontology and critical gerontology; the welfare institutions and ageing policies (WHO and EU); and the everyday practices of older people. Ageing as a matter of concern is regarded as an entanglement of multiple ontologies, composed and gathered under one concept. Lassen develops the metaphor of fibres in order to explain how the matter of concern can be understood. The interweaving of the smallest fibres – such as everyday routines, activities, bodily decline, retirement programmes, models, political networks, conferences, bills – holds the matter of concern together. The fibres are interwoven and condensed into more solid and robust formations, in this case knowledge productions, everyday practices and policies.

Knowledge productions are characterized by their production of forms, such as standards, models and classifications, which in this case generate what and how ageing is known about scientifically. In the summary chapters, Lassen examines some of the key forms that are gathered in the matter of concern, and how active ageing is knowledge produced to solve the matter of concern. The author emphasizes that there is no coherent knowledge production (Science), but various forms of knowledge (sciences),

which dispute and negotiate knowledge about ageing. Still, a specific knowledge about ageing can be said to have been produced: a transformation from old age, regarded as a rather stable standard with inherent expectations of health and social status, to ageing as a process, individualized and dependent on a healthy lifestyle. Biomedicine, prevention and health promotion have created new standards and knowledges of ageing.

Article B, "Unmaking old age: Political and cognitive formats of active ageing" (written with Tiago Moreira, published in *Journal of Aging Studies* 2014, Vol. 30, pp. 33−46) explores the relationship between knowledge and policy. A comparison is made between policies produced by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the European Union (EU). Active ageing in the WHO concentrates on the individual life course, with activity and lifestyle interventions as mechanisms and procedures through which the problem can be addressed and solved. Active ageing in the EU, on the other hand, is about institutionalizing the new late life through a change of structure and expectations. Through pension reforms, age management programmes and labour market policies the EU coordinates the creation of an active later life. Both organizations accordingly attempt to unmake the concept of old age which previously has been linked to passiveness and disengagement, but they use different approaches.

Articles C and D apply a more ethnographic methodology than the previous articles. Here, everyday practices of older people are scrutinized. The empirical material consists of participant observations and interviews with members at two activity centres for older people in the Copenhagen area. Lassen obviously has a rich corpus of material, with copious notes from fieldwork observations and quotations from interviews. Article C, "Billiards, rhythms, collectives – Billiards at a Danish activity centre as a culturally specific form of active ageing" (published in *Ethnologia Europaea* 2014, 44:1, pp. 57−74) discusses the collective socio-material practice of playing billiards in order to dissolve the dichotomy between activity and passivity present in active ageing policy. Lassen suggests how the rhythm of the game shapes a different version of active ageing, bound up with gender and class. The type of active ageing created at the billiard table is not focused on physical activity, health or productivity, but collectivity, social activity and enjoying life.

The last article, article D, "Keeping disease at arm's length – How older Danish people distance disease through active ageing" (published in *Ageing & Society* 2015, Vol. 35(7):1364−1383), continues to explore the concept of active ageing from the older person's perspective. Lassen shows how activities are used to distance experiences of disease and illness, and to create a health strategy that silences rather than emphasizes the sick and ageing body. As the author concludes:

"The older people in this study engage in activities and participate in their local communities, and lead active lives in various ways. But they do not necessarily engage and participate in medically healthy activities or health-focused communities. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that active ageing seems to be a dominant discourse and a powerful rearticulation of old age: it is such a broad concept that older people can appropriate it, and become independent, engaged, participating, self-caring, healthy or active in their own differing ways without embracing all the different aspects that make up active ageing in the WHO and the EU" (p. 238).

Unlike the document study of policy papers and the document study of social gerontological literature on activity, the methodology concerning more traditional ethnological empirical material (field notes and interviews) is carefully discussed in articles C and D. Nevertheless, the summary chapters lack a satisfactory description of the different sets of empiric material, the selection process and descriptions of the analysing process. For example, how is the selection process performed in the document studies? How are the documents analysed? And how do these different empiric materials relate to each other, apart from being tangled up in the matter of concern?

Overall, the dissertation is a balancing act between the considered need of policies to make older people lead a healthy active lifestyle, and a more critical approach, common in ethnology. The role of the ethnologist is discussed and Lassen draws on Latour's proposal of the term *diplomat*, as opposed to the advocate. The diplomat is the negotiator between different worlds, with the role of bringing these worlds together and attempting to compose some kind of unity. The relevant question for the

diplomat is not how a phenomenon is constructed but how it is manufactured. Accordingly, the ethnologist is not an advocate, a defendant of everyday practices but brings these practices into the negotiations about the matter of concern.

Lassen thus takes part in a new development which claims that the humanities and social sciences should be regarded not as in the service of or in opposition to biomedical discourse and science, but as productively entangled with it and therefore must commit to new forms of interdisciplinary and cross-sector collaboration. As Vincey, Callard and Woods at the Centre for Medical Humanities, Durham University, declare in an article from 2015: "a critical collaborator, one based on notions of entanglement rather than servility or antagonism".

From a reader's point of view, the role of the diplomat has its risks. The concept of power within knowledge productions and policies is not highlighted by a mediator; rather, the ideals of the good late life remain unquestioned. Perhaps this is where the structure of the dissertation has its greatest disadvantage. A more in-depth and intensive discussion may be hard to develop in a compilation thesis where each article has a different focus and aim. On the other hand, Lassen takes a new approach by introducing STS studies in ethnological ageing research, and the use of the diplomat concept. Through his dissertation he not only raises the question of how ethnologists can work in a multidisciplinary way, he also tries to give a fruitful answer.

Åsa Alftberg, Kristianstad

Men as Victims of Rape

Jens Lindberg, Orsak: våldtäkt. Om våldtagna män i medicinsk praktik. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2015. 246 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7331-729-0.

■ In his doctoral dissertation, the ethnologist Jens Lindberg has as his overall goal to explore "how meanings about rape and raped men are produced within Swedish healthcare" (Abstract). He is particularly concerned with how different patient positions and ideas about rape against men are created through medical practice and how this affects the treatment of men who have been raped.

As regards theory and method, the study is interdisciplinary and engages in dialogue with research that has been done on topics such as health and healthcare, rape, masculinity, gender, and age. Lindberg positions himself as a post-structuralist and is inspired by "discourse ethnology" (Gunnarson Payne), that is, how cultural phenomena and identities are created through everyday activity, and the political potential for change (p. 19).

The fieldwork was carried on for six years, from 2009 to 2014. During this period Lindberg combined a series of qualitative methods. He interviewed seventeen employees in Swedish healthcare, all of whom have worked with raped men in different ways. He did participant observation, for instance by spending time in waiting rooms and following a nurse in the day-to-day work at an emergency department. He also took part in the meetings of a regional project which had the aim of drawing up guidelines for the care of raped women, children, and men.

In addition, the author has studied a large corpus of written material: first of all, law texts, medical records, reports, action plans, and the like; secondly, books, television programmes, and films. The sources from popular culture are not directly analysed in the dissertation, but according to Lindberg they have been important as a contextual framework during the work, since rape against men is a topical phenomenon.

One of the main findings in the dissertation is that the way Swedish healthcare treats raped men is in large measure random. There is good empirical evidence for this through the insight we are given into the treatment of raped men at two different hospitals: Frögrenska and Ramberg. This is a comparative approach which works well because it complicates the picture and leads to a nuanced discussion. It reveals, firstly, that raped men are placed in different patient positions in the different hospitals, and secondly, that this has consequences for the treatment received by the patient group.

At Frögrenska raped men and women were routinely admitted and sent on to different places – women to the gynaecology department and men to the surgical department. In addition, heterosexual and homosexual men were separated (unlike women, who were treated irrespective of their sexual orientation) and treated in different places. The author problematizes the way care staff handle these

patients, for example, that surgeons do not necessarily have the competence to deal with rape, and that raped men are associated with skewed identities rather than injury resulting from rape.

At Ramberg there were no set routines for handling raped men. Since raped men did not belong to a defined patient group, men with this experience were outside the system. Lindberg uses a case to demonstrate the possible consequences in practice. He found that, in the absence of routines, it was the feelings of the staff that determined the handling of the patient.

The study exposes and analyses a number of implicit ideas about gender and sexuality which both underlie and maintain today's practices in the healthcare system. For example, rape implicitly means anal rape when a man is the victim, and vaginal rape when it is a woman. Earlier research has documented how diverse the reality is when it comes to the type of attack and the victim (see e.g. *Menn som har begått voldtekt – en kunnskapsstatus*, Kruse *et al*., from Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress, 2013). There are often overlaps in experience across the sexes. Despite this, similarities between raped men and women are under-communicated. This is well discussed in the dissertation. Both sexes, for example, can have been raped anally or orally. Psychological damage (which at least potentially can affect both sexes) must take second place to the gendered *body* which is at the centre of the treatment.

Lindberg finds that it is ideas and beliefs about rape, and not lived life, that is constitutive of practice. He links this to a "logic of need" (p. 165). In other words, this is a socially constructed understanding of needs which is not necessarily logical, but which often *appears* logical to healthcare employees (p. 166). In the empirical data of the study this is expressed as a need to satisfy the patient's care needs and provide good care. A concrete example is the belief of staff that raped men need examination and care for anal injuries, and in contrast to women are therefore routinely sent to surgeons, as at Frögrenska. In reality a raped man may have other needs, for example, if he has not suffered an anal assault.

As regards gender differences, healthcare follows a biomedical model by which men and women are constructed as fundamentally different. It is particularly interesting to follow Lindberg's reasoning when he examines this in depth and shows how discourses are manifested in concrete practices – or the absence of practices. He devotes a chapter (pp. 143−164), for example, to describing and analysing the work of a regional project about the development of routines for rape. There he followed a process whereby men for the first time were formally treated as a patient group. He illustrates how the gender differences in rape practice – for example, different procedures for admitting rape victims – are reproduced in a cultural context. Instead of innovative thinking, the project participants ended with solutions based on established norms for body, gender, and specialization. It was organizational aspects – functioning care rather than good care – that dictated the work. The conclusion therefore was to refer patients to surgery rather than gynaecology because it seemed to be the most friction-free alternative for raped men – although there was an awareness that it would not give the best treatment to this group of patients. The study moreover shows that gynaecologists construct a clear gender difference and do not wish to treat men, as this quotation exemplifies:

Maria: Many of my colleagues [gynaecologists] don't want to examine men.
Jens: Is that so?
Maria: Yes, because they don't think that they are … they're not trained for it so they shouldn't examine it […] we are specialists in *female* sex organs and we shouldn't examine … (p. 104).

Even though the difference between men and women has been fundamental in the practice of rape care, it is not consistent. Lindberg complicates the picture by analysing a number of interesting boundary shifts, and suggests viewing these as "co-productions" (p. 114). The arrangement of rape care is exposed when expert systems with different gender discourses meet in a practice – thus a "co-production", he claims. He convincingly argues this by using as an example the way medicine thinks in terms of differences and the way the judicial system thinks in terms of equality by securing evidence and handling rape cases.

He also interprets it as boundary shifts when the participants in the study reflect on raped men in the light of similarity across the sexes, rather than something that concerns men especially. Rearticulation to

thinking in terms of equality may be what is needed for gynaecologists to be able to treat men, Lindberg suggests.

There are two things I miss when I turn the last page of the book. First, I would have liked the dissertation to have included a discussion of how the healthcare system handles (or fails to handle) men who have been raped by women. I miss this particularly because women's attacks are represented in the empirical data of the study, and because the analysis explicitly considers cultural ideas about rape against men and the consequences these ideas have for practice. There is still little awareness of women's sexual assaults as a phenomenon (which makes it all the more important to study), but there has been a trickle of research in the last few decades (see e.g. the survey article "Ingen penis – ingen skade? Når kvinner begår seksuelle overgrep", Haugland *et al*., *Tidsskrift for Norsk Psykologforening*, vol. 48, no. 6, 2011, pp. 522−528). Secondly, I would have liked to see the study entering into more dialogue with research across national boundaries on the subject of rape against men (e.g. Torbjørn Herlof Andersen's doctoral dissertation from 2009), since it is such a limited research field.

These two objections do not mar the total impression of Lindberg's dissertation as a solid piece of handicraft where the research questions are thoroughly discussed and a good empirical foundation is provided for the arguments. It is refreshing that the author does not yield to the temptation to paint a simplified picture; instead he gives us a nuanced insight into a challenging topic throughout. With this study he has made a valuable contribution to the fields of both research and practice. He has identified a number of problems in today's system and gives concrete examples along with suggestions for solutions. In addition to being theoretically interesting, the dissertation can therefore serve as a tool to improve how the healthcare system handles raped men. I hope it will be used.

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Norwegian Schoolhouses as Cultural Monuments

Leidulf Mydland, Skolehuset som kulturminne. Lokale verdier og nasjonal kulturminneforvaltning. Gothenburg Studies in Conservation 35. University of Gothenburg. Göteborg 2015. 255 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7346-821-3.

■ The Norwegian cultural scholar Leidulf Mydland has worked at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning/NIKU). He has presented a Swedish doctoral dissertation at the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University about Norwegian schoolhouses as cultural monuments. The core of the dissertation consists of six articles which the author published separately in different journals during the years 2006−2014. Each of these constitutes a major chapter. The dissertation is thus a compilation. Four of the articles are in Norwegian and two in English. Since they are reprinted here with no changes, the author is aware that some of the content has overlaps and repetitions. In my opinion this happens so often that it would have been better to edit these texts. The introduction and the concluding chapter, however, are newly written (pp. 21−59 and 221−240). The book is richly illustrated with photographs, many of them by the author.

After the Norwegian Parliament decided in 1860 to construct permanent schoolhouses all over the country, 4,600 schools were built in Norway, most of them (82%) with just one classroom. Inspiration came from reforms implemented in the USA. Type plans for the construction of new schools in Norway were published in 1863, modelled on American plans from 1849. In 1886 the Norwegian government issued new guidelines for the construction of new schools. These were to serve as the norm for what school buildings looked like. These schools were used for children from grades one to seven. A law on compulsory schooling had been passed in Norway in 1827. Before 1860 there had been only travelling schools, with the teachers moving from home to home during the year. With the passing of a new School Act in 1959 with nine-year compulsory school, new central schools were built. The older schoolhouses therefore ceased to be used in the 1960s. The author has studied schools built in 1860−1920.

The aim of the dissertation is to study how old schoolhouses – which are so distinctly linked to nation-building, democratization, and public education – have been perceived, preserved, and protected as cultural monuments. This concerns both voluntary efforts at the local level and nationally through the

state authority, Riksantikvaren (the Directorate for Cultural Heritage). Why did it take so long for the national authority to pay attention, and why so little attention, to these schoolhouses?

As regards theory, the author has been inspired by discourse analysis. He argues that there has been a hegemonic heritage discourse in Norway. The term Authorized Heritage Discourse is used to denote what the Directorate for Cultural Heritage represents. On a theoretical level the questions in this dissertation can be compared with those in the book about the making of cultural monuments published by NIKU in 2013 with Grete Swensen as editor (reviewed by me in *Arv* 2014, pp. 233−235).

The author has worked for many years in Norwegian cultural heritage management and declares that he is therefore not "an objective, external observer of the field I am studying" (p. 22). On the other hand, he does have good "inside knowledge".

In the first of the six main chapters the author conducts an in-depth study of 71 schoolhouses in three selected rural municipalities in southern Norway. Responsibility for building the new schools lay with the local councils. Information about old schoolhouses in Norway has been available since 2007 at www.skolehuset.net, a site established and maintained by the author.

In the second chapter the author examines what happened to the schoolhouses when they were no longer in use. Of the 71 specially studied buildings, 25 are still in use as parochial halls. Twenty-one schoolhouses have become homes or holiday cottages, while the rest are still standing in dilapidated condition or have been demolished. On only one occasion, in 1963, did one of the municipalities deliberate about whether a particular school had any value as a cultural monument.

The first act on the protection of historic buildings was passed in Norway in 1920. Today 3,800 buildings are protected, but very few of them are schoolhouses and none of these are in rural municipalities. At the local level too, it seems that schoolhouses are not valued as cultural monuments. In other words, schooling in bygone times has no symbolic significance.

The third chapter is a comparative study of how schoolhouses in Norway and the US Midwest have been preserved and perceived as cultural monuments. The differences are considerable. There is a much greater awareness in the USA of the national cultural value of closed-down schools. People even speak of schoolhouses as "a National Icon" (p. 229). In Iowa, where the author did fieldwork, 60 schoolhouses were designated as cultural monuments, as against none in Norway in 2011. The social role of schools in the local community and their importance as symbols of the construction of the nation has been emphasized over the architectural aspects. Many of the schoolhouses in Iowa have become school museums. The Norwegian schools, by contrast, have not been associated with the construction of the Norwegian nation during the late nineteenth century, which led to the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905.

The fourth chapter is based on an analysis of 18 local applications from 2002 to 2009 submitted to the Norwegian Heritage Fund, established by the state in 2002. The applications were for subsidies to renovate old schoolhouses. The author wants to arrive at a picture of how these schoolhouses have been perceived at the local level and how they have been assessed by the Norwegian Heritage Fund. Seven of the eighteen applications were turned down. The reasons given concerned "antiquarian approach", "authenticity", and "heritage values". It is thus only the physical aspects of the buildings that are evaluated. Nothing is said about social aspects, such as the significance of the school as an educational institution, as a local meeting place in the present day, or as a school museum. This happens even though such aspects were emphasized in eleven applications. The author finds that local aspects mean very little to the national heritage institutions. For him this is a clear example of a "hegemonic heritage discourse". The absence of an "articulated antiquarian approach" and "authenticity" are the main reasons cited for rejecting applications.

The fifth chapter continues the discussion from the fourth chapter, raising the question of how the old schoolhouses are perceived and preserved by the local environment and in state heritage management. The author's critique is aimed at the excessively narrow criteria applied by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage when assessing what should be a cultural monument. Physical aspects are at the centre, while social aspects are neglected.

The sixth chapter is based on an essay published in 2014. It looks at the first old rural schoolhouse that was declared a cultural monument by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 2012. The school

was built in 1865/1866 and was used until 1955. The author analyses the written documents in the archives of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. He is openly critical of the time it has taken to implement the preservation process. A crucial ground for preservation concerns material aspects, namely, issues of authenticity and aesthetics. On the other hand, nothing is said about the role of the school as an educational institution from the nineteenth century onwards.

In the last chapter the author concludes that it is the lack of architectural and aesthetic qualities that lies behind the low interest of the state heritage management authority in protecting old schoolhouses. This authority has sought more to safeguard matters to do with tradition and continuity than objects representing change in the form of democratization and public enlightenment since the late nineteenth century. Schoolhouses belong to the latter category.

A final question concerns how one should assess the decidedly subjective and critical researcher role adopted by the author. He has a burning interest in ensuring that old schoolhouses are upgraded as historical monuments because of the role they have played in the development of Norwegian society. In his case the boundary between research and active culture politics may seem very fine. However, I think he has stayed within the boundary that is necessary if the work is to be regarded as research. The empirical foundation is extensive and well analysed. The author's practical experience of cultural heritage management has been of assistance in his analyses. In the future he will have opportunities to bring about a change in the prevailing heritage discourse, now that he has begun working for the Directorate for Cultural Heritage whose policy he has criticized so sharply.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Spaces in Museums

Märit Simonsson, Displaying Spaces. Spatial Design, Experience, and Authenticity in Museums. Institutionen for kultur- och medievetenskaper, Umeå Universitet 2014. 206 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7601- 141-6.

■ There is an insensitivity to space in much research. People don't care about how things actually "take place", how they happen *somewhere*. For example, Märit Simonsson shows how museological research focuses on important fields such as museum objects, exhibitions, and visitors, but often forgets the significance of the space for the experience and the creation of meaning. She wants to remedy this deficiency with her study of the significance of the museum space for how we experience exhibitions.

According to Simonsson, museology needs to develop an understanding of how we perceive the museum space and the way these perceptions become a part of how we create understanding for the exhibition in the space. Studies of museum architecture highlight technical perspectives and design history in relation to museum buildings, while more visitor-oriented studies shed light on people's movements in the space and their interactions with the exhibition texts, artefacts, and layout. But what can be communicated through the way the space is designed, and how does it become a part of the overall exhibition experience? How can such "spatial design" contribute to the experience of authenticity in a museum? These questions are elucidated and discussed here through studies of five museums in Rome: Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museum Centrale Montemartini, and MAXXI. These five museums represent a number of different exhibition forms, and the interesting thing for this dissertation is how the exhibited objects relate to the physical space in which they are exhibited. Museo dell'Ara Pacis is built up around an ancient object; Palazzo Doria Pamphilj is a palace displaying its private art collections; Palazzo Massimo alle Terme is part of the National Roman Museum showing collections excavated in Rome at the end of the nineteenth century; Museum Centrale Montemartini is an old power station from around 1900, now housing a collection of ancient sculptures; MAXXI, finally, is a newly built art museum (opened in 2010) exhibiting contemporary Italian art and architecture.

A quick survey of these five museums shows that the design of the different museum spaces differs in relation to the aims that the actors involved had when they created the exhibitions. In that process the amount of thought given to the design of the space has varied. The dissertation describes the museums in detail, each in its own chapter, and the starting point is Simonsson's own experiences of re-

peated visits to each museum. Exhaustive descriptions are interlarded with theoretical reflections and end with quotations from interviews with first-time visitors for comparison with the author's own reflections.

The theoretical premise is that the space is more than a physical room demarcated by walls, doors, and windows. The space is also an abstract phenomenon. A museum explanation takes place and is created through our physical perception, the ideas and prejudices we bring along, and which relate to the intentions that are found, so to speak, built into the actual design of the space. A space can thus never be "innocent"; it is always an active part of what is experienced in the space. Here I think that Simonsson's dissertation paves the way for a deeper exploration that is badly needed in the field, of the relationship between body, mind, and environment, and what that relationship means for our sense-making in museums. In that relationship perception, for example, is central. Not just how perception can be understood from a social and cultural perspective but also the way ideas about how perception happens that are built into the museum practice are materialized more or less consciously in the design of the museum space and its exhibitions. Several examples of this are well described in the dissertation. By expanding our understanding of how the museum space can be developed, she makes an important point here.

The study leads to discussions about two questions in particular: (a) What is good design? (b) What is a correct museum experience? The fact that these issues in particular are brought up looks like an ironic wink at ambitions to arrive at uniform answers to these – to say the least – normative questions, but the answers nevertheless contribute practical advice. Simonsson says a great deal, for instance, about the importance of balance between free choices and guiding, facts and free interpretations, to make the museum visit pleasant. That balance can be achieved through strategic design of space.

The discussion also reveals a history-teaching perspective on authenticity. Simonsson argues that the restoration of places and artefacts to their former appearance gives opportunities to come closer to an understanding of how they were perceived in the past. Citing Gadamer's idea that the understanding of history is grounded in our understanding of the present, Simonsson argues that historical museums are an excellent place to develop this understanding precisely because of the potential for authentic experiences. An authentic *experience* can thus be defined as the idea that it is possible with the aid of the imagination to enter into the illusion that is built up in the exhibition, but that the authentic objects root the experience in history. The result of this is that the debate as to whether it is the object or the experience that is the most important in the museum becomes obsolete since the two complement and reinforce each other.

Despite this important focus, there is an interesting ambivalence in Simonsson's text. On the one hand she emphasizes, with the support of the French philosopher Merleau-Ponty, how perception is a subjective physical experience that starts in the body and is not so easy to differentiate in separate sensory categories such as sight, hearing, and so on. For Merleau-Ponty sensory perceptions were a way of being-in-space, which leads on to a discussion of how, with the aid of our senses, we become intertwined with space and how it takes place *for us* when we move through it. This meaning-making includes not just our own experiences and preconceptions about what we are supposed to experience; perception is also embedded in the social, cultural and bodily practice in which the visitor is engaged during the visit. The materiality of the space, of course, is an important general staring point in our different ways of experiencing space, but the point is that, in this relational perspective on space, the subjective bodily experience has an important function in what reveals itself to us. What I find remarkable is that, even though the dissertation highlights space as an abstract concept in this sense, that the space is *lived*, Merleau-Ponty's theories about the interweaving of body and space are ignored. This is remarkable since Simonsson writes that she wants to help break up dichotomies such as mind−body and thought−feeling in her study aimed at reaching an understanding of the role played by spatial design in the experience of museums. Despite this, she uses these concepts with the argument that there is no alternative – which is a dubious conclusion. Concepts such as "embodiment", for example, are held up in phenomenological literature as an alternative to the body–mind division. And in the spatial turn that the social sciences are said to have undergone in recent years, there are also concepts such as "emplace-

ment" to describe precisely this interwoven understanding of body−mind–space.

Instead there is a turn in this dissertation towards more realistic claims, such as that, because we are biological creatures, we can nevertheless say something general about how light and colour in particular affect us. This feature also permeates the descriptions of the museums, which are chiefly based on Simonsson's own observations of her experiences. Here the authorial voice is transformed into an objective narrator describing what the museum space looks like and how it is experienced. As a reader I have no problem in believing these descriptions, but the confusion that arises after having been put on a different theoretical train in the opening chapters lingers. The reflexivity and the participant research methods promised by the phenomenological starting point are missing in the empirical part, which leaves me with some questions. How does the study relate to the concept of "space" and how does the subjective body really participate in the creation of space? Is subjectivity desirable in the study or not? How did the author really experience five visits to the same museums? Did she discover new things each time, or did it become boring? What role did other visitors in the space play for her experiences? Is it not likely that a completely empty museum space would give a totally different experience from one that is filled with people? In my reading of the dissertation it grapples with concepts such as subjective/objective, dualistic/non-dualistic, humans as biological/cultural beings, that we experience things similarly/differently, that the space is material or a hybrid, adopting the visitor's/museum's perspective. These are not unusual discussions, and what I suspect after having read the dissertation is that the author is grappling with herself in these issues, without actually arriving at a clear answer. This may be one reason why the phenomenological premises in the introduction did not have clear methodological consequences in the empirical part. This may very well be due to the intellectual tradition, with its conventions, in which the dissertation is written. This identifies a potential sphere of methodological development within the same field. An interesting corpus of material which, to my knowledge, has not yet been explored in museology is all the films and pictures made and uploaded by museum visitors. Reading this dissertation inspired me to search for these five museums on the Internet, where I found many Youtube clips, for example, showing how people go through the museum spaces and comment on their experiences. It would be interesting to see a study tackling this material in Simonsson's theoretical spirit!

My overall picture of the dissertation is that there are two underlying trails running through it. The way these trails are connected, however, does not convince me. But the ambition is highly praiseworthy and exciting. Simonsson writes: "In order to develop a museological language, methodology, and theory concerning space as a significant factor in museum practice and studies, we need to strive for a new approach to the relationship between space, human beings, experience and meaning making" (p. 187). There is a lot to be said for this, and the ambition is made clear by the way the text bubbles with ideas. The dissertation is highly relevant for the field because it considers important factors which make historical museums and institutions unique when it comes to possibilities to build learning environments where authentic objects and opportunities to revive historical contexts complement each other and thereby reach visitors in unique ways. These reflections would not have been possible unless Simonsson had been brave and enthusiastic enough to tackle the complex spatial perspective and strive to make it function in the museum context. It also opens the way for methodological development, with the analytical focus on the body−mind–environment relationship. My concluding comment is that this is a dissertation that is worth reading both inside and outside academic circles.

Vaike Fors, Halmstad

The Joy of Dancing

Heidi Stavrum, Danseglade og hverdagsliv. Etikk, estetikk og politikk i det norska dansebandfeltet. University of Bergen 2014. 346 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-82-308-2833-5.

■ Heidi Stavrum's dissertation starts with a visit to a danceband festival. The visit provokes questions about the whole danceband activity. The starting point is that danceband music is in many respects a successful genre. CD sales are high and festivals are well attended. Yet it is a genre that lacks coverage and status among music critics and in the media. It is also a field in which little research has been done.

Stavrum's ambition is therefore to contribute to our knowledge of danceband music, chiefly by analysing how the field is perceived by those who take part in it. The aim is to describe and analyse the different values and distinctions that are active in the danceband field and the ways in which they help to create and maintain a social community. To do this, the author starts with the practices of the audience at Norwegian danceband festivals.

The dissertation has a clear and informative structure. Stavrum explicitly presents the different steps in her thinking which led to her choice of method, problem, and theory. She continuously sums up her analytical points and insights. It can sometimes give a repetitive impression but it generally adds to the clarity of the dissertation. She positions herself clearly in relation to the different traditions of thought and academic subjects from which she derives inspiration. She emphasizes that the dissertation arose in two academic contexts. First, she has been attached to Telemark University College and a research environment where the main object of study has been Norwegian cultural politics. Culture should be understood here in the sense of aesthetic activity, and the predominant perspective is a cultural sociology influenced by Bourdieu. In addition, Stavrum has worked at the University of Bergen with its stronger tradition of cultural analysis. Her study should thus be viewed in the light of these two academic settings, and she describes the work on her dissertation as moving back and forth between different traditions of thought. Stavrum chisels out her research project by continuously highlighting and countering potential challenges or alternative approaches to her object of study. She makes clear reservations in relation to scholarly contexts and knowledge goals alongside her own. This is not a cultural history of how the danceband genre emerged, nor is it an analysis of how the Swedish danceband scene has influenced Norway, and it is not an analysis of the lyrics and sounds of a musical genre. The dissertation, according to the author, is not intended as a contribution to musicology, culture studies, or sociology. Instead the dissertation is a contribution to the ongoing discussion of the defects and normative challenges in research on cultural politics and a study of how social community and aesthetic expressions go together. The intention is that the dissertation will produce new knowledge of an unresearched social context and make a contribution to perceptions of the Norwegian cultural field and cultural politics. The reservations serve as clarifying instructions to the reader as to how and in what context the results and research questions should be understood. It is essential to point out here that the dissertation – despite all Stavrum's reservations – does have something important to add to the field of musicology and to broader culture studies. There are insights here that are interesting outside the academic contexts where cultural policy is studied.

The aim of the study is thus to understand the danceband sphere as it appears to the people who participate in it. To be able to achieve that goal, Stavrum has chosen to work with participant observation and has approached the dancebands in the contexts where they perform, chiefly at festivals, but also on cruises and in ski hotels. The method is well established and reasonable for the purpose. In addition Stavrum has interviewed and spoken to people she met in the field, such as festival goers, musicians, arrangers, and journalists. Stavrum has also used written sources, especially the danceband world's own magazine, *De Danseglade*. The method and material are well suited to the ambition and objective. The different categories of material complement each other, both nuancing and confirming the results they yield on their own.

The dissertation is based to a large extent on observations and interviews. These give the reader an idea of what the festivals in general are like. It also seems to me that the findings as presented are well grounded in the evidence on which the study builds. What I wonder about is primarily how Stavrum's empirical material is presented in the dissertation. There is a recurrent heading "Excursus on Method" where Stavrum, on the basis of her own experiences in the field, discusses boundaries, taste, and values in the danceband field. Here she convincingly uses herself as an instrument. She writes in an exciting way about how her choice of *cava* in the bar is identified by the informants as fancier, somewhat posh. This is contrasted with the drinking habits of the others, and Stavrum carries on an interesting discussion of taste and social belonging. In other cases, when it is no longer Stavrum herself who is the centre of the empirical focus, the ethnography is more summary in character. She describes what dancing, the festival life, and the performances *tend* to be like, often using quotations from a field note.

Here I would have liked Stavrum to have considered the empirical examples with the same depth as she applies in the excursus on method, where she paints a more nuanced, less schematic picture of the situations she has studied. If Stavrum had quoted and discussed her observations and notes, for example, from the dance floor and the camping site in the same way, the dissertation would have made an even more reflective contribution to our understanding of the danceband field.

The strength of Stavrum's dissertation lies in the way she exposes the danceband field step by step, revealing its characteristic values and distinctions and how this gives rise to a community. The empirical starting point is the danceband festivals. Visitors come here to have a nice time, to relax and meet like-minded people. An initial and recurrent observation, one that the informants emphasize, is that it should be "nice". To fit into this nice atmosphere, the festival goers have to be down-to-earth and in good spirits. In addition to the niceness there is a multitude of different distinctions comprising a relatively broad range of things associated with dancebands. There is the size of the dance floor and the facilities surrounding the dances. The lighting should be warm, the air good, and the volume not too loud to make conversation impossible. There should be clean toilets, hot food, and cold drinks. Food should be reasonably priced and the people who serve it must be nice. Everything should be practical, not contrived. The food should not be exotic; suitable items on the menu are pizza, hamburger, or salmon. The security people should be nice and maintain order. "Nice" is thus a frequently recurring distinction that identifies the community of the danceband field. The danceband field can mainly be found in villages and small towns. There is dancing in sports arenas, in community halls, and in exhibition areas. It is an activity that takes place outside the spheres where the more acknowledged culture takes place.

Stavrum identifies four ideal types of people at the danceband festivals. First the *dancers,* who can be recognized by their dancing shoes, indicating that dancing is the main thing for them; then the *danceband fans,* who wear caps and t-shirts with the band names and who come to the festival to listen to the music. There are also the *"yeehawers"* who go to festivals to party and meet people. Other people at the festivals include the *danceband musicians* and *the music business people*. The close contact between fans and musicians is another recurrent theme emphasized by musicians and audiences alike. The musicians may stick out with their stage outfits and hairdos, but the same rule applies to them: they must be nice, not haughty in any way. To be able to live up to the various ideals for the dances, the musicians have a double quality demand to meet. Their music must appeal to the feet and the ears. It has to have good rhythm and tempo you can dance to, the tune must be simple and the words about everyday topics that people recognize. When the music is good, the body responds and people dance.

Recurring all through the dissertation are the two themes in the title, namely *the joy of dancing* and *everyday life*. The author shows convincingly how these make themselves felt in matters of ethics, aesthetics, and cultural politics. It may be mentioned here that these two themes are both well found and well grounded in the empirical study, but that ethics, aesthetics, and cultural politics are better grounded in Stavrum's research premises. One of Stavrum's ambitions is to examine the danceband field on its own terms. Based on the findings of the dissertation, and in keeping with the constitution of the danceband field, it would have been possible here, and perhaps more justified, to speak of consumption rather than cultural politics. That would have been a clearer reflection of the use of culture – in an aesthetic sense – in the danceband field.

Stavrum's careful study enables her to identify a social position where certain shared values and taste preferences emerge. Stavrum describes the social position in relation to the anthropologist Marianne Gullestad's working-class descriptions and a taste position that is identified as popular, of the people. Here Stavrum is particular to point out that, although she cannot say so much about the festival goers' social background, through the distinctions that emerge it is nevertheless possible to interpret taste and values in relation to Gullestad's studies. She describes a social position characterized by classical Protestant ethics and morals, where decency and self-control bring recognition and where traditional gender roles prevail. Morality has a prominent place. Those in the danceband field position themselves in relation to the rowdier "country field" where people eat more hamburgers (the danceband world prefers hot dogs) and drink too much alcohol. Participants in the danceband field also have to re-

late to the finer culture of the middle class, who are identified as doctors, lawyers, and professors. In relation to these, the people in the danceband field are more relaxed and less affected. Those who take part in the danceband field belong to the social position that is perceived by the public sphere as lacking cultural interests and therefore are believed to need extra support to find their way to cultural activities. In contrast to this, people in the danceband field regard themselves as large-scale consumers of culture. This is one of the dissertation's contributions to research on cultural policy, since the participants in the danceband field usually stay outside the cultural activities supported by public money, which are thus identified as important. Here we see a parallel to the way people in the danceband field view their own position as being outside the more recognized forms of culture and they distance themselves both from Oslo and from the Swedish danceband world. They think that their danceband culture should be able to stand on its own two feet. They themselves pay for the culture they consume, and they think other people ought to do the same.

Here I lack a more concerted discussion of self-images, or perhaps rather self-representations on the social position of the danceband field. The self-images can include the sense of being alongside the established culture, and the sense of being nice. Another recurring self-image is that danceband is not *harry*. The Norwegian adjective *harry* is understood here as marking something tacky, in bad taste, laughable. Being interested in danceband music, according to the participants in the field, is not *harry*. So what is *harry*? Is it a gender-coded taste? Where can *harry* be found? Or is *harry* perhaps a designation for the others, those who do not need to be defined and therefore can help to shape a social position of their own? Perhaps *harry* should simply be understood as a boundary marker, a way of signalling one's own good taste as cultural outsiders.

Stavrum, as I have said, is careful to point out that her temporal perspective concerns contemporary culture and that this is not a dissertation in cultural history. Yet even in a present-day study there is a history to relate to, a history that reflects earlier power relations in the field of music/culture and the changeability of the aesthetic expression. A social position is not constituted out of nothing, but in relation to earlier practices, values, and distinctions which also recur in the ideas about danceband to which the people interviewed in the study relate. I find it difficult to talk about how community and distinctions of taste are established, without considering continuities or changes in history, especially in a context like the danceband field where the interviewees continually refer to what it was like in the past. There are several examples in the dissertation of how danceband music is seeking new forms of aesthetic expression, and acknowledged danceband musicians are also becoming a part of the more established cultural scene (as when Ole Ivars, for instance, played at the opening of the new opera house in Oslo). A closer look at this could have given some dynamism to the relations constituted by the field. It would likewise have been interesting to examine the significance of country music to find more nuances. Country is used in the dissertation as both a social and an aesthetic category. Here Stavrum could have enlisted Bourdieu with his distinction between field of production and field of consumption. The field of consumption includes those who buy records, join in the dances, in short, those who in different ways consume danceband music. The field of production includes those who produce what is consumed in the danceband field. This may seem like a narrow distinction, and many of the people who take part in the danceband field belong to both. The important thing here is that it is not a matter of individuals but of positions, which are regulated by different values. With this way of thinking, country music as a social context is a negative social reference in the field of consumption, while country as a musical influence in the field of production can be a positive reference (in the interviews it is pointed out, for example, that the use of saxophones has been toned down and that steel guitar, which is perceived as a country instrument, has become more common).

As regards theory, the dissertation derives inspiration from two main frameworks, Bourdieu's cultural sociology and ritual theory. Bourdieu's theory is rather well tried and tested in such contexts. Stavrum thus adds her study to other investigations of Bourdieuan fields of force. This tradition enables both a subjective and an objective understanding of what is studied. It is, as Stavrum points out, a theory that is capable of considering and integrating both aesthetic and social qualities in interpretations and analyses. In Stavrum's study it is particularly the concepts of *field, recognition*, and *distinction* that

are useful, although other concepts such as *doxa* and *illusio* are also used. The danceband festivals are a central event for those who are interested in danceband music. Because of the crucial importance of the festivals in the danceband field, they are analysed as social rituals that help to produce, confirm, and maintain the values, practices, and ideas of the danceband world. Stavrum approaches these from the perspective of ritual theory. She proceeds from classical ritual theory as represented by Durkheim, van Gennep, and Victor Turner, but also from the study of secular rituals like those described by Moore and Myerhoff (1977) and used in ethnology and folkloristics. The use of ritual theory goes well with Bourdieu's observation that rituals help to maintain the fields, to confirm the participants' existence as members of a particular group with certain rights. Both theories clearly contribute to the results obtained by the dissertation and provide answers to the questions stated by Stavrum in her aims.

Stavrum's use of Bourdieu calls for reflection. She writes in the introduction that she wanted to avoid Bourdieu and that she was critical of how his theory almost automatically defined danceband as an example of low culture. She therefore tried phenomenology but returned to Bourdieu since this made it possible to approach the actors' own reflections and how they often included external assessments in their reflections. According to Stavrum this was a way to problematize and not excessively romanticize her object of study. A wise choice.

It is reasonable here to reflect on whether the danceband field is a Bourdieuan field. This is a question that Stavrum bears in mind all through the dissertation. She points out that it is an empirical question, not a theoretical one. Stavrum assumes initially that it is a field and to a certain extent she also arrives at that conclusion. This can be taken to mean that she succeeds in demonstrating what she suspected from the beginning, but it can also give an impression of circular reasoning. It is reasonable that the danceband sphere can be seen as a field from an aesthetic or a social perspective. It has its own distinct actors, a market, arenas for production and mediation, and channels for critique and quality assessment. There is also, as we have seen, a fairly uniform morality. But is it also possible to identify a field where there is a conflict in Bourdieu's sense, and if so, what is it about? Stavrum discusses the question and describes the danceband field as a context where conflict is avoided. She sketches a social position with clear values and attitudes. The conflicts that occur concern what can be perceived as danceband and how the participants are supposed to behave at danceband events. For anyone outside the field, these discussions may seem limited, more like ripples on the surface than a real battle over the field. But this is surely always easy to say for someone outside the field where a battle is being waged, so I do not intend to act as judge on the matter of whether this is a Bourdieuan field or not. What I can say is that the boundaries are much clearer when it comes to the relationship to country festivals, the attitude to cultural support, or how those who are studied constantly relate to the idea that danceband music has a low status. The question of the autonomy of a field is important in more orthodox Bourdieu studies. Perhaps it is not as important for Stavrum's study, where the major contribution lies in the way she manages to highlight the position of danceband music alongside or even outside what is usually included in the field of cultural policy. In any case, Stavrum shows through her reasoning that she is aware of what is expected to be included in a Bourdieuan study. For the sake of the dissertation, however, I think it would have been more interesting if she had grappled more with the social position that she has identified and had been less concerned with whether the danceband field itself is a Bourdieuan field or not. Stavrum's findings as regards the position that is sketched would have been equally interesting even if the field had been defined as a field of music or perhaps of dance music.

I think it is important here to make a distinction between using Bourdieu's concepts as analytical tools and the larger Bourdieu-influenced project of identifying all the positions and distinctions of a field (for example, the field of Norwegian cultural policy). With Bourdieu's tools Stavrum is able to show the distinctions and values that create the danceband field. There is scope here for nuances and surprising results. When dealing with cultural fields as a whole, however, Bourdieu can be a little predictable; this can be interpreted as praise of Bourdieu's acute theoretical apparatus, but it also gives the impression of one subfield after another being checked off as they are studied, so that they confirm Bourdieu's theories step by step. This does not mean that Stavrum obediently accepts all of

Bourdieu's assumptions. Rather, she displays an awareness of the limitations of the theoretical conceptual apparatus and its potential determinism. She shows, for example, how entrepreneurs and music in the danceband field do not work from such dry economistic calculations as Stavrum had expected and as is ascribed to the position in Bourdieu's own studies; instead they put more emphasis on the music for the audience's sake than on sheer profit (which is an example of yet another self-image that could have been discussed in more detail).

All in all, Heidi Stavrum's dissertation is a good contribution to research on cultural politics and to the cultural analysis of an aesthetic expression. The dissertation makes one curious about how other genres could be examined with an equally close-up analysis of distinctions and taste preferences. How do country music fans, for example, perceive themselves and their musical interest? She portrays a genre of music with a clear utility aesthetic. She demonstrates a social context alongside or perhaps completely concealed from the strategies and considerations of cultural politics. In this respect the dissertation also fulfils Stavrum's ambition to expose the taste distinctions and values of the danceband field.

Lars Kaijser, Stockholm

Harbor: a Cornucopia of Cultural Significance

Tytti Steel, Risteäviä eroja sataman arjessa (English summary: Intersections in the Everyday Life of Harbors). Filosofian, historian. kulttuurin ja taiteiden tutkimuksen laitos. Helsingin yliopisto, Helsinki 2013. 279 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-952-10-9012-7.

■ A harbor is a nexus of goods, people and ideas, saturated with representations of exoticism, hard work and dubious moralities. No matter if it is Socrates descending to the colorful streets of the Port of Piraeus in Plato's *The Republic* or Luke Skywalker entering a shady spaceport tavern in planet Tatooine in *Star Wars: Episode IV – A New Hope 1997* (directed by George Lucas) harbors have always enjoyed a certain reputation for untamed otherness and liminality. Thus, they are a goldmine for an ethnologist.

Tytti Steel's monograph *Risteäviä eroja sataman arjessa* (Intersections in the Everyday Life of Harbors) focuses on representations of dock workers and other people employed in or in the social environment of the Finnish harbors of Helsinki and Kotka in the extended 1950s. For her book, a doctoral thesis in European Ethnology, Steel has herself conducted or brought together a total of almost fifty interviews with people who have worked in these Finnish harbors, creating a holistic oral history that presents an intersectional view of harbor culture. This collection of memories is already in itself a valuable ethnological contribution to the study of Finnish harbor culture. Steel has skillfully organized her data into categories of gender, ethnicity, class and age in relation to the experience of and discourses about working in a harbor. The study is particularly strong in its inquiry into the narrated and discursive construction of manhood and womanhood in 1950s Finland, where the significances and dichotomic relations of gender were more fixed than today. At the same time, Steel succeeds in showing how masculinity and femininity were negotiable cultural constructions already half a century ago. The fact that harbor work in Finland was globally exceptional in that there was a large female minority among the workforce makes the study even more interesting in terms of gender studies.

In addition to stories of and by Finnish dock workers Tytti Steel's data includes abundant narrative about two interesting and culturally marginal groups in the harbor context, prostitutes and foreign seamen. Each group seemed to be regarded as marginal by the narrators for different reasons: the prostitutes for residing in the shadows of the moral landscape and the foreign seamen because of their ethnicity and language. To the reader's delight, Steel manages to find interesting variety in the views on both groups. As well as the sinful image of the prostitute, there are interesting hints of attributions of strong individual agency to prostitutes as people who had dared to venture outside conventional moralities. In the case of foreign seamen, imagery depicting representatives of an inferior ethnicity with lower mental capacity is counterbalanced by portraits of culturally and materially superior men from exotic lands.

Steel also makes a thorough inquiry into historical and contemporary studies on harbor work, drawing on them as contextual data but also, delightfully critical, analyzing them as part of the representation-

al universe of harbors. However, what really proves Steel to be a broad-minded ethnologist is her decision to include over twenty documentary and fictional films in her data, extending the reservoir of harbor representations and proving that there are certain key discursive elements in portraying harbors, regardless of the source of discourse.

Putting fictional films under the ethnological microscope shows how the harbor of "real life" and "fiction" is – like any other cultural phenomenon – intertwined and interacting, creating a two-way channel of communication where both sides use the other as representational fuel to construct imagery of the subject at hand. Considering not only the significance and power of popular fiction in everyday lives but also its ability to condense and reflect the Zeitgeist, it is time ethnologists took it seriously. That is what Tytti Steel has laudably done. However, perhaps a bit too loyal to her discipline, she attempts to defend traditional ethnological inquiry for ignoring film studies on the grounds that, information-wise, film as a medium is very challenging to a scholar. Steel describes how film includes visual, textual and auditory information, making it too complex for researchers to study. However, there is reason to believe ethnology has shunned the study of film because it has not been considered a worthy object of study, being too "modern" a product of culture, and perhaps merely because films connote entertainment – worlds apart from the traditionally studied peasant subject toiling away in conditions of scarcity. However, films and particularly fictional films could and perhaps should be considered *hyperreal* elements of culture, objects that reflect the values, norms, social structures and beliefs of their time in a condensed form as if summaries of what a society is at a certain point in time. In Steel's treatment of film material, there is no hint that the medium is a challenging field of study but it is seen rather as a bountiful source of culturally relevant information.

As Steel's study focuses especially on gender in the cultural construction of the harbor, her approach drawing on intersectionality is well justified. It is a popular if contested method of gender research, but overall fits well in the study. However, the approach suffers slightly from the application of the social categories that are commonly used in intersectionalist gender studies. Ethnicity, gender, class and age do provide valuable points of reference and information on how multifaceted the role of an individual in a given culture is, but in Steel's study the categories seemed slightly too predetermined. That is perhaps inevitable in any study whose aim is to test a hypothesis. Perhaps Steel could have viewed her categories of intersectionality as part of a hypothesis, rather than as emerging from the data. In this connection it might have been helpful to have a direct statement of a hypothesis setting out the categories as the objects of study to be tested through the data. As it stands there seem to be other categories at least as relevant as her four categories that make a difference in a dock-workers social life and identity, for example consumption of alcohol and attitude to work. These could also have been treated as categories of intersectionality. Nevertheless, the categories used did provide relevant results and functioned well as a clear method of sorting the data. At times Tytti Steel's interpretation process could have been more explicit, for example in some cases where events related by informants were interpreted in the context of gender or ethnicity, but the overall impression gained from reading Steel's analysis is that the author is a trustworthy captain of her analytical ship, and one is persuaded to take her word for it.

In her dissertation, Steel presents Tapio Bergholm's picture of harbor history as situated in an uncomfortable intersection of international, national and local histories. This sort of complexity – or, to call a spade a spade, messiness – of the field exists not only in the case of harbor research but in almost any contemporary object of research in the globalized world. The interconnectedness of social groups, the fractal-like appearance of culture and the amoeba-like structure of society are part and parcel of an ethnologist's object of study, which is further complicated by the intermingling of facts and figures with selective memories, discourses and narratives. The result of this is a set of multilayered data, a field that has only varying degrees of truth value, but immense cultural significance. It is indeed a challenge, but a cornucopia to those who dare to tackle it. In the final chapter of her monograph, Tytti Steel was modest enough to write that she had difficulties finding multidimensionality in her data. Perhaps it was indeed challenging, but there are no traces of this in the end result, which is a well-rounded, wide-ranging and captivating excursion into harbor life.

Jukka Jouhki, Jyväskylä

Becoming One's Identity

Philip Warkander, "This is all fake, this is all plastic, this is me". A study of the interrelations between style, sexuality and gender in contemporary Stockholm. Centre for Fashion Studies, Stockholm University 2013. 234 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87235-20-7.

■ This thesis is something special, in the sense that it is the first thesis of the new interdisciplinary programme in Fashion Studies at Stockholm University. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, this research programme is a collaborative initiative of scholars from art history and ethnology with a common interest in dress and fashion studies, made possible by generous financial support from the family foundation behind the world's largest fast-fashion company, H&M. In 2006, the Centre for Fashion Studies was inaugurated, and two years later the centre launched its PhD programme. Students whose backgrounds included art history and ethnology were enrolled, and Philip Warkander, trained as an ethnologist, became in 2013 the first doctoral candidate to complete his studies and to be entitled to present himself as a Doctor of Fashion Studies. This was celebrated not only at Stockholm University, but in the international world of fashion studies, and was proudly announced by Dr Valerie Steele, editor-at-large of the most prominent international academic fashion journal, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* (Bloomsbury Academic). The field of fashion studies had matured as an academic discipline. And with its research topic, this thesis articulates the way Fashion Studies sees fashion: as a cultural practice centred on the body and expressed through different self-fashioning practices that have the potential to tell us what it means to be a post-modern human, through an understanding of ways of living, negotiating identity and styling. The entanglement of disciplines in Warkander's study is striking. The focus on fashion makes it fashion studies, but the outcome and lessons of the study could just as well be packaged as an ethnology of the present. The theory and method chosen for the study support its point. As is the case with many current ethnology studies, Latourian actor-network theory informs the study's analytical perspective, and ethnographic fieldwork informs its method.

The thesis studies the processes by which one "becomes" one's identity in the homosexual club scene of contemporary Stockholm. Style, gender and sexuality are obvious focal points to explore the complex processes of becoming an individual and defining oneself in relation to the expectations of conventional society – if these really exist. They do, at least, exist as a cultural imagination, among both those who seek to distinguish themselves from the norm and those who seek to define themselves as identical to it.

In the course of the thesis, the reader is introduced to ten identity producers, ten informants, all initially presented via the characteristics of their individual sartorial style. None of the ten informants is an ordinary person. On the contrary, they appear to be extraordinary people within their individual communities – performers, actors, club organizers, political activists, etc. They stand out in their manner of dress, and through dress, they negotiate their considerably-negotiable identities. They are all negotiating in opposition to perceptions of heterosexual norms. Identifying with the sex of their birth is not an option. Instead, their negotiations and style production are viewed in the realm of language and of the discourse that shapes the perceptions of different style productions. Warkander shows how the process of naming a certain style is important for making their identities, just as it is important for them to acquire a pseudonym that they can use to capture the specificity of their style. Identity negotiations are further explored in relation to space, to where and when a certain sartorial style is explored, and to bodily matter. The body is at the centre of sartorial experimentation and negotiation. It is not just fantasy, but fantasy materialized as sartorial choices and style production. The thesis clearly demonstrates the Latourian perspective. Style is produced collectively, involving many actors beyond the actual wearer of a selection of garments and beyond the garments themselves. Style is bricolage, as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Dick Hebdige would call it, but to Warkander it is important also to stress the importance of gender, and not only the social context in which an individual style emerges.

Warkander gives his reader a close understanding of the ten informants' sartorial style production through his ethnographic fieldwork. Warkander joined the queer club scene for a period of two years in Stockholm, doing participant observation and interviews with the informants. The thoughts and con-

straints that go into the informants' definitions of their identity are overwhelming. Even if the identities of these ten persons seem settled, this is merely a momentary perception, as it is a central part of their identity to be constantly negotiating. Even though this is not part of Warkander's objective, it is rather incredible to observe the flexibility and possibility these extraordinary informants have for self-fashion, not only within their own communities, but also in the Swedish legal context, compared to the situation in the past. However, Warkander lets the informants recount a series of incidents when the style of an informant has been too controversial, causing others to have a physical reaction or to hurl insults. Much is possible these days, compared with the past, but we have not yet arrived at the point where anything goes. The freedom to choose, which is a value we often fight for in Western societies, becomes almost too much in the study. Considering that the majority of the informants are past their early twenties – their formative years – it appears to be stressful, and not simply an expression of creative potential, to constantly renegotiate oneself.

Methodologically, the thesis is interesting, as it explores the boundaries of participant observation. Warkander was given access to the informants because he was acquainted with a few of them from his own time in the club scene. But this seems also to be a challenge for the study – a challenge to observation skills – since elements can become neutralized via participation. The lack of photo documentation is one outcome of this neutralization, I suppose. With the study's emphasis on the materialization of style and identity, it is strange not to have included images in the thesis. How do the informants actually look? What kind of style bricolage do they actually produce? As a reader you want not only to know it, but also to see it.

The contribution of this thesis, despite its lack of images, is rich. A view of style is presented: an inside definition of style as production. Style is something that is done, and should be understood in this context. It is negotiable, always "becoming", offering hereby a contrast to previous studies of style as a reading of cultural meanings, as in Dick Hebdige's seminal book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979). "This is fake, this is plastic, this is me," says one informant, demonstrating the complexity of contemporary queer identity making. With such complicated individualism, it is no longer (if it ever was) possible to read meaning over the shoulder of informants. That would be speculative. With his thesis, Warkander offers an alternative path to studying the contemporary – fashion – and demonstrates the mutual interests of ethnologists and fashion scholars, which must have further potential. The Centre for Fashion Studies has good reason to be proud of their first Doctor!

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

The Sparsely Populated North

Elisabeth Wollin Elhouar, Tillhör vi Sveriges framtid? En etnologisk studie av vardag och hållbarhet i norrländsk glesbygd. Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för etnologi, religionshistoria och genusvetenskap, Stockholm 2014. 218 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-052-5.

■ "What does the word 'enough' mean? Is Sweden full? Is Scandinavia full? Are we too many people? […] I often fly over the Swedish countryside. I would recommend others to do so. There are endless fields and forests. There is all the space you can imagine. Those who argue that the country is full, they need to show where it is full."

The words are from an interview with the former Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt in the Danish newspaper *Politiken*, published on 6 December 2014, only a few days before Elisabeth Wollin Elhouar's dissertation was defended. Although by some regarded as a hypocrite, Reinfeldt's famous last words before he lost the election in 2014 were that the Swedes should "open their hearts" to immigrants in need. After that, the rhetoric on immigration changed drastically over almost the whole political spectrum in Sweden, and so did the politics. Although visionary, the mere observation of how much free land there is (and a very non-sustainable requirement of more domestic flying to see for yourself) is not exactly the same as providing a realistic possibility to live there. We will get back to that.

The dissertation "Do we belong to the future of Sweden? An ethnological study of everyday life and sustainability in the sparsely populated northern area" takes a closer look at areas like the ones viewed from the ex-prime minister's aircraft window, and engages in the possibilities and obstacles for living in these places. The dissertation has the purpose to investigate "how social sustainability is

constructed, experienced, practised and perceived in a field of tension between local everyday life and political discourses". This is done by studying everyday action in relation to life experiences and rhetoric about sustainable development.

As a starting point for the project are observations carried out in the municipalities of Strömsund, Gislaved, Örnsköldsvik and Falkenberg. This was part of the Vinnova-sponsored project "Travelling in Rural Areas: Life Circumstances for Women and Men". The main material used for the dissertation, however, consists of interviews with thirteen informants in the municipalities of Strömsund and Örnsköldsvik, and in addition field notes from observations. Furthermore, observations from Gislaved and the municipality of Broken Hill in the Australian outback have also been included and are referred to as secondary data. Newspaper articles, research papers and political documents are used to study the discourse on sustainable development.

Methodological inspiration from hermeneutics and phenomenology is used for the interpretation of the data and Wollin Elhouar's theoretical framework is primarily influenced by phenomenology and constructivism. Central concepts from phenomenology are Alfred Schütz's *lifeworld, provinces of meaning* and *typifications*. Wollin Elhouar is also influenced by Jürgen Habermas's theory of the *system* and more specifically how it "colonizes" the lifeworld by affecting everyday life. To analyse social sustainability, specifically in relation to rural and sparsely populated areas, Wollin Elhouar uses for example the concepts of *policy*, as defined by Chris Shore and Susan Wright (1997). The concepts of *place* and *centre* and *periphery* are used to analyse power structures that affect sparsely populated areas, although it is pointed out that a place can be understood as both centre and periphery, depending on comparison and context.

The dissertation is arranged in five chapters. The introduction is followed by three empirical chapters that are ordered thematically, before the final chapter that holds the concluding discussion. Chapter two, "Space and movement", examines how discourses and policies on sustainability are interpreted in the local reality of the municipalities of Strömsund and Örnsköldsvik. Wollin Elhouar shows how the car is regarded as a necessity for the people living there, and how this collides with a political discussion on sustainability. The empirical material clearly demonstrates how people do not see the bus as an alternative to the car, due to the few departures and general inflexibility. It is mostly regarded as unreasonable for people to subordinate themselves to the bus, which is viewed as impractical and slow – especially for the men, it might be added. Wollin Elhouar states that among the informants it is virtually only the women that use the bus, a point that clearly shows how the possibility for movement is also affected by gender. Most of the women, however, do not have the bus as a part of their everyday life either. The preferred car is used not only for personal transportation but also for work and needed also for the transportation of things, and the chapter clearly shows how the car is both a necessity and a norm. Not having a car can even be grounds for social exclusion, as shown in one of the interviews. This clashes with the official rhetoric where the train and the bus are regarded as the sustainable alternatives. The train is just as irrelevant as the bus, at least for the people in Strömsund; Wollin Elhouar here points to a relevant divide between the centre and the periphery within the studied area, which is marked by the railway, since the main investments in infrastructure have been made on the coastal Bothnia Line and not the Inland Line (which is mainly used for timber and tourists). The interviewees show an awareness of how their car practices are perceived, that they clash with the province of meaning that preaches sustainability. This is therefore challenged by other provinces of meaning, in this case the conditions for everyday life in sparsely populated areas, for which the car is regarded as a rational choice. From a social perspective, the car is therefore the most important maker of sustainability for the locals, Wollin Elhouar argues.

The third chapter, "Work and leisure", also has a focus on the clash of sustainability as a rhetoric and as a practice, but in relation to occupational work. The chapter shows that what is regarded as a meaningful life is often equivalent to a life located in the home village. Because of the few work opportunities in the municipalities the informants expressed gratitude at having a job "at home". Proximity becomes an important value and local companies practice social sustainability by not relocating. However, new technologies also opens up possibilities to bridge geographical distances through the ability to work from home, not least for local entrepreneurs.

This however also requires a dependable infrastructure, here in the form of broadband.

In the fourth chapter, "Time and tempo", the use of time in the studied municipalities is examined. This chapter shows how the interviewees relate to the discussion about the countryside as slow and old-fashioned and how this has an actual influence on how they perceive themselves. The interviewees distance themselves from the fast urban pace and associate "urban time" with stress. Slowness can thus be used for business as a specific value, for example through tourism specifically designed for stressed city dwellers. The image of rural areas as slow and the inevitable effect of otherization in that sense, however, also contributes to the exclusion of these areas from the discourses of sustainability. The people living there can also experience a feeling of unfairness in terms of time control, due to the lack of infrastructure, for example.

In the final chapter Wollin Elhouar summarizes her conclusions, a central point of departure being that social sustainability is about people's possibilities to live where they wish to live. Sparsely populated areas are not at the centre of the discussion on sustainability, however, which is instead focused on urban lifestyles. Political priorities effect the lives of citizens – for example when money is spent on Bothnia Line but not on bus communications, politicians contribute to a process of peripherication of the inland, only those who live by the coast or close to the railway stations can be classified as central rural dwellers. The inland dwellers are then left with practically no other option than the car. In the remote areas there are also few work opportunities but the concluding discussion emphasizes the change brought by digital communication, although more broadband investments are still needed. The importance of also stressing the social dimension of sustainability is mentioned once more; this can mean, for example, that the car must be regarded as sustainable, but it can also mean that "slowness" in itself can be experienced as a meaningful value.

The dissertation naturally places itself in the field of sustainable development and within the critical perspective that explores power relations between urban and rural areas. In a Swedish context, sparsely populated areas, and everyday life there, have been studied before, not least by several ethnologists (e.g. Agnidakis 2013; Blehr 1994; Hansen 1998; Nordin 2007; Daun 1969; Forsberg 2010; Frykman & Hansen 2009; Rosengren 1991; Vallström *et al.* 2014). In a global framework, the dissertation can also be linked to the study of place and how periphery is marginalized, as explored for example by Rob Shields (1992), Chris Philo (1997) and Paul J. Cloke and Jo Little (1997).

The theoretical framework, although somewhat diverse, drives the analysis forward. The clear structure of the dissertation is also helpful in this: the thematic organization of the chapters is an excellent choice. A strength of the dissertation lies in the ethnographic material, the quotations from the interviews reveal a thorough ethnographic fieldwork. Some methodological choices could however have been further evaluated, a longer discussion about the choice to include the material from Australia, and its role in the analysis could have been rewarding, for example.

Something that makes the dissertation highly relevant is that, from a Swedish perspective, it touches upon one of the most demanding contemporary questions for social sustainability; where should we all live? It has been said in the political debate that housing equivalent to a new Million Homes Programme is needed, but no one seems to want to repeat exactly that.

Sweden reached a demographic turning point when an equal amount of people lived in rural and urban areas in the 1930s. In the 1960s the Million Homes Programme, combined with a special resettlement allowance that was paid to those who moved closer to jobs, further contributed to the migration to the cities. Now, the Swedish urbanization movement is basically completed, the increase in the urban population has slowed down and the rural population in terms of absolute numbers is no longer declining, according to the latest figures from Statistics Sweden. The largest migratory flows from the countryside are not to the big cities but to towns with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. In fact, between 2010 and 2015 more people moved from a big city to the countryside than vice versa. Immigration, together with the large number of births in urban areas are the main factors that are driving population growth in the cities.

Let us return to the former prime minister's aircraft window. Yes, there is undoubtedly a lot of space in Sweden. But as Wollin Elhouar's closer look points out, the experiences of the people that live in the sparsely populated areas are that they struggle to live their lives there *in spite* of the some-

times poor infrastructure, not because of helpful politicians. The dissertation confirms that interviewees unsurprisingly do not live in these areas because they have no other options, but because they really want to. It seems like a decent idea to make these areas more convenient for the people who already live there, but also to make them more attractive for those who would like to, if they could.

We cannot all be entrepreneurs in wildlife tourism, or toy store owners, like the two self-employed interviewees in the dissertation, neither can we all be the IT entrepreneurs turned bakers, who open fancy pizza restaurants in the woods, or the artists that are turning abandoned school houses into ateliers, who often attract media attention. But other places than the big cities are also attractive to families with children that get more value for their money there than in the city and anyone, really, who for various reasons simply prefers the life in these areas. Increased accessibility and thereby increased attraction would also create a further need for local jobs in health care, education and so on. Other than that, a changed job market combined with new technology will, as Wollin Elhouar hints, probably make it an option for a lot more people than today to work from home one or two days a week. New technology such as fossil-fuel-free cars might even silence the persistent complaints about people driving and polluting too much in the countryside. With a growing population combined with a decreased urbanization, and one of our most acute sustainability issues being housing, especially in the city regions, many signs indicate that the areas studied in this dissertation most certainly belong to future of Sweden – at least if they are given a reliable infrastructural connection to the rest of it. Wollin Elhouar's dissertation shows the importance of understanding the everyday motivations and needs of people living in sparsely populated areas, instead of turning them into exotic, unsustainable "Others".

Lisa Wiklund, Stockholm

Feelings of Belonging on the Costa del Sol

Annie Woube, Finding One's Place. An Ethnological Study of Belonging among Swedish Migrants on the Costa del Sol in Spain. Etnolore 35, Uppsala universitet 2014. 209 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-506-2424-3.

■ Swedes living permanently on the Costa del Sol is the subject of Annie Woube's PhD thesis, *Finding One's Place,* which was defended at Uppsala University in 2014. Woube carried out fieldwork among Swedes in Fuengirola, Spain, during various periods over a year, and her work on this contributes to the field known as *lifestyle migration*. Woube works with theoretical notions of *diaspora*, *being* and *belonging*, *orientation*, and *translocational positionality*. Her approach is phenomenological, which involves a reflexive methodology, where she brings in her own impressions and senses, contributing to the interpretations all along. Woube aims to investigate: "How a collectivity of Swedes is made significant and valuable in creating feelings of belonging" (p. 23).

The theoretical concepts are presented in the initial chapter, and in chapter two some of the persons interviewed are presented and interpreted by way of narrative analysis with a specific focus upon their "migration narratives". Woube applies narrative methods from folklore and phenomenology; tools such as turning points, temporal positions, and Sarah Ahmed's metaphor of "orientation". This is fertilized with theories of modern identity, indicating that the interviewees are presenting ideals of a modern and reflexive middle-class individual, aiming to present oneself in a narrative of success and independent behaviour. From the individual, narrative identity Woube moves on to investigate how the interviewed Swedes in Spain, by means of practices in their everyday life, construct a collective belonging and identification while positioning themselves in a variety of ways in relation to images of otherness. The construction of the "other" can be targeted at other Swedes, at immigrants from Africa, as well as towards Spaniards. Most of the Swedish lifestyle migrants differentiate their identities and positions by comparison with Swedes living in Sweden, but since they consider Sweden to represent a superior nation state in an international perspective, they also configure themselves to be on the top of a hierarchical position among different groups living and acting on the Costa del Sol.

Home-making is important for lifestyle migrants as well as for so many others, because it is a creation of a place to feel safe, secure and relaxed; a place where one can feel at ease. Woube shows how they create a transnational belonging, both to the place where they are living concurrently and to their for-

mer homeland, Sweden. They connect with their own past, homeland, and social networks in Sweden with the help of material entities such as foodways, IT communication, furniture etc. This is an embodied process of maintaining familiarity, but simultaneously they are also embodying belonging to their current host land, because daily rhythms and practices help them in creating a reorientation, integrating a translocational positionality. When it comes to the feeling of belonging and connection to the homeland, Sweden, the positions among the interviewees differ as well. With the phenomenological approach Annie Woube shows that practices of embodiment are important in creating and/or maintaining a strong connection to the homeland, but also that some people do not need this in reality, since modern technology such as the Internet and Skype can also enable persons to be "distantly present" in their homeland Sweden while sitting on their balcony on the Costa del Sol. Some of the interviewees also show a concern for close relatives living in Sweden; older parents who may need company or help from their adult children, who are now living on the Costa del Sol.

In their migration life Swedes abroad share the condition of being away from their homeland and living in a new host land. They are not fully part of one or the other place, but belong to both. Therefore, this double belonging is celebrated and ritualized in several ways in order to emphasize and enforce the social community among the migrated Swedes; they arrange various events of more or less national character in order to meet, such as a "hat parade", Christmas traditions and so on. The idea of their common translocal positionality is a significant phenomenon in migration life.

Lifestyle migration is not yet a very common topic in migration studies, which is also the case with studies of the closely connected field of international retirement migration, although the latter focuses on the elderly population only. In her studies, Annie Woube does not so much reveal new findings, compared to previous studies on these subjects, but she delves deep into analyses of emplacement, the plurilocational belonging by means of materiality and narratives, which makes her study very interesting and reveals how ethnology can contribute to this field of studies. The involvement of reflexivity and the author's senses and impressions are valuable help in understanding the lives of these migrants. Several interesting issues are touched upon in the book, which this review does not allow space to mention. One of them, however, is the theme of a hierarchy of a global power order, where Sweden is marked in a superior position due to its welfare system, providing a "transnational capital" according to the interviewees and the author. This is mentioned intermittently in several chapters of the book, and it is a very interesting and important perspective in a societal and international context. It would have been very stimulating to have a more thorough and focused analysis of this statement and its implications on a societal as well as a personal level for the migrants and the interrelationships between the two countries regarding societal responsibilities for services such as economy, social services, health and medicine. Woube's material, the interviewed persons, represent all ages, but the focus of interest is not really on aspects in everyday life which involve problems where one is dependent on specific societal services, in other words, when illness or old age require intervention or help from social networks or from society.

This means that a few a statements posed by the author may be questioned, because the material does not really reveal a documentation of the fact, for instance that "Swedish migrants live within a context of relative affluence, where material border crossing is a simple and taken-for-granted practice of transnationality" (p. 127), and that they "do not only have the privilege to choose their residence, but also the privilege and the resources to return to their home country, whenever their adventure abroad has come to an end" (p. 65). This may be the case among the relatively little group of Swedes permanently living in Fuengirola who are interviewed here, but does it imply that this can be generalized to apply to all Swedish lifestyle migrants? From my studies among Danish international retirement migrants living in different places, under different economic and social circumstances, and representing widely varying health status, such a statement would exclude migrants who are in a bad state concerning one or more of these life situations – even though they come from a Nordic welfare state. An example of this from my recent fieldwork in 2015 among Danish retired migrants is a demented Danish woman placed at a Spanish nursing home in Torres de Mar, where she spends every day from dawn to dusk in a

living room with 20−25 demented Spanish inhabitants, some of them screaming and shouting, some of them wandering around, picking up imaginary dirt on the floor. This Danish woman used to be a lifestyle migrant; now she is literally tied to her wheelchair with cords holding her arms to the chair; this adds new aspects of "belonging" to the situation of being a Scandinavian migrant on the Costa del Sol. Migrants like this woman may not have the means, access or possibility to return to their homeland, no matter what their desires.

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Copenhagen

Book Reviews

When Industry Becomes Heritage

Når industrisamfunnet blir verdensarv. Hans Jakob Ågotnes, Randi Barndon, Asbjørn Engevik & Torunn Selberg (eds.). Spartacus Forlag / Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2014. 274 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-304-0110-1.

■ The focus of this book is the processes through which sites become heritage sites. Especially how the near past is transformed into heritage is always a highly complex issue. Several of the articles in the volume are inspiring and very refreshing contributions to critical heritage literature.

The volume contains ten very different articles on the subject. The "photo essay" by Karen Kipphoff is very powerful and gives the reader a sense both of a derelict area and of an idyllic preserved area. The book is based on a seminar "Global Heritage – local context" which took place in Odda in Hardanger in August 2012. The setting was the local smelting plant, *Odda Smelteværk,* which went bankrupt in 2003 and ever since there has been a strong debate locally about the future of this former smeltery. Some argue that the decommissioned industrial buildings should immediately be turned into a World Heritage Site. Others argue that they cannot see themselves as part of a heritage tourist site. The community remains severely divided on the issue and due to the many disagreements the future of this area is still not decided in 2015. All arguments for and against are very well described in Randi Bårtvedt's article.

A key theme of the book is how the designation of a heritage site is nearly always a social or political statement. Torunn Selberg reminds us in her article that the change of Odda from a small rural village to an industrial city around 100 years ago also was a huge transformation and a subject of local debate at the time. Changing the identity of an area will always cause conflicts and discussions. Selberg also describes the example of how the pilgrim route in Norway, which was forbidden to use after the Reformation and largely forgotten until 1990, became a world heritage site. It was a highly political project, and part of the formal Norwegian argument put forward for the site to become world heritage was that the pilgrim route represents continuity. As this case concerned the distant past, the use of heritage did not cause many political discussions.

The article by Roger Stand and Rønnaug Indregaard outlines the fascinating story of the small village of Bjerkvik and the recent collective memory. In 1940 at the Hartvikvannet eleven German transport planes of "Junker 52" type sank through the ice. Four were raised in 1986 by a German recovery group, and after many years of opposition and emotional discussions of the heritage of World War II the planes were never exhibited in Bjerkvik but transported to Tromsø. Bjerkvik was almost destroyed by the bombardment of artillery from allied warships that caused significant civilian casualties at the beginning of World War II. Therefore the local living memory of the Allies is more ambivalent than in the rest of Norway.

Other examples from the volume could have been mentioned. In general, however, the authors of the book are interested in the political processes behind heritage sites. These sites are not born to be heritage. They become "world" heritage sites due to strong political wishes. The book can be seen as part of the "heritage crusade" debate, referring to the critical heritage literature by David Lowenthal, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Jan Turtinen, etc. The heritage crusade has not become less relevant since David Lowenthal wrote his first book in 1985, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. This is also relevant when dealing with the recent past which is still in living memory.

The World Heritage List now includes 1,031 sites all over the world. When sites are nominated for the list the formal supporting arguments are always clear, simple, and non-controversial. It could be interesting to see an international comparison of the local discussions preceding the nomination of a site for the World Heritage List. What were the arguments locally when the Ruhr district was transformed and the coal mine and coke furnace Zollverein was nominated for the list? Or the arguments locally behind the nomination of the town Blaenavon in Wales, which grew out of an iron, steel and coal industry?

For those interested in aspects of preserving the near past it is a highly relevant book with all the important nuances of the political discussion behind heritage. Chapters of the book could very well be used by both teachers and practitioners and

not only in the Association of Critical Heritage Studies.
Bobo Krabbe Magid, Copenhagen

Mumming and Masks in Denmark

Maske og forklædning i Danmark. Inge Adriansen & Carsten Bregenhøj (eds.). Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014. 410 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7124-139-6.

■ In recent years, the scholarly interest in masks and mumming customs has increased. For example, from 1999 to 2002 several ethnologists and folklorists took part in a large documentation and research project about masks and mumming traditions. The project leaders, Carsten Bregenhøj and Terry Gunnell, have helped to revitalize the study of the traditions; the former not least with his ground- breaking book *Helligtrekongersløb på Agersø: Socialt, statistisk og strukturelt* (1974) and the latter for example with his thesis *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (1995). Gunnell also edited the book *Masks and Mumming in Nordic Area* (2002), 850 pages about Nordic masks and mumming traditions.

Together with Inge Adriansen (Museum Sønderjylland, Sønderborg Slot), Carsten Bregenhøj is now one of the editors, and main authors, of the book *Maske og forklædning i Danmark* ("Mumming and Disguise in Denmark"), published by Aarhus University Press. The book consists of 32 articles. A range of different traditions and perspectives on the traditions are discussed. The examined time span is wide: there are contributions concerning the Viking Age as well as the present day. While there are many international comparisons, the focus is on masks and mumming customs in Denmark, in various parts of the country and in different social strata. The contributions differ in character. Most of the writers are researchers but some of the texts are written by people outside academia. For example, in some of the essays the organizers and participants describe their own experiences of the customs.

A wide range of masks and mumming traditions are presented and analysed in the book. Written descriptions and images tell of Christmas goats, Santa Claus figures and Twelfth Night mumming. Other contributions deal with court masquerades and different kinds of Shrovetide mumming. A strength of the book is that the editors have not limited themselves to (supposedly) "old Danish traditions"; instead there are also articles dealing with, for example, line-crossing ceremonies ("Equatorial baptism"), stag and hen parties, and contemporary carnivals. Traditions connected to the last day in school, Halloween and the Jewish festival of Purim are likewise discussed in separate articles. There are also more thematic texts in the book, for example about masks in art and advertising, masks and eroticism, the history of banning masks and the manufacturing of modern latex masks.

Unlike *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, which in many respects is written by researchers for researchers, the editors of *Maske og forklædning i Danmark* have aimed at reaching the interested public as well. The book is well written, beautifully designed and very richly illustrated while neither references nor theoretical discussions are missing. As a reader one is struck by the wealth of imagination, by the customs as creative expressions in the borderland between playfulness and seriousness. Overall, the book also effectively conveys the traditions as social phenomena, how the activities contribute to a sense of belonging and community but also the opposite. As the book deals with masks and mumming customs from the Viking Age to the present day, many of the authors also discuss – directly or indirectly – the interplay between continuity and change; it is undeniable that many of the traditions have a long history although traditions like these always reflect their time and the participants' values, hopes and fears. In short, *Maske og forklædning i Danmark* is a highly valuable source both for a knowledge of the traditions and for inspiration for future practitioners.
Fredrik Skott, Göteborg

The Gyrfalcon Trade

Sigurður Ægisson, Icelandic Trade with Gyrfalcons. From Medieval Times to the Modern Era. Self-published, Siglufjörður 2015. 98 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-9979-72-762-0.

■ Birds are not just a concern for birdwatching nerds and cruisers, as we are sometimes led to believe; there are great many other, perhaps more exciting, aspects of bird-human relations, besides the broad interest as cultural history. Different forms of

hunting and trapping belong here. Hunting with the aid of birds of prey, however, is rare in Nordic tradition, although there are archaeological finds from the Viking Age testifying to the occasional keeping of hawks here, which were perhaps even used for hunting. But there is little evidence for this. Instead the Nordic countries have supplied falconers, on the Continent and in early times even more distant customers, with young birds of prey. Gyrfalcons especially (a bird of kings according to the *Boke of Seynt Albans* from 1486, while princes had to content themselves with peregrine falcons) were highly esteemed. They were trained and then had to serve as helpers in hunting. The art of falconry goes back a very long way and is described in ancient sources. During the Middle Ages it was widespread in many parts of Europe. Falconry is often regarded as a pursuit of the aristocracy and the ruling classes, a status symbol and a form of entertainment for people who could spend their wealth and who also had access to open landscape in which to hunt. The royal house of Denmark developed the institution of falconry in the sixteenth century through purchasing, training, and hunting. Falconry, however, means not just owning, tending, and hunting with falcons; the birds also had to come from somewhere, and there is a long chain of fascinating aspects, involving local knowledge, trapping, trade, care of the birds, and early internationalization. This is where the West Norse area comes in. The gyrfalcon, which is still one of the most popular and most expensive species in the sport of falconry, has a northern, circumpolar distribution, occurring all year round in mountains and on tundra. The demand for gyrfalcons from the high north developed early on, and medieval accounts mention the Nordic birds in positive terms. White gyrfalcons were the most highly prized. The twelfth-century author Giraldus Cambrensis (*c.* 1146 – *c.* 1223) states that the gyrfalcons from "Yslandia" are the best that can be obtained. In a chivalrous romance about Guy of Warwick from the fourteenth century we read that a milk-white gyrfalcon was the dream of every king. When the successful Ottoman warrior, Sultan Beyazit I, in 1396 captured the son of Philip II of Burgundy he demanded, and received, as a ransom twelve white gyrfalcons.

In Norway and Sweden too, gyrfalcons were caught for the international market. Interesting evidence of this comes from the young Linnaeus in his account of a journey to the Särna mountains in 1734, where he quotes interesting testimony about Dutch falcon catchers who came to the area each year to acquire new falcons. It was an old tradition, and one can say that it persists – illegally – in our own times. The desirability of falcons from Norway and western Sweden on the Continent has previously been considered by Olav Bø in *Studia Norvegica* 1962 and Gunnar Tillander in *Fornvännen* 1964. Since the Middle Ages, however, Iceland has been more important for the demand for good gyrfalcons on the Continent and in western Asia, as we see from Giraldus. This trapping and trade is now thoroughly examined in a recent monograph by the versatile ethnozoologist, ethnologist, ornithologist, and priest, Sigurður Ægisson, who has already authored a number of fascinating books about birds, cryptozoological creatures, and whales. As usual when it comes to Sigurður, it is a well-written and well-documented book he presents.

Sigurður describes in nine chapters the detailed history of Icelandic falcon catching and falcon export, with many illustrations and with information that has previously received little attention. He starts with a survey of the tricky taxonomy of the species, as well as the vernacular names in the languages of Europe, particularly the Germanic and West Norse designations. This is followed by an account of the gyrfalcon's biology and distribution. The background to the Icelandic trade in gyrfalcons is given a separate chapter – the export appears to have begun to develop as early as the mid tenth century – and it was initially a very expensive commodity. This is followed by a discussion of the difficult question of whether white gyrfalcons were always from Greenland, reaching the Continent via Iceland. In fact, it was normally Icelandic white falcons that were traded. An Arabic source from the thirteenth century states that the Sultan of Egypt bought white falcons that came from Iceland, and Olaus Magnus depicted a white falcon (*falco albi*) in northern Iceland on his *Carta Marina* 1539. Such expensive commodities, of course, needed much care and concern. Special aviaries were established in Iceland to house them before they were exported. At the beginning of the nineteenth century falcons were still being sent from Iceland to the courts of Portugal and Russia. Trade actually continued, but by now it was unofficial and unlawful. The significance of the gyrfalcon trade in Iceland is also evident from the part the birds played as symbols in heraldry and other contexts. Place

names too still bear witness to the importance of the gyrfalcon in cultural history. The bibliography in the book is as good as exhaustive.

This is a fascinating history that goes beyond local ornithology and Icelandic matters. White gyrfalcons have continued to fascinate the world. It may be mentioned here that there were plans in Nazi Germany to set out white gyrfalcons, and in 1938 the Hermann Göring Foundation therefore financed an expedition to western Greenland in order to study the species. Five white Greenland falcons were brought back by the expedition to Germany where they were kept in an "Arctic" experimental station in the Riesengebirge in Bohemia. The war, however, put a stop to the continued experiment (Göring, incidentally, is also said to have bought gyrfalcons from Bohuslän, see *Fornvännen* 1964, p. 135). And just a few decades ago, crafty bird poachers came to Iceland to steal gyrfalcon eggs to smuggle out so that they could sell the young to rich customers in the Arabian peninsula. Modern systems to monitor nesting birds can effectively prevent this today. Nowadays white gyrfalcons are often smuggled out of Kamchatka and on to the international market. According to current information, the price is over $10,000 each. The ones that are sold in Germany, however, were probably reared there.

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Swedish Songs in Finland

Modersmålets sånger. Finlands svenskheter framställda genom musik. Johannes Brusila, Pirkko Moisala & Hanna Väätäinen (eds.). Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 801. Folklivsstudier XXIII, Helsinki 2015. 289 pp. ISBN 978-951-583-340-2. 289.

■ This volume containing six studies is something of a horn of plenty as regards both the musical culture of the Finland Swedes and ethnomusicological method in general. In the introduction the editors mention an impressive number of previous research reports on the topic (many of which are doctoral dissertations) from different geographical areas, musical genres, and club activities where the language issue is the shared foundation. Swedes in Sweden may find it difficult to imagine that language can have such great significance as a dividing factor in all musical subcultures and genres in Finland. There is still discussion today, for example, about Jean Sibelius's linguistic ability and cultural affiliation, although he himself never felt any conflict between his linguistic identities, but according to his biographer Erik Tawaststjerna he has "become a pawn in the increasingly bitter language battle".

There is not room enough here to describe or comment on the often highly detailed studies in this volume, which all devote considerable space to the methods employed. For ethnomusicologists in the other Nordic countries the most rewarding parts of "Songs in the Mother Tongue" are the new readings and expanded explanatory models applying the latest theories in anthropology and ethnology. What the articles have in common is that they regard Swedishness in Finland as a diverse range of imagined communities, and they are based on theories such as constructionism, neomaterialism, and imagology. Sometimes that aspect takes over, especially when the theorists who dominate the texts – Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari with their not always easily comprehensible terminology – become the main premise on which the concrete examples are judged and ordered. The authors often use the term *musikande* or "musicking" to denote any activity to do with music; besides playing and singing this means also speaking, writing, reading, dancing, and so on, along with the audiovisual and bodily dimensions of music.

One example is Hanna Väätäinen's study, the title of which means "Swedish features in a woman's music, dance, and verbal narration about disability". This is a report based on what was formerly called participant observation but has now been developed via Guattari's "rhizome perspective". The author has not only interviewed her sight-impaired mother but has also played, danced, and talked with her to be able to explain in detail her mother's perception of herself as a sight-impaired Finland-Swedish individual, not a representative of one or other category. The interviews covered her mother's musical experiences as a whole, the sounds and silences, the family background, and many other memories. The study, according to Väätäinen, is an example of a combination of scholarly and artistic work, of interest to ethnology in general. But I lack a reflection on the ethical aspects of the method, since the researcher and the informant are so close to each other.

Another example is Pia Maria Ahlbäck's imagological study (also printed here in English), "Step-

ping out of the Tune", which examines Arvid Mörne's poem *Sjömansvisa* (better known as "Båklandets vackra Maja", put to music by Hanna Hagbom in 1906). The song has attained almost iconic status as a symbol of Finland-Swedishness, but it has also been in the repertoire of many Swedish singers such as Harry Brandelius and Fred Åkerström. The study is in places a complicated discussion of the relationship between text and music (the pictures and conceptions that are aroused or excluded when the poem is just read or sung), and of Mörne's images of women in the archipelago. "The transformation of a work of verbal art, a poem on a page in a collection of poems, into a song that has set its stamp on a specific culture to such an extent that 'everyone' knows it, requires analytical tools that are out of the ordinary," the author declares.

In "Two Troubadours from Åbo" Niklas Nyqvist, applying an imagological outlook, distinguishes four central motif cycles in Finland-Swedish ballads (archipelago romanticism, nostalgia, universally applicable culture, and a fantasy or fairytale landscape like Moominvalley) and discusses the images of Swedishness in the songs of the troubadours Tom Gardberg and Olle Söderholm. Ros-Mari Djupsund's "Singing in three places in Swedish-speaking Finland" is a more traditional study in the sociology of music, based on 224 questionnaire responses from the municipalities of Kökar (Swedish-speaking), Korsholm (71% Swedish-speaking), and the city of Esbo, along with a number of interviews. Not unexpectedly, she notes that choral singing is an important identity-creating trademark and a uniting link for Finland's Swedes. The tendency to sing in a group increases with age, but many people also sing alone, in the shower, in the car, or at the computer.

Johannes Brusila's text on major/minor keys in relation to danceband music and territory is a highly detailed study following the model of Deleuze and Guattari, and the result can be simplified thus: major = Finland-Swedish, minor = Finnish. In the background there are reflections on a "Finish national soul", expressed in the central themes of folksongs, loneliness and sorrow, and the differing popularity of major and minor keys in Sweden and Finland. In extreme cases this has even been linked to genetic factors, the idea that folk tunes in minor keys could be associated with the occurrence of cardiovascular diseases or a predisposition to pessimism. At bottom, however, this surely has to do with social constructions of ethnicity, that is, maintaining a distinction between "us" and "them". The article describes in detail the growth of major-chord dance music in different mixed forms, exemplified by the Österbotten danceband Charlies.

Pirkko Moisala, in "The (Finland-Swedish) Life that Music Enables", discusses the relationship of Swedish speakers to their Finland-Swedishness via 32 musical life stories (according to Deleuze's model) submitted in response to a call in the periodical *Källan* 2007. The author also refers to similar Nordic studies by scholars such as Even Ruud, Thomas Bossius & Lars Lilliestam, and Alf Gabrielsson. Besides the musical choices of the respondents, she also discusses thoughts, values, and meanings associated with music. As illustrations to the analysis there are quotations ("verbal pictures") from the narratives. The author observes that they "confirm the diversity of lifestyles, cultural practices, and tastes that occur among the Swedish-speaking population in Finland" and that using the language is scarcely enough to make a person belong to a group − there must be music too. She notes that "the songs *Slumrande toner* and *Modersmålets sång,* which in an earlier phase of history helped to construct the Finland-Swedish identity, can still evoke a powerful atmosphere when sung today". But she also notes that it can cause some listeners to feel distance, anxiety, and a sense of suffocation if they find this kind of Finland-Swedishness alien to them. The concept of "territorialization" occurs here, as in several other articles, in the sense of fixing or fencing in an area: "Music as something abstract is thus, in Deleuzian philosophy, a force that can create territorial environments while it can simultaneously also change and open new lines of flight with the new impressions offered by this process. In this way music is a part of coming into existence."

What is most interesting for readers in Sweden is thus perhaps not primarily the details of the musicking of Finland Swedes but the insight into how personal and collective identities are created and manifested with the aid of a particular musical genre. And − not least of all − that both identities and expressions are mobile and changeable, especially in today's media flow. But it ought to be possible to apply the same explanatory models to all musical identities, whether they have accompanied us since childhood or have been acquired via media, and re-

gardless of whether one chooses to be a Wagnerian, hard rocker, gospel singer, techno fan… you name it.

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Borderland Architecture

Peter Dragsbo, Arkitektur til grænsen – Arkitektur og nation i europæiske grænselande 1850–1940. Museum Sønderjylland, Sønderborg Slot 2014. 336 pp. Ill. Deutsche Zusammenfassung. ISBN 978-87-87375-28-3.

■ Peter Dragsbo, the author of this book on borderland architecture, has for many years been head curator at Museum Sønderjylland in the Danish-German borderland. Dragsbo has thus been able to observe border buildings in a way that might not be possible for many other researchers. One can speculate about how significant geographical location is for the development of a research perspective. In *Arkitektur til grænsen* Dragsbo raises his gaze far above narrow national horizons and views the history of architecture from a truly international stance, yet with a regional foundation. The object of his study is buildings in border zones between different states in Europe. The interpretations give us a much deeper understanding of the complicated history associated with the development of architecture in Europe between 1850 and 1940.

Among the places Dragsbo takes us to, there are regions in Poland, Denmark, and France which were a part of the German Empire in the period 1871−1919. The development of architecture in the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy and the Russian Empire is also considered. The varied expressions of architecture in different border zones are related to political events, the language of power, ideology, and the shaping of national and regional identity. The political-ideological legitimation of power has created the framework for the architectural idiom.

Architecture and power have been associated with each other since before classical times. During the absolutist era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the monarchs' claim to power ultimately rested on the belief that they ruled by the grace of God. These beliefs began to change in much of Europe after the French Revolution. The monarchies generally persisted, but the power of the rulers was curtailed by parliamentary constitutions.

Constitutional government was closely associated with liberal ideas about power ultimately being legitimated through the people. But the question was, who were the people? The romantic notion that a shared ethnicity and language constituted the foundation for what characterized a people played an important part here. The encounter and union of the ideals of liberalism and romanticism gave birth to nineteenth-century nationalism. In the first half of the nineteenth century nationalism was in many respects a radical movement that was not infrequently in conflict with conservative monarchists and absolutists. The popular revolts that flared in the 1830s and 1840s paved the way for the breakthrough of constitutional government in much of Europe. Nationalism and the emerging nation states stood for something new and revolutionary in the mid nineteenth century rather than something conservative. We should bear this in mind today when nationalism is chiefly associated with conservatism. Dragsbo's historical account begins in the 1850s. History and heritage at this time were important instruments for legitimizing political power. People sought folk communities in the past. Innovative architecture and design invoked attributes associated with perceived historical community.

In several chapters Dragsbo has a particular focus on architecture in Poznań, Schleswig-Holstein/South Jutland, and Alsace-Lorraine. These provinces were within the boundaries of the German Empire between 1871 and 1919. The populations here were ethically mixed and there were large groups of German speakers in all three. When borders in Europe were redrawn after the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, most of these areas ended up outside Germany. Dragsbo cites a long series of interesting examples to illustrate how a power struggle was fought, with the aid of architecture, between the German Empire and the Polish, Danish, and French population groups. This struggle is still plain to be seen today in the buildings dating from the period from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1910s.

One of the many examples that Dragsbo adduces is from Metz. Here we find one of the most monumental buildings from the Wilhelmine era in Alsace-Lorraine, namely, the central station in Metz. It was built in Romanesque style, alluding to the early Middle Ages when the first German imperial dynasties dominated politics in Central Europe. The architect Jürgen Kröger's original suggestion was that the

station should be built in pure *Jugendstil*. Kaiser Wilhelm II's personal view, however, was that the station should be given a much more distinct historic style evoking the German Middle Ages. The station was therefore built in a style that satisfied the Kaiser's wishes. Wealthy French individuals and families likewise had imposing buildings constructed, but they instead borrowed elements from French history. Moreover, Dragsbo has found several interesting quotations from the architectural debate of the time, shedding light on the political struggle between French and German. In French-language newspapers from Alsace-Lorraine, for example, buildings in German style could be described as "chocolate palaces". When the new Protestant Garrison Church in Strasbourg was mentioned in a German periodical in 1898 the article said: "this is where the Germanic tribes assemble for mutual protection and defence". The author also shows how nationalistically inspired architecture developed in Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, and particularly in Poznań after the new boundaries were drawn after the First World War.

Dragsbo chiefly focuses his analysis on the tensions between the dominant population groups. In this context it could also have been worth considering, for example, the architecture associated with the Jewish population. The big synagogue at quai Kléber in Strasbourg which was completed in 1898 and destroyed by the Nazis in 1941 could have been interesting in this connection. It was designed by the architect Ludwig Lewy and built in a distinctly German neo-Romanesque style. It was erected at the time of the Dreyfus affair when anti-Semitism was strong in France. Was it an expression of solidarity with the German Empire?

In another chapter Dragsbo discusses the case of South Tyrol. Austria-Hungary had been defeated by Prussia and Italy in 1866, when Venice was one of the places incorporated in the kingdom of Italy that had been formed in 1861. Several of the new Italian provinces had formerly belonged to the Habsburg dual monarchy. The vast majority of the population in these regions, however, had Italian as their mother tongue. After the First World War the formerly Austrian province of South Tyrol was awarded to Italy. Since a large share of the population was German-speaking, the province was subjected to intensive Italianization under Benito Mussolini's fascist rule. Here too architecture became a crucial instrument in marking an Italian identity. Buildings were often given a classicist form with stylized allusions to ancient Rome, which was typical of the fascist aesthetic. Yet no historically inspired Tyrolean counter-architecture can be discerned here. The political scope for achieving anything of the kind was limited. Dragsbo thinks that certain modernistically inspired buildings may be viewed as examples of this. The hypothesis is hard to prove, however. There are several examples of stylistically pure modernist architecture, totally shorn of historical references to the fascist movement. The highly modernist aesthetic was likewise well rooted in the fascist idiom. In his analysis of architecture in South Tyrol Dragsbo continues the reasoning in today's political tensions and shows how the cultural heritage is used by neo-fascist Italian movements. Questions about history, heritage, and ethnic identity are still sensitive in today's Europe, as the author discusses in several chapters.

Dragsbo clearly shows how historically inspired architecture was used for national identity construction and political purposes in disputed border zones with different population groups in Europe during the period 1850−1940. The author's analysis is multi-levelled. He does not simplify history by letting it appear solely as a struggle between different fixed national identities. The regional dimension is also brought into the discussion. In what Dragsbo calls a *hjemstavnsstil*, the style of the regional homeland, it was above all the more locally rooted historical forms of buildings that were highlighted. These were in contrast to the national romantic styles that often attained a very wide geographical spread, such as the neo-Gothic style of Mark Brandenburg in northern Germany. The ideas for the regional styles that gained popularity in architecture in the 1890s and the years before the First World War are traced by Dragsbo back to the British Arts and Crafts movement.

Dragsbo points out how the Arts and Crafts movement was a reaction to the rapid industrial changes that took place in the nineteenth century. The movement was more or less directly influenced by the social and economic critique that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels aimed at the new mode of production. Engels lived in England in the 1840s and was able to see the negative side of industrialism, partly through his visits to the slums of Manchester. In the book *The Condition of the Working Class in*

England, published in 1845, he recorded his observations. The designer William Morris, who laid the foundation for the Arts and Crafts movement together with the art historian John Ruskin, sought to combine social commitment with ideas about cultural conservation, the revival of traditional handicrafts, and healthy housing environments. Dragsbo shows in this book how the ideas of the Arts and Crafts movement were widely disseminated on the Continent, partly in the form of garden cities. The houses in these garden cities were often designed in regional styles. The garden cities, like the regional homeland styles, are closely associated with the *Jugendstil*. One of the most important Danish *Jugendstil* architects, Anton Rosen, for example, drew the plans for the first garden city in Denmark, Gerthasminde in Odense. Dragsbo emphasizes that the *Jugendstil* and art nouveau flourished in Europe's regional cities, such as Barcelona in Catalonia, Glasgow in Scotland, and Munich in Bavaria, and in the border zones of the big countries, more so than in the capital cities. One exception here is Vienna, but the Habsburg Empire was really polycentric; Vienna could be regarded as one of many capital cities in this mosaic of nations. *Jugendstil* and the regional homeland styles can therefore be viewed as a reaction to the centralist tendencies of the nation states.

Dragsbo's analyses in *Arkitektur til grænsen* sweep away taken-for-granted ideas about centre and periphery. The book moreover demonstrates how the intricate interplay between architecture and politics was enacted during a time of upheaval in Europe. This is a book that deserves to become a standard work.

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Everyday Life

Billy Ehn, Orvar Löfgren and Richard Wilk, Exploring Everyday Life: Strategies for Ethnography and Cultural Studies. Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland 2016. 152 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-0-7591-2406-6.

■ In *Exploring Everyday Life: Strategies for Ethnography and Cultural Studies,* Swedish ethnologists Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren with American anthropologist Richard Wilk, aim to reveal that 'everyday life' is more strange, interesting and important than often assumed – that it is 'full of … topics as unknown as the deep sea or outer space'. They want to show how this realm can be 'explored', its hidden depths discovered, described, and, perhaps, explained. Their text [covering some of the same ground as Ehn and Löfgren's *Kulturanalytiska Verktyg*] will interest the general reader. But it is principally directed at students – 'When you have just a month for producing an essay or an outline of a PhD dissertation, the advice and examples in this book will help you, from finding initial ideas for a topic to writing the finished product.'

Before considering the book's effectiveness as a 'how to do it' manual however, let's first ask how well it makes the case that 'everyday life' is worth investigating. Maybe it's a surprise that this key concept isn't specifically defined. What the student/reader is encouraged to explore is the ordinary, routine, 'normal', immediate world *they themselves* are already involved in. Wilk's chapter 'Demystifying Fieldwork' contrasts this kind of investigation with that of the 'classical' anthropologist who drew a sharp boundary between 'home' and 'field', the distant place with already 'strange' inhabitants where they conducted their research. But this kind of account elides strangeness or normality *to the researcher*, with the *characteristics of what is being researched*. If we define 'everydayness' in terms of frequency or ordinariness of a practice for its participants, then classical anthropologists frequently studied the quotidian – though their subjects' not their own. Moreover, it's not just anthropologists travelling to far-flung lands who can find themselves investigating worlds routine to their respondents but not themselves; the white middle class student of their city's black lower class ghetto provides an example. And to complicate matters we could point to situations – the courtroom or the maternity ward perhaps – which are part of the daily, normal working life of some of their participants but for others constitute an exceptional, one-off experience. Or note that routinely recurring features of certain settings are extreme rather than mundane. Is there an everyday life of the war zone or the battlefield? Distinguishing between everyday life as what is already familiar to the researcher and everyday life as a particular kind or level of social existence, is relevant when considering why the everyday is worth studying and strategies for doing so.

The authors have long experience of ethnogra-

phic study, and the examples they use, drawn from their own and others' research, clearly show that there is much more going on in peoples' day-to-day lives than they themselves generally realise. So, for example, Wilk analyses family meals and unpicks how differences in partners' parental-derived, but unrecognised norms about food, hospitality and waste can cause initially puzzling tensions and conflicts. For his part Löfgren investigates 'atmosphere', something we often feel and are influenced by but may pay little attention to. Taking himself to Copenhagen station he tries to discover and account for the different moods it evokes for him. Sounds, smells and tactile qualities we may only be subliminally aware of are moved from back to front of stage. But there are limits to the depths the authors go to. They don't direct us to that tradition of work seeking to reveal how sense-making, conversation, everyday interaction is even possible at all. They don't look at research querying how as social beings we create any firm sense of reality out of the continuing flux of on-going life. Maybe the everyday encompasses processes even 'stranger' and more important than they suggest. (Goffman, is listed in the 'References' but Garfinkel not.)

The authors' discussion of *why* people tend to live their everyday lives 'on the surface', unreflexively, also has its limits. They note that taking things for granted can be efficient and that it would be impossible to live life continuously questioning every assumption and consciously thinking about the reasons for all one's actions. But their own assertion that there are uses for the kinds of 'unpacking' activity they demonstrate, suggests that lack of understanding can also have its drawbacks. So it's odd that they do not consider if there can be differences of interest in concealing or revealing what is not immediately self-evident. They might have asked whether one can see, or obscure, more from some social structural positions than others. Or what kinds of power might affect capacity to impose one's own definition of the situation on others. Though not entirely absent, they could have made more of the interplay of structural and cultural factors (Bourdieu, briefly cited in the text, fails to make the 'References' list).

The structural location of researchers themselves is also worth considering if it is proposed that they should study their own home turf. As this book shows, there is a lot to be said for this when encouraging 'doable' student dissertations, but as a more general programme for social research, sticking so close to home has some limitations. Not least, as the authors themselves show, one means to better understanding of one's home environment can be comparison with other peoples'. (Wilk gained an unexpected insight into the way food was offered and refused at his in-laws dinner table, when examining how Mayan villagers found someone to serve as mayor!) Moreover, unless researchers are drawn from all social backgrounds, patchy overall societal coverage will result. We are unlikely to find out about the quotidian lives of the aristocracy or rough sleepers. Also, whilst the authors declare their text 'presents a cultural perspective on everyday life as a way to understand larger issues in society' they perhaps downplay the extent to which broader societal factors have to be brought into play to help fully explain what is happening at the 'local' level. And that these factors often can't be understood simply with the kinds of ethnographic techniques described. Thus Löfgren notes how his attempt to capture atmosphere in the Danish station fostered an interest in 'the ongoing discussion of urban commons in modern cities'. And we could suggest that a full explanation of what's spread out on Wilk's family dining table, requires reference to global food markets. But understanding the latter or the contemporary privatisation of 'public' spaces requires, for example, some understanding of the dynamics of global capitalism, knowledge of how food companies work, and of dealings between big building firms and the local and national state. The value and difficulties of grasping the interplay between 'micro', 'mezzo' and 'macro' levels of social action and structure, mainly lie outside the remit of this book.

Judged as a 'how to do it' guide, what the authors do illustrate well is a grounded way of researching one's own everyday world, not by initially deriving hypotheses to be tested from existing theory, but by beginning with a careful, probably sideways look at places, situations and people doing things. Theoretically-derived concepts and ideas, it is suggested, may then be adopted on what appears to be a rather ad hoc basis as and when they are come across and appear to be useful. Overall, a bricolage approach is advocated, going for a range of modes of idea generation and data collection. Internet chat rooms, novels, photographs, autoethnographies, short inter-

views with friends, can all provide inspiration for getting started. With the focus on uncovering what is not immediately apparent, a variety of distancing strategies are suggested, including learning from artists' techniques of alienation, writing about the present in the past tense, and one's own experiences in the third person. Looking at the relation between persons and the material elements of their lives is shown to be revealing, and 'following the object' to have the potential to open up unexpected insights. So is watching out for situations which generate seemingly disproportionate emotional responses and ones which are new to their participants. For example, when two people first move in to share a home together. In general the payoffs from looking for small openings, and asking oneself and others questions about specifics rather than generalities in order to avoid bland and predictable responses, is well illustrated.

Students should find this encouraging and helpful and will appreciate being shown (via discussions of the authors' own investigations) that the research process is always more messy and less linear than implied by many standard methodology books. 'The practice of ethnography,' notes Ehn, may be described as a continuous oscillation between observing, listening, thinking, interpreting, writing, reading, sensing, discovering and making new observations'. His chapter uses reflections on making a duckboard for his shower, to consider parallels between 'crafting wood and crafting words' and to provide some tips for ways to do the latter. Writing up his DIY experience in three different modes (as in an instruction manual, a story and as 'analysis') he argues each provided him with insights, though not all forms may suit for final academic reports.

But there are some areas the authors might have considered further, or more systematically. None of the chapters pay much attention to the observer/observed relation. How could this be affected by differences of power and status? How might being observed affect the observee, and what needs taking into account if observation shifts into more direct participation or intervention? What about trust and consent at the various stages of research? What are the problems in writing up material about one's interaction not with wood and tools, but with people who may themselves read and be affected by one's account? Nowhere are research ethics discussed or even mentioned as something to be thought about.

It could also be helpful to be offered a more consolidated and developed discussion of the status of ethnography than Wilk's and Ehn's brief comments provide. Can it be 'objective', should it aspire to be 'scientific' and what are the criteria for this? Does being scientific necessarily depend, as Wilk seems to suggest, on being able to mobilise 'standards of measurement and mathematical language'? Ehn speaks of the ethnographer as using 'not just scientific methods' to generate knowledge, but also themselves, their body, their mind, their personality, and asks if this affects the possibility of value-free analysis. But it's not just any potential (positive or negative) impact of the *ethnographer's* subjectivity that needs raising. We should also ask how the differences between the social and the natural world affect them as objects of study. The social world is a world of meaning to its participants. Therefore we need to ask how the researcher can be sure that they have correctly grasped these meanings. And also consider in what ways and to what extent they have causal relevance for social explanation. Rather than Wilk just telling us that ethnographers are now paying 'a great deal more attention to their methods and to how anthropologists might lay claim to truth' it would be good to be given a bit more insight into their arguments.

The final chapter 'Taking Cultural Analysis Out Into the World' provides a particular take on what the kinds of understandings and skills the book has promoted have to offer. It discusses this not in terms of any general contribution to social science. Nor to living one's personal life more satisfactorily – though the earlier chapters suggest this could be the case. Rather it focuses on how the cultural analysis approach is useful in the job market and the world of work. Readers are offered suggestions as to how they can impress potential employers or clients with the relevance of their studies. Past students talk about how they have been able to offer new insights and suggestions to initially sceptical employers and how an ability to reflect on the culture of their new workplace can be useful in furthering their own aims. But it's all a bit mainstream. Working for business, the public sector, NGOs or independent consultancy are what are presumed. So the value of cultural analysis of the everyday to those challenging employers, corporations or governments for example, gets no consideration. How might it help fragmented low paid workers realise common inter-

ests and devise strategies that might improve their lot? Could it help environmentalists – perhaps by unpicking what cars mean to their owners as a first step to discouraging their routine use? How about investigating the cultural meanings of dirt not to increase vacuum cleaner sales but decrease them?

Despite such reservations I'd happily put this book into the hands of its intended audience and would expect them to enjoy and be inspired by it. You could hardly reach its end feeling 'I'll never be able to think of anything to study'. Or 'I just can't imagine how to get started'. But it is not, and doesn't set out to be, a comprehensive methodology text, nor presentation of different theoretical takes on what constitutes the everyday and how it should be studied. Thus I'd hope the struggling PhD students mentioned in the introduction would soon find time also to investigate some of the more specialist literature.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea University

West Nordic Explorations

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Nordisk længsel. Møde med folkekulturen i Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsens rejsedagbøger og billedverden. Udgivet af Johannes Larsen Museet, Kerteminde 2012. 163 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-92620-18-7.

■ The Danish ethnologist Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen has analysed the artist Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsen's (1912−1999) diaries, photographs, drawings, sketchbooks, lithographs, woodcuts, and oil paintings resulting from his explorations in the West Nordic countries. This means Norway, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, which were part of the Danish realm from the Middle Ages until 1814. The journeys from Denmark were undertaken from the late 1920s onwards, but the majority in the 1950s and 1960s. Several of the voyages in the 1950s were made together with the author Martin A. Hansen before his death in 1959. The artist contributed illustrations in books that Hansen published in the form of travel accounts, such as *Rejse på Island* ("Journey to Iceland", 1954). These are descriptions of folk life based on fieldwork.

The author of this book is married to the artist's youngest son Olaf. The book is richly illustrated with the artist's own works. Copious quotations from the diaries are rendered in italics. This is supplemented with detailed commentary by the author and extensive notes. The material left by the artist is mostly held by the Johannes Larsen Museum on the island of Fyn in Denmark, an art museum in memory of the bird painter Johannes Larsen. This museum has also published this book. Much of the artist's correspondence with the author Martin A. Hansen and others is preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. A large number of photographs, lithographs, drawings, oil paintings, and letters are privately owned.

Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsen had a great longing to travel in order to discover new natural environments that he could depict in sketches, drawings, lithographs, woodcuts, photographs, and oil paintings. He took a keen interest in living folk culture which preserved archaic lifeways, costumes, and building styles, uninfluenced by the modern age and industrialization. The artist yearned for the authentic and original. He therefore deliberately sought to get far away from towns and cities to distant, sparsely populated places which tourism had not yet reached. He wanted to live close to people, observing their everyday life and their festive occasions. On the west coast of Norway he took part in fishing and whaling, and in the Faroe Islands he hunted pilot whales and birds on the steep cliffs. He appreciated and participated in the archaic Faroese chain dance. This really was participant observation. In Norway he was fascinated by the medieval stave churches. The artist also visited the farm of Havstein near Trondheim where he had distant ancestors. His harsh criticism of tourism was based on his view that it had a destructive effect on old and authentic culture. This had to be allowed to live on without disturbance from modern civilization. On 14 June 1950 the artist wrote: "tourism is the basilisk of our day; all living things die when it looks at them" (p. 31).

The book is of obvious ethnological interest in that the artist has done detailed and repeated fieldwork in distant places with archaic culture and left us meticulous reports through his notes and his pictorial material.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Maritime Foodways in the Days of Sail

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Skibskost i sejlskibstiden – fortællinger fra Marstal. Marstal Sø-

fartsmuseum, Marstal 2015. 115 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-89829-62-3.

■ In recent years Scandinavia has witnessed a wave of general interest in food and cooking. Cookery book sales flourish, culinary tourism is rising and successful chefs have become celebrities. Along with this there is a renewed interest in traditional cooking. Infotainment television series on historic food and eating have hit record-high ratings, and slow food is gaining new ground. What then could be a timelier subject for an ethnological book than the foodways of a sailing community back in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century?

Skibskost i sejlskibstiden is a welcome addition to a line of studies produced and published by the Marstal Maritime Museum. The study draws on the rich collection of seamen's narratives in the archives of the museum. It centres on the period 1850−1940, when the ships of the small Danish town of Marstal traded not only in the Baltic Sea and the North Sea, but sailed all the way to Newfoundland, the Caribbean and South America.

The book begins with a brief description of Marstal's shipping industry during the last century of sail. After this introduction, it concentrates on cooking facilities, rules and living conditions on board the vessels. It contains rich descriptions of how the food was cooked and prepared, how it was consumed and how provisions were stored onboard. These chapters are important in setting the scene, before introducing the reader to the supplies and common dishes. After a detailed account of what was on the menu, the author returns to Marstal, and discusses the local cuisine and food traditions of the area. The reader who wishes to become even better acquainted with traditional dishes served on the Marstal vessels, and perhaps try to eat like a sailor, will be glad to find that it ends with a collection of recipes. A great many quotations give colour to the reading and each chapter is richly illustrated with beautiful photographs of life on board the sailing ships and illustrative drawings of utensils and kitchen tools.

In the period studied, shipping was the nerve of the local community of Marstal. A large number of the male population spent periods of their life at sea and almost every inhabitant earned a livelihood from shipping (by trading, building or repairing ships, equipping the ships and the seamen, growing supplies for the sea voyages, etc.). Whether at sea or at home, the Marstalians took pride in the sailing fleet of the home town. This legacy, and the fact that they formed part of the same social networks, fostered a sense of loyalty between the crew and the commander. In times where the quality of the food served onboard did not comply with legal provisions, the crew was usually lenient and understanding in order not to bring the Marstal ships into disrepute.

This leads on to the main issue of the book; what the seaman's diet really was like. It is widely believed that food and water on the ocean crossing ships were substandard, not to say horrible. But was it really? The author cites several seamen remembering ship's biscuits full of weevil larvae and fresh water turned foul, but we are also told that such conditions were not very common. The regular diet was based on rye bread and hardtack, peas, cabbage, beans and potatoes, often supplemented with meat and fish. From time to time the seamen also had the opportunity to buy fresh fruit and vegetables. Although salty and monotonous, food was generally sufficient and nutritive, and did not differ much from what was eaten in the Marstal surroundings.

The naming of some of these dishes, however, underlines the fact that they were consumed at sea, and not in a provincial Danish town. During the reading we are introduced to several dishes with maritime sounding names. For example bread was broadly referred to as "anchor stock" or "cable yarn" and reddish tinned beef was termed "Indian arse". In contemplating these names another aspect of sailor culture springs to my mind, namely the imagery of sailor tattoos. In contemporary tattooing anchors, cables and stereotyped portrayals of Indian chiefs were among the most common designs. The book thus adds to the understanding of how certain references were recurrently used by the sailors, and how food, tattoos, handicraft, etc. all played a part in constructing the sailor identity.

Another aspect that becomes clear from the book is that food and eating also contributed to maintaining the Marstal identity. As already touched upon, the food served on board had a lot in common with the local cuisine of Marstal. The cook was often brought up and trained in Marstal, and the crew had a preference for the tastes and dishes of their native town (and sometimes rejected fresh but foreign commodities). In that sense, one could picture each

ship setting sail from Marstal as a little floating piece of the town itself, forming part of a glocal geography. It is a fascinating thought that different variants of the popular "Marstal soup" was prepared and consumed all around the world, in the seven seas.

As is hopefully clear from the brief examples above, the book has a lot to offer to anyone interested in maritime history and food traditions. Apart from giving a detailed account of an essential aspect of life onboard, it opens up for a wider battery of questions and touches upon several fields of interest. What I particularly like about it is that it does not get lost in the fog that tends to surround the slippery concept of a maritime culture. Instead, the author convincingly links the ship, the crew and the home town tightly together. It is clearly shown that maritime and terrestrial history do intersect with each other, that no ship is an island and that an excessively unidirectional focus may lead to a poorer understanding of sailor culture.

If I am to submit some critical comments, it would be that it seems to me that there are more reflections and insights to be drawn from the study than what is provided to the reader. One could have asked for a bit more theoretical discussion of the many ways food and drinking intersect with everyday life and maybe also some references to this area of research. As pointed out by several researchers, food and eating can be understood as an endlessly evolving enactment of gender, family, and community relationships (an example of the way food marks social differences, boundaries, bonds, and contradictions onboard slightly older sailing ships can be found in the archaeologist Niklas Eriksson's dissertation *Urbanism under Sail*). Although much of this lies implicit in the reading of *Skibskost i sejlskibstiden*, an introduction to the analytic concept of foodways might have been helpful for the reader as well as the author. On the other hand, it is possible that such a discussion would have interfered with the tight focus on Marstal shipping and the popular, detailed and descriptive character of the book, which I believe is one of its great advantages. Perhaps this is a theme to develop in forthcoming writing on the subject.

To conclude, I think that *Skibskost i sejlskibstiden – fortællinger fra Marstal* is a much more timely and fascinating book than its title would at first indicate. I have read the book with great interest. It is both informative and approachable and should be of potential interest both to academics and to a wider audience. After all, cooking and food lie at the heart of our cultural identity.

Mirja Arnshav, Stockholm

Nazism and Ethnology

Petra Garberding, Vetenskap mellan diktatur och demokrati. Svensk och tysk folklivsforskning i skuggan av nazismen och kalla kriget. Universus Academic Press, Malmö 2015. 342 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-91-87439-15-5.

■ When we are faced with political demands in the twenty-first century to make research "useful", or as a Danish politician put it, to move "from research to invoice", it is in no way an unfamiliar situation. In 1935 the German ethnologist Herbert Freudenthal argued that his subject should play a part in the education of the nation. This applied ethnology (*angewandte Volkskunde*), in which research findings were to be translated into societal practice, was one step on the way, but researchers were expected to develop a political ethnology with a focus on the *Volksdeutsche* and their relation to the *Führer*. He therefore recommended *Mein Kampf* as a good textbook of ethnology.

In his review of the book *Die deutsche Volkskunde* (1935), which included Freudenthal's article, the Swedish ethnologist Sigfrid Svensson vigorously denounced these ideas in *Stockholms-Tidningen* (1935). He points out with irony that ethnology risks being transformed from a branch of research into an advertising business, and declares that "the Nazis link Volkskunde with expansionism". Svensson's review balances between praising the publication of the book, because it highlights *Volkskunde*, which now occupied a more prominent position in Germany than before, but at the same time he has to distance himself from the articles with opinions that could be seen as serving the Nazi ideology.

The example comes from Petra Garberding's analysis of scholarship between dictatorship and democracy, where she examines relations between Swedish and German ethnologists in the 1930s and 1940s and then follows up the situation after the war and in relation to the years when Germany was divided into East and West. When Garberding tackles Swedish-German relations under two dictatorial re-

gimes, Nazism and communism, it is due to her own background. She began her ethnological studies in Kiel, where there was a tradition of culture-historical research with a focus on everyday life in historical perspective. After graduating from university, Garberding moved to Sweden, where she received a scholarship in 2001 to do her doctorate in ethnology at the universities of Södertörn and Stockholm. Here she was fascinated with how differently the subject of ethnology could present itself. Whereas Swedish ethnologists emphasized the significance of theory, people in Kiel were more concerned with methods.

Garberding aims to discover the reasons for the great and lasting difference between German and Swedish ethnology, where it turns out that Nazi ideology played a crucial role in the 1930s, and to analyse how selected scholars have navigated in the schism between the goals of research and the demands of politics. Did they draw a clear line in the sand, as Svensson does in the example quoted above, or did the choice between collaborating with and repudiating the Nazi-dominated research in the Germany of the 1930s depend on the concrete projects in which there was a shared interest? The projects to publish atlases of European popular culture, for instance? And how easy would it have been to denounce Nazism in a climate permeated by racial thinking and expansionist ambitions? With the benefit of hindsight we can all very well imagine that we would have clearly distanced ourselves from the Nazi ideology and would have combated the Nazis' attempts to invade the world of scholarship. But was it as simple as that? And was it perfectly obvious in the early 1930s what direction the German research community was headed in? Garberding does not paint a black-and-white picture here, but shows how a number of scholars in Sweden tried to navigate between scholarship and politics, some clearly dissociating themselves from Nazism, others trying to maintain their contacts and collaboration with Germans even when they more or less accepted Nazism and its racial ideology. It is at least thought-provoking that even Swedish scholars bought the idea of Jewish dominance over German finance and culture, and therefore excused the Germans for staging a necessary revolt, whereas the situation in Sweden was different, with well-integrated Jewish families who did not constitute a threat! (See e.g. the section on von Sydow, p. 88.)

Garberding has accumulated a very large amount of archival material found in Swedish, German, British, and American archives (thirteen in all), and has followed in the tracks of different scholars; she has explored the sometimes complicated networks of organizations and institutions which enabled – or else tried to prevent – the exchange of experience between German and Swedish/Scandinavian scholars before and during the Second World War.

The book is divided into six chapters. Garberding begins with the development of ethnology in Sweden and Germany before and after the Second World War, and she describes her considerations about the source material, which consist partly of correspondence and other written sources, partly of interviews with a number of selected people with information about, for example, contacts with scholarly circles in the German Democratic Republic.

The second chapter, about scholarship, politics, and race in Swedish-German contacts, paints a picture of five Swedish ethnologists, some of whom, like Sigfrid Svensson, Åke Campbell, and C. W. von Sydow, clearly rejected the ideology of Nazism, while others remained silent (Sigurd Erixon) or explicitly approved the racial ideas (Valdemar Liungman). Garberding shows that the Swedes had a certain understanding for the Germans' balancing act between politics and scholarship, and that silence on the Swedish side about reprehensible research did not necessarily mean agreement with the racist discourse, but a desire not to put German colleagues into dangerous situations.

Chapter 3 is about relations with the *Nordische Gesellschaft* in Lübeck, an originally neutral cultural institution which was taken over in the early 1930s, by the Nazis, headed by Alfred Rosenberg. In 1935−36 a seemingly neutral conference was planned and held, with invited scholars from other countries; the theme was houses and farms. The invitations to this conference and to other events orchestrated by the *Nordische Gesellschaft* reflected an attempt by the Germans/Nazis to bring Nordic scholars into what was apparently an academic discussion of Northern European house and farm types from prehistoric to historic times. Sigurd Erixon was invited as the main speaker for the historical part of the conference. The papers were later published in book form, which Garberding unfortunately fails to note, and if we read the articles by the German scholars, who made up the majority at the conference, we can clearly see the intention: to demon-

strate how "the cultural expressions of the superior Nordic race" slowly spread south and displaced the cultural expressions of "weaker" peoples, as one of the papers puts it. Whereas Erixon attended the conference, along with a couple of Danish scholars, the invitation convinced von Sydow and Åke Campbell of how risky it was to have close contact with Nazi-infected research environments.

The conference took place during a period when Germans were doggedly trying to infiltrate and dominate Nordic ethnology, not only through the *Nordische Gesellschaft* but also through collaborative projects such as the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* and organizations for international cooperation such as the IAFE (International Association of Folklore and Ethnology), and the later IAEEF (International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore). Both organizations had as their purpose to coordinate the work of collection and publication in order to map the folk culture of each country, to result in a European cultural atlas, and to publish common journals (*FOLK* and later *FOLK-LIV*).

The fourth chapter in the book is about the complicated (North) European cooperation in the 1930s which led to the establishment of international bodies. Some of this history has already been told by Bjarne Rogan in articles describing the predecessors of the present-day SIEF (International Society of Ethnology and Folklore). Garberding examines the organizational history in terms of the Swedish-German cooperation, where Åke Campbell, as secretary in both organizations, played an important role as navigator between Nazi desires for expansion and Nordic/British scepticism about the aggressive Germans. As secretary first of IAFE, which was heavily infiltrated by pro-Nazi German scholars – and later IAEEF, which was actually established to detach Scandinavian/British research from German dominance, Campbell was forced to make a choice when he saw through the Germans and their intentions for the cooperation. He mobilized, for example, his Irish/English network of ethnologists, thus preventing German participation in an ethnological congress in Edinburgh. As a consequence of the Germans' heavy influence on the first joint European journal *FOLK*, Campbell also succeeded, together with Erixon, in founding a new journal, *FOLK-LIV*, with Irish/British participation. But it was not possible to exclude Germans entirely from the editorial board.

In the last two chapters of the book we then follow ethnology in the wake of the Second World War. What happened to the scholars who had embraced – or at least tolerated – the Nazi ideology? And what significance did the Cold War have for Swedish-German relations, for example, as regards contacts with ethnological research in East Germany? Some of the German scholars, such as Lutz Mackensen, who had occupied a central position in the work on the cultural atlas, continued as university employees after the war ended, but not with the same status as before. In a letter to von Sydow Mackensen portrays himself as a "victim" – of war and Nazism, a self-presentation that was not uncommon in the years after 1945.

When it comes to contacts with German scholars after the war, their Swedish colleagues tried to keep in touch with both sides of the divided Germany. As for contacts with researchers who were subject to the ideology of communism, Garberding finds some of the same features as in the earlier historical material. Swedish ethnologists were cautious in the actual encounter with research environments in East Germany, so that they would not expose the Germans to reactions from the regime. They were aware of the control that was exercised, but they also noticed that as Swedes they were given a more open welcome than, say, people from NATO countries.

This book can be read in many ways. I myself read it from cover to cover the first time, because it reveals discourses, relations, and networks which can be difficult to grasp when one comes across an isolated statement in archival material. But it is without doubt an indispensable reference work because it has assembled the pieces of the huge puzzle of Swedish – and German – ethnological research in the 1930s. The situations and discussions highlighted here are rarely present in the biographies of individual scholars that have appeared in the last few decades. There the focus has been much more on the scholars' – e.g. Erixon's – significance for Swedish ethnology in the long term. In Garberding's book we meet instead the scholars in some situations where they have to make existential choices, and here they reacted very differently. Whereas Sigfrid Svensson and Åke Campbell, for example, quickly suspected – and rejected – the Nazi ideology, Erixon was hesitant. He was prepared, for example, to accept the title of honorary doctor at Heidelberg University in 1936 when the university celebrated its 550th anni-

versary. The jubilee and the honorary doctorates awarded to mark the occasion were largely orchestrated by the Nazi regime. The suggested candidates were subjected to careful analysis to ensure that their research was sufficiently "Germanic" and "racially pure". The fact that the whole event was supposed to promote the racist ideology cannot have been unknown to the Swedes, since the university had already dismissed 44 teachers in 1933 on account of their race or their political/religious convictions (p. 103). Garberding interprets Erixon's actions – willingly taking part as a speaker at academic conferences but staying away from the more spectacular Nazi celebrations – as a reflection of how Erixon put scholarly work first, before political stances, and as a Swedish scholar he regarded himself as politically "neutral". At any rate, throughout the Nazi period he continued to collaborate with German research circles, both with declared Nazis and with those who tried to distance themselves from the regime.

The problem that Petra Garberding tackles is always relevant, and she has documented it with a wealth of detailed information from correspondence, invitations to conferences, and the like. And, as I have said, the 1930s saw complex relationships in the efforts to build up relevant research networks and simultaneously avoid large-scale political/Nazi infiltration. The Achilles heel of ethnology was the fact that the research findings could be used – and were used – as support for expansionist ambitions towards the east. In Germany ethnology has worked hard to come to terms with its tainted past, for instance in Hermann Bausinger's critical account of the influence of Nazism (1961). It is important that Nordic research is also subjected to a critical gaze.

Annette Vasström, Copenhagen

The Graveyards Report

Anders Gustavsson, Grave Memorials as Cultural Heritage in Western Sweden with Focus on the 1800s. A Study of Materials, Society, Inscribed Texts and Symbols. Novus forlag, Oslo 2014. 67 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-796-1.

■ Grave memorials are good sources for knowledge about society. Archaeologists build entire cultures on grave finds. Many graveyards are targets of tourists who want to know more about the place they visit or get some information about the belief in the afterlife in a foreign country. How do we furnish our dead relatives on their next step, and what do we want to achieve through our grave customs?

Not only what we do in the moment of burying our dead relatives is culturally interesting, but also the grave itself. In his richly illustrated and strictly systematic investigation Anders Gustavsson concentrates on the grave memorials in his case study about Orust, an island in south-western Sweden. He focuses on the time span between 1800 and 2000, which means that he covers the period with the most influential changes in Swedish society. From a socio-cultural standpoint, change is certainly one of the issues in his book. He also regards the graves a kind of cultural heritage, and, consequently, questions of value and restoration arise. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century permanent grave memorials have been erected. To some extent they are now obsolete and they cause some practical problems for the congregations.

The book focuses on well-demarcated and systematized themes. Gustavsson examined the difference in graves and grave memorials. The graves were placed in different ways and they had different forms and had or did not have fences. They were made from limestone, cast iron, and granite, with or without inscriptions. Gustavsson demonstrates how different social strata buried their dead in varying ways during the two hundred years and he also shows how practices changed in the shaping of the graves and the grave memorials. For instance, cast-iron crosses on graves indicate that the dead person had a relatively high position. Or, the higher a stone on the grave was, the higher was the position of the deceased in society.

Gender is another important theme in the book. Gustavsson opens for several thoughts about women's position as dead persons. In analysing the inscriptions he learned that a young dead woman was first presented as a daughter of her father. Since 1900 she has received her husband's name and identity. Through marriage, there was a change of her affiliation. Sometimes she could even keep her own position beside her husband. Family graves demonstrated the patriarchal society, the husband's superiority, for his name was always inscribed on top of the stone. Not until the 1920s was a woman's first name visible. However, Gustavsson shows that even single women might have a grave of their own and

that a woman's professional title was not mentioned until very late. Children's graves and graves of young adults were rare in the nineteenth century.

After this "material" segment of the book Gustavsson studies the perspective on the afterlife on Orust. Now the religious context is more important than the social connections. The inscriptions referred to theological matters. They were often brought from the Bible and the hymnal. More interesting were the pictures found on the stones, such as lights and candles, crosses, stars, angels, birds, Jesus, or other symbols of life, love and hope. Sometimes the crosses were black and sometimes they were painted in a light colour, which might support Gustavsson's finding that the perspective on death could be both positive and negative, or at least that the living persons did not want to see death only as an appalling catastrophe.

The last chapter deals with the protection and preservation of graves. This is partly a matter of cultural heritage, respect, and devotion. It is also partly an economic issue. How should we honour our dead even if nobody knows the deceased any longer, and how should we combine this charge with the fact that there is greater need for space in the graveyards the more people there live in a place or – and that is the other reality of today – nobody left to take care of the old graves since most people move to towns far away? Gustavsson tries to argue for what should be defined and protected as a piece of cultural heritage. The book can be of help to those making decisions about this issue.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

Making the Nordic Region through Media

Communicating the North. Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region. Jonas Harvard & Peter Stadius (eds.). Ashgate Publishing Limited, Farnham 2013. 364 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-4094-4948-5.

■ Much has been written about how nations are represented and constructed by the press, radio, television, film, books, and more recently the Internet, while the role of the media in the formation of transnational regions has long been a neglected field of research. That is the opinion of the communication researchers Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius, editors of the voluminous book *Communicating the North*, which deals with how the Nordic region is made in different historical, political and cultural contexts through diverse media structures and channels. The authors, in keeping with a constructivist perspective, are not interested in the region itself but in the mediated region, as it is discursively communicated as a unit within and outside the region. The studies cover a wide thematic field, with extensive geographic breadth and historical depth, for example from a study of the nineteenth-century Scandinavian movement in the Nordic region to the journal *Fram*'s intention during the years 1914−1954 to create a diaspora community of the scattered Nordic migrants in South Africa. The extensive thematic variation is commendable but has at the same time been detrimental to the arrangement. There is no clear justification of the order of the twelve empirical case studies in the volume, and therefore there are sometimes quite abrupt shifts between the contributions.

Jonas Harvard proceeds in a similar discussion, asking whether it is legitimate to speak of a community across the Nordic borders or not. He examines whether there was a need to establish an immediate "communication now" in the region when it was made technically possible by the coming of the electric telegraph in the mid-1800s. The telegraph abolished the inertia in communication that the geographical distances constituted. Northerners in different parts of the region could hypothetically speak to each other with the same immediacy as if they were standing face to face. But to what extent did the boundaries of the Nordic region set limits for the new type of electronically transmitted conversation? The interesting thing about the telegraph was that it knew no boundaries as regards the distances over which instant relationships could be established. The enthusiasm for the new communication technology potentials proved not to stop within the Nordic countries, but came to include an interest in talking to the entire global community. Sending telegraph messages between Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark was no different from communicating with any other country on earth. News from the Nordic countries were added to the section of foreign news. The telegraph was therefore the nation-state's extended arm into the world, not a transnational shared access for Nordic internal and external communication. The intention of the telegraph was moreover not to serve in the national or regional community construction. It primarily

served economic interests by offering opportunities for rapid business agreements between spatially distant parties or giving the newspaper-reading public highly up-to-date news reporting. However, there were exceptions. A type of occasions when the Nordic region's cities were bound together in a community was in connection with manifestations of Scandinavianism. Norwegian newspapers could, for example, use the telegraph to report from a Scandinavian student meeting in Stockholm at about the same time as it took place. Harvard's chapter offers an interesting historical perspective on the contemporary globalization debate by showing that there were both a technical basis and a desire for instant communication with the world long before the advent of late modern communication technology. Why stop at the transnational region when the whole world seemed possible to reach here and now?

Jonas Harvard continues with Magdalena Hillström to dig deeper into the phenomenon that the former touched upon in the previous chapter; the media's role in nineteenth-century Scandinavianism. The authors polemicizes here against the research that divides the Scandinavian movement into two phases: before and after 1864, a story of rise and fall. First, a pure elitist movement with enthusiastic political plans for a territorially and dynastically united Scandinavia, then a more pragmatic period of increased cultural and economic integration, called cultural Scandinavianism. If one considers the history of Scandinavianism from a media perspective, as in this chapter, the periodization is difficult to maintain because the alleged shift is more about the key players adapting to a changing media landscape. It can therefore be questioned whether the rise-fall story holds. I will not go into the detailed description the authors provide to show that the Scandinavian movement in 1855–1864 was basically the same as the media message of it, because of the movement's massive presence in the country's leading news press. Another detail is however important to comment on. It is apparent that major political power alliances and wars played an important role in the movement's rise and fall. When Denmark in 1849 went to war against Germany to conquer Schleswig, the Swedish-Norwegian King Oscar contributed by sending Swedish and Norwegian troops to Denmark's assistance. The Western powers were also in direct opposition to Russia owing to the Crimean War. This strengthened the Nordic countries in relation to the European state system, which spurred sympathy for Scandinavianism. When Prussia declared war on Denmark in 1864 to regain Schleswig and Holstein, Swedish troops did not join in on the Danish side because the Swedish parliament went against the king and the willingness of media-Scandinavianism to assist the sister nation in the south. That meant a quick defeat of the Danish army. War seems to be a good measure of value for judging the depth and character of the community. If the feelings for the Scandinavian people had been as unquestionable as for the Swedish, the question of assistance or not in the war against Prussia would never have been raised. Our country was attacked, it must be defended. The loss of troops from Sweden- Norway gave a clear indication of the Scandinavianism movement's shortcomings. After 1864 strong nationalist winds blew, which with hindsight resulted in Norway's secession from the union with Sweden in 1905.

War is likewise the theme of Tora Byström's study of how the "Nordic Region" as a concept shifted in meaning during the course of the Second World War. The material consists of the journal *Nordens frihet* that was published in Sweden from March 1940 to December 1945. The Nordic countries during the war years were confronted with the complexity of, on the one hand, taking an anti-Nazi position, reinforced by the occupation of Denmark and Norway in 1940, and on the other hand, dealing with the alliance between Finland and Nazi Germany in the joint war against the Soviet Union starting in 1941. This created friction between those writers who saw Nazi Germany as the major threat to the Nordic countries and those who regarded Bolshevism as a greater danger to liberty. However, the majority could agree that the threat came from two directions. People were convinced that the Soviet Union would not be satisfied with Karelia. The aim was to reach the Atlantic Ocean. Germany's intentions had already been revealed. The feeling of vulnerability also meant that visions of a federal Nordic union were articulated. The West's victory in 1945 marked the end of any thoughts of a united region, so also the magazine *Nordens frihet*.

Scandinavianism was practised not only in the Nordic region. In South Africa the monthly magazine *Fram* (published 1914–1954) pioneered the formation of an imaginary community between the Nordic migrants in the country. Erlend Eidsvik

shows us how a movement that was largely forgotten in those days could get new life as the basis of a diaspora community in the African continent. In this case too, war was a central component in the construction of the Nordic community. The story that evoked patriotic feelings, repeatedly reproduced in *Fram* as an example of common interests, was the participation of Scandinavians in the South African War 1899–1902. Although the Nordic Volunteer Corps, which fought on the side of the Boers against the British, suffered a catastrophic defeat in the first and only battle on the outskirts of the town of Kimberly Diamond in 1899, stories were told in retrospect about a battle marked by success and heroism. A memorial was erected which became a kind of cult site for the Scandinavian identity. Racist ideology flourished in those times, not least in South Africa. In *Fram* it was openly propagated that the Scandinavians belonged to the superior race. The magazine opposed Jewish immigration and hoped that South Africa would get a Mussolini as a leader. All this ended abruptly when Germany attacked Denmark and Norway in 1940 and after the Second World War *Fram* was no longer the mouthpiece for Scandinavianism.

War is raised again in Andrew G. Newby's chapter on how Britain is constructed as part of an extended Nordic region. This construction was used by both British and Scandinavian newspapers to create a community on both sides of the North Sea. This had to do with military strategy. A united Nordic front would be formed as a defensive wall against Russia, which during the 1800s was seen as the primary threat. At the same time there was no strong political figure from Scandinavia who could mobilize the British for mass attendance. Although this grandiose idea of creating a strong united power bloc across the North Sea never became political reality, the blood ties between the UK and Scandinavia were often pointed out in different contexts during the 1800s. The British wanted very much to see the expansionist Vikings as their ancestors in line with their aspirations as empire builders. The fact that the British saw themselves as the descendants of the seafaring warriors from the North seemed to be proved by a variety of ancient monuments in both Scotland and England. The ethnic and historical kinship expressed in the popular press in the mid nineteenth century, however, played a minor role in foreign policy. No alleged cultural ties with Denmark changed Britain's neutrality policy in relation to the Schleswig conflict in 1864.

We remain with the British interest in the Nordic peoples in Linda Andersson Burnett's chapter on the Sami family that was shown up as an exotic attraction of the exhibition organizer William Bullock's highly acclaimed tour of Britain in the 1800s. The background image was Linnaeus's idealized image of the Sami as children of nature, noble savages. It was the role they were expected to play, and as long as they did it well, people flocked to the shows. The media played an important role in the marketing of the stereotypes. When the Sami family got tired and started to live in a way that did not match the image, they were forced to leave the country. Burnett said that this showed that the romanticized non-threatening noble savage had been transformed into an uncontrollable savage who did not fit into the urban environment. Racist discourses gradually replaced the idealized image of the Linnaean Sami as innocent children of nature. As we have seen in Newby's contribution in this volume the Brits liked to see themselves as akin to the Scandinavian peoples, but the racially inferior Sami did not belong to these people, and their origin consequently could not possibly be in the Nordic region. So it was not as a representation of the North that the Sami family was exposed to satisfy the British audience's lust for living exoticism.

In the next essay we move to southern Europe and Spain. Elena Lindholm Narváez writes about the tall, blonde Nordic bikini woman as a popular media character from a somewhat surprising perspective. When this woman began to appear in the popular press and on the Spanish beaches when sun tourism from Scandinavia took off in the 1960s and 1970s, it was an old dream of social progress and modernity that was resurrected for the Spaniards, hopes which had been frozen during General Franco's long dictatorship. Lindholm Narváez argues that the Nordic woman achieved iconic status during Franco's last years, and the reasons for this must be sought far back in time. Bergman's and Fellini's Swedish film actresses certainly played a part in this, but we must go back to the end of the nineteenth century to trace the origin of this media icon. The first progressive woman from the North who wowed the Swedish middle class was Nora in Ibsen's play *A Doll's House*, which premiered in 1890. She embodied the ideal of the liberated Scan-

dinavian woman when in the final act she left home and marriage to be free as a human being. In 1891 Wagner's *The Valkyrie* premiered in Madrid, an opera based on Nordic and Germanic mythology of the legendary female warrior, which gave a basis for progressive fantasies about female emancipation in a modernized Spain. Franco's authoritarian, conservative rule, however, put an end to Spain's development towards European modernity of the Nordic model. In 1975 the journey forward resumed with the blonde bikini babe as a symbolic escort.

Nikolas Glover takes us to the World Exhibitions in Montreal in 1967 and Osaka in 1970 to show how the Nordic regional identity was negotiated in the interaction between exhibitors and visitors. No matter how much the presenters wanted to enlighten visitors about the Nordic region's specific characteristics and advantages, they had to take into account the images of the Nordic countries that already circulated abroad in order to capture the audience's attention. Glover argues that the reason for the five nations' choice to present themselves as a unit was that the world, at least outside Europe, regarded the Scandinavian countries as intimately interwoven. The chapter describes in detail the intricate and tense decision-making process behind the images of the Nordic countries that the five nations' representatives finally agreed to demonstrate in each Scandinavian pavilion. For the unit to be manifested, a number of things that showed fragmentation had to be excluded. War figures here again as a problematic factor in the construction of a community. The many bloody wars between the Nordic countries in the history were thus given no place in the demonstration because they disturbed the harmony that the exhibitors wanted to show. As a unit the Nordic countries represented a considerable power bloc in Europe, and as such the identity was strategically propelled, Glover argues. The national differences were put on hold because the regional identity gave the parties political and commercial benefits. Sweden won the most as they had the greatest political power over which Nordic "us" would be displayed.

Peter Stadius writes about how the Nordic countries during the interwar period (1918–1939) come to be represented as the "happy countries" in domestic political debates in various other countries. The image of the Nordic region was stretchable in the assigned paradigm as "happy" so that regardless of the political-economic problems and ideological battles the countries grappled with, the Nordic states could be used as examples of ideal social structures in foreign news reports, travelogues, books, etc. The basis of this "happiness" in the Nordic countries was that governments, as the American journalist Marquis W. Childs put it, had chosen "the Middle Way"; the North was neither capitalist nor communist nor fascist. The US was tormented by capitalism's aberrations, in the late 1920s in the form of the Great Depression. Childs was particularly impressed by the Scandinavians' "industrial democracy", how employers and workers through peaceful negotiations and compromise reached collective agreements, which created social peace and stability in the labour market. In Europe, the image of the Nordic countries emerged as a "happy" counterpart to the continent's fascism, Nazism and communism. They admired social democracy, a reform socialism through which parliamentary practices could handle modernity in a way that it did not lead to totalitarian fascism or Marxist socialism. The 1930s were marked by racist thinking, and from that perspective too, the Nordic region could figure as a model of excellence. The Nordic Aryan population was considered to be superior to all other Teutons. This ancestry was thought of as one important reason for the good and happy life in Scandinavia. As authentic Aryans they oppose Hitler's Nazism, according to the French-Russian correspondent Serge de Chessin (who incidentally also saw the Nordic countries as a positive antithesis to Russian Bolshevism). Their racial superiority proved that the Nazi German policy was improper for a true Aryan. For Chessin the Nordic countries represented for the true democracy. There were of course also pro-Nazi commentators, such as the poet Hanns Johst who glorified Nazism by highlighting the Germanic kinship with the Nordic peoples and the common Gothic and Viking history. Finally the author points out, these pictures of the "happy countries" in the North were just images. The need for positive role models in the US and Europe actually made existing social conflicts and racial institutions in the Nordic countries almost invisible.

Carl Marklund's chapter does not seem to be as much about the image of the Nordic region as about what the Nordic countries really *are* good at with respect to the ability, for example, to combine high growth with social equality, despite high taxes and government spending. The region's representatives

are also skilled at marketing themselves as a region with strong business climate and the ability to respond successfully to global economic crises. This is claimed to be the foundation for the rest of the world's renewed interest in the Nordic model in the early 2000s. The purpose of the chapter is, however, historically oriented: to discuss the diverse interest of the Nordic countries' "image" of the world (especially the US) at different times, starting in the interwar period. Initially, there is hence some overlap with Stadius' discussion of the Nordic region as "the Middle Way" in the previous chapter. But Marklund's analysis differs from the book's other chapters by dividing the North in their individual parts, and putting a special focus on Sweden. The author's thesis is that different countries in the Nordic region have taken the lead and had to represent all the Nordic countries in different periods, and Sweden has been outstanding in that role, leading the region from the interwar phase to the end of the Cold War. The Nordic model became synonymous with the Swedish model. But Sweden is not today what the country once was. Marklund sees a clear tendency that Sweden is gradually losing its position as the representative of the Nordic region along with the emergence of neo-liberalism and the growing criticism of the supposedly "socialist experiments". When the bourgeois government came to power in 1991 it sent signals to the world press that the Swedish voters were tired of the Swedish (socialist) model. During the 1990s, the Danes gained ground as the representative of the Nordic countries, and today perhaps Norway and Finland are the strongest candidates, the author argues. As a kind of spokesperson for continued Nordism, Marklund concludes by emphasizing that each country has the most to gain from continuing to market itself under the regional designation as the "North", because it is still a stronger brand than the individual countries.

But Carl Marklund's positive image of the Nordic countries in the contemporary world does not quite correspond to what Kazimierz Musial and Maja Chacinska write in the book's last empirical chapter. They write about the media image of the Nordic region in two historic stages: between the wars (where "happy nation" and "the golden middle way" metaphors were raised once again), and after the Cold War ended in 1989, and they do so from an Eastern European perspective, with a principal focus on reports about Scandinavia in Polish newspapers. Throughout the text, the dystopian images of the Nordic countries gets a more prominent place than in the book's other chapters. No period is portrayed as unambiguously positive in the authors' depiction of the media representations. The 1960s can be presented as a progressive and prosperous decade, but at the same time it was attacked by the (mostly American) conservatives as a socialist planned economy, experiment leading to increased alcoholism and high suicide rates. It is an important reminder of how the images vary with news agencies and political and ideological alignments. The authors also discern a more general trend in the media history where the dystopian images gradually take precedence over the utopian ones. Since the fall of the Wall in 1989, criticism of the Nordic model has intensified. The crisis of the welfare state becomes more apparent with declining economic performance and high unemployment figures. Xenophobia is increasing, which affected Poles as labour migration to Denmark and Sweden took off when Poland and the Baltic States joined the EU in 2004. The journalist Maciej Zaremba's critical articles about the "Polish plumber" in Sweden were published in the Polish press, fuelling the dystopian images. Despite this, the Nordic countries still figure as modernist front runners in Polish media representations regarding their ability to respond to the contemporary social and economic challenges.

Scandinavia's unique know-how when it comes to addressing global financial crisis was also presented at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2011 in a new pamphlet called *The Nordic Way*. As proof that the message has been received with great interest in the world, the considerable attention in the international media has been adduces, with several news stories and television spots. The editors Harvard and Stadius thus begin their summary of the book by showing how strong the idea of Nordic exceptionalism still is. Nordic remains viable as a brand, to politicians and business owners. Ever since the era of Scandinavianism, elites with political motives have understood the need for the media as a means to turn propaganda into impartial reporting. Similarly, the media reshape exhibits and advertising of ingenious products to demonstrations of Nordic technology and culture. Here the editors convey the more cynical aspect of Nordic regionalism, which says that "the North" still exists because the elected officials and the business community have

an instrumental advantage from tying together a number of states under a common name. The Nordic brand is highly valued internationally, the authors state with ill-concealed pride. This is shown not least by the fact that the UK and the Baltic States gladly highlight their alleged historical kinship relations with the Nordic countries. But the Northerners' interest in their regional belonging is mainly strategic. We celebrate the Nordic region because it benefits our nations, a role similar to that which the EU often plays for the member states.

The book is consistently interesting, the individual chapters are of a consistent high quality. At the same time, this review has had a tendency to be a presentation, which is probably connected with the fact that it has been hard to feel enthusiasm for the basic theoretical theme. Clearly the scholarly value is situated more in the empirical than the theoretical area. The editors point out in the introduction the lack of studies of how regions are constructed by media. Although the editors are to some extent right, the constructivist approach, focusing on the nation or region, is by now quite old-fashioned. And we all know that without communication in some form or another it is impossible to create communities across vast distances. Despite this, there are many pearls of an empirical nature in the book. I appreciate the historical approach, not least the one that gives new perspectives on the globalization thesis.
Mats Lindqvist, Huddinge

Sikh Identity

Laura Hirvi, Identities in Practice. A Trans-Atlantic Ethnography of Sikh Immigrants in Finland and in California. Studia Fennica Ethnologica 15. Finnish Literature Society, SKS, Helsinki 2013. 183 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-470-5.

■ Laura Hirvi's book is an ethnographic research on Sikhs living in two different geographical locations: the metropolitan area of Helsinki in Finland and the semi-rural area of Yuba City in California (USA). The study focuses on Sikhs' identity negotiations and regards first-generation male and female immigrants and their children. The text is addressed to scholars and also to a wider audience of readers and focuses on three main research questions: the reasons for migration, the ways in which cultural identities are negotiated through everyday practices and the impact that different contexts have on these processes. The arguments presented are based on the qualitative analysis of a reasonable amount of empirical data, collected by the author in different periods and with an ethnographic approach. The methods used include participant observation, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, fieldnotes, and so on. Given the research questions, the study adopts a "contrastive" cut based on non-systematic comparisons, which allows to highlight some specificities linked to the different contexts analyzed.

The basic premise of the book is that the processes through which people negotiate their identities manifest themselves in daily practices (such as dressing, eating, working), during religious and cultural festivals and in those practices linked to important life-cycle events (birth, wedding, death). The author focuses on the cultural identity of the subjects, by adopting a definition of culture as a fluid matrix of meanings that guides people by providing them with values, norms and patterns of behavior, but that presupposes an activity of re-interpretation by subjects themselves. Consistent with this approach, Hirvi adopts a postmodern definition of identity, assuming that it is not something fixed, but rather that it is flexible, fluid and situational, negotiated in relation to others and therefore subject to dynamics of power and control. Therefore, culture is presented as a structural plan in relation to which subjects' agency manifests itself through performed actions. These practices may reproduce and pass on cultural frameworks as they are, but may also introduce possible reinterpretations and negotiations, thereby fostering cultural change. Throughout the book, and through the study of empirical materials, the author successfully demonstrates the validity of these theoretical premises. Hirvi contextualizes the data analysis also with respect to the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism, showing that the practices through which people may renegotiate their identities may be multi-sited.

In the first chapter of the book the author explains her premises and the adopted methodology, circumscribes the object of analysis and reflects on her position as a researcher, demonstrating attention to issues as reflexivity, power relations between interviewer and interviewee and the effects of these relational dynamics on data. The second chapter analyses the reasons for migration and the main features

that Sikh migration assumes in different contexts. Although there are some recurring aspects (such as the desire to improve family's standard of leaving as a basic motivation, or the fact that the first migrants to arrive in both countries are males and that the reasons for migration are gender dependent), the analysis shows other differences between the USA and Finland, also due to the different historical moment in which the migration from the Punjab has taken place and to the specific national legislation. Chapter 3 explores the relationship between processes of identity construction and work. The different socio-economic contexts explain the diverse and prevalent productive insertion among Sikh first migrants in the two countries (farming in Yuba City and working in restaurants in Helsinki). At the same time, Hirvi demonstrates that, in order to carve out positive identity positions for themselves in their respective contexts of settlements – claiming to be good Finns/Americans and therefore the right to be accepted –, Sikhs refer to their religious and cultural values related to work ethic ("work is worship") which are compatible with local moral principles about work. The Sikhs then present themselves as people that base their success on hard work alone (this combines well with the American Dream and with the idea of "self-made man"), and as people who do not exploit the welfare system of the host (Finnish) country, in fact contributing to the wealth of the state. In Chapter 4 the author analyzes identity negotiations through dressing. Practices in relation to clothing are considered, ways in which subjects position themselves with respect to the cultural references of origin and of the context of acquisition. Special attention is given to the turban, meant as external marker of religious identity, which is given a different importance over time by respondents, also as a result of political events such as the civil war in the Punjab and 9/11 in the USA. Chapter 5 studies the role that religious and cultural sites have for Sikhs in both Yuba City and Helsinki in maintaining and transmitting their own religion and tradition to the next generation, as well as in making tangible and visible the largely imagined, scattered and not numerous Sikh Finnish community. These sites may be stable (as for example a gurdwara or a Sikh pre-school) but also of a more fleeting visible nature (like the annual Sikh parade or *Nagar Kirtan*). Again, data analysis shows that, although they claim their peculiar identity, Sikhs try at the same time to demonstrate to non-Sikhs that, despite religious difference, they also identify with the country in which they have settled. In chapter 6 the author analyzes the transnational practices that may originate from life-cycle rituals. These practices regard childcare and naming of children, choice of spouses and organization of wedding ceremonies, retirement, possible choice of return to the country of origin and ritual practices surrounding death. The last chapter contains some final reflections.

Hirvi's book adds a significant element to the literature on the Sikh diaspora. This is an original text, which provides the first insights on the Sikh community living in Finland, which is still little studied. The author accurately defines her analytical limitations, the object of study, the methodology and the conceptual references adopted, accompanying the reader clearly in her arguments, also with a clever use of quotes. The analysis uses an inductive method by which the practices studied are traced to the theoretical concepts outlined in the first part of the book. In addition, one of the book's major strengths is the comparative/contrastive approach between the data collected in two different settings of migration, with the intention to evaluate the influence of contexts on the identity practices of Sikhs.

Future analysis should further investigate the role that other structural plans (besides the cultural one) may have, affecting identity practices of Sikhs. Above all, future studies may point out more clearly the ways in which the legislative framework of a country (which affects the migratory choices of subjects and which sometimes forces them into transnational practices) rather than the transnational social and kin networks in which people are embedded (that can affect people's life choices through bonds of affection, debt and reciprocity) may intertwine with subjects' agency, resulting in innovative practices from the point of view of culture. These arguments are also highlighted in Laura Hirvi's book but marginally, because they don't constitute the analytical focus of the author. In addition, the question of power should be deepened, not only with respect to the majority population in the different countries of settlement but especially among the Sikhs; in other words, the question of power related to agency regarding cultural practices should be further investigated with respect to gender and to the generational membership of respondents.

Barbara Bertolani, Scandiano (RE)

Faroese Foodways

Jóan Pauli Joensen, Bót og biti. Matur og matarhald í Føroyum. 2 volumes. Faroe University Press, Tórshavn 2015. 258 + 296 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-99918-70.

■ A few years ago my colleague Gary Paul Nabhan wrote an interesting essay about what he called "microbial ethnobiology and the loss of distinctive food cultures". He observed that in most traditional food cultures all over the world microbially-fermented food products play a very important part – as the Norwegian ethnologist Astri Riddervold has previously pointed out in various writings – and that one can detect differences in taste, smell, appearance and other properties in the dishes and dietary elements that are produced and conserved in this way. This also applies in large measure to traditional food in the Faroes, where the population as a whole still knows how to appreciate fermented fish and meat in different forms as both festive and everyday food. In the Faroes they have also – as in many other countries – begun to discover the great value of locally produced fermented fish and meat products as an important cultural heritage that must be maintained. As recently as in December 2015 a conference, "Ræst 2015", was held in Tórshavn about this fascinating biocultural domain. It is no longer just clean ingredients from the sea that fashionable modern restaurants, such as Koks in Tórshavn, can now offer to tourists who are interested in food, but also exciting gustatory experiences, by adding raw-fermented fish and meat products when cooking. In a time when industrially produced food is eliminating sensations of taste and smell, fermented animal products with a distinctive accent are becoming an attraction.

In the Nordic countries there is a long tradition of research on diet and meals, both as cultural history and as contemporary studies. This research field focuses on fundamental factors in people's lives. We all have to eat, but there are frames for what we eat which are dependent on ecology, economy, ethics, learning, communication, culture, lifestyles, society, taste preferences, traditions, values, and of course fashions as well. Dietary habits, perhaps more than any other form of cultural expression, say something important about people and the society they live in. Nordic ethnologists have been very successful in research on diet and meals and have developed methods and tested useful theories. There is thus extensive knowledge about individual features of foodways, but not so many holistic perspectives.

One researcher who has chosen to attempt an all-round approach to the historical and contemporary diet and meal habits of a whole nation is the Faroese ethnologist Jóan Pauli Joensen, who is well grounded in the methodological and theoretical currents that have been developed in Nordic ethnological research in the post-war years. In this newly published two-volume work *Bót og biti* ("Stock and Bite") about foodways in the Faroes, Joensen illuminates the topic carefully, incorporating many dimensions and factors in the analysis, and considering both changes and tenacious structures. Joensen, through his many published studies, knows better than anyone else the lifestyles and habits of his compatriots in modern times and in history. He can thereby offer a solid analysis of food supply and dietary habits in the Faroes. His prose style is straightforward and accessible to a broad audience, without the tiresome clichés that unfortunately burden many ethnological presentations today.

Through a long series of previous ethnological studies of fishing, traditional folk culture, pilot whale hunting, and marriage customs, Joensen has accumulated extensive knowledge to fall back on. It is difficult not to be impressed by this and the generous way he shares it. Joensen naturally has a complete mastery of the available source material, but over the decades he has also collected a huge amount of data with the aid of interviews, questionnaires, fieldwork, and participant observation of Faroese life. For this study Joensen has also enlisted the assistance of social media. Starting in history, from a time when the population were self-sufficient, Joensen carries the discussion up to around 1960, a watershed when a new society took over. This does not prevent Joensen from sometimes continuing the analysis up to the present. From today's almost potlatch-like confirmation parties, which have not yet been the subject of any detailed study, he reports direct from his field diary (a good researcher naturally does not miss any opportunity for data collection even when invited to a party; anything else would be unthinkable for someone who studies meal habits) about the copious dishes and cakes served at a reception in Runavík in autumn 2014. This field observation also gave him insight into the significance of the mutual assistance in pre-

paring party food that is so typical in Faroese communities.

Much of the book is descriptive, interlarded with analytical discussions, some of which are conducted in notes, especially concerning sidelights of a theoretical or comparative kind, in order not to overload the text. The author has chosen what is almost *thick description*, inspired by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, an analytical concept with which he is thoroughly familiar. This too makes the text more accessible to a general audience that is perhaps more interested in empirical details than theoretical niceties. This is not mentioned as criticism. Readers are given much new knowledge!

The volumes are divided into large main chapters. An introductory chapter deals with vegetable food, that is, cereals (barley), root vegetables, and garden angelica. There is also a detailed examination of peat, which used to be important as fuel for cooking (it was only a few decades ago that it was completely replaced by oil and electricity). Animal topics are divided into several sections. One is devoted to livestock, with the focus on sheep and cattle, but also pigs and goats which, although they are purely historical phenomena, each get a section. There is also a description of the introduced Norwegian hare and its significance as a game animal. In a section on poultry we get a very interesting exposition of the Faroese goose and its history, but chickens and domesticated ducks are also considered. Wild fowl have for a long time played a significant role for the people, and the fulmar (*Fulmarus glacialis*) is still a significant contribution to the household food supply. Eggs and chicks have also been used. Joensen states in an interesting passage that modernization had the result that many birds were rejected as food. I myself have experienced how a person being interviewed simply did not want to tell – out of shame – how they had eaten starlings and other small birds before the Second World War. Interviewees give very brief answers when asked about things like this. It has become a kind of taboo to admit (which is an example of how interviews and similar recorded material are difficult to handle from the point of view of source criticism).

The importance of whale and seal in the diet is naturally treated at length, and the section about the pilot whale is of particularly high value, since its meat was not just a part of the household economy but is now also of great symbolic significance for national identity. Foreigners who protest against pilot whale hunting, which is pursued in a sustainable fashion and in a reasonably ethical way, simply have not understood (and of course do not want to understand). In a special chapter we also learn more about the significance of big whales, the species associated with the commercial whaling that was pursued in the first half of the twentieth century, which once gave the Faroese cheap meat. Naturally, we are also told more about the importance of fish and sea food, with special sections on cod, saithe, and halibut – by and large the species which, together with haddock, are still the dominant food fish in the Faroes. There are also interesting sections about the historical significance of seaweed and shellfish (at least mussels have been rediscovered).

A very detailed chapter is about storehouses and lean-to stores (Faroese *hjallur* and *kovi*). The *hjallur* is important not just as a storehouse but also for the preparation and conservation of food, through fermentation, drying, and other processes. On pages 139–141 we are given an interesting list of words associated with the taste and qualities of food, a kind of taxonomy of food associated with its conservation. The significance of fermented food and its tastes is obvious. Slaughtering and butchering are described with an exemplary wealth of ethnographic detail. The second part is devoted to housekeeping, food and cookery, and meal habits. It goes without saying that the foodways of the Faroese are also influenced by globalization, market forces, and urbanization. Being young in Tórshavn means that it is possible there too to prefer caffè latte or pizza to what is offered in the countryside. But there is still widespread awareness and interest when it comes to things such as fermented fish and meat, and the "loss of distinctive food cultures" that Nabhan postulates elsewhere has not yet reached the Faroes. Home-made food is important, and Faroese food can still compete against "foreign food".

An all-embracing work comparable to this can scarcely be food in any other language. The book is exemplary in its layout and design, and it is lavishly illustrated, which adds an important dimension for our knowledge of diet and meal habits in the Faroes (many ethnologists today seem to ignore illustrations, which is unfortunate since they have so much to give). This is a worthy study which was published to coincide with Jóan Pauli's seventieth birthday.

To readers who know Faroese, we may wish: *Væl gagnist*! The book is a treat. But since 99 per cent of Europe's ethnologists, food historians, and nutritionists probably cannot read Faroese (Nordicism appears to be dead among many ethnologists too), it would be good if the book could also be published in a more international language, because it certainly deserves international attention.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Life and Social Relations among the Ostrobothnian Bourgeoisie, 1750–1850

Pohjanmaan porvariston vuosisata 1750–1850. Asuminen ja elämänmuoto. Seija Johnson & Sanna-Maija Kauppi (eds.) K.H. Renlundin museo – Keski-Pohjanmaan maakuntamuseon julkaisuja 5. Kokkola 2013. 334 pp. Ill. Swedish summaries. ISBN 978-952-5619-25-6.

■ This study of the Ostrobothnian bourgeoisie explores and describes the life of four bourgeois families and their social network in the Ostrobothnian towns of Kokkola, Pietarsaari, Raahe, Vaasa and Seinäjoki. The articles deal with life and family tactics and strategies among the Roos, Lindskog, Lang and Falander-Wasastjerna families. For these families, as well as for the bourgeoisie in general, being successful economically manifested itself in maintaining a high standard of living and loyalty towards the family and business relationships. For them, a wide social network and its benefits played a particularly important role and is described thoroughly in the articles.

The book consists of 12 articles written by researchers and museum directors. In these articles, the writers describe, contextualise and analyse bourgeois living conditions and lifestyles during the most lucrative decades between the years 1750–1850. The Ostrobothnian bourgeoisie mainly obtained its wealth through the international export of tar and other goods. The town of Kokkola was at the beginning of the 19th century one of the largest towns in Finland and an important merchant shipping centre with an expanding international trade. The main item of export was tar, produced in Central Ostrobothnia. Successful trade made the town and its inhabitants wealthy, bringing with it international influences and a high standard of living.

All of the articles are written in Finnish and have Swedish summaries. The Swedish summaries are very short and only deal with some of the issues described in the articles. This is unfortunate since the book could have been a real asset for Nordic readers. However, the foreword as well as the introductory article by Professor Anna-Maria Åström have been written in both Finnish and Swedish. The book contains of a number of old photos to illustrate the content of the articles.

The various articles describe bourgeois life as being busy and consisting of large families, studies abroad, arranged marriages and numerous social events and opportunities to make money and expand business. The articles describe the privileged life of the bourgeois, but also the down sides of such a life. Despite prosperity, life in the 18th and 19th centuries still meant great losses and tragedies at a personal level in terms of the early death of women during childbirth or children dying at a very young age.

The articles are divided into five chapters according to the bourgeois households of Roos, Lindskog, Lang and Falander-Wasastjerna. All of these households are situated in Ostrobothnia, in the western part of Finland. The grandiose and lavish houses or mansions built by the families are all preserved today. The Falander House in Vaasa was built by Abraham Falander, later titled Wasastjerna, in 1780. The house is today the oldest brick building in Ostrobothnia. The second oldest home is the Lindskog House, named after its founder Per Adolf Lindskog. The house was built in 1797 in the very heart of Pietarsaari/Jakobstad. Östermyra Mansion, built in 1806 in Seinäjoki, was the home of Abraham Falander's son Gustaf Adolf Wasastjerna. The two remaining houses were built at the beginning of the 1800s. The Lang House in Raahe was built in 1812 by Johan Lang, whereas the Roos House in the centre of Kokkola/Gamlakarleby was built by Andreas Roos in 1813. The Roos House receives a great deal of attention precisely because the book was released in honour of its 200-year anniversary.

For me personally, the Roos House is more than familiar. Being from Kokkola, I once worked at the Roos House, which is a part of the K.H. Renlund Museum. Therefore, it is also easy for me to understand the fascination for old houses or mansions like the ones described in the book, where the spirit of former residents is still tangible, as pointed out by the writers.

Besides offering a cross-section of bourgeois life in Ostrobothnia during a certain period of time, the book also makes it possible for the reader to understand the value of archive material as a source of information and data. The writers have gathered an extensive amount of material, which gives us a very thorough picture of the bourgeoisie in Ostrobothnia at the time. What has been left unsaid or undiscovered is hard to say, maybe some details about a person's life or the meaning of some social contacts. The writers seem to be aware of the restraints of the material and therefore about their ability to find out all the details about the people's lives.

This book has a catalogue-like nature, consisting as it does of a great deal of information, names, dates and connections between the different families. The number of names and amount of the information presented with respect to them is challenging for the reader. It is sometimes difficult to keep up with the names and how they are connected to each other. It is also almost impossible to maintain a proper knowledge and understanding of who they really were and to fully understand and comprehend the role and significance of these people in the bourgeois network. Therefore, the genealogy tables found at the end of the book are priceless. I could also imagine that these tables have a significant value for genealogists and others interested in the bourgeois families originating from Ostrobothnia.

What the articles do reveal is how intertwined and premeditated the lives of the bourgeois were. They married within their bourgeois networks, chose godfathers and godmothers according to socio-economic status as well as strategically, and studied abroad at prominent schools to be able to be successful in their carriers. As an ethnologist, I would have wished to know more about the daily life of the bourgeoisie at the level of the individual but realize at the same time that it would probably be impossible to obtain such information. Certainly our understanding and knowledge of these families and their family members is now at a different level than it was before this book was written.

Besides the amount of information about the different bourgeois families, the articles also demonstrate how history can be made lively and interesting by combining different sources of information. At the same time, one can also sense the difficulties and problems concerning the manifold ways of using such material. To dig into archival material means that you often have to dig yet again and ever deeper to reach the next source of information, which will only lead you further to more information, in a cycle that may never end.

The book could have said more about the backgrounds of the writers, as it is difficult to know who they are and what their relation is to the study at hand. It would have also been interesting to know how the book project began, where the idea came from and how long it took to write the book. I would also have wished to find a summary of the articles at the end.

This study of Ostrobothnian bourgeoisie is a fresh and welcome addition to previous publications on the bourgeoisie and shows that bourgeois lifestyles can be studied from various angles and with different research questions. Therefore, the book is an asset to all those who have an interest in bourgeois lifestyles, especially those of bourgeois families in Ostrobothnia.

The book provides excellent insights into bourgeois lifestyles, networking, values and outlooks on life. The book is a successful example of a well-structured and interesting publication, which deepens our knowledge and understanding of bourgeois life during the 18th and 19th centuries. I therefore look forward to additional studies on the topic, which the foreword mentions will soon be forthcoming.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Åbo (Turku)

Using the Power of Humour

Anu Korhonen, Kiusanhenki. Sukupuoli ja huumori uuden ajan alussa. Atena, Jyväskylä 2013. 304 pp. ISBN 978-951-796-930-7.

■ Anu Korhonen is a cultural historian and specialist in the early modern English culture in its many shades. She is affiliated with the University of Helsinki. Since her dissertation, *Fellows in Infinite Jest: The Fool in Renaissance England* (1999), she has written fascinating books and articles about e.g. beauty, baldness, hair, masculinity, family violence and the theory of laughter. Her book, *Kiusanhenki: Sukupuoli ja huumori uuden ajan alussa*, deals with gender and humour in Early Modern England. However, she does not limit her interest only to English humour but also gives many Swedish and Finnish examples.

In the beginning of her book, Korhonen explains why humour is worth serious concern. It is an inseparable part of every culture but varies considerably in time and space, therefore often being difficult to understand. However, in the hands of a skilful scholar even the humour of the past can speak about its time and culture, in this case about the 16th and 17th centuries. Of course, jokes do not always allow us to know what really happened in the past, but they do reveal the possibilities and limits of past thinking while describing everyday situations at home and in the village or town. Humour also tells us about the joys and fears of people.

Korhonen focuses on spoken and written humour. Using an abundance of contemporary sources – diaries, memories, biographies and notes as well as printed jestbooks – she focuses on gender and sex in the jokes and finds out how these topics were seen and constructed by using humour. She also relies on plentiful English and Finnish research literature.

The first English satires and humorous texts were published in the 1490s but the first proper book of jokes appeared in 1526. During the 16th and 17th centuries dozens of jestbooks were published in English. Many kinds of writers, even physicians, collected jokes and wrote jestbooks, and most authors were from the educated upper classes of society. Some books were written at home but translations also appeared. In any case, the humour books did not follow the rules offered in the books on good manners, which were also very popular during the same era.

During the early modern era humour was, as it still is, international. Therefore it is very difficult to trace the origin of a particular joke. Slightly different versions of the same funny stories were repeated and retold in many countries. Therefore even the early modern jokes often sound familiar to us because we meet the same kind of stories in our own culture. Nevertheless, the historian must be constantly suspicious about familiarity – it may lead astray. However, today's people may find certain forms of early modern humour strange and different even though the function of jokes has not changed much.

Although the collections of jokes were written by educated people, humour was not the privilege of anybody in particular. Jokes were told in all social groups, and even scholars cultivated humour. It was also the weapon of the weak, the underdogs, and women; it could help these people express their ideas. Simultaneously, hierarchical social structures could be challenged or strengthened by jokes. Humour was an area of social life where one could prove to be very stupid or very civilized. The skill of laughing and making people laugh required intelligence and wit. One who could make people laugh was socially successful.

Culturally awkward, challenging, frightening or embarrassing situations, topics and things beg for humour that can help to discuss them. In the history of western humour sex seems to be one of such topics, and jokes connected with sex are the most common variety of humour. As a feminist scholar Korhonen particularly asks how gender was constructed and challenged by humour and jokes, how women were seen in the realm of humour, how masculinity was treated, what kind of topics were used and whose voice was heard in the jokes of the early modern times?

Using various examples and scholarly notes Korhonen writes about garrulous women, wives in need of taming, cuckolded husbands, and the fun of fornication. No matter what women did they were always ridiculed in jokes, but men were not completely saved from mockery either. Even elderly people were depicted as ridiculous, which sounds almost cruel. Luckily, in many jokes old people answer cunningly to their scorners and in turn make them laughable. On the basis of today's jokes, it is easy to understand that toilet humour and jokes about breaking wind made also early modern English men and women cackle, chuckle and giggle.

Jokes are almost always ambiguous, and so they were in the 16th and 17th centuries, too. They got different interpretations depending on the context, the social status of the speaker and the viewpoint of the listeners. However, many old jokes connected with their time cannot be understood at all today; even Korhonen who speaks English almost as a native has to admit that for today's people certain old jokes are quite incomprehensible. One realizes that humour is always historical and connected with the situation.

Korhonen writes eloquently, colourfully and thoroughly about her topic. An English translation of the book would make it available for larger audiences. However, even a slightly shorter version might do.

Leena Rossi, Turku

Natural Catastrophes

Kyrre Kverndokk, Naturkatastrofer. En kulturhistorie. Scandinavian Academic Press/Spartacus, Oslo 2015. 300 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-304-0125-5.

■ In this book Kyrre Kverndokk, professor of culture studies at Bergen University, examines three major catastrophes: the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, the volcanic eruption on Martinique in 1902 and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005. All three had far-reaching consequences outside their epicentres and created what is called catastrophe culture. A substantial part of the book treats media coverage. Thus Lisbon is the first media catastrophe, setting the parameters for how to describe and understand the catastrophe, while the New Orleans hurricane flooded the media.

Kverndokk examines the deep structures of the interpretation of catastrophes, the long lines of the risk society, whether natural catastrophes are given any meaning, when catastrophes became more secularized, how popular myths such as the looting of devastated cities spread, catastrophe tourism, the catastrophe on display in popular culture. Chronologically and structurally the three cases are well chosen, but of course they could have been supplemented with others, e.g. Krakatau 1883 and San Francisco 1906, and recently Haiti 2010 with 230,000 victims.

The focus is on reception history in Norway and the primary sources are mainly Norwegian: chapbooks, poems, newspapers, exhibitions. All through, however, international research is used. It is a very up to date treatment, quoting even Donald Trump on "the global warming hoax". On the early period Kverndokk has benefited from Kristiina Savin's thesis *Fortunas klädnader* (2011), on the Martinique case Ernest Zebrovsky, *The Last Days of St Pierre* (2002). There are many fine observations along the road, e.g. how during the nineteenth century the model catastrophe was no longer Lisbon but Pompeii, probably because of Bulwer Lytton's best-seller. There is also a close-up study of the adventurer traveller Carsten Borchgrevink as an example of primitive medialization of the catastrophe.

Catastrophes bring distant places to the fore, as media coverage unites the globe. Important factors are geographical locality, Lisbon, capital of a powerful nation and harbour along the trade route, Martinique in the Lesser Antilles and in the "backyard of the West" but in a new media landscape. (The emblematic destiny of the *Titanic* in 1912 was a consequence of the telegraph and radio, as Stephen Kern demonstrated in his pioneering book *The Culture of Time and Despair*, 1983). In New Orleans modern media gathered and partly staged the drama, which could be followed all over the world in real time. Another story is narratives about the feeling of togetherness, of a *communitas,* of humanitarian empathy.

We live in a semiotic world, searching for signs and meaning. Our fears in this risk society (Ulrich Beck) to a large extent concern the weather, which mankind has defended itself against through history. Perhaps the author underplays the role of science and its interpretative potential. He has an extensive discussion of the geological ideas in Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's *Afhandling om verdens Nyehed* (1757) but does not follow up this thread. At least catastrophe – or the fear of it – triggers science and the general discussion about safety, progress and what to believe. Catastrophe also raises moral questions. According to the older interpretation, man is sinning against God, who via Nature justly punishes man, and according to secularized logic man is sinning against Nature which in turn is taking revenge. Man is the central agent and catastrophe culture is moralistic.

Kverndokk writes effectively, the scope is wide: there are many digressions, such as press history, history of meteorology, catastrophe in film industry, catastrophe logic. One possible objection – which applies to many other academic studies – is the constant referring to other scholars in the body text. It makes for cumbersome reading. Of course, it is necessary to give credit to earlier research, but where have all the beloved footnotes gone? Narrative is endangered as a result of academic research documentation.

Another way of putting it is to stress that the author is in complete command of his field. His book ranges from biblical influences on popular thought, from history of science to media history, from history of concepts to events. It confronts some of the fundamental questions since time eternal: how will it all end? But it also considers the present interest in apocalyptic themes and how they are mediated: how are catastrophes transmitted to us, in a way constructed by media? This is a rich and rewarding book.

Gunnar Broberg, Lund

How to Make Cultural History

Making Cultural History. New Perspectives on Western Heritage. Anna Källén (ed.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2013. 208 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87351-19-8.

■ *Making Cultural History: New Perspectives on Western Heritage* is an intriguing title for a book which is one of the best in the field of cultural analysis and cultural history this reviewer has read in quite a long time. If not an instant classic, then this volume comprising 17 essays, rather short ones, about 10 pages each, is indeed one to turn to when pondering on how to make cultural history and especially how to bring out ideas and narratives of the research going on in this vast field, a field which in itself is extremely hard to define, something the volume wisely refrains from even trying to do. Both cultural/culture and history are so-called *universalia* or general concepts which a strict *a priori* definition might have great trouble in explaining conclusively.

As stated in the short but quite illuminating introduction to the book, written by Anna Källén and Inga Sanner, the volume has sprung out of the Research School for Studies in Cultural History, or FoKult, at the Faculty of Humanities of Stockholm University. FoKult was established by the faculty in 2009, in order to promote interdisciplinary collaborations and find new fertile ground for research on cultural history. Eight professors from different departments within the faculty joined the steering committee, and in the following two years nineteen excellent postgraduate students were enrolled in the FoKult programme. The need for different perspectives, the introduction states, is based on the duality of history itself. The past has created the present and is a source for our self-knowledge, but at the same time, the image of the past is continuously created and used in the present. So, for the group of young researchers this creative interplay between past and present is key to all activities at FoKult. Of the nineteen doctoral students enrolled in the project (born between 1967 and 1985) seventeen are represented with an essay in the volume.

So what do we mean when talking about perspective and perspectivism? My understanding of this issue stems from the one proposed by thinkers such as Nietzsche and later on Raymond Geuss, who has explained the use in Nietzsche's case as indicating a step away from a systemic explanation of Nietzsche, instead proposing that human beliefs are like maps. There may be different maps of a given area, maps that are better or worse in explaining some situation or occurrence. The map may be more or less accurate, more or less useful, and more or less comprehensive. But the point of the perspectivist, in Nietzsche's view (as explained by Geuss) is the denial of one single Super-map which combines all the virtues of all possible maps, without loss, and gives a view of the world that has absolute priority over all others, independent of variations in human purposes, values, interests and context. Or to put it another way, as for instance Donna Haraway has done, all knowledge is partial and situated. From this viewpoint, of academic knowledge as situated, as a partial perspective, follows the realization in the introduction that all narratives, representations and claims of culture and history are in some sense political. By clearing the table and making both the research and the research questions in this type of discourse political as it were, the table is open for formulations of new critical questions and, indeed, new methodological and theoretical perspectives.

As to the themes of the book, one of central importance is the interplay between past and present, which Källén and Sanner wrote about in the introduction. There is a view here that the different disciplines cover different fields but on more or less central and well illuminated, much in the same way as Orvar Löfgren in his overview of cultural studies in the anthology *Kulturstudier i Sverige* (2007) noted that there are black holes and white spots in cultural studies connected to a libidinous discursive field involving different disciplines. In this kind of scenario the strength of the FoKult programme and the book becomes obvious. If one looks a little more deeply into the texts, there are several essays here with an intersectional way of thinking. Texts with this kind of focus also imply that there are questions of power and of identity involved.

One such text is the first one in the book, by Elin Engström, about an archaeological project on the island of Öland, the Eketorp research project from the early twentieth century, involving strong displays of both visible and invisible masculinities, with especially the long-standing leader of the excavations, Professor Mårten Stenberger (1898–1973), described in some texts as sporting thick auburn hair and a proud smile, making him an iconic archaeologist comparable both to a real-life icon such as

Heinrich Schliemann or a fictional one such as Indiana Jones. Elin Engström tackles what she considers a vastly under-theorized dichotomy of place within which research has been carried out, the concepts of a male outer room and a female inner room, a room of pottery and a room of weapons, or, as was stated by Stenberger and his colleagues, a room of leadership and one with domestic purposes. What Engström stresses, applying Judith Butler's ideas of symbols used in relation to notions of masculinity and the distinction between the symbol and that which it symbolizes, is that the distinction undermines the perception of a "real" connection between masculinity as symbolic expression and the male body itself, leading up to questioning why other bodies could not also perform masculine expression just as well or even better. Related to the masculinization of the Eketorp project are also some festivities and commemorations of Stenberger, viewed almost as a cultic hero in this context, something which has larger repercussions since it points towards the gendered nature of the discipline of archaeology itself. The myth of the father-figure is connected both to notions of the researchers' objective gaze and to the strong connection between masculinities and hierarchies.

Another quite important essay is the one by Elisabeth Niklasson, also involving archaeology and in this case the ambitious programme launched by the EU, called the Raphael Programme, meant to highlight a distinctive European heritage in the archaeological field, as opposed to the more traditional national and nationalistic views of archaeological and cultural heritage. Niklasson is able to ask critical questions about the whole establishment process of the programme as involving strong components of elite thinking, hierarchies and new networks to be woven by experts in the field, often working as some sort of "double agents" between the intellectual and the political arenas in question. Issues of cognitive authority are highlighted in the essay, drawing on the feminist philosopher Kathryn Pyne Addelson's thinking about funding in science. A conclusion made by Addelson is that the cognitive authority of specialists in science and academia as a whole lies in their social arrangements and positions of power, allowing them to spread their metaphysical commitments by telling other researchers what their problems should be. And in the Raphael case, the newly pronounced pan-European approach here does not prevent the influential experts from still being nationalistic in their approach, with a combination or intersection between the national and the European taking place.

Niklasson also refers to the archaeologist Michael Shanks, who has taken issue with a thinking obviously common to archaeology, and to several other disciplines, of a dualism of practice and context, in which funding is reduced to something inevitable but irrelevant for the research process. By combining the two approaches of Addelson and Shanks, Niklasson rightly aims at greater clarity and better focus in the analysis, at the same time recognizing power imbalances between different elements. She is interested in showing how it is at the meeting point where archaeologists' ideas and practices and EU political structures interact and are blurred that the research is becoming really interesting.

A third essay from within the archaeological field is one written by Ingrid Berg, who, just like the two earlier ones discussed, also points to the importance of reflexivity in research practices. Berg's text concerns what she calls the dumps and ditches of an excavation in Kalaureia in Greece and how the practices and well-trodden paths (to use Orvar Löfgren's expression) of the discipline lead to a certain distortion of the archaeological past as seen in this type of archaeological excavation. Here the first Swedish involvement in the excavations in Greece in 1894 is the point of departure for Berg. Her grip on the story is intriguing since she treats the remains of spoil heaps and excavation ditches as archaeological features and part of the materiality of the history of archaeology. She discusses how the remains from this earlier excavation at Kalaureia came to serve in later archaeological excavations as a backdrop for "the archaeological gaze", which operates with a hierarchical vision and a presentation of history as layers. One such building, Stoa A, is used as an example of how history can be seen as some sort of container, formed from these same dumps and ditches. One conclusion she draws is the invisibility of the hands of the diggers, contrasted to the visibility of the minds of the archaeologists. The invisibility also concerns the present time of the place of excavation which is seen as vastly inferior to the time represented in the buildings and sites excavated. And the level of time favoured here is classical Greece, although Berg notes that lately also some other histor-

ical levels have been the foci of excavations in Greece, e.g. the Frankish times. She concludes by saying that the practice of archaeology is intertwined with identity formation, on both a personal and a collective level. Such a history of classical archaeology becomes a history of class, gender, race and power, hidden in the ruins of antiquity.

Concerning questions of theory in the volume, there are a couple of texts which are especially rewarding. Both involve meditations of the meaning of rhetorical figures. The first is Robin Wahlsten Böckerman's take on *textus* and *rhizome*, an experiment with two metaphors, as he calls it. The mixing of or intersection between textus and rhizome aims at seeing what will happen with intertextuality when an extreme standpoint is adopted and the metaphor textus is brought to bear on its relation to materiality, and then juxtaposed with another type of metaphor which both challenges and modifies the first metaphor. Instead of textus with its associations of weaving and fabric, the metaphor of rootstock works in another register of intersection and interconnection. Applying the textus metaphor first highlights its powerful iconicity, but also – as is almost always the case with metaphors as analytical tools – its insufficiency – because textus tends to be too "longitudinal" concerning the fabric of time. Using a well-known text by the Roman author Ovid – his *Metamorphoses* – as a test case of textus in action in history leads him to the conclusion that the textus metaphor cannot stand too much stretching before it snaps. Then the other metaphor rhizome (made famous by Deleuze and Guattari in their book *A Thousand Plateaus*) is introduced, bringing with it a strong element of anarchy, an anarchic principle of knowledge, as Wahlsten Böckerman states. To make a short version of a difficult and exciting textual analysis performed here, one could say that the essay ends up on a positive, if slightly bizarre note: The textus, by covering the material and complex features of intertextuality, is at risk of becoming inflexible and too visible, which calls out to the rhizome to illustrate the non-hierarchical and hidden dimensions of the process of intertextuality in time and place.

In another text working with a rhetorical device, the concept of anachronism is introduced. Daniel Strand analyses Peter Weiss's 1975 novel *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, in which three young antifascists stroll through Berlin's Pergamon Museum in September 1937, contemplating the remaining parts of the Pergamon temple's marble frieze, where the Olympian Gods violently thwart the attempted rebellion by the Giants. The novel's protagonists start debating the political significance of the piece, something which for Strand is a possibility to show how Weiss's novel not only demonstrates the potential of anachronistic appropriations of the past (performed by the three antifascists) but also provides a dialectic approach to the institutionalization of cultural heritage. How is this done? In Strand's view the novel shows how the creation and distribution of cultural heritage can be conceived of in terms of social relations between groups who produced historical discourses and control the means of production and distribution, and groups who are largely excluded from this ownership. Strand notes that such relations are never entirely fixed, they can be seen as the contingent outcome of negotiations and conflicts for the material control of the production of history, as well as the power to determine which segments should be transferred to the future. The selection of certain things as cultural heritage and the rejection of other things is, Strand notes, ultimately determined by conflicting social interests (and thus being political, if we want to follow the lead made by the book's introduction).

Another way of stating this is the talk about the merging of past and present, which is where the notion of anachronism is being introduced, by way of another historical example, Peter Watkins' movie from 2000, *La Commune*, an event which took place in Paris in 1871. The movie, lasting five and a half hours, is a re-enactment of the rise and fall of the Paris Commune. The film consciously blends past and present to a point where the distinction between actor and character evaporates altogether. And Strand notes: "By breaking down the dichotomies between actor/character and fiction/reality *La Commune* demonstrates how the reifying historical realism of standard Hollywood representations of historical events can be jettisoned for an anachronistic historiography which takes the immediate present as its point of departure. And consequently, if the past is to be transported into a productive force in our own time, that sort of dialogue seems more important than empirical reports of what exactly happened at a particular historical moment." His answer is that instead of treating the past as an object to be excavated it should be seen as an endless slew of marks,

traces, voices and images that the present can appropriate for itself. The anachronisms will then return to the past again and again, seeking creative openness, utterances we need for self-expression.

Silence in history is a key concept in an essay written by Anders Lindström, "Tracing the Silence of the Tragic". There is a highly interesting argument driving the text, namely that the unity of the tragic and of tragedy as an art form came to a halt with Euripides' *Bacchae* and as a result of this lost unity of the tragic, seen as an oscillation through polarity (light/dark, life/death etc.), the loss of harmony also has its repercussions on art and art forms in the modern era, but with a twist. As he writes, "seemingly at an infinite distance from the Greeks, after 2,000 years of dialectics […] the tragic once again becomes possible to articulate when modernity, in a horizontal confrontation, reactivates the tension of Greek tragedy, the tragic as articulated through its own void." So, for Lindström the silent trace of the tragic resonates in modernity through its own void, or negativity. Lindström's two examples or articulations of this void are the murals of Mark Rothko and the architecture of Mies van der Rohe. This text with its high level of abstraction and speculative nature is one of the most intriguing in the book, philosophical and elliptical in tone, driven by concepts such as vertical/horizontal, virtual, negativity, language as absence, leaving as much out of the text, in its creaks and silent corners, as pushing the thought forward through words.

Equally fascinating, and speculative, is the proposition made by Frederik Wallenstein on ways to understand an especially disturbing episode in Snorri's Old Norse saga, the burning of Rognvaldr réttilbeini, son of King Haraldr hárfagri (Harald Fairhair). Rognvaldr is executed by his own brother – and Harald's favourite son – Eiríkr blóðøx (Erik Bloodaxe) – because he has been accused of practising the hateful type of sorcery called *seiðr*. King Haraldr sends Eiríkr to Haðaland where he burns his brother Rognvaldr to death together with eighty other *seiðmenn*. And Snorri adds that "this deed was much praised". The whole episode of course, as Wallenstein retells it in his text, is both highly disturbing and extremely difficult to understand for a modern reader, uneducated in the norms and practices of Old Norse society. What Wallenstein is doing in his textual analysis is really a form of descent into the dark corners of this era when the actions mentioned supposedly took place, seen via the text from a somewhat later era, the years when Snorri wrote the text, and then trying to figure out, in our own era, with a normative universe quite unlike the one described by Snorri, what really is going on here. To be more precise, Wallenstein is able to show the reader that there is a reason and a logic going on in the passage he is analysing, in a text which is based on the scant material available, even though the exposition is quite speculative and the research is full of both theoretical and methodological problems.

Questions of "manliness" and "unmanliness" and Christianity versus paganism in Old Norse society are at the heart of the conflict laid bare here by Wallenstein, in a masterful exploration of variations in the four different sources available to the researcher. His conclusion is that the problems raised are numerous and many of the questions at hand are hard to answer, adding that it seems probable that there are sources aplenty when it comes to traditions, mentalities, conceptions, and ritual practices that lie beneath the surface of the sagas, and that these in part are traditions of great age and traditional depth. Not taking note of this would leave the interpreter of the culture with a highly skewed picture.

Questions both of movement and of the majestic abound in the text by Britta Zetterström Geschwind, called "A Majestic Copycat in Motion". The wordplay in the title hints at both these qualities. The copycat in question is a majestic lion, more than three metres high, standing in the hallway of the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm. The researcher describes her own experience of the monument in the following fashion: "He has red runes scribbled on his flanks, which are shining from the hundreds of curious hands that have explored the carvings and stroked his pale body over the years. He sits calmly, proud. Gazing in the distance, his face looks a bit sad. He is a full-scale plaster copy of the Piraeus lion, and it is he who will be the subject of this essay."

Zetterström Geschwind is then able to describe the various movements involving the lion, both the original marble lion erected in the port of Piraeus in Athens in the fourth century BC and taken by the Venetians from Athens as war booty after their victory over the Turks in 1687, placing it by the Arsenal in Venice, and then the plaster copy made of it

in 1895, which was the brainchild of Swedish poet and art connoisseur Fredrik Sander, who donated the lion to Swedish History Museum.

The one thing which is especially noteworthy about the lion in a Swedish and Nordic context are the Viking runes on the marble lion, discovered by a Swedish diplomat in 1800 and thereafter sparking continuous interest both in the plaster lion and in the runic inscription.

One of Zetterström Geschwind's acute observations concerning the lion is that it may be important to distinguish between the representations of the Piraeus lion and the lion's physical materiality. They cannot automatically be read the same way, she concludes.

Equally fascinating is Per Isakson's essay on the extremely strange composite art of the English poet William Blake, and in particular his engravings called *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Here questions of original and copy are addressed in a novel way, since what Blake was doing was sort of combining the two, by making a limited number of variations of these engravings (fewer than ten), making the distinction between original and copy almost disappear or at least putting it in quite a new light. The same holds for the contents of the engravings, which are a strange, even grotesque combination of text and picture, and at the same time neither of these in any conventional way. This leads Isakson, reasonably enough in my view, to describe these "unnam'd forms", as Blake called some of them, as an emergence in Western literature and art of the fantastic, seen as a genre, a literary and an existential mode.

Isakson is hesitant about treating the plates as a material configuration of text, image and design. It seems rather that, as much as Blake's drawing on the copperplate is execution and invention in one and the same act, so every treatment of the illuminated book is an act of invention, involving the reader in creative configuration. The fantastic transformation of knowledge in the chambers of the printing house becomes an equally fantastic bridging, and breaching, of the subjectivity of the reader, Isakson claims. And with the advent of digital storage and knowledge production, and in this case a Blakean archive on the net, the chances for further exploration are vastly enlarged, in what Isakson describes as the cybernetic co-production of new perception and new experience and the production of a new body: Blake's illuminated book is a cyborg machine.

Another form of materiality is at the centre of Emma Hagström Molin's text, the materiality of war booty books. The case she investigates is that of Strängnäs cathedral library, which during the years of Sweden's involvement in wars on the European continent in the seventeenth century led to the accumulation of spoils of war in huge quantities. The objects were used to found or enlarge royal and elite collections of art, archives, and books, and also the library of Strängnäs cathedral.

The theoretically and methodologically smart move Hagström Molin performs is, by avoiding a focus on the literary content of the war booty books in Strängnäs, to explore the materiality of the books, what the material did and what kind of relations it created when entering a new context. More specifically she discusses a single object, the catalogues of the cathedral book collection, and how its sub-collections were mixed and separated over the centuries, for the materiality of war booty books played an active part in the process of making the collection. She concludes her impressive essay by noting that a book collection evidently is not just a reservoir of literary content. On the contrary, the meaning of materiality as a quantity, a provenance, or a sign of history and memory should not be underestimated when analysing war booty objects in Swedish collections. And paradoxically the war booty acquisitions seem both to strengthen the Swedish cultural arena and to draw Sweden closer to the European "Republic of Learning", which was at that time much stronger on the Continent than in the North.

In Robert Nilsson's text, "Oral History and the Interpretation of the Recent Past: Remembering the Swedish Miners' Strike of 1969–70", there are a couple of interesting questions raised as to the complex of remembering in a larger historical and cultural context and the various positions of identity and relationality involved in the storytelling, in this case of the famous Swedish miners' strike in Gällivare in Swedish Norrland and the different forms these remembrances and identity questions take on through the years. Since the focus here is on oral storytelling there is a special problematic involved, one which in Nilsson's text is heavily relational and focusing on multivocality, since much of the material involved consists of recorded interviews made

in different situations and different times, with the strike and its repercussions at front stage.

Nilsson wisely ends his text with a set of questions instead of answers. What kind of possibilities of discussing the effects of public work on the strike, and also the relation between history and memory as distinct ways of knowing about and experiencing the past can be created by working on the recorded interviews? What can oral history do for the memory of the strike? How does this compare to other ways in which the strike has been presented? In the end it need not be about deciding which way of relating to the past is the better, but of facilitating discussions between different perspectives, he concludes.

In his essay, "Fictionalized Cityscapes: Lisbeth Salander and the Heritage of Stockholm" Johan Linder examines the use of the Swedish crime writer Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* books and films made from them in guided city tours in Stockholm. Arranged by the City Museum of Stockholm, an institution that is a focal point in the local heritage discourse, these tours are offered alongside ones that take in more obvious heritage objects, such as exhibitions, designated heritage sites, and so on. Taking part in such a tour and adopting a tourist gaze, calibrated through the fictional works of Stieg Larsson, Linder ponders on the question of what fiction does to heritage. In addition, he examines how the tours interpret the social critique embedded in the fictional works of the *Millennium* series.

His conclusions as to how the heritage of Stockholm is handled by the museum are critical of the museum's role both in the marketing of the *Millennium* series and in placing its fictionality on an equal footing with other materials in the museum. But his main focus is on the way the museum, by making the books a source for the touristic gaze, ends up negating their function as a critique of Swedish society.

In his essay, "The Past is a Present: On the Rhetoric of Monuments and United States Universalism", Adam Hjortén reminds us of the value of comparison in cultural studies and cultural history. Hjortén has been "reading" the networks of meaning attached to two monuments in the United States, one extremely well known and the other much more obscure in the public imagination, the Statue of Liberty in New York and the New Sweden Monument in Delaware, two monuments which on their face value couldn't be more different, as Hjortén notes. But at the same time, both were gifts by one nation to another (from France and Sweden, respectively, to the USA) and both highlight questions of universality and nationality (seen as a form of particularity), and also the paradox that the monument that to the greatest extent still retains this function as a signpost of friendship is the seemingly dead monument in Delaware. Unlike the Statue of Liberty today, the New Sweden Monument mainly stands as a representation of past connections between two countries. So what kind of symbolic work is going on in these two types of monument?

Hjortén notes that the rhetoric of a monument can either be close to the particularities of the represented past – it can be preoccupied with quite literally telling history – or it can lean towards universalism in its pronunciation of values, ideas, or ideals that are generalized from the historical context. Universalism and particularism should not be regarded as fixed entities or ideal types. Being rhetorical dimensions, they are constantly negotiable and they always coexist. He even suggests that universalism and particularism are crucial dimensions in monuments standing on United States territory, the reason being the dimensions connection to nationalism.

And what makes quite a difference is the fact that US nationalism is characterized by its very originality, its sense of exceptionalism which has been quite strongly connected to the Statue of Liberty and the symbolism one can deduce from it. Because the other monument, the Swedish-American one, is still much more oriented towards the giver than the one in New York, the whole context of the two monuments is vastly different. At the same time the statue by Carl Milles is largely forgotten in the public imagination today except as a token of friendship between two countries. And Hjortén convincingly argues that the Swedish-American monument as a representation is entangled. The act of making it was mutually constituted across imagined borders, so that it is impossible to describe within fixed categories of nation, ethnicity, or region. The monument, he says, is not a representation that can be meaningfully defined as Swedish, as American, or as Delawarean. It is all of those things, and more. Compare that to the French-American statue, as one might call it, today more than ever a symbol of the USA and American particularism, but also of a universalism which seems to concern the whole world. But,

Hjortén concludes, this is something of an illusion, because nothing is, in fact, as particular as the universal. While the particular feeds on history for its interpretation, the universal is dependent on contemporary contexts to be understandable. For the Statue of Liberty this context has been characterized by the evolving conceptions of US exceptionalism.

Another form of narrative can be found in Lisa Ehlin's take on Google and the mediation of cultural memory, in which she lays bare some quite absorbing questions about history and memory making. What is happening in a world and reality in which the memories of humans and machines are being more and more entangled? Her case in point is the rapidly growing use of Google maps and what kind of consequences this use has for our understanding of the world and ultimately our own place in it. Arguably, she says, rather than replacing reality or making the world a pure representation, the map and the physical world converge in a vision of augmented reality.

Ehlin notes that as we interact with bots and software, we are also active participants even when we are not aware of it. This of course, in turn, leads to issues of control and power, to notions of surveillance and privacy, but also to understanding what we are doing when we socialize and coexist online. The Internet, as culture, is here looked upon from an intersectional perspective, it is not something "out there", but made and recreated in a constant process of doing, enmeshing humans, machines, bodies, and images. Google, once a search engine, now in effect mediates experience as well as data, blurring the boundaries between human and machine memory.

Viewing Google maps as a form of medium – or perhaps several media meshed up together – leads the initial texts in the volume, those focusing on media — media understood both as intermediate and as concrete media with their own medial history. Both aspects of media are highlighted in Adam Wickberg Månsson's essay on the paper king, King Philip II of Spain, a kingdom vastly expanding in this particular era with new colonies added to it and also expanding as a paper bureaucracy with the king more and more functioning as a sort of almost Kafkaesque figure, writing his orders in the solitude of his study, quiet and unwilling to confront his subjects face to face, becoming in the process a kind of almost shadowlike king in his castle. If he, as one witness has it, achieved as much with his pen as his predecessors had done with their swords then his insistence on handling the vast amount of paper himself became his and his kingdom's undoing. The paper king became paralysed by the sheer amount of papers around him and complaints about inefficiency started to be heard as the economy was ruined in Europe's first great economic crisis, Wickberg Månsson writes.

Close up is also the word to be used when discussing the text by Mats Lindström on historical micromedia of a special type, quite hot in the interwar period of the twentieth century and today viewed upon with either a rather sad smile or as a memento of the unproductive paths onto which the technological revolutions of our times might lead us. These micromedia were then a strange combination of reading and viewing film or other visual media, microfilms of various kinds inspired by a vast amount of different techniques, from advertisements and commercial signs in the cityscape to Wall Street ticker tapes, creating various technologies of reproduction and representation on the smallest possible scale, beyond the very limits of human perception. What is especially intriguing here is the fact that the change of scale, the miniaturization of texts and pictures, has at least two consequences for the use of these media, the first one being the idea that the changed scale also might lead to a change of speed of conception, e.g. fast reading, and the other being that the miniaturization makes storage of vast quantities of information possible, with the Westinghouse Time Capsule, containing a microphotographic archive for "the future", being a particularly strong case in point. And of course this dream of an "endless information archive" is today being realized to a large extent in the form of digitization and the Internet.

Another type of media history, no less interesting, is brought to the fore in Tove Thorslund's text "A Matter of Quality", dealing with a problematic which might be seen as quintessentially Swedish, namely the co-existence of two strands of modernity in society, those of capitalism and socialism, which are in fact mostly blurred in a more detailed analysis.

Here Thorslund is studying a form of double standard and even spying activity on behalf of the Swedish Radio and TV Corporation (Sveriges Radio) in the 40s and 50s, when television was in its

infancy in the Nordic countries. Sveriges Radio was supposed to be, from the very start, a non-commercial, public service enterprise, much like the BBC, which traditionally produced programming of a "high quality" to "educate and enlighten" the general population.

When television broadcasts started in Sweden in the mid-50s the debate about commercial television often centred on good and bad taste, and high and low quality, in which horrific examples of the latter were taken from North American television. Americanism, or Americanization, was in this sense thought of as something vulgar.

What Thorslund convincingly shows is the degree of a double standard practised by the company and its leading bureaucrats. The simple fact is that a couple of the most popular of all Swedish programmes of those days – and of all days ever since – were in fact modelled on American programme formats. This is the case both with the extremely popular quiz show *Kvitt eller Dubbelt* (1957–1989) and of the talk show *Hylands Hörna* (1962–1983). There was even "a spy" of sorts active in the States, one of Sveriges Radios own foreign reporters, Claes Dahlgren, who with maximum secrecy reported continuously to his superiors in Stockholm about interesting, promising American programmes and programme formats. To add to this, some of the most popular of all the programmes on Swedish television were American shows, such as *Bonanza*, *Perry Mason*, *Lassie*, *I Love Lucy*.

Just like some of the other essays in this volume, this text ends with a question rather than an attempt at some final answer to the problems discussed. The conflict between high-quality cultural television and commercial entertainment raises interesting questions about taste, Thorslund writes and adds: what is good taste, and who are its arbiters?

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Even the Minister's Wife!

Vid hans sida. Svenska prästfruar under 250 år – ideal och verklighet. Ulrika Lagerlöf Nilsson & Birgitta Meurling (eds.). Artos & Norma bokförlag, Skellefteå 2015. 202 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7580-769-0.

■ This book is about ministers' wives in Sweden since the eighteenth century. The starting point seems to be that ministers are conservative and, consequently, that Luther's hierarchic classification of people lasts long, perhaps longer than in other kinds of households. On the top sits the husband, under him comes the wife, after her the children and servants. At least in non-professional rhetoric, Luther was claimed to have said that the male party in a marriage is more powerful than the female and that her position is less important than his.

Another starting point is a will to investigate the relationship between ideal and reality in the lives of ministers' wives. Being a kind of model for other women in the congregations, they should live as a combination of super-housewives, wonderful loving mothers, pious believers and intellectual partners to the highly intellectual minister. Sex is not worth mentioning, for obviously ministers' children are not engendered in a normal way. The authors try to see how different kinds of sources come to grip with the discrepancy between this ideal and a reality which, from a certainly modern but quite common experience-based analysis, must have been extremely tiresome and strenuous.

Oloph Bexell has investigated texts based on the memories of deceased ministers' wives. They are a kind of obituaries and wisely enough Bexell read them after having scrutinized them thoroughly from the perspective that one hardly ever writes anything but flatteringly about a dead person. Still he was able to see what a burden of work a minister's wife had to manage even until the end of the eighteenth century. She was the heart of a big rural household and, consequently, she was responsible for child rearing, guests, maids, farmhands, cattle, food and drink for a whole year, for cleaning and garments and much more, not to mention that she often had a big family with many children, in-laws and relatives in the house. It was her duty to free her husband for his intellectual work. However, this is not surprising taking into consideration the responsibilities of women in the countryside in general. Bexell also demonstrates how the relationship between the minister and his wife had a pastoral dimension that is missing in other marriages. In his article Bexell shows the ideal of a minister's wife. Hardly anything was found about difficulties, problems or failure.

The same way of mastering a big household we meet again in Cecilia Wejryd's article about ministers' wives in the nineteenth century. Her material

consists of memories of life in Swedish rectories published in quite a comprehensive series from the 1930s. However, there is a difference in the quality of the material compared to Bexell's sources. The ministers' wives are certainly dead but it is still possible to write about them in a more free tone than in obituaries. It was even possible to mention some negative characteristics. The genre thus decides the form of the narrative. In comparison to the life of a minister's wife in former centuries the late nineteenth-century woman saw some of her tasks professionalized, for instance, within the field of caring and nursing. Instead she took over new kinds of work, such as Sunday schools, Red Cross work and institutionalized charity.

Alexander Maurits describes the lives of the ministers' wives in the early twentieth century. His material consists of questionnaires, which certainly makes a great difference compared to older sources, for here we can hear the individual voices of the ladies. Still the wives were part of their husband's work, leaving him free to concentrate on his spiritual tasks. But now there was a change, for besides all the other duties she had looking after in the household, she assisted him in reading his texts or listening to his problems. Another change happened during this time when Sunday school teachers were appointed, when charity was institutionalized and publicly funded. After the Second World War even ministers' wives had an education of their own and could stick to it although they also kept the responsibility for the household. The number of children in the family was also reduced due to the acceptance of contraception, and thanks to more mechanization, the household was easier to maintain. The picture of the ideal minister's wife was changing due to a changing society.

The lives of bishops' wives are treated in two articles. Ulrika Lagerlöf Nilsson looks at a description of Maria Danell (1870–1943). Her son was the author of the source text, but Nilsson also had Maria Danell's letters to her ten children at hand. It turned out that Mrs Danell had just the same tasks as ministers' wives in general plus quite a lot of public duties together with her husband. Sometime she felt tired and complained about the duties and about herself as not fitting into the life of the high bourgeoisie, but mostly she let her children see her as a happy wife of a successful bishop. In this article it is clear that even a bishop's wife could be exhausted, but on the other hand: who, at a time when parents and children were anything but equal, would complain about everyday life to one's children?

Birgitta Meurling investigates the most recent time, i.e., the 1990s. Feminism, a general democratization process in Sweden, more higher education also for women and other social changes are seen in the interviews that Meurling conducted with a couple of bishops' wives. Certainly, they were respectful towards former bishops' wives' notions of an ideal way to support their husband. However, they very clearly expressed their will to keep their own job and identity as independent women. At the same time they also knew how to pick the cherries out of the cake and enjoy the nice sides of the bishop's work, such as public duties in and outside Sweden, provided they themselves could decide when and how to participate. In this way they acted just as any other woman of today who has the opportunity to lead an independent life. However, Meurling demonstrates that the bishop's wife still is the one in a couple who, when "needed", sacrifices her time and strength for her spouse. It was never mentioned that he had renounced anything for her career.

This book gives a good review of the position of women through history up to our time. With the help of some theory from gender studies the reader can see that ministers' wives have struggled with the same problems concerning equality as other women have done, at least since the beginning of the twentieth century. Ideal and reality meet to some extent, but not until our time is the ideal of the independent and self-sufficient wife even plausible. However, this is the perspective of the twenty-first century. This book does not ask questions about how the ministers' wives felt when their tasks as good spouses changed. At the beginning of the investigated period they were the centre of the congregation, but eventually their role changed to that of peripheral women without a position there, just as Doris Riemann demonstrated in her dissertation from 2014.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Cities and Memories

Muistin kaupunki: Tulkintoja kaupungista muistin ja muistamisen paikkana. Katri Lento & Pia Olsson (eds.). Historiallinen Arkisto 138. Suomalaisen Kir-

jallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2013. 391 pp. ISBN 978-952-222-449-1.

■ In the book *Muistin kaupunki* fifteen urban scholars from several fields of research have written thirteen essays about the urban environment and memory. The articles represent a large variety of urban research themes. Most of the authors are ethnologists or historians but there are e.g. museum workers, biologists, and city planners among them as well. The original idea of the book began with a series of lectures focusing on memories about Helsinki and their meanings, but it was considerably widened. Although several articles have the Finnish capital as their scene, there are also essays dealing with other towns. Even foreign cities are presented. Thus the approaches are both locally and generally interesting. The authors look at the physical and social urban space from different points of view, but memory gives them a shared frame of interpretation. Remembering and forgetting, individual and collective, private and public memories are key words in the articles.

In their introductory essay, Katri Lento and Pia Olsson emphasize the wide scale of urban studies and remind the readers of the importance of investigating both physical and lived environment. Urban space is an entity producing and maintaining cultural meanings as well as subjective experiences. The essays are divided into three chapters dealing with different ways of remembering. They are all worth a short introduction.

In the first chapter, *City as an individual place of memory*, there are five articles. First, with oral history as source material, Anna-Maria Åström writes about Helsinki's past from 1945 until the end of the century. Quite convincingly she utilizes the personal memories of the everyday life of citizens from different social classes and shows how their lifestyles became more heterogeneous while the city grew, more immigrants came in and certain areas were gentrified.

Then Oona Ilmolahti presents a valuable diary from the time of the Finnish civil war in Helsinki in 1918. The writer was a high official in the National Board of Education and he reported in detail the war events and daily life in the city first occupied by the reds and then by the whites. To his honest comments and reflections he adds his intimate emotions and personal evaluations.

Tytti Steel writes about the harbour city Kotka and its people on the basis of interviews conducted in the famous harbour restaurant Kairo in 1997–99. The citizens frequently encountered foreigners and were known to be tolerant. However, many had difficulties in accepting difference, even when the 'Others' were local harbour workers, ship girls or Finnish seamen.

Eveliina Asikainen and Kirsi Mäkinen write about the possibilities of interview promenades: How does the method activate memories, especially those of the urban nature? The authors give an example from Helsinki and another one from Tampere and prove that most memories in nature are connected with places and motion. Thus remembering also requires moving about.

Pia Olsson uses 17 ethnology students' written memories about Helsinki as her material; writing was part of their studies. In their reports all the students told about their experiences during their studies, but the local youth also wrote about their childhood. On the individual level students gradually apprehended the milieu and learned to interpret it, but certain experiences were given collective meanings.

The second chapter *Symbols of Collective Memory* consists of three articles. Anne Pöllänen is concerned with the documentation of contemporary life in museums for future generations. The museums have an institutional role and a responsibility as preservers of the memories of citizens. However, there's always the problem of what should be saved. Can we preserve our time without any objects?

Jari Harju presents a contemporary documentation project run by Helsinki City Museum in the suburb Myllypuro. In the endeavour the everyday life of citizens has been documented via interviews, questionnaires and photographs. The project continues the tradition that began a century ago with Signe Brander documenting the city with her camera.

The only non-Finnish writer in the book is Rainey Tisdale from Boston Museum. She writes about the role of city museums in the 21st century. How do they interpret and present the past of the city? She describes her observations in certain European and North American city museums; in every museum the past is presented chronologically and one episode or event often labels the past and dominates the collective memory. She also suggests alternative activities for museums.

In the third chapter, *City and the Memory Politics* with four essays, Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna first writes about the built city as a focal point for memory and meanings. Urban life produces many kinds of meanings connected with buildings. But when we speak about meanings we have to know whose meanings those are, since individuals and groups give the city different meanings, not only aesthetic, but also economical, social and political.

Tanja Vahtikari is interested in the historical town centre of Rauma. A century ago, a few artists from the capital expressed their concern for the picturesque old town with a medieval city plan and wooden buildings. Thus the value of the town was defined on a national level. In 1991, it was also defined on an international level, when UNESCO accepted it onto the list of world cultural heritage places.

Writing about Jyväskylä, Tiina-Riitta Lappi states that both planners and citizens give different meanings to the city and its past. In the public discussion the planners, officials and media consciously build and maintain narratives to strengthen an attractive imago for the city; the private discussion is based on the subjectively lived reality. While the public discussion stresses change, the citizens stress continuity.

The book ends with Hanna Mattila's and Tuomas Ilmavirta's inspiring article about the heritage industry. Leaning on several fashionable authors, they reflect on turning old industrial environments into aesthetic entities while their historical, political and moral meanings are forgotten. As an example they use the Pasila engineering works and ask an important question: Whose history is preserved for whom?

The book *Muistin kaupunki* has been planned as a textbook for ethnology students and to raise discussion about cross-disciplinary urban research and its possibilities. Anyone who is interested in urban research should read it.

Leena Rossi, Turku

A Revised Ethnomusicological Textbook

Dan Lundberg & Gunnar Ternhag, Musiketnologi. En introduktion. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2014. 160 pp. Ill. 2nd revised edition. ISBN 978-91-7844-914-9.

■ Twelve years after the first edition of *Musiketnologi*, a new edition has appeared. The new edition has been sparingly revised, but the result is an updating, and this is now a good occasion to remind people of this basic textbook in the field of ethnomusicology. As I observed when the first edition came (*Rig Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* 2003/3), the book is easy to read; without going into too much depth of detail it manages to say a little about all the relevant areas. It also provides information on the topic that is of interest to Swedish students since it refers to Swedish studies and musicologists.

The book discusses what ethnomusicology is and how the subject has developed. Each chapter is followed by a list of recommended reading. A large share of the book is devoted to fieldwork, also in archives, and transcription. Analysis of music and culture is likewise given considerable space. The reader gains insight into the concrete working methods of an ethnomusicologist, such as sound recording, and simultaneously the difficulty of choosing among methods of analysis. How researchers in the subject work today is mixed with how different ethnomusicologists have done comparisons and analyses during the time when the subject was being developed.

The revision means that a number of new publications in ethnomusicology have been added to the bibliography, and a few titles have been removed. The list of works suggested for further reading at the end of each chapter has also been expanded somewhat. Some pictures have been replaced and some sentences added, partly on account of the impact of new technology. No new sections have been added; the chapters are the same as before, with the exception of a list of terms and concepts that has been omitted from the new edition. Otherwise the revision is, above all, a polished version of the original text.

Magdalena Tellenbach, Marieholm

Baltic Liquor Smuggling

Johan A. Lundin & Fredrik Nilsson, Spritsmuggling på Östersjön. En kulturhistorisk studie av nätverk i tillblivelse. Makadam förlag, Göteborg & Stockholm 2015. 229 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-181-0.

■ It may appear foolhardy to choose network analysis for a close-up study of liquor smuggling during the inter-war years. How can one describe the way social networks among smugglers were built up and consolidated when more than a human life has

passed since then? And how is it possible to analyse such shady activities and informal agreements all those years ago? The rather clumsy subtitle of the book – indicating a culture-historical study of "networks in the making" – would seem to suggest that the authors felt some hesitation.

But it is precisely this approach that interests the two scholars. The book consists of two studies, "The Social Connections of Liquor Smuggling" and "The Technological Connections of Liquor Smuggling", one following the other seamlessly. The authors are two professors: the historian Johan A. Lundin at Lund University examines how the networks of smugglers actually were constructed, while the ethnologist Fredrik Nilsson at the Centre for Öresund Studies is interested in the material conditions that applied to smugglers and those who combated smuggling. They have found a rich and multifaceted body of source material in police and customs archives, and they have penetrated a huge quantity of investigation reports, court records, inquiries, descriptions by local coastguards, police interrogations, newspapers, and the specialist press. In this way the smugglers' activities and the authorities' efforts have been brought out of oblivion, and any notion that the material might be too limited for a detailed study has to be abandoned.

The picture they paint is convincingly rich in detail, allowing the reader to follow everything from exciting chases to everyday toil. Huge quantities of alcohol were smuggled into the country (the 400,000 litres confiscated in 1922−1924 were probably just a fraction), and as far as I understand, the majority was concentrated and could therefore be diluted many times before being sold. Two ten-litre cans, for example, could be blended by the owner of Café Helenehem in Malmö, Alfrida Fast, to make 50 litres of aquavit. A veritable flood of spirits thus poured in. We are seldom told who drank all this alcohol, but that is not the focus of this book. In the case of Alfrida Fast, we are told that "the aquavit thus obtained had then been sold by Mrs Fast on different occasions, half a litre at a time, at the Helenehem Café here in Malmö for 4 kronor and 50 öre, and for the same price had been sold by the half litre through the mediation of the roofer Georg Persson".

The book belongs to the research field where social scientists use network study as a method. One work of this kind which is not in the bibliography but which deals with the same inter-war years is the historian Pål Brunnström's study *Ägare och kapital: Klass och genus hos kapitalägare i Sverige 1918−1939* (Lund, 2014). This exposes the web of business and family connections that was an important condition for a couple of successful big businessmen and their families. But this study of liquor smuggling in the Baltic Sea is about people at the other end of the social hierarchy. This is about the dubious activities of small dealers, networks of social deviants, organized crime, and the culture of the poor. What they had in common, of course, is that social networks are sustained by individuals, and while it is scarcely problematic to name the individuals at the top of the business world, it is another matter when it comes to criminals. Reproducing their portraits or describing their family situation and life circumstances in detail can entail many ethical problems. Even if the leading characters are dead, perhaps their children and grandchildren are still alive, and it is far from certain that they want to be reminded of or associated with their law-breaking ancestors. Researchers tend to handle that kind of difficulty by avoiding the use of real names, but not so here. Instead the authors skilfully handle the problem by painting a mitigating background context to illustrate the social vulnerability, the political turbulence (the Great War had left ragged individuals and nations), the high unemployment (over 30% of organized workers lacked jobs at the end of 1932), and the economic misery: "Many sought comfort in the bottle; some tried to make a living by selling illegal liquor."

The introduction to the book presents a whole gallery of liquor exporters, smugglers, and dealers who had the restrictive alcohol policy and the introduction of rationing in 1917 as the foundation for their illicit side income. In darkness and fog, and sometimes with considerable hardship, the liquor was brought – via big and small vessels, fishing boats and rowing boats, into fishing harbours and remote bays, concealed in ditches and bushes – closer and closer to the consumers in Malmö, Gothenburg, and Stockholm. Johan A. Lundin convincingly shows that many of the networks created around the smuggling were relatively small. This was not so much a case of centrally controlled and organized crime, but more of individual actors who were recruited for periods of varying length. At the same time, there were clusters of professional criminals who built transnational networks of a larger geo-

graphical scope and more lasting over time; they attracted the attention of the media and were sometimes portrayed as exciting freebooters. And there were some professional skippers who were engaged as transporters on account of their local maritime knowledge. But the local networks of distributors appear to have consisted of fairly ordinary men and women who lived in meagre circumstances, looking for an easy meal ticket and taking the chance to earn some money when the opportunity presented itself. A few were professionals in the sense that they had "employment" as distributors or go-betweens, but functioning networks could also be based on kinship and marriage connections, with helpers among friends, neighbours, and workmates.

The struggle against smuggling was initially pursued with substandard equipment. While the big smugglers could have speedboats with aircraft engines and could use fast vehicles to mount what could be called "dromocratic" attacks on the state, the coastguards had only simple customs yachts and boats with weak engines. And when the authorities were investigating the possibility of cutting down on expenses and procured bicycles (because they "enabled movement four times faster than walking pace") for their staff, the smugglers drove cars between the landing places and the nearest storage place. It would be easy to make fun of the head of the 19th coastguard district and his view of the use of cars in combating smuggling as "a trial arrangement", or the way the slow-witted Swedish Board of Customs contemplated the risk the cars could be abused. But the author Fredrik Nilsson avoids this. Instead he methodically describes how the anti-smugglers adopted new communication technologies – "vectors" – such as aerial reconnaissance, radio, and telephone and gradually evened the odds in a kind of arms race. The battle was complex, however, and it was not only fought on land and sea but also concerned ideals and views of justice. The smugglers sometimes had an image of folk heroes; bold and dedicated businessmen with a special ability to trick the coastguards and lure the alcohol police. It is indicative that yarns about big smugglers like Algoth Niska in the Stockholm archipelago and Mabou Erik along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia are still orally transmitted, whereas the dogged work of the customs authorities and the brave excise men has scarcely attained the same heroic status.

All in all the authors demonstrate the fragile dialectic that characterized the smuggling networks – how they were built up and dismantled, reformed and collapsed. They also show how the crime fighters gradually strengthened their position through a series of interventions, detective work, and success in ringing in the criminal networks. And they convincingly analyse how both the smugglers and the anti-smugglers exerted themselves to adapt and optimize their material and non-material resources in their efforts to eliminate each other.

It is a solid piece of handicraft that the two researchers have delivered. Some references to their theoretical role models could well have been added to the ambitious notes; the references in the text seem like scaffolding that has been allowed to stand after the building is completed. But fair enough, each discipline has its conventions and writing styles, and this is an academic product – albeit unusually exciting, well illustrated, and easy to read.
Anders Björklund, Stockholm

Critical Heritage Research

Vägskälens kulturarv – kulturarv vid vägskäl. Om att skapa plats för romer och resande i kulturarvet. En rapport från forskningsprojektet Rörligare kulturarv. Ingrid Martins Holmberg (ed.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg & Stockholm 2014. 262 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-165-0.

■ Ingrid Martins Holmberg, lecturer in conservation at Gothenburg University, has edited an extensive report about making a place for Roma and Travellers in the cultural heritage.

To begin with she provides a survey of the terms and concepts used in the book, and the different contexts in which research has been done. The contexts mainly concern the way heritage management has dealt with participation and diversity in society, which she traces back in an interesting way to the 1970s. Ultimately, of course, this is a question of democracy, which means that heritage management should be constantly subjected to discussion and reappraisal, preferably with the addition of new knowledge from outside, such as this.

Roma historical sites have attracted increasing attention, and recently ten "knowledge projects" have been carried out in the public heritage sector in Sweden. These are presented in different ways in the book. The overall research project, however, is "A

More Mobile Heritage", which is the basis for this book, having run from 2012 to 2014 at the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University, with finance from the National Heritage Board. The idea of mobility is conveyed in the title of the book through a thought-provoking ambiguity: "the cultural heritage *of* the crossroads" and "cultural heritage management *at* the crossroads". Outside Sweden, Roma historical places have also attracted increasing attention; the introductory chapter presents several examples from Europe.

Claiming to delimit places and cultural heritage on an ethnic basis makes special demands of research. A footnote points out that Sweden has no official registration on the basis of ethnicity, which means that individuals' self-identification is counted; it is important to bear this in mind since identification is never fixed, simple, and homogeneous, but constantly changing, something that a person can choose. This also means that a place can carry memories that individuals do not wish to be identified with, while simultaneously memories can also shift dark historical burdens from individuals to society. It is therefore very important that seemingly dark memories in society also receive attention in the heritage context.

As regards the ethnifying terms used in the book, they need a special discussion, as always in contexts like this. The authors have chosen to mark when the words used are not their own choice, while they themselves alternate between the terms Roma and Travellers. Many other seemingly obvious expressions are also explained at length. Chief among these are the terms place, landscape, and cultural environment, but also history and cultural heritage. All these terms are, of course, crucial in the subject of conservation. Cultural environment is a Swedish term intended to comprise both place and landscape, whereas landscape concerns relations between places. Place is the central concept that is used most, referring to both spatial perspectives and the actual materiality of a place. History is regarded as a temporal dimension which can be simply described as bygone time, while cultural heritage is defined as something that is achieved in legitimating heritage processes, whereby something from past time is separated and publicly acknowledged as being cultural heritage.

How have the researchers gone about identifying the heritage places of Roma and Travellers? The groups concerned have taken part in the identification of sites and have been given preferential right of interpretation. An interesting question about what may be called heritage shift has accompanied the work. By this is meant that the understanding of cultural heritage is being reshaped within the sector, although it is not yet fully established, in a process pointing towards a broader and more complex understanding of identities as heterogeneous. There is thus critique of the current heritagization, which in fact leads to homogeneous identities. A critical understanding and analysis of heritage is extremely valuable, but one wonders if it does not mean homogenizing the identified places if one binds them to Roma and Travellers. Is there not a risk here of falling victim to one's own critique? If all identification is supposed to be open and changeable, and if it is possible to go into and out of identities and to change them, is it not therefore necessary to constantly reinterpret and change places and memories too? True, questions are asked about whether an ethnic interpretation is the most strategic and how a place can suitably come under the protection of a public authority. Many good questions are posed in the introduction, but difficulties evidently arose in the course of the work since not all the questions are answered.

The first empirical chapter describes a historically oriented pilot study of Roma places in Gothenburg 1890−1960. In this attempt by the building conservator Erika Persson to identify the places used by Roma we are given a deeper knowledge of how Roma have used and established different places. The first question she asks is what places in Gothenburg the Roma have historically frequented. But she also problematizes how different social conditions can explain how places are created and used. Her method is detection, and she notes that even a mobile history can be bound to places. Moreover, she sees ambivalences and difficulties both in the source material and in the interpretation of it. The text has its background in Persson's BA essay and differs from other texts in the book by being a specific history of the situation in a city, while it still retains the character of the essay. The interesting discussion of collective memory is nevertheless a valuable contribution to the book, along with the fact that Persson manages to show how the rest of society affects settlement and landscape through the processes of marginalization that dictate the framework

for what is possible. She also has a knowledgeable and important discussion about the available sources and how they can be interpreted. It should also be mentioned here that a book published in 2014 in Gothenburg – *Boken om Popp och hans mamma Alice* by Magnus Berg and Jan Popp – also deals with several of the places described by Persson, although not from the point of view of the place; it tells the story from the viewpoint of the vulnerable people.

In the next chapter the archaeologist Maria Persson provides a simple survey of the archaeological excavations concerning Roma and Travellers in Europe. She also describes the excavations that have given monument status to the sites of Snarsmoen in northern Bohuslän and Krämarstan outside Finneröddja in Örebro County. At both these sites there are remains of Travellers' settlements. The chapter ends by discussing how archaeological methods can find people who have not left any traces in written sources.

The third descriptive chapter is a survey by Erika Persson of the research that has been done on Roma and Travellers in Sweden and Europe. This is a very general overview that takes in more than just places or cultural environments. It is presented in the form of a commented bibliography.

Next the editor Ingrid Martins Holmberg returns together with the building conservator Sebastian Ulvsgärd in a commented catalogue of the traces left by Roma heritage activities in the cultural landscape in Sweden. The data come from the public heritage sector in the 21 counties of Sweden. Some sixty interviews were conducted by telephone and e-mail with officials at county museums and county administrations, asking what they think is known about places that can be linked to Roma or Travellers. The survey includes a presentation of ten recent projects and a list of material in museum collections and museum archives. Some literature on local history is also commented on, as well as the officials' private experience. The authors consider challenges and opportunities to create landscape-based heritage from the places of Roma and Travellers, and discuss concealed knowledge and the scope of the source material.

What kind of knowledge is created by a survey of more than a hundred places? The question asked is whether the public heritage sphere can produce a landscape-based Roma cultural heritage. But no one asks why this should be produced, and therefore there is no answer, which makes one wonder who it is that wants this survey and identification. Mobile groups have not previously considered it desirable to be identified with specific places. Our thoughts here are easily led to previous registrations and surveys in history which had unpleasant consequences. They were admittedly conducted by other authorities than those responsible for the cultural heritage, but is there not a risk that they can interact? Can the fact that Travellers and Roma themselves are the ones who participate and identify in the knowledge process not also be used against them? As history has shown us, these are extremely complex processes; a simple ethnic and cultural recognition does not always mean that the people concerned are also given full human rights. When history is written, it should not only include participation but also the possibility to choose where one wants to belong, and a social history that shows how society has marginalized both people and places. The collective memory not only has its potential but also some limitations. In future I would like to see a clearer discussion of what the fixation of homogeneous identities and demarcated places means for the people who abandon one identity to assume another, or how identities necessarily are always hybrids of heterogeneous constellations as regards both people and places.

The two projects *The Travellers' Map* and *Rom San* are heritage projects which have examined some of the difficult questions in depth, and therefore they have been given plenty of space, each with its own chapter in the book. Also presented here are ethical considerations about which history is suitable for telling and how one can act when presenting personal data about ethnicity. It is an interesting and important discussion, but here too ethnicity seems to be something fixed and immobile, even though the authors discuss how the principle of caution relates to self-identification. Must we not presume that ethnicity is about social life, about different ways of living? Where would this lead us otherwise?

Martins Holmberg and Jonsson go one step further in analysing the knowledge production that is achieved with *The Travellers' Map* as they classify places into five categories with subcategories. This means, of course, that the material is ordered, but is this not getting into deep water with the problem of what happens when one classifies, sorts, and categorizes on the basis of ethnicity? How does mobility relate to classification and sorting?

The Travellers' Map has its origin in the work with Snarsmoen and the permanent exhibition about the Travellers that has been on show at Bohuslän Museum since 2012. The exhibition is based on objects from the excavations at Snarsmoen.

Another project described by Martins Holmberg and Jonsson is *Rom San – Are You Roma?* which is run by Gothenburg City Museum and others, with EU finance. What is discussed in this book is how the fieldwork for the project was done. The aim of *Rom San* was to stimulate a change in the attitude of the majority population to the Roma, but the main focus here is on how the heritage sector reacted to the working method of the project. The work, which involved Roma participation in all phases of the projects, has been greatly appreciated in the sector, and several other museums have copied it.

The book ends with some short theoretical reflections on cultural heritage, place, and nomadism by the social anthropologist Staffan Appelgren. This is presented as a paper in English which ought to have been integrated better with the other texts. It means that the volume has the character of a report more than a book of general interest. On the other hand, this is where interesting theoretical questions are explored, such as what the price can be of being recognized as a heritage object; or what the differences between mobile and immobile entail. If, as Appelgren believes, modern society has a hegemonic, static, immobile unshakability as its organizing principle, studies of mobility must actively question fixed, homogeneous, and authentic identities. And this is the first time in the book the problem of heritagizing and territorializing nomadic lifeways is discussed.

In its own way this is a study in local history. All the authors are based in Gothenburg University, and the investigated sites are mostly in western Sweden, as are the museums and places described. But there are also some interesting discussions to carry further as regards critical heritage research, such as questions about the conditions for writing history and the significance of registering people; this means that the local examples have a broader significance in a discussion that also comprises much knowledge about comparable international research. We may hope that this is only the beginning of a larger contribution to critical heritage research.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

Nature for Me

Naturen för mig. Nutida röster och kulturella perspektiv. Lina Midholm & Katarina Saltzman (eds.). Institutet för språk och folkminnen i samarbete med Folklivsarkivet, Lunds universitet, Göteborg 2014. 384 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-86959-14-2.

■ As a child in the 1950s I spent a lot of time in the forest, picking berries with my mother and grandmother. Harvesting bilberries and cowberries for the autumn and winter was a natural part of life, and the forest was never far away. It was located where suburban development began in the 1960s and 1970s. The sixties also involved the forest, but this was the decade of car excursions. The family – often with the addition of a grandmother – took the car out to a "the forest", which was usually just a few metres from the A1 or some other major road. The camping table was set up and laid with salami sandwiches, a thermos flask, and plastic mugs. The wobbly and uncomfortable camp chairs were unfolded. It was almost always windy and drizzling, so Mum was never without her rustling mackintosh.

Neither the berrying nor the car excursions were particularly enjoyable for a child. It was much more fun to build a house in what we called "The Little Forest", a clump of trees just a hundred metres from home, or to play about with no supervision in the family's huge garden in the residential area of Örby, or to be at grandmother's summer cottage with its own jetty. While at the cottage we were outdoors almost round the clock, and there was the proper forest where we fetched drinking water from a well. At the cottage, nature became palpable and alive, an exciting adventure for us children. In the last thirty or forty years, however, I have hardly set foot in the forest we lived in then.

My dual relationship to the forest is typical of the time in which I grew up. Nature was mostly a place for excursions and games, but also a larder where one could collect food. The latter was a feature of peasant society, where nature was chiefly viewed as a resource and a necessity for survival. People went there to get food, building material, and fuel. But nature was simultaneously an unknown and alien domain, which aroused wonder and respect in people. It was inhabited by various solitary or collective supernatural beings – *skogsrå, näck, vättar, vittror, troll* – which helped people to explain the inexplicable and which were partners in nature with

whom humans could converse and negotiate so that they did not need to feel alone there.

In the modern industrial society that emerged from the early twentieth century, nature increasingly became a place of recreation. This had the consequence that "ordinary" people worked less and less in nature, which in turn meant that the supernatural beings became more and more peripheral. Encounters with them became unusual when people seldom had any other reason to use nature other than to enjoy it. Beliefs and narratives were instead associated with other phenomena such as immigrants and modern technology. Space was populated with creatures from other planets or galaxies, beings which, like their predecessors in nature, were very like human beings …

This volume, entitled "Nature For Me", considers different aspects of humans and nature under eleven general headings. Twenty-seven authors – fourteen women and thirteen men, mostly ethnologists – have contributed papers on everything from birdwatching and letting the cows out to berrying and elk hunting. About half of the authors work at the archives of tradition in Uppsala, Lund, Gothenburg, and Stockholm. The volume is the result of a major project that started in 2010, when the questionnaire *Nature For Me* was distributed by the Folklife Archives in Lund, the Institute of Language and Folklore in Uppsala, and the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. The roughly 300 responses received by the archives are an important basis for the volume. Information about people's relationship to nature has also been collected via interviews, web questionnaires, and participant observations. The project was geared to the present day, but historical considerations are also included, as one would expect.

The contents of the book vary greatly, but what the essays have in common is that they describe nature and humankind from an everyday perspective. The recently deceased ethnologist from Lund, Jochum Stattin, writes about folklore concerning nature. Here he has a huge amount of material to draw on. The archives are filled with beliefs about animals and plants and how they can affect people and their living conditions. Examples are omens for weather, seedtime and harvest; how animals can warn humans of danger; or what it was like in the days when animals could talk. The amount of beliefs and narratives shows the importance of having a good knowledge of nature. In peasant society people knew a lot about nature because that was essential for survival.

People's efforts to master life sometimes took the form of a desire to order and classify. Like the world as a whole, nature, animals, and plants have been subjected to systematization and classification. Our most famous example, of course, is Linnaeus with his taxonomy. In a paper about lobster fishing, the ethnologist Simon Ekström touches on matters of classification and mentions that Linnaeus assigned lobsters and crabs to the insects whereas we today class them as crustaceans. The discrepancy is due to the fact that Linnaeus had a different basis for his classification. He proceeded from the lobster's hard shell and its lack of an internal bone structure. That is not how we work today. Another example of how the initial premise has consequences is this: when a preschool boy in the 1990s called the hedgehog "the bird that can't fly" he proceeded from the place, the bush, which was home to many birds. This meant that the hedgehog, which also lived in the bush, was a bird, but an unusual one in that it could not fly.

The hedgehog is in focus in Göran Sjögård's article "The Good-natured Guest in the Garden". Here it is not counted among the birds, but the mammals. The hedgehog, which is a really old mammal, has been a protected species in Sweden since 1972. From the responses to the questionnaire on which Sjögård bases his article it is clear that the hedgehog is a very popular animal. Sjögård's essay is also accompanied by the fantastic story of a hedgehog that managed to warn people about an injured young hedgehog in need of help. That story affected me most of all the contributions in this book. It also led me to think of the beliefs mentioned above about animals as omens in close contact with humans.

One section in the book is about children and nature. There Professor Gunilla Halldén writes about the forests of childhood as places for both play and thought, for work and leisure. Professor Ella Johansson writes in the same section about games in a different kind of nature, namely, in the gardens of residential houses and among the tower blocks. She notes, among other things, that the play repertoire of children in the latter setting has decreased in comparison with a survey from the 1970s. This sounds plausible, but it does not bode well, although perhaps it should not only be interpreted negatively. Outdoor games have surely been replaced by indoor exercises at the computer, the iPad, or the mobile

phone. And perhaps outdoor settings are not always suitable for play, since cars are taking up more and more space, pushing children aside.

An interesting contribution by the ethnologist Susanne Nylund Skog is about birdwatching. The article takes the reader into a world with abstruse specialist terminology such as "jizz, drag, and dip". Birdwatching is often regarded as a pursuit for "nerds", but here the author shows us a fascinating hobby that offers not only knowledge about birds and nature but also comradeship and a chance for healthy outdoor life in our health-conscious days. I leave it to the reader to find out what "jizz, drag, and dip" mean.

The essays in the volume are all short, at most ten–twelve pages. It is richly illustrated with beautiful colour photographs, often from private photo albums. This makes "Nature For Me" into a highly attractive book. Yet I feel uncertain about the audience it is aimed at. It can hardly be used as course literature in higher education, since many of the articles do not problematize their topic. I am also uncertain about whether the book will appeal to the ordinary reader outside the academy, that is to say, whether the tone is sufficiently popular. Is it perhaps too ambitious and "scholarly" in its approach?

On the other hand, the volume can be regarded as a fine example of a coffee table book, suitable for flicking through or reading in depth in the waiting room of a doctor, dentist, or lawyer. But I think that the book would work well literally on the coffee table at home, where it can stimulate interesting discussions with guests about nature and the environment in our days. I don't know if that was the intention behind this beautiful and interesting book, simply because I find it difficult to understand the thinking behind it, who is expected to read it and when. It is too big and heavy to take on the train or bus or to read in bed. It can only really be enjoyed when sitting at a desk or in a comfortable armchair, and that is a pity because a book is not read as it ought to be when it is not easily portable.

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Museologists in Museums

Museologer på Museum. Fra undring til kunnskap. Janne Werner Olsrud & Christine Snekkenes (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2014. 213 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-786-2.

■ At least 95 per cent of our museums have been founded since 1945, as Brita Brenna, professor of museology at Oslo University, points out in the foreword to this edited volume. Moreover, "the breadth as regards what a museum can be about appears to be infinite," she writes. The academic discipline of "critical museology" or "museum studies" is a new creation in Norway, with the status of an independent major subject at Oslo University since 2010. Like the previously established international museology, this is an interdisciplinary science, where knowledge of the museum's roles in society is at the centre. Why is it that our modern society is founding a growing number of museums? What societal functions and needs lie behind this? The volume contains papers by nine master's students of museology at Oslo University. They look at museums from just as many different angles – which also testifies to the great breadth of the field. The essays deal with catalogues as museological "expert witnesses"; exhibition theory "from system to context"; architecture at an international exhibition (1893); shared museum stores as idea, practice, and potential new museum genre; artistic intervention in museums of cultural history; Internet technology as a motor of change in museums; objects in museums of natural history – "borrowed plumage"; photographs as cultural history; and the recurrent question of whether art museums need text in their exhibitions. An overall aim of the volume is to illuminate and analyse parts of the museums' extensive breadth of practices. Unfortunately, there is not enough space here to describe the content of all the essays in detail, so I shall concentrate on a few that particularly caught my interest.

Analyses of the museum as an institution often proceed from the image of practice consisting of a front stage (exhibitions and events) and a back stage (collecting, storage, cataloguing, administration, etc.). Janne Werner Olsrud's opening article tackles an important, but little-studied, aspect of the latter. The article is about "museum catalogues as museological 'expert witnesses'". His historical approach deals with cataloguing in the nineteenth century in Norway's oldest museum (Arendal Museum). The article gives detailed examples of how the catalogues were structured and how their logic changed in pace with the emergence of new scholarly practices. The catalogues went from a gift-oriented logic to one with a scientific orientation. Museum collec-

tions were adapted for existing or potential research. A marginal note here is that Olsrud's account lacks a broader contextualization – in what way did the changed catalogue practice change the museums' self-image in relation to the collecting ideology that was then so central? It is also somewhat regrettable that the author of this article was not familiar with a new doctoral dissertation on the topic, Bengt Wittgren's *Katalogen – nyckeln till museernas kunskap? Om dokumentation och kunskapskultur i museer* (Umeå universitet, 2013). But one strength of the article is the concrete empirical example that is the framework of Olsrud's presentation. This effort to proceed from a museum-related practice and then interpret it with the aid of selected methods and theories recurs in all the essays, which also makes the book worth reading.

Ingrid Halland Rashidi, in her article "From System to Context", examines the debate about the exhibition medium and the task of mediation in the years just after 1900. Rashidi is interested in the still topical debate about which exhibition principle should ideally govern museums. The essay is about the imagined conflict between "scientific principles" and "popular education", here exemplified by museums of natural history and their strategies to create environments (dioramas), for example, for stuffed animals. Rashidi compares the exhibition principles in museums of decorative art with museums of natural history. The author's point is to show that the former borrowed their classification principles and their typologies from the latter. Around 1900 the earlier taxonomies and their internal, scientifically steered exhibition principles were replaced with a "natural exhibition principle" whereby the artefacts would now be placed in thematic settings. The objects were thus contextualized, from being scientific type examples to become physical parts of larger societal contexts which concerned everything from technology to cultural customs. As the museums began to be adapted for broader popular education, Rashidi also shows that the pedagogy switched focus and instead of addressing producers addressed consumers. Although the museums of decorative art would still continue to provide good models for producers, they would now aim to inspire visitors to consume commodities of good quality.

In this essay too, a reader may sometimes miss a slightly broader contextualization. It is obvious that the exhibition principles of the early twentieth century were also established with ideological borrowings, for example, from the international exhibitions and the general industrialization of the Western world. Here Rashidi could quite easily have gone further with her interesting quotations and discussions of the ideology of popular education and consumption and link them to a broader societal context. One of the merits of Rashidi's article, however, is her examples showing that the debate about "the dullness of museums", and the consequent need to adapt the educational methods to arouse interest among the general public, has been going on for a very long time in the museum world.

Since the coming of the Internet and the subsequent need to set up websites, there has been a change in the museums' forms of professional address, which Lisa Amalie Elle writes about in her article, "Internet Technology as a Creator of Change". She has particularly studied the websites of the National Gallery and the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design in Norway. The websites meant that the curators' knowledge now had to be marketed in a new way, which required new knowledge of technology and net-based communication. This in turn had the result that the issue of who is responsible for mediation and message became more burning than ever. Before the Internet, the museums could set up an exhibition and then leave the interpretation to the visitor. When the same kind of exhibition is shown on the web, however, the question of who has the responsibility for the message, the target group, and the preferential right of interpretation makes itself felt more than before.

With reference to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Lisa Amalie Elle exemplifies how the museums' self-image regarding its task of mediation has changed. From an earlier "transmission model", where the imagined objective and inherent message of the objects was to be conveyed to a homogeneous mass audience through classification as a uniform principle, we now have a late-modern view of mediation, where both the sender and the receiver *interact* in the creation of different kinds of meaning. The latter attitude indicates that the visitors are now no longer viewed as an unspecified mass, but more as users actively creating meaning and interpreting in accordance with variables such as gender, class, education, ethnic origin, etc. As a consequence of

this "cultural turn" in the outlook on mediation, the need for well thought-out *dialogue* has made itself felt in museums and in culture policy as a whole. Here websites can come in as springboards to create new forms of accessibility and interactive interpretation of objects and contexts. It is just a pity that Elle does not give the reader any concrete examples of what this communication can look like.

Matters such as interpretation potential, target group, and responsibility for the message are also the topic of the article by Arlyne Moi, "Do Art Museums Need Mediating Texts in Their Galleries?" The question of the need for texts, especially in art museums, has been discussed for a very long time (and should continue to be debated, always!). Moi exemplifies with a telling quotation from the director of the British Museum, Neil MacGregor: "How far should we intervene in our visitors' experience of a picture?" The perception that texts, although they can help and explain, unfortunately also disturb and (negatively) affect the individual visitor's experience, illustrates the constant navigation between Scylla and Charybdis that is the task of mediation. In this article too, there is discussion of the dialogue between "sender and receiver". But Moi applies a bold approach with direct borrowings from ancient philosophers (think Plato); a dialogue is enacted here between two museum employees who are fictitious! The interesting thing is the actual dialogue and the arguments for or against texts in exhibitions, embroidered with references to various sources and theoreticians. This device is a refreshing way to tackle the topic, with the two speakers given the roles of ideal types representing different philosophical stances, circulating around the epistemological possibilities and limitations of the exhibition. The aim of the article is not to deliver solutions for museums, but to show the advantages and disadvantages of different mediation solutions. One conclusion is that there are scarcely any unambiguous answers to the question of whether texts in exhibitions are good or bad. Having no texts at all, however, tends to reflect an elitist attitude to the task of mediation.

This volume contains many interesting articles. It is true that there are certain small flaws in the form of the occasional use of more supporting quotations than are necessary, or references to sources that do not really add anything new to the discussion. But it has been refreshing and thought-provoking to read these texts by enthusiastic master's students; all of them (according to the foreword) have a background of working in the field. The book is a welcome addition to Nordic museological literature, and we may hope that it will be taken as evidence of a greater need for museological education and research in this sector.

Richard Pettersson, Umeå

Thinking in Time

Sten Rentzhog, Tänk i tid. Se framåt genom att blicka bakåt. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2014. 200 pp. ISBN 978-91-7331-628-6.

■ After having read this fiery sermon about the benefits and joys of history, it is obvious to me that "thinking in time" is something we all do, virtually all the time – for example now, at the start of 2016, when a series of prominent cultural figures have passed away, including the musician David Bowie and the author Umberto Eco. Collective memories are quickly highlighted in social media. We remember our own lives, large and small events become visible, in the light of the stars. Orientation points in the atlas of life are marked out. Eco's book, *The Name of the Rose*, I read in 1984. Individual fragments of memory reappear − *1984*, that Orwellian year, when I got my first job. I relive the smell of an April morning and a strong belief in the future.

"We live to remember ... one of the great joys of life,", as Umberto Eco said recently in an interview, and he called himself "Proustian" − a fine epithet to describe this profoundly human ability to imagine time through books, music, art, things, and sometimes just through a feeling, a special taste − a smell. Sten Rentzhog's book is about this ability. He writes about how, in a time of rapid development, we ought to free ourselves from habitual thinking and from today's therapeutic focus on living in the present. History, he argues, gives meaning in life and faith in the future. And surely he is right.

The well-known museum man Sten Rentzhog (former head of Jamtli and the Nordic Museum) has formulated his credo clearly in this book. Sounding slightly like a missionary, he speaks to anyone with an interest in matters of the future and personal development (and to me as someone who has worked with museum education since, yes, 1984).

I peruse the book and think: Sten Rentzhog, he

has been there all the time, an insightful leader who always put "Homo ludens" first. Many of the country's museum educators have shared the dramatized journeys in time at the Jamtli open-air museum in Östersund and in the Playhouse at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. Now these pleasurable activities, which involve practice in understanding one's place in history, can be found in most of Sweden's museums.

There is powerful commitment in the book, interwoven between the logical and confiding lines. But it is when the author lets his passion loose that his message becomes clearest. Then he is the eyewitness who can tell this story:

"I never forget how I discovered the immense joy of history. Suddenly it was as if I escaped from a shell and the world expanded. Presumably it is the same feeling as you can have when you first look through a periscope and get a glimpse of the immensity of space. But history and the periscope differ in that history is about ourselves. With growing fascination I explored beyond the question-and-answer teaching in school, and soon discovered that in almost everything I did there was a historical dimension."

Rentzhog believes that the past is real and contains everything that has been and happened right up to the moment that just passed. By history he means knowledge of this reality and the work of exploring it. Memory is a co-creator in this process, as is forgetting, for most of what has been is gone for ever. Only a tiny fraction of bygone reality is recreated in our consciousness, but this is nothing to be sorry about, Rentzhog writes, "for the meaning of life must lie outside ourselves", such as the understanding that new ideas and new generations will come. "We see ourselves as a link, a long chain, and that gives obligations." Life thus takes on other proportions if we think in time, use history, train our memory.

An important section in Rentzhog's book is about the danger of lacking history, with examples in George Orwell's novel *1984*, about the manipulation of the past so that people would not have anything to compare the present with. Those who control the past control the future − those who control the present control the past. A society like that lacks the questions by which history is taught: when, where, how, who, why − and then? What happens when citizens lose the ability to interpret the past, to establish connections in the present, to get a perspective on the future? Here the author becomes personal and political, and here his message becomes urgent. For how aware are we today about history and memory? How do we go about it? Qaisar Mahmood, department head at the National Heritage Board, has coined a new expression to do with cultural heritage: we are all "cultural heirs", he says, adopting Rentzhog's approach, that everyone should make a claim on yesterday by using it – focus on making sense rather than on the objects, and on the link between yesterday, today, and tomorrow, "not just nostalgically yearning for times past."

The chapters at the end, condensed and complex, arouse me, and my gut feeling tells me that here, in these parts, the book lives up to its intentions to give keys to a deeper awareness, an inner compass, historical empathy, and sound judgement.

In this genre of self-help books it is proper to assemble the names of philosophers and historians in an appendix, with commentary on each chapter. It is a bit of a guessing game in the text, however, as we wonder who is meant when we read a reference like: "as a historian of ideas writes". This, the concluding part of the book, is a memory capsule, full of thoughts about the utility of history and – yes, Nietzsche is important here − the damage it can cause. However, I miss Ricœur's *Memory, History, Forgetting* and Karl Popper's *The Poverty of Historicism* in the otherwise full bibliography. But, Rentzhog writes, knowledge is like building blocks. So I urge you to build on this book, which is a solid foundation and a noisy, somewhat irritating alarm clock (yes, I can hear!). The question, as usual, is: How can we get the people in power to consider this serious topic in depth, all those who seem to believe that history should pull itself together and who perhaps are prepared to help it on the way, at the cost of lost freedom and democracy?

Every event in human history is unique, essentially different from every other historical event, "everything flows". But Sten Rentzhog places the responsibility on all of us. No, we cannot predict, but perhaps we can foresee what will happen if we learn to think in time, he says. It is a way for people to relate to each other and to permit people to make their own history. Rentzhog writes:

"Not only people's decisions but all types of events and situations are easier to understand if one tries to come close to and live in them. So let us see

and listen. Let us approach the past as a big paradise or an alien world where we can wander around freely with the aid of history. We will never manage to discover everything, but enough to fill our lives with content."

The goddess of memory, Mnemosyne, who is also the mother of the muses, can provide useful help in this endeavour.

Eva Klang, Helsingborg

A Book on Second Homes

Second Home Tourism in Europe. Lifestyle Issues and Policy Responses. Zoran Roca (ed.). Farham: Ashgate 2013. 358 pp. Ill. Maps. ISBN 978-1-4094-5071-9.

■ In the last years there has been a growth in the literature on second homes – which are also called summer cottages as an alternative. An interesting book has now been added to the literature on this topic – the market views on and analyses of this heterogeneous area of research are still not mature; hence, there is still room for more studies. The study reviewed here is on second homes in several European countries

The authors in the study (*Second Home Tourism in Europe. Lifestyle Issues and Policy Responses*) for the most part stress that it is difficult to link this phenomenon to such concepts as leisure time and tourism. One reason is that the research on second homes has only just begun; another reason is that there are differences between second homes in the countries that are treated in the book, so the way in which this phenomenon is conceived and discussed is shifting. The countries that are treated in the book are Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain and Sweden. It should be added that it is difficult to find reliable statistical data on second houses.

The perspective in the book is mainly at the macro level, shifting between a national and a regional perspective with use of statistical data from taxations, censuses and other data. Another perspective is that the second-home phenomenon should be considered as a part of tourism. I agree in that this is correct given the caveat that these second homes are a physical means for realising the user's idea about this type of a life. On the other hand, the houses would not exist or perhaps even be maintained without the presence of the users. There is in this way a circular relationship between the houses and the users that is not explicit in the book. So the houses must in some way reflect the users' values regarding what constitutes a good holiday.

If the authors had used more of an ecological and a historical perspective, then it would have been easier for them to explain the differences between the countries. More precisely, this might include how the physical environment may be viewed as an attractive resource for the users of second homes, or quite the reverse why a particular element of the landscape is not viewed as an attractive resource by possible owners of second homes, meaning that there are not so many second homes in the area.

The explanations for the observed phenomenon and its variations are mostly synchronous, e.g. concerning roots tourism where owners and users are returning to the region where they perhaps grew up or where their kin perhaps lived several generations ago. However, the study lacks a diachronic perspective; the modernization of a country or region may have happened a short time ago – and in another country or region several generations ago. The effect is that the tradition in the first type of country or region is perhaps still active and in the second type of country or region may be lost so there is not a base for roots tourism.

The explanations in the articles are statistical; the work acknowledge serious problems with the statistical data. From this it becomes clear that the book in general is an overview of the heterogeneous second-home phenomenon. Due to the basic statistical material used for the book, the perspective is more on second homes than on second-home life, i.e. the social life of the users or owners of the second homes is for the most part missing. Their cultural constructions of second-home life are not explored at all.

It is evident from many of the articles that there is a need to regulate the ways in which the landscape is used, i.e. physical planning with a point of departure focusing on the local impact of the process and on the stakeholders' impact.

Ole Rud Nielsen, Åbo

Ideas of Furniture Design

Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen, Griffe, hejrer og ulve – nytt syn på design og møbelindustri 1830–1930. Nyt

Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, København 2015. 500 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-17-04333-6.

■ Architecture, interior design, furniture, and other fittings in homes and public environments have always had a message to convey, have always been expressions of a meaningful content, an ideological stance – more or less, and whether consciously or unconsciously. Among those in Denmark in recent years who have highlighted the ideology behind the nineteenth-century debate on style we have Mette Bligaard and Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen with their respective works on historicist architecture and interior design (*Frederiksborgs genrejsning: Historicisme i teori og praksis*, 2008) and historicist furniture (*Møbler med mening*, 2009).

Now it is Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen who adds another dimension to art history and ethnology with her contribution to the history of the underlying ideas in this magnificent volume, the title of which means "Gryphons, herons, and wolves: A new outlook on design and the furniture industry 1830–1930". Many years of impressive work lie behind this. In the preface the author describes how, early in her career, she came into contact with the archives of two major companies, C. B. Hansen and Severin & Andreas Jensen, now in the Museum of Art and Design in Copenhagen, which constitute the main empirical material for the project.

The two furniture firms illuminate in different ways the ideological movements of the time, and because their respective repertoires were aimed at different categories of customer, the material they have left invites comparisons: "While S. & A. Jensen were forward-looking and enjoyed the favour of architects from the Academy of Art, C. B. Hansen developed its establishment in a solid bourgeois direction."

We are given an impressive documentation of the work of the two firms. Of the 430 illustrations in the book, most show the designs and the finished furniture. Anyone who has worked with text and image on this scale must be impressed by the author's achievement in bringing this huge project safely into port.

The documentation includes a detailed description of the practical conditions. The author gives us insight into how the material for the furniture production was procured and she records the many deliveries of semi-manufactured parts which the joiners in the company assembled into items of furniture, often to suit a particular customer's wishes.

There is a painstaking account of how work in a furniture factory at the end of the nineteenth century could be organized. Much of the production was done with machine planes, bandsaws, and circular saws as the most important tools. The carving of ornamentation was rationalized but it was still a handicraft even though there were many machines for cutting ornament.

One of the advantages of the book is the focus on a person who exerted great influence over the whole applied arts movement in Denmark. The Danish philosopher Gustaf Friedrich Hetsch represented the same ideals as the contemporary British art critic John Ruskin, but like William Morris he was much more positively inclined towards the possibilities of industrial manufacture. The author shows how Hetsch had as his goal "to make art a part of people's everyday lives through craft and industry" and that the essential thing was to use art to "exert influence on the character of the people". We are given a thorough illumination of Hetsch's aesthetic and ideology, the idea of art shaping character, how useful everyday objects with an artistic design could be made available to everyone in the industrialized society.

It has long been known that the applied art movement was active well before the Arts and Crafts movement. What is new is that the author links this movement to the philosophers of the time. She asks how "aesthetic" was defined by them and by the pioneers of applied art, and she examines correspondences in their way of using formulations and concepts: "Can an agreement in a given case reflect the thinking behind the ideas and products of Danish architects, art historians, craftsmen, and manufacturers?" It is an interesting starting point – and a new way of approaching the ideology of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The book contains a multitude of concrete facts and interesting analyses of the underlying ideas. A body of text as large as this must be structured in a logical way to help the reader to find, and find again, the particular information that is sought.

A first glance at the table of contents and a quick flick through the 500 pages gives the impression that the structure is logical. It feels promising, but gradually one becomes aware that information about a specific topic can appear where the heading sug-

gests something different. The organization of furniture manufacture is described in a section that analyses the historical development of the underlying ideas. The section with the heading "Perfection – bourgeois morality" deals in large measure with the way the firm worked with service for its customers. It is very interesting, but this is not exactly the heading under which I would look for that information.

Why do the interesting details about how many apprentices worked on a particular piece of furniture appear in the part entitled "Ideology and market conditions"? I would never have thought of looking there. Indeed, it is incomprehensible to me why the author considers ideology and market conditions in the same section.

Why does she examine "the flow of work for furniture manufacture" in one place and "specialists and sub-suppliers" in another place, more than fifty pages later? These two pieces of information about the delivery of semi-manufactured pieces from specialists, in my opinion at least, are closely associated and ought to have come together. Nor are there any cross-references between these two parts.

And why do we not read about the last period in the history of the company until the conclusion of the book where the chapter heading suggests that we are to learn here in what way the author's view of the era is "new"?

The questions and analyses in the book provoke curiosity, and the author deserves praise for her ambition to provide something more than documentation, to put everything into its context in the history of ideas. But sometimes it is difficult to follow her reasoning, and the reader is expected to possess a thorough pre-understanding to be able to grasp all that is implicit: "In the functional perception of aesthetics greater significance is attached to the decorative element than that form and ornament idealize a specific symbolism." Here I can only guess as to what she means. Is she saying that functional aesthetic means that ornament is more significant than ornament as symbol? Or does she mean something completely different? It is no easier to keep up when she adds the concept of "functional symbolism".

The difficult formulations become even more numerous towards the end of the book when the author tries to bring it all together: "It is wholly crucial for the educational project to reshape the inspirations in a new synthesis which can express the implemented intellectual work to frame the individual's awareness and give beauty in everyday life". After rereading this several times I still wonder what she could mean. And a couple of pages later I realize the difficulty of illustrating values and ideological differences in metaphorical terms. The language is elegant and decorative, but not very lucid: "The two wings for which the two firms made furniture can be contrasted as manufacturer style and college style, where the differences are contingent on each other like the bearing and the borne in the architectonic structure… It is a struggle over patriarchal attitudes and two versions of educational values." Differences that define each other in the same way as the bearing and the borne in an architectonic structure. I must confess that I lose my way here.

The subtitle "A new outlook on design and the furniture industry 1830–1930" is enticing but also dubious since it does not state explicitly what the "new outlook" refers to. It could allude to the new nineteenth-century way of perceiving furniture and other applied art as character-forming. But when the author claims that her "analysis is a different and new way of interpreting historicist/neo-Renaissance style than the previous perception of neo-Renaissance as stylistic confusion", I nevertheless interpret the "new outlook" as referring to the view the author claims to have of the furniture art of historicism.

But how new is this outlook? The author's ambition to make the reader see historicism as a way to fill the styles with meaning is laudable, but it is not new. I would claim that this outlook has characterized research in the last forty years. It is a long time since anyone viewed the neo-Renaissance as a confusion of styles. Renate Wagner-Rieger (*Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1970), Klaus Döhmer (*"In welcher Style sollen wir bauen?" Architekturtheorie zwischen Klassizismus und Jugendstil*, 1976), and Kurt Milde (*Neorenaissance in der deutschen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 1981) are among those who long ago conveyed a view of nineteenth-century architecture resembling the one Rykind-Eriksen regards as new. Nor is it a new insight that among those who produced and used furniture there were also many who had basically the same ideas about the meaning of the different styles as those nurtured by architects and the interested general public about the art of public buildings. In Sweden, for instance, Bo Grandien and Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark in the 1970s and 1980s were exegetes in different contexts of this outlook on the

nineteenth-century art of furniture and interior decoration.

What is new, on the other hand, and worthy of great respect, is the author's focus on the way the firms managed their customer contacts, marketed their goods, and organized their manufacture. It is precisely this in-depth look at a couple of Danish firms' concrete activities, together with the author's description of design and the furniture industry as a mirror of the ideological and market-oriented forces of the time (when this is not obscured by verbal smokescreens), that gives weight to the book.

A particularly interesting and new dimension is given by the author to the story of the prehistory of the Arts and Crafts movement in her account of the role of Hetsch and other philosophers. Also interesting is the author's emphasis on the social aesthetic, the line of development running from the early twentieth-century favouring of the simple and functional to the social welfare programme of functionalism.

It can only be healthy in our own times, when so much present-day design and craft is the subject of theoretical research, to look back at the Arts and Crafts movement and its roots. And to do so through the work of two Danish furniture firms, when it is as meticulously documented as in Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen's work, makes the idea both concrete and credible. The book undoubtedly deserves a place as a source of inspiration and knowledge on the shelves of every historian of art and design.

Johan Knutsson, Linköping University

The Historical Development of the Scout Movement

Espen Schaanning, Barneridderne. Baden-Powell og den norske speiderbevegelsen. Cappelen Damm Akademisk, Oslo 2015. 651 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-02-48728-7.

■ The Norwegian historian of ideas Espen Schaanning has written a very thorough study of the ideological development of the scouting movement from its start in England in 1907. As a boy he was a scout himself in the years 1964–1974, which gives him inside experience. The first part of the book concentrates on the philosophy of the founder of the Boy Scouts, Robert Baden-Powell (born 1857) and the first decades of the movement in England up to the founder's death in 1941. The second part of the book focuses on the establishment of scouting in Norway and its subsequent development there.

Baden-Powell was a military man, which affected the scouting ideology. Life as a soldier constituted the model, with features such as uniforms and patrols. Baden-Powell gave detailed instructions in the book *Scouting for Boys* from 1908. The term "boy knight" meant that scouts were supposed to aspire to be like medieval knights, emulating King Arthur and St George. Baden-Powell wanted to assemble boys from all social classes and imprint strict discipline, obedience, and internal cohesion. It was also a matter of building up a strong national sentiment and applying the motto "back to nature". Practical tasks became important in connection with camp life in the outdoors, and the pleasurable aspect was emphasized. Religion could assist in the disciplining process, but it was not particularly prominent for Baden-Powell. In the long term, scouts were supposed to become good soldiers when they grew up, able to defend their native country. Initially Baden-Powell was highly successful, and the scout movement expanded vigorously in England.

The scout movement was known in Norway from 1909, and the focus on outdoor life was popular there. The first Norwegian scouting association, *Norske gutters speiderkorps* (NGS), was founded in 1910 and a handbook for Norwegian scouts was published. The military element was prominent, along with sport and outdoor life. The NGS, however, was terminated in 1912 and replaced by the rival *Norsk Speidergut-Forbund* (NSF), founded in 1911. Unlike its short-lived predecessor, the NSF maintained the importance of Protestant Christianity in the scout movement. Religion even took the place of the military element as an ideological basis. A scout was supposed to have Jesus as his model. The great outdoors where the scouts spent their time showed the way to God. The NSF had its own handbook, *Speidergutboken*, published in 1912 and from 1911 issued its own newsletter, *Speideren*. Sport played a central part, but not for competition. Discipline, cooperation, order, and patriotism were the guiding stars in accordance with Baden-Powell's instructions. No class differences were to occur. On the other hand, the NSF insisted that political matters should be kept outside the scout movement. It was to be apolitical and not have as its goal to

change society. But peace was an important issue. Peace could only be established if the individual became a better person. This was a basic condition in the scout movement.

The apolitical stance would soon be criticized by the alternative "red" scout groups founded within the labour movement in the 1920s to take part in the class struggle. The NSF was accused of representing the outlook of the bourgeois. The "red" scout groups, like the NSF, gave priority to sport and outdoor life, but also discipline, internal cohesion, uniforms, and patrols. The "red" scout groups enjoyed no success, however, and ceased to exist in the 1920s and 1930s.

The 1930s saw the growth of Norwegian national socialism, *Nasjonal Samling*, with its youth association *Nasjonal Samlings Ungdomfylking* (NSUF) emerging as a new political movement. As a consequence of its apolitical stance, the NSF did not denounce Nazism. After Germany's occupation of Norway in 1940, the NSF was banned in 1941 and its assets were seized. Some former scouts then joined the Norwegian resistance in its struggle against Nazism. This happened against the background of the scout movement's ideology in which the struggle for the native land was central. There were also some similarities between the NSF and the NSUF, such as discipline, obedience, physical activities, and internal cohesion. This may explain why some scouts joined the NSUF.

When the war ended, the NSF resumed its scouting activities with great success according to the same guidelines as those prevailing before the war. A major change took place in 1978, when the *Norsk Speiderforbund* was founded. This was the first time female and male scouts could work together in a joint organization.

Schaanning's study is impressive for its thoroughness. A rich corpus of empirical material is combined with in-depth analyses of the historical development. The author always puts the scout movement in its contemporary context; this applies to political movements and various youth movements. The sheer wealth of detail means that this book will scarcely attract a broad readership. On the other hand, it can and should become a standard work in the future in research on youth culture. It provides a foundation for future ethnological studies of individual scouts' and scout clubs' experiences. This will mean a move from the level of ideas, the starting point of this book, to the level of practice in the reality of scouting.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Danish Folklore

Danish Folktales, Legends, & Other Stories. Timothy R. Tangherlini (ed. and transl.). University of Washington Press, Seattle & London, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2013. 234 pp. + DVD. ISBN 978-87-635-4118-3.

■ *Danish Folktales, Legends, & Other Stories* is one of those books representing the end result of years and years of dedicated work. It presents the repertoires of five storytellers, three of them men and two women, drawn from Evald Tang Kristensen's collections of Jutlandic folklore. The aims of the work are ambitious: to provide a considerable body of Danish folklore in English translation; to map the uses to which storytellers put oral stories in dealing with the profound changes affecting Danish society in the 19th century; to explore the relations between the tellers and their stories, both on an individual and community level, and to reestablish the relations between stories in the repertoires of individual tellers.

The book opens with an introduction discussing the concepts of folklore and tradition, stressing the dynamic nature of folklore and its role as a vehicle of negotiation of cultural ideology. As the individual belongs to many different groups, and the traditional expressions associated with each may be contradictory, reconciling them implies a negotiation of the contours of tradition, potentially resulting in changes in the ideology of both individuals and groups. This is followed up with an account of Danish rural history in the 19th century, with a focus on social change. Danish agriculture was reorganised in this period, as was social organisation: the parish emerged as the main unit for local government and social activity, the town guilds lost their control over agriculture, being replaced by farmers and smallholders acting as individual market players, etc.

This is followed by a brief history of Danish folklore studies from Saxo Grammaticus – with the requisite excuses for his not really being a folklorist in any modern sense – via Anders Sørensen Vedel, the first true folklore collector, to Svend Hersleb

Grundtvig and his *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Henning Feilberg and Axel Olrik. The work of Evald Tang Kristensen naturally receives its own chapter, focusing on his working methods, both in field collecting and publishing.

Chapters on folklore genres, particularly ballads and folk songs, folktales and fairytales, legends, and miscellaneous other genres, set the stage for the commented texts later in the book. In the chapter on ballads and folksongs, the historical orientation of earlier Danish ballad scholarship and its neglect of ballad melodies is contrasted with the more recent interest in the interplay between textual and musical aspects of the ballads, and the relationships between ballads and other genres such as fairy tales and legends. The study of folklore repertoire, aided by the present book, is advocated as a means of elucidating the choice of genre made by individual performers in expressing certain ideas. The chapter on folktales primarily relates to the structural study of folktales, once again emphasising those aspects that can serve to highlight the impetus behind individual tellers' narrative choices. The chapter on legends opens with a discussion of Tang Kristensen's own classification system, and proceeds to outline the application of Labov and Waletsky's classic model of narrative structure to legends as a tool for discerning the effects of cultural ideology on stories. Tangherlini argues that the nature of threat and the objects of threat in legends are of great significance for understanding the relation between the stories and their context, particularly how they connect the real effects of such threats on storytellers' lives to contemporaneous social, economic and political change. Legends are glossed as a safe environment for exploring the outcomes of various counteractions to these threats, and they can be further commented on in the resolution of the story, which can be used to propose a particular ideological evaluation of the selected strategy.

Notions of tradition, from the superorganic view reigning in the early days of scholarly folklore studies, to questions of repertoire and the individual's relation to tradition, is also considered. Tangherlini criticises the tendency of much earlier repertoire studies of focusing excessively on individuals with strong genre specialisations, pointing to the need for recording wider repertoires in order to understand the interplay between individuals and tradition. He also introduces the idea of a sliding scale between *active* and *passive participants* in tradition, to modify von Sydow's concept of active and passive tradition bearers. As Tangherlini states, being an active participant in one part of the community's tradition does not mean one is active in another, and involvement in a tradition during the life course is not necessarily stable.

In the chapters on folklore genres and tradition–individual repertoires, Tangherlini combines insights from the old genre discussion with ideas sampled from discussions on ritual, structuralism and narratology. In some respects, the account appears more structuralist than it actually is, but Tangherlini also puts analysis of narrative structure to good use. His own specialisation on legends is apparent, as his reflections on this genre are much more stimulating and far-reaching than those on ballads and folktales.

The final chapter in this introductory section provides the rationale for choosing the five performers included in the book, based on the size of their repertoires (forty stories or more), gender, geographical distribution, age, education and occupation. The fact that Tang Kristensen himself regarded them as competent performers is also taken into account.

The first performer presented in the book is "Bitte Jens" Kristensen, who had a large repertoire of legends, ballads, folktales and items belonging to various other genres. In the selection of his folklore transcribed in the book, many showcase his sense of humour and predilection for racy stories and songs. Conflicts between the classes, or rich and poor, are other recurrent themes in his stories, as in those of many other smallholders.

Kirsten Marie Pedersdatter is the second performer, and she specialised in oral narrative. Her repertoire included legends and folktales, and she was unusual in the positive outcome she gave to her legends, even in cases where other storytellers favoured a negative one; the sunny disposition of the fairytale rubbed off on her legends. Being a farmowner's daughter marrying down into the cotter class, she had a sense of social rank that is also reflected in her stories, where property is mentioned to an uncommonly high degree.

The third performer, Jens Peter Pedersen, was a day labourer and lathe turner, who specialised almost exclusively in legends and descriptions of topography, and local beliefs and practices. He often

used place-names in his stories to localise them thoroughly. Compared to Pedersdatter's stories, his are far darker, more sinister and violent.

The fourth performer, (Ane) Margrete Jensdatter, had an extensive repertoire of folktales, some of them shading into the legend. Supranormal creatures figure frequently in her stories. She was also a ballad singer, though her repertoire in this area was smaller. Some of her stories are a bit sinister, and many deal with the harshness of life in the countryside.

Peder Johansen is the fifth and final performer. He was a miller, and also played the fiddle; unfortunately, his music was never collected. Several of his longer stories feature tricky young men, and the supernatural lore covers well-known Scandinavian legend types. He was an unusually young informant, given Tang Kristensen's preference for more elderly tellers; since few of the stories of people from his age group were collected, analysing their idiosyncracies is difficult.

An additional benefit of this book is the DVD – Danish Folklore Nexus – that accompanies it, which allows the reader to access more information on tellers, places and stories, as well as on Tang Kristensen's fieldtrips. In addition to the whole extant repertoire of the five performers, parallels to their stories and songs in the repertoires of other tellers and singers are included. The narrative material is complemented by maps, both historical and modern ones. Being a Mac-user, viewing the digital contents did not work at all with Safari, and I had to switch my web browser to Mozilla Firefox, which I recommend other Mac-users to do too. After this initial hurdle had been breached, the interface itself is very user-friendly, and navigating in the database is easy. A lot of work has been put into constructing it, as Tangherlini's previous publications have demonstrated, and I can only commend the result. In all, the book will indubitably prove an invaluable resource for the study of Scandinavian narrative in the 19th century, and function as an excellent introduction to older Danish folklore. As for the ambitious aim of the book, it is not wholly carried through in the comments on the stories of each performer, but as the work offers much food for thought in this respect as well, the reader can draw her own conclusions.

Camilla Asplund Ingemark, Lund/Åbo

Songs of the Border People

Lotte Tarkka, Songs of the Border People. Genre, Reflexivity, and Performance in Karelian Oral Poetry. Folklore Fellows' Communications 305. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki 2013. 631 pp. ISBN 978-951-41- 1091-7.

■ Lotte Tarkka, a folklorist from Finland, in a translation and a rework of her dissertation from 2005, has published *Songs of the Border People*. Her focus is on archival information from the White Sea, Archangel Karelia. This covers an era from the 1820s to the 1920s when oral poetry was very much alive and a part of daily life. She has done insightful work and it is a privilege to read her text. The study is divided into 12 chapters, ranging from her theoretical insights and discussions to historical experiences of World War I. One of the more interesting parts, as I see it, is her analyses of the performer and the analyses of the performance itself. Where the performer becomes the song or the poem, he is presented as a hero, like Väinämöinen's voice in the *Kalevala*. She says that in the "performance the singer and audience came to identify with the characters from the epic" (p. 170). Tarkka is not looking for the ancient past, as earlier researchers in particular did. She focuses more on the singers' and sages' intellectual tradition heritage, their vernacular poems. As readers we also get glimpses of their lives in the village of Vuokkiniemi. The poems are transcribed and printed in both Karelian and English, I do not have any competence to comment on the Karelian lyrics and the translation, but Tarkka has good expertise to help her with that from Leila Virtanen, so I presume that the translations are correct and mirror the original text as closely as possible. In any case, it is a gold mine for future researchers to use and perhaps draw other conclusions or extract new knowledge from Tarkka's work. It is not only the lyrics; we also learn about language history and how the language was used in the 1800s.

For my own work, what I find very interesting are the similarities to Sámi yoiking traditions. There are several examples where Sámi persons take part in the story, reflecting the visibility of the Sámi people in Vuokkiniemi territory. The people of Venehjärvi were taught, according to local knowledge, from poems of Lapland, mostly healing incantations and magical adversaries (p. 164). What ski

track shall I sing/for which cause shall I rumble/I shall sing Lapland's ski tracks/those trod by the hut-boys/those once sung by Lapps/hastened along by the hut-boys, this poem is a good example of the singer's journey in words and also a journey in the landscape, describing its nature and life, a cross-cultural relationship between different ethnic groups. Tarkka not only performs the explicit analyses, she also searches for the elusive or implicit interpretations. A knowledge of the intangible traditional heritage is necessary to draw these conclusions. Entextualization is an approach that folklorists like Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs have applied before, and it is fruitful for studies like Tarkka's, in my opinion. What is interesting and useful is how she shows us the old days and the spiritual contacts. I wonder if it is possible to achieve a recontextualization of the Karelian hymns? Can we recreate the singing traditions and stories and perform them for a new audience today? Like sages in the past who were knowledgeable and highly esteemed, able to make a living from their skills, should not today's singers also have an option to make a living from their intellectual traditional heritage? There is a dynamic relationship between the audience and the performer. As a part of an audience I would really like to see and hear such a performance and if I could understand the Karelian language I would love to do that. Tarkka (p. 501) concludes that the Kalevala-metre poetry established bonds between people, bygone ancestors and future generations and the "precious others" taking part in the creation and the traditional discourse. I think that these are really beautiful words to end a book with; it gives us hope for the future and that history will always be part of us. We all carry our own history within ourselves.

Krister Stoor, Umeå

Biographies of Stuffed Animals – Animals on Display

Liv Emma Thorsen, Elephants Are Not Picked from Trees. Animal Biographies in Gothenburg. Natural History Museum. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2014. 256 pp. Ill. ISBN 978–87-7124-212-6.

Animals on Display: The Creaturely in Museums, Zoos, and Natural History. Liv Emma Thorsen, Karen A. Rader & Adam Dodd (eds.). Pennsylvania University Press, University Park PA 2013. Ill. 222 pp. ISBN 978-0-271-06071-2.

■ The ethnologist Liv Emma Thorsen is one of the very few scholars among my colleagues who has taken a serious interest in the significance of animals for humans, both past and present. It is over ten years since her much-appreciated book about dogs appeared, and since then numerous articles of hers have appeared in edited volumes and journals, dealing in different ways with humans and animals. In recent years Thorsen has had a project concerning the animals we meet in museums of natural history. There are, of course, many ways in which we can relate to these stuffed animals and birds, but there is always some animal that sticks in one's mind and can be remembered for decades. The two-headed calf in the Swedish Museum of Natural History is remembered by many visitors from their childhood when we interview them. Older visitors no doubt have some relationship to Simba the lion in the entrance hall of the Gothenburg Museum of Natural History, because Simba was once, while still alive, a national celebrity when he lived in the home of Sigvard Berggren and starred in Nils Poppe's film "Lion about Town". I myself have always been fascinated by the labels on the bases of the stuffed animals, telling about the provenance of the animals, since they often provide a condensed history of research and science (expeditions, old collections, menageries, etc.). But my interest in cultural zoology, or whatever we may call it, has been greatly inspired by Yngve Löwegren's classical *Zoologisk museiteknik* (1961), which contains a vast amount of exciting cultural history of different kinds. The details alone of the "giant bones" in St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna have fascinated me ever since I read about them in Löwegren's book in the early 1960s. My copy has been read to pieces.

Thorsen does not include Löwegren in the list of references, even though he was a foremost historian of science and his book sometimes touches on her topic. Instead she works rather in the same way as Melissa Milgrom did in her readable book *Still Life: Adventures in Taxidermy*, published in 2010. While Milgrom is primarily interested in the men (for it is mostly men) behind the stuffed animals, Thorsen focuses instead on the biographies of individual stuffed animals. She has selected a number of very skilfully prepared animals in the collections of the

Gothenburg Museum of Natural History which are often highly popular among visitors: a gorilla from Rowland Ward, a macaque from Sulawesi, a stray walrus from Rörö, and a huge African elephant, shot by David Sjölander in Angola. All these animals have been given a place in the hall of mammals in the museum, but they also all have their individual histories in which Thorsen is interested. In recent years we have read several biographies of charismatic and famous animals which have ended up in captivity and zoos, for example, Jumbo the elephant, M'Pungu the gorilla, and Zarafa the giraffe. Some of them also finished up in zoological collections.

Thorsen's book tells stories that are at once moving and exciting, simultaneously giving us fascinating glimpses of the work of the conservators in our zoological museums. The work of the highly skilled David Sjölander, about which I had previously read in Löwegren's book, is given new dimensions, and just like Carl Akeley, whose artistically perfect specimens one should see when visiting the USA, Sjölander was also a hunter who was able to triumph when he finally managed to kill the big elephant from Angola and bring it home.

We are of course affected by Monjet the macaque, born in 1916, and her vicissitudes; she was brought back by the ethnographer Walter Kaudern, but since he could not look after the monkey himself when he returned to Sweden, it was Leonard Jägerskiöld who took pity on her, on condition that she had no injuries (as she was to be stuffed later). She was kept at the museum of natural history, where she sometimes succeeded in getting loose and causing mischief. For many years Monjet lived in the museum in Gothenburg until she was finally put to sleep in 1938 and was then mounted a few years later by Sjölander. Today she is on display in a showcase together with other primates. Thorsen does not confine herself to telling Monjet's life story; she puts her into the context of a broader primatology and analyses monkeys kept as pets.

It will be obvious that there is much of interest in Thorsen's book, and she has tackled a subject with multiple dimensions which can be developed in different directions. The empirical material is solid and the craft is good; even Kaudern's 97-year-old son has been interviewed to find out what he remembers of Monjet. The text and the notes contain many small details that give us something to think about. I wonder if the ocelot mentioned on page 103 is not the same animal that ended up in the zoo at Skansen, which was recorded in the annual report of the open-air museum but soon afterwards disappeared from the documents, perhaps culled (thus put down), perhaps sold on.

Four biographies of now stuffed animals have provided material for interesting discussions – with historical, cultural, and social dimensions – about the role of animals in human life. This obviously says something about ourselves too.

Animals matter, including stuffed animals. The significance of animals – living, dead, or even in the cybersphere – for humans should not be underestimated; animals (in some research circles with the silly and analytically meaningless categorization "non-human animals") play a central role in our existence, even if we may perceive that they are highly marginalized, as Liv Emma Thorsen, together with her colleagues Karen A. Rader (Virginia Commonwealth University) and Adam Rader (University of Oslo) as editors, shows in this collection of case studies within the broad research field of human-animal studies. The book is a product of the research project "Animals as Things, Animals as Signs" (2008–12) and the articles focus on the significance of animals in exhibition contexts, especially in museums, but also in zoos and in different media.

The book is divided into three sections. The opening section is entitled "Preserving", with three chapters, one of them by Brita Brenna, professor of museology in Oslo, who writes about the glass cases in which the stuffed animals in museums of natural history are displayed. What does this do to the animals and to our perception of them?

If there is anyone who could be called an icon in taxidermy it is Carl Akeley (1864–1926), whose group of stuffed elephants and other skilfully mounted animal groups and dioramas many of us have admired at museums of natural history in the USA. He is of course a rewarding person to write about. Nigel Rothfels, known for his book about Carl Hagenbeck and his significance for the growth of German zoos, has focused in recent years on our ideas about elephants. Akeley is of course inescapable in this context, and here Rothfels proceeds from the travelogue *In Brightest Africa* (1923). Rothfels' analysis can be compared with the one by Thorsen about a stuffed elephant in her own volume.

The second section is entitled "Authenticating",

and here Henry A. McGhie, Manchester Museum, analyses researchers' ideas about Ross's Gull (named after the British explorer James Clark Ross), a species that has had a special status for naturalists, collectors, and birdwatchers. McGhie explores the complexity with which this little species of gull is presented in literature and in museum collections. Thorsen herself returns to Barry the Saint Bernard dog, legendary but also preserved stuffed at Bern Museum, a topic she has previously treated in her book about dogs which was published in Norwegian some fifteen years ago.

The concluding section, consisting of three chapters, is entitled "Interacting". We may single out the analysis by Guro Flinterud, also in cultural studies in Oslo, of Knut the polar bear, a world celebrity for a short time, and the blog he wrote – just think what our postmodern society can offer!

Books of this kind can easily become disparate, and the articles could equally well have been published separately in academic journals. At the same time, of course, it is handy to have a volume that assembles several interesting essays, articles that we have already had reason to refer to in our own studies, and that alone is a good testimonial, I think. Human-animal studies is a rapidly growing research field, unfortunately with an unnecessarily heavy ideological ballast, but in this case we escape a lot of this. An important contributory factor here is that the Scandinavian researchers have a solid background in the humanities.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Sugar and Sweets in Sweden

Ulrika Torell, Socker och söta saker. En kulturhistorisk studie av sockerkonsumtion i Sverige. Nordiska Museets Förlag, Stockholm 2015. 367 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7108-571-9.

■ As an ethnologist, it's hard not to think immediately about Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power* (1985), when first encountering the work of Ulrika Torell, *Socker och söta saker*. However, it is far from the kitchens of Sweden to the sugar cane fields of Papua New Guinea, and apart from a short survey of the cultural-historical literature on international sugar production and issues of post-colonialism and the slave trade, global connections in the sugar trade are not a very significant part of this book. Rather, Torell's explicit intention with her book is to shift from the traditional focus on production in cultural-historical studies and focus instead on consumption, arguing that the cultural history of sugar consumption is inherently not the same as the cultural history of sugar production. Torell takes her point of departure in how sugar entered Swedish households by looking at the different representations, functions and meanings of sugar in Sweden. This takes Torell on something of a journey through the Swedish sugar landscapes, each landscape succinctly depicted and outlined in the different chapters. Thus, Torell moves stylishly from chapters on sugar as a medical remedy sold in pharmacies in Europe and Sweden to the production of sugar in Sweden from the sugar beet (*Beta vulgaris*) that was previously primarily used as fodder; to differences in patterns of consumption as indicative of class; to the materiality of sugar exemplified by the multiple physical shapes of sugar in confectionary; to what happened when sugar became a basic food to be consumed by everyone in Sweden; and to the public health debates concerning excessive consumption of sugar. A central aim for Torell is to repudiate a history of sugar as a naturally desirable good. As she argues, this story has been written many times before by economic historians. She uses a series of arguments to counter this historical representation of sugar, such as the differences in the consumption patterns of sugar in Sweden, and the difficulties of initiating national production of sugar in Sweden. Torell similarly avoids describing contemporaneous consumption of sugar as naive, i.e. that sugar consumption was previously seen as solely beneficial, as she argues that restraints on sugar consumption have been advocated throughout the Swedish history of sugar consumption – thus not necessarily a product of modern-day sugar awareness. It is the way she specifically avoids representing sugar as a "naturally desirable" substance that we have come to a higher and more evolved understanding of in contemporary society, which makes Torell's book stand out, and which makes it so very relevant to ethnological studies, as Torell thus insists that sugar consumption is inherently cultural. Torell operates with the analytical concept of *cultures of consumption* (konsumtionskulturer) throughout the book to show how sugar and sugary products became objects of meaning. Thus, the social organization of sugar consumption is seen through the ideals and meanings of

sugar at the time, but without arguing for any rational chronology in the change of ideals and meanings. Rather as a classically ethnological take, Torell focuses on the different notions of "good" sugar. This further allows her to touch upon important areas of race, class, gender, nationalism and religion in her analytical chapters, showing for instance how European displeasure with the conditions for the black slave labourers on the sugar plantations, combined with notions about "rational" housekeeping, led to the further exploration of the production of Swedish sugar.

As Torell notes in her epilogue, the flexibility of sugar is what makes its history so interesting. This flexibility of sugar, which in modern consumption has allowed for a huge variety in flavoured candy, for example, and thus also in individual preferences (just think of all the different chocolate bars, sodas etc. that are available and preferred by different people), is however also what makes one wonder why Torell's cultural history of Swedish sugar consumption is framed as it is. Especially the relationship between the different chapters may seem insufficiently explained, as Torell switches from one sugary landscape to the next. That Torell nonetheless accomplishes a coherent narrative throughout the book is not due to a chronological history of sugar consumption, but to the stringency with which she presents the different, and often ambiguous, contexts of meaning in which sugar was continuously constructed as meaningful. Thus, the desire for sugar presented by Torell is primarily a desire constructed through the contemporaneous imaginations about sugar and, as mentioned, not by a "natural" sugar inclination. This strong point remains as a guiding thread throughout the chapters – connecting them elegantly.

Michael Andersen, Copenhagen

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should if possible be sent by e-mail or on diskette. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; if necessary the language will be edited by a native speaker. Articles may be submitted in the Scandinavian languages for translation, but articles in Finnish should be translated in Finland before submission. Articles will undergo peer review. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

Articles should not be longer than about 20 pages of typewritten text with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 50,000 characters. Please aim for clear, concise language, remembering that you are writing for a non-Scandinavian audience. To make the translator's work easier and to avoid misunderstandings, authors are recommended to add technical terms and expressions in English in brackets or in the margin. Quotations should not be too numerous nor too long.

Legends to figures should be brief, not including anything that is not discussed in the text of the article. Legends should be written on a separate paper and clearly numbered. The illustrations – photographs, drawings, and tables – should be clearly numbered. Credits (archives, photographers, etc.) should be stated at the end of the legend. Figures should be referred to by their number, not "the table below" or "the photograph above". The placing of the figures in relation to the text should be clearly marked. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

Notes should be avoided as far as possible. References to authors or book titles should be included in parentheses at the relevant point in the text. Notes should only be used for clarification or discussion.

The list of *References* should include only books referred to in the text. Details should be presented as follows:

Balle-Pedersen, Margaretha 1981: The Holy Danes. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 11.

Frykman, Jonas 1988: *Dansbaneeländet. Ungdomen, populärkulturen och opinionen*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Löfgren, Orvar 1992: Landskapet. In *Den nordiske verden* I, ed. Kirsten Hastrup. København: Gyldendal.

Reviews of new dissertations and other books of broad general interest should be 4–5 A4 pages long with 1.5 line spacing, 8,000–10,000 characters. A review should consist of a brief presentation of the content and method of the work, followed by a comparison with similar significant works, and ending with a personal evaluation.

Reviews of other ethnological and closely related works should present the content and method and a personal appraisal. The length should be 1–2 A4 pages with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 5,000 characters.

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Authors of articles receive two copies of the journal.

National identification, fashion and heritage, health and medicine, and rural heritage are the themes that build the foundation of this volume of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. Together with reviews of books and dissertations, this issue shows what is going on today in Nordic ethnology.

Besides empirical themes we get examples of how ethnologists affect their field of interest in ethical and/or political respects, as part of a methodology, and through the effects of the findings they present.

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