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Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

At the Nordic Ethnology and Folklore conference in Uppsala in 2018 we held a general meeting to discuss how to frame the conferences more firmly in the future. One of the suggestions was to establish a network of Nordic ethnologists and folklorists that can work as an informal but still an organizing body for the conference and a hub for dissemination of information. Beyond this we discussed the possibilities to connect *Ethnologia Scandinavica* more closely to the conferences and the network. The owner of the journal – The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture – has expressed its support for this proposal.

This is a work in progress that we hope to come back to. For now, 2019, we should concentrate on this year's issue. It starts with Håkan Jönsson's investigation of the changing practices and symbolic values related to material objects in kitchens. He examines the changes of our kitchens, how utensils have come and gone, how ideologies of consumption as well as rationalism have crossed our kitchen sinks, stoves and smaller items like whisks and coffee grinders. Jönsson's article is followed by Kajsa Kuoljok's article which also, but in quite a different way, focuses on materiality and technology. She investigates how reindeer herders use and embrace new digital technologies, in particular GPS techniques used for managing and controlling reindeer movements. Kuoljok shows how new techniques work parallel to older ones, how they intertwine and create new conditions for new knowledge and practices.

This is followed by Lauri Turpeinen who investigates experiences and emotional aspects of migration from rural to urban environments. The article deals with rural out-migrants and how they deal with their new city life. Turpeinen acknowledges emotional and affective aspects of their reactions to the new urban environments and attachment to their places of origin. He also shows how his informants (re)created bonds with their origins not only through practices but also via certain objects. The mobility and migration theme is followed up by Magnus Öhlander, Katarzyna Wolanik Boström and Helena Pettersson, who have studied people working abroad and how they readjust, both professionally and personally, after being abroad and returning home. The authors introduce the concept of cultural jetlag, that is, the returnees' mental and embodied experienced cultural friction, a temporary feeling of being a stranger at home.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen's article deals with the gentleman ideal and how it was expressed by Danish men in the decades around 1900. Venborg Pedersen starts with a historical depiction of the meaning of gentleman going back to the fifteenth century. What demands did the gentleman meet? Venborg Pedersen focuses mainly on clothing and appearance, but vague concepts like virtue, character and culture were at the core of gentlemanliness.

In last year's issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* I called for reflexions on the concept of "ordinary", a word with many synonyms as well as meanings. As a spin-off from this call Fredrik Nilsson at Åbo Academy University and I arranged a session at the recently held 14th SIEF conference in Santiago de Compostela. It turned out quite well and generated several productive and stimulating discus-

sions. As a sign that many of us share this interest in the ordinary, Tone Hellesund, Sasha Roseneil, Isabel Crowhurst, Ana Cristina Santos and Mariya Stoilova present an article on the theme. The article investigates the life choices and narratives that are deployed when intimate relationships and lives are not considered ordinary by the cultural settings in which people live. The authors explore the idea of ordinariness as a theoretical, cultural and ethical concept. They show how ordinariness was, at the same time, something that could be desperately wanted and something that people were happy to escape. Ordinariness can be accepted as the gold standard of a good life or it can be rejected as stifling and restricting. What is an ordinary life? And who is ordinary? Kim Silow Kallenberg, in a way, studies the opposite, that is, how society deals with deviance. Her case is punishment and care in institutions for troubled youth and she investigates the paradox of compulsory care institutions made for change. Silow Kallenberg show how the staff in these institutions choose to believe, or hope, they are doing good and the right things, while at the same time expressing a certain unwillingness to take measures to get to know what happens to the youngsters after they leave the institution. Ann-Charlotte Palmgren follows with an article on how girl bloggers in the early years of the twenty-first century constituted a threat to masculine norms and traditional media. Palmgren's study is in a sense akin to Silow Kallenberg's by also focusing on young people breaking norms. Palmgren shows how these bloggers were felt to be power factors, intruders, role models and/or bad influences.

The article section ends with two texts about heritage. Lise Camille Ruud deals with the naming of Norwegian oil fields and how names from the national past with a perceived slower pace and familiar rhythms contrast with the accelerating speed which mostly is connected to modernity and in Ruud's case the oil industry. Through the connection to heritage and folktales, the oil fields may be associated with the luck, success and cleverness expressed in many folktales. The same could not really be said about Blanka Henriksson's and Ann-Helen Sund's empirical example, the giant "fatberg" found in the sewers of London in 2017. Henriksson and Sund show how the city, seen "through" the fatberg, was understood as a body and the sewers as its arteries. The authors find several ways of understanding this huge, peculiar and rare object as a piece of heritage. What happened with it when taken into the realm of cultural heritage, when introduced as a museum object?

As usual, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* has an essential section of reviews. As a scholarly genre they are particularly important since they are part of a critical dialogue that brings our research fields forward. Let us never forget that. The review section is also well suited to survey what is going on in the field. A brief scan of the reviewed books and dissertations tells us that applied perspectives, methodologies and leisure time – such as gaming, gardening, birdwatching and fandom – are strong and still growing fields besides the well-established medical and health studies.

Tales from the Kitchen Drawers

The Microphysics of Modernities in Swedish Kitchens

By Håkan Jönsson

The rather short history of the domestic kitchen as we know it is imprinted with values and practices from different epochs in modern history. The condensed nature of the kitchen, where artefacts emerging from different contexts coexist, offers an entry point for the study of cultural processes.

As part of a study of the changing meal and cooking habits,[1] questions about the role of artefacts in the kitchen emerged. What stories did the artefacts tell? Could the changing material landscape in the kitchen say something about daily life in different epochs, how food culture was developed, practiced, negotiated, and transformed? The aim of the article is to analyse changing practices and symbolic values related to the material objects in kitchens.

Kitchen, Artefacts and Cooking

Although neither kitchens nor cooking have been among the most prestigious research fields in cultural sciences (or any other research field for that matter), the development of food and design studies in recent decades has provided extensive research on different aspects of kitchen culture.

As an arena for conflicting interests and power struggles, the kitchen has been studied from different perspectives. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1985, 1987), in their studies of the rise of the middle class in Sweden in the early 1900s, note how the kitchen became an arena for the struggle for modern values such as rationality and hygiene. Conflicting views of middle- and working-class relations to the kitchen were an important aspect of housing policies in the emerging welfare state. A similar perspective, but more focused on the design of the modern kitchen, has guided Rita Mielke (2005) in her study of the making of the modern kitchen. The ideas about the kitchen as a rational production unit was an important feature in the development of the kitchen (see also Lövgren 1993; Kjellman 1993).

The modernization of domestic life was part of an ideology of national progress in the Scandinavian countries in the twentieth century. The studies of Frykman and Löfgren mentioned above show some striking similarities to studies on Norway (Gullestad 1991), Finland (Saarikangas 1993) and Denmark (Thorndahl 2008). However, some national differences were also highlighted during the processes of modernization and standardization. Anders Linde-Laursen (2011:204ff) shows how the development of different kitchen standards, and thus different practices of dishwashing, in Sweden and Denmark led to notions of national differences, even though the standards were developed from the same ideal – the modern, hygienic and rational kitchen.

Elisabeth Shove's (2007) works on the design of everyday life include the theme of "the restless kitchen". According to Shove, the kitchen has become a projection of dreams of the good life. June Freeman (2004) has also studied the process of refurnishing kitchens, describing the dominant role that women in her study played in shaping the appearance of a new kitchen. The kitchen as a gendered space is Freeman's focus. While kitchens have been (and often still) belong to the female sphere, Nicklas Neuman (2016) and Marcus Klasson and Sofia Ulver (2015) inves-

tigate how men are gradually conquering the kitchen space, as a result of the growing interest in gastronomy and male television chefs as role models. Expensive knives and hi-tech utensils like siphons, as well as cooking practices such as sourdough bread and homemade sausages are tools for the regendering of kitchens and cooking.

Richard Wilk (2010) has discussed the power dimension of meals. Among other things, he points out the interconnectedness between people, artefacts, and food. Holding the casserole or pot and serving the members of the family (a common practice for mothers in many settings) is an effective way of controlling personal relations and maintaining hierarchies around the dinner table.

Despite the fascination for professional chefs, Gary Alan Fine (1996) is one of few scholars who has actually provided ethnographic descriptions of cooking in restaurants. Of interest here is Fine's notion of how different the cooking practices, and especially the utensils, are when one compares domestic and restaurant cooking.

Frances Short (2006) discusses the meanings of cooking and deconstructs the popular ideas of declining cooking skills in households. Besides the fact that very few studies about the practical knowledge of domestic cooking exist, there are no clear definitions of what cooking means, and especially not *cooking from scratch*. It is a fluid concept that is more a rhetorical tool for certain morally laden values than an actual description of cooking practices. The kitchen as an arena for morality, which few have studied but many have strong opinions about, will become visible in the forthcoming ethnographies.

The Material

The empirical material for this article is a combination of questionnaires, interviews and observations. The bulk of the material comes from open-ended questionnaires, which have been used in the collection and documentation purposes of the Folklife Archive at Lund University since 1932. The questionnaires are sent out 3–4 times a year, on diverse topics. At present, there are 130 respondents, and each questionnaire usually generates between 70 and 90 responses, essayistic in form and with an average of 4–6 pages in length. The questionnaires are distributed to the archive's network of "solid respondents" (Hagström & Marander Eklund 2005). A questionnaire about the meal order (LUF 242), designed by the author, was sent out in 2016. It was distributed in two versions, one digital short version, and one regular (as described above). The idea was to make use of previously collected material to allow comparisons.

Meal orders, cooking and kitchen artefacts are one of the best-covered fields of study in Swedish ethnology. The folklife archives have collected material about artefacts and practices of daily life ever since the start in the early decades of the twentieth century. It began as a documentation of vanishing cultural practices, aimed at kitchens without industrially manufactured equipment. In the 1970s and 1980s, a new round of collection focused on transitions from the mid-war and post-war period.

The previously collected material was examined and used for the design of a sur-

vey to collect contemporary material, suitable for historical comparisons. By reusing questions from questionnaires from 1972 (S 27) and 1988 (M 239), the 2016 questionnaire was developed to allow comparisons in time. In total, the responses from the questionnaires cover a period of a hundred years of cooking and eating in Sweden.

Seventy answers have been registered for the traditional questionnaire, and the same number for the online version. Participant observations in domestic kitchens have been conducted, but these have only been used as background material. Twenty-seven interviews, conducted in 2015–2016, constitute the other main source of material. Complementing the questionnaires, the interviews allowed follow-up questions and reflections from the informants about things that did not immediately come to mind while describing kitchen practices. It opened up for the analysis of visible and invisible changing of practice, especially in the sections about the "restless kitchen" and "kitchen dumpster diving". As a guest teacher at the University of Iceland in February 2017 I assigned students to document artefacts in the kitchen that were rarely used. This material is used for the "kitchen dumpster diving" section, in addition to the interviews and questionnaires from informants in Sweden. The Icelandic material shows similar patterns to the Swedish material. The artefacts brought up by the Icelandic students were all to be found in Swedish kitchens. It shows how the modernization of the kitchens took similar paths in the Scandinavian countries, sharing similar experiences of social engineering, the development of the welfare state and the embracing of modernity.

The Microphysics of Modernities

Kitchens are in constant transformation. From the open-fire kitchens via the rational laboratories of the 1950s to the designed kitchens with expensive appliances of the 2000s, everything from the basic spatial design to the smallest of tools has changed. The drawers and cupboards of the informants' households reminded me of archaeological excavations, as the different layers of time became visible. There is a dynamic when new artefacts emerge, some are abandoned, others revitalized. What can these changes tell us from a cultural-analytical perspective? A modernity theory approach will be used to try to uncover the patterns behind the supposedly trivial kitchen artefacts.

Modernity and its presumed later incarnation post- or late-modernity were at the core of cultural theory in the 1980s and 1990s. Scholars such as David Harvey (1989), Anthony Giddens (1991), Zygmunt Bauman (1997), Scott Lash (1999) and many more tried to capture the logic of the cultural changes in the twentieth century. Theories of modernity acknowledge the mutual interdependence of value systems and technological and societal development. An important starting point for modernity theory was Max Weber's classical work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958), where Weber argues for the importance of studying the value system of Northern European Protestantism as a way to understand the development of modern capitalism. Following a Weberian approach, modernity can be described as an era during which indus-

trialism plays a significant role in production as well as in consumer mentality. Standardization, rationality, and the belief that society is making progress due to the development of science, technology and engineering were critical elements of the initial phase of modernity (Weber 1958). An important contribution of Weber was his discussion about how modernity led to a "disenchantment" (Weber 1963). It was not only the formal religious institutions and practices that were challenged by modernity. Perhaps even more important was the abandoning of magic rituals in everyday life, building on a folk belief that everything from the making of butter to illnesses relied on supernatural forces that were constantly active and present.

The second phase of modernity, labelled "post", "late" or "second" modernity, is claimed to be characterized by diversification and continual transformation. The travel of goods, ideas and values over long distances in short spans of time gives rise to a space-time compression, while the increasing volume of consumer goods creates an environment that facilitates the blending of artefacts from different epochs. Consumer confidence in science, technology, and progress is thereby undermined and is superseded by a combination of an increased risk awareness (where risks often are associated with technological development), nostalgia, and an increased focus on hedonistic experiences. The mass production and standardization of the first modernity was followed by variety and differentiation in late/post/second modernity.

The historical chronology of modernity has been debated. Scott Lash (1999) contends that such conjecture is not productive and prefers to discuss modernities (which he defines as the first and second modernities) as different rationalities rather than distinct historical epochs. As such, the first and second modernities can exist simultaneously in different contexts.

After the new millennium, much of the discussions in cultural theory took other paths. In the field of food culture, however, it seemed as if it was difficult to skirt round modernity. Works such as Fonte (2002), Kniazeva and Venkatesh (2007), Ekelund and Jönsson (2011), Spaargaren et al. (2012) and Coghlan (2014), continued to use the modernity theory framework. It seemed as if it was something about the food itself, the cooking practices, and the utensils that made modernity theory a good tool to use if one sought to understand the disruptive changes of meals and cooking practices during the last few decades. Building on Scott Lash, Jean-Claude Kaufmann (2010) discusses how the concept of first and second modernities is relevant for understanding the meaning of cooking and meals in a contemporary context. Kaufmann claims that the first modernity taught us to save time, to streamline, rationalize, and focus on life in work and the public sphere. This leads to a meal ideal consisting of convenient and fast food requiring minimal preparation. The second modernity is characterized by the importance of emotionality, experiences, and self-fulfilment, which turned cooking into a lifestyle project with an emphasis on taste and culinary experiences.

With this framework, I have studied the artefacts and practices of the kitchen, in order to understand the materialization of different modernities in everyday life. In

the following, case studies of the microphysics of modernity will be investigated. The first section deals with technology shifts, and how these affect cooking, the kitchen, and the meal order. However, some of the practices in the kitchens have not been changed by disruptive technologies entering the scene, but have remained basically the same. A case study of one such practice, whisking, leads to a discussion of how both practices and the artefacts themselves have been affected by the rationalities of modernity. The re-design and fashion objects from the kitchen boom in last few decades are examined in a section about restless kitchen. These objects are in turn contrasted with the objects left behind, collecting dust in the drawers and cupboards, accessible only by "kitchen dumpster diving". The combination of nostalgia and hi-tech is the final topic in the article, leading to a concluding discussion about kitchens as laboratories for modern rationalities.

Technology Shifts, the Kitchen, and the Meal Order

Technological shifts alter both food and cooking. One such example is the transition from open fire to the stove. Without much thought it is obvious that fried foods became more common than when almost everything had to be prepared in the same big pot, hanging over the fire. But the technology shifts affected more than the preparation of food. More importantly, the division of the meal into several components was facilitated. From cooking root crops, vegetables and meat in a pot, the components were split into meat, potatoes, gravy and vegetables. The ideal of how a "proper meal" would be composed changed. If Mary Douglas (1972) had conducted her groundbreaking study on the meal fifty or a hundred years earlier, the answers to the question of what is a "proper meal" would have been significantly different. Most likely a proper meal would have been formulated as different varieties of pot-au-feu.

There is also a spatial dimension to the introduction of the stove. It would probably not have occurred if it has not been for the introduction of new ways of heating. The kitchen as we know it today, a separate room in a house or an apartment, is quite a new phenomenon. Apart from the wealthiest households, the heating of food and the heating of house came from the same source, the open fire in the middle of the house (or hut). The tiled stove with its superior way of heating created a spatial revolution in domestic life (at least for the ones that could afford it). The kitchen as a separate sphere, which was so important for the emerging middle class, with its connotations of femininity and low-status manual labour (see Frykman & Löfgren 1987) would not have been possible without the new ways of organizing cooking and heating.

If we move on in time, the same processes of interconnected changes of technology, cooking, meals and space can be traced. After World War II, kitchens were filled with technological innovations that made their mark on the kitchen work. Refrigerators, freezers and electrical stoves were important technological changes that affected both domestic work and ultimately the food that was cooked and served. The refrigerator, and its larger counterparts in the form of refrigerated containers and cold stores which could transport and

store perishables in the earlier parts of the food chain, led to an increase in the proportion of fresh products. The freezer enabled new ways of preserving goods like vegetables and fish instead of resorting to drying, salting, or preservation in jars. It also meant that the number of times when meals had to be cooked could be reduced. Meals could be frozen, as could bread and buns, and then taken out and warmed even by household members who were not skilled in cooking. In the 1980s came the microwave oven, which facilitated individualized eating by making it easy to heat up food if for various reasons a person could not or did not want to eat at the same time as the other members of the household.

The new technologies also affected the surrounding objects. "The electric stove meant that older pans were unusable because of their uneven bottoms, new ones had to be procured" (M239, 35025). There is a direct parallel to today's upgrade of the stoves: "Three years ago I switched to an apartment with an induction stove, so I had to buy new pots and pans" (Interview No. 16). Another informant mentions that the pressure cooker became outdated after the introduction of the induction stove (Interview No. 15).

A similar phenomenon is the mixer or blender. It partly replaced previous tools like food mills and double blade chopping knives. It was also a driving force for new eating habits. Several informants mention smoothies as the most common use of a blender. The smoothie is an innovation not only in terms of preparation, transforming fruit salad into a drinkable fluid. It also facilitates an eating pattern where more meals are snacks, easily consumed standing or walking on the way to the bus or train, or in the car.

However, the rationalities of kitchen work do not have to be related to technological shifts. Even some of the most primitive practices can contain clues for understanding the transformation of kitchen experiences. We will turn our attention to one such practice: whisking.

Whisking Modernities

An informant in a questionnaire answered the question about whether he missed any tools or appliances by saying that he missed his *tvara.* For readers unfamiliar with traditional Scandinavian kitchen utensils, a tvara can be describes as a sort of whisk, made from tops of a young pine or fir-tree. The material was available to anyone living in a rural region. Peeling the needles and shaping the tvaras was a typical task for winter days, when outdoor work was only possible for a few hours due to the darkness. The shape of the tvara made it very efficient in pots with round bottoms, typically used in an open-fire kitchen where the pots hung from the ceiling. The informant mentions how excellent it was for making barley porridge. The stickiness of the porridge made cooking a delicate practice, but the tvara was designed to clear the inside of the pot to prevent burning. Since the tvaras were handmade, many different varieties could be found, and other names were used in different regions. But the similarities in both cooking practices and utensils were greater than the differences.

The tvara was more than a whisk. It was also one of the artefacts most heavily loaded with symbolic value in Nordic folklore. In one of the common tales the

tvara could be used to unravel a troll. Trolls were known to capture a child, then taking its place in a family as a changeling. If anyone suspected their child to be a changeling, they could make a really long tvara and put it down the chimney to stir the pot. Then the troll would expose itself by starting to laugh and say with the voice of a troll, "that was a long whisk for a small pot". In another version of the tale, the tvara should be used in an empty eggshell. Then it was a big whisk instead of a long one, but the same message – by doing something really odd, the changeling would forget about the disguise and expose itself as a troll (Persson 1977).

The tvara was thus not only a cooking utensil, but an artefact which could be attributed magic qualities. It is a good example of what can be called pre-modern enchantment as Weber (1963) defined it. The tvara was attached to the overarching meanings, animistic connections (the trolls) and magical expectations that characterized the traditional world. Following modernity theory, such connotations were about to fade out as a result of the modern processes of rationalization, secularization, and bureaucratization. So what happened to whisking in the first modernity?

During the gradual modernization of the Swedish kitchens, the tvara became outdated. The electric stoves required ground flat pots, in where the tvara was no longer a good tool. Barley porridge went the same way. Industrially produced rolled oats and semolina took over as the main ingredients of the porridge. For modern times, new utensils were needed. During the first decades of the twentieth century, a number of industrialized or semi-industrialized varieties in metal were introduced on the market. But how rational were the whisks, really? This was a matter of concern for the social engineers in the emerging welfare state. As it turns out, the story of whisking is not as straightforward as simply a transition from hand made to industrialized. The symbolic qualities of whisks were still there, but in another context.

In 1944, the Domestic Research Institute (Hemmens Forskningsinstitut, HFI) was founded. Inspired by similar institutes in Germany, Norway and the US, the aim of HFI was to rationalize domestic labour (Lövgren 1993). An important task that HFI undertook was to evaluate utensils on the market and, if possible, replace them with more functional varieties. One of the first of HFI's reports was a critical review of whisks on the Swedish market (HFI 1948). With a scientific approach, the varieties were tested by the qualified staff of HFI. Over forty different types of whisks had been found. This led HFI to conclude that there was an *overflow of varieties*. Such diversity is now generally interpreted as something positive, as a freedom of choice for consumers. For HFI, it was just confusing for the consumers, making it difficult to rationalize domestic cooking. HFI advocated that the overflow of varieties should be dealt with. The scientific studies concluded that only two types of whisks could be considered to be rational. These were the spiral whisk and the balloon whisk. The balloon whisk was primarily suited to larger households and professional cooking, while the spiral whisk was ideal for an average household with up to three children.

For a contemporary reader, accustomed to the numerous reports and recommenda-

tions published without much notice from the public, one would imagine that the influence of HFI's report on whisks would be rather limited. But the strong networks behind HFI, where not only experts in domestic labour, but also representatives from industry, retail, politicians, home economics teachers and others joined forces, made some dramatic impact on domestic labour in Sweden. In 1950 HFI published recommendations for basic equipment and additional equipment for the kitchen. The very same recommendations were enclosed as an attachment to one of the questionnaires used as source material in this article, the 1988 questionnaire on kitchen utensils and appliances. After more than thirty years, most respondents could well relate to the equipment. With the exception of the coffee pot and milk jug, the standard equipment of the 1950s was virtually identical to that of the late 1980s. One reason for the successful standardization of kitchen appliances was that HFI worked in close collaboration with the R&D departments of the major retail chains. These chains had both the will and capacity, not only to sell the products, but to start manufacturing in their own industries. Through the extensive work of national standardization and industrial production, the selection of products became rather limited. From a fairly diversified flora of cookware, most households in Sweden came to be united by the similar experiences of what was in the kitchen cupboards and drawers.

There are indeed processes related to modernity involved in the history of whisking. A bureaucracy in the shape of HFI, with rationalization and standardization as ideology, and the networks of the industrial society led to a remarkable standardization of the equipment. The spiral whisk became dominant in households, while the balloon whisk dominated in restaurants and other professional cooking arenas. Needless to say, the whisk was disenchanted; no connection between the spiral whisk and the supernatural could be found.

HFI's fight against the overflow of varieties was successful, but only for a short period. The number of items increased again, and the ambitions of the social engineers were ridiculed. HFI went through a number of reorganizations and was finally transformed into the National Consumer Agency in 1973. The aim was then no longer to lead the development, rather to control the actors and educate the general public. The movie *Kitchen Stories* from 2003 tells a heartbreaking story about an HFI mission to Norway (Köstlin 2017). A bureaucrat from HFI is installed in a hut, inhabited by an old bachelor. He is drawing maps of how the old man moves in the kitchen. Needless to say, the moves are very irrational. It is clear from the start that the sympathy is not with HFI. It is rather the pre-modern bachelor that is the role model. The bureaucrat gradually gets convinced that his life is too strict, controlled and boring and starts to long for a more authentic life. It is indeed a late modern way of looking at the ambitions to secure a better life through rationalization.

Another late modern characteristic is said to be the deconstruction of the borders that were guarded in modernity. A side effect of the whisk case was that differences between different types of cooking (private and professional) were manifested. Working as a chef in the 1980s,

one of the most obvious differences from the cooking I have experienced in the home was the balloon whisks. These, as in restaurant kitchens were considered to be the only whisks worthy of the name, had been relegated from Swedish homes, through the influence of HFI and its network. By whisking, a generation or two of Swedish citizens learnt the differences between domestic and professional cooking.

It was a gendered division, too. Domestic cooking was for women, while at least some parts of professional cooking were considered to be masculine. When the male TV chefs entered the private arena in the 1990s, a number of new ingredients and utensils conquered the home. Among them was the balloon whisk, preferably hanging on an S shaped hook, imitating the design of a restaurant kitchen. With the balloon whisk, a new generation of domestic cooks learned that cooking is not primarily about housekeeping, but about sensory sensations, experiences and self-realization.

The new generation was to an increasing extent male. Sweden is one of the most gender-equal nations when it comes to cooking. The preparation of meals, which not long ago was considered to be a female task, was in 2015 almost equally distributed in the younger cohorts in a big quantitative study of domestic labour in the Nordic countries (Holm et al. 2015). Nicklas Neuman (2016), who has studied cooking practices among Swedish men, found that cooking has become a way of expressing values of gender equality. In order to do so, the men turned to the only male role models that could be found in cooking, the male top chefs in the restaurant world. The upgrading of gastronomy in domestic cooking (Jönsson 2012) is thus not only a result of commercial forces and cooking as entertainment in a new media landscape, but also about a will to find new gender roles.

Among the features of the late- or post-modern condition is the diversification and the restlessness of the consumer society. It would not be fair to argue that there is a diversification only by adding a balloon whisk to the bowl. But there are indeed other whisks that have been introduced during the last decades. One such is the cappuccino whisk, and its sister (or possibly brother), the milk frother. With these whisks, a new generation was skimming milk, at the same time creating an image of breaking up from previous generations of boring, thrifty and inward-looking Swedes. Milk, long considered to be a symbol of the nation (Jönsson 2005) became ridiculed if drunk from a glass during a meal. If, on the other hand, it was heated, whipped and blended with an eighth of strong coffee and served in a glass (preferably not in a cup, at least not a small cup looking like a typical Swedish coffee cup), it was trendy, cosmopolitan and gastronomically correct.

With balloon whisks, cappuccino whisks, milk skimmers and other variants in the diversity of the second modernity, the informants learnt the new ideals about indulging in everyday life. Ideally, there should be no boring days. Even a Monday morning deserves some glory, and a fresh cappuccino when getting out of bed is perhaps not the worst strategy. But it does indeed take some energy and commitment to indulge oneself at all times. The new artefacts came with images of a good life, but often ended up as being reminders of

something one could do when having more time. The re-enchantment of the whisks rarely lasts long. After a while they end up as yet another artefact, of which there are already too many.

The overflow of varieties is one of the most common everyday experiences of contemporary life (Czarniawska & Löfgren 2015). When it comes to kitchen utensils, one of the most common strategies seem to be to shove them into the drawers or cupboards. The milk frother was actually one of the items that informants singled out as not being particularly useful. Even for someone who could really enjoy a good cappuccino, it was just lying there in the cupboard, collecting dirt. Skimmed milk became an ideal rather than a reality during the stressful mornings in the domestic kitchens. This is another key feature of the late modern kitchens – dealing with the overflow. We will now look at how consumption practices are dealt with in contemporary kitchens.

A Restless Kitchen?

Elisabeth Shove noted how kitchen interiors were replaced every seventh year, in contrast to previous habits of replacing them after 20 years or more. With the term "restless kitchen" she analysed how kitchens have acquired a new role as a projection of a search for the good life. Indeed, most informants find that their kitchen equipment has changed a lot during their lifespan. One person says that as his interest in cooking has increased, so has the amount of kitchen equipment:

> When I was young and moved away from home … I did not have much stuff then. I think I got my first electric mixer when I was twenty-six or something. Now I've got much more kitchen utensils but I also cook more food too than I did then (Interview no. 18).

Another person says that kitchen equipment has changed a lot and gives examples such as the dishwasher, convection oven and egg boiler. The blender, digital scales, kitchen aids and almond choppers are other examples of change. An older respondent tells of a comprehensive development throughout life. She says that the first thing she bought when she left home and lived in a room with a hot plate (no kitchen) was a red tin mug. "The equipment was very minimal for several years and then gradually emerged. Nowadays, the kitchen cupboards are full of stuff" (Interview no. 5).

Shove has a point in the idea of the restless kitchen. Although it costs a small fortune to replace kitchen furniture even today, both the supply of products and the opportunity to gain inspiration for innovation are significantly larger than before. It is easy via an Internet connection to get a guided virtual tour of a large number of kitchens. Previous generations had to rely on other sources of inspiration such as the mobile exhibitions that went to rural areas. These exhibitions, together with the stores' window displays, became places where the possibility for renewal was made visible. At the same time, nothing says that these kitchen displays did not function as projections of a good life. The social engineer's visions of a new modern life was also an idea of a swift route to a new, modern and happier life. Not everyone, however, favours renewal, at least not for its own sake. Most informants say that they don't have any fancy design or interior. At the same time as the new items can be tempting, there is also a sort of re-

sistance against too much change in the space of daily life. "The kitchen should not be subject to fads. It should work" (ULMA 35024). That is not to say that kitchens don't change. Even small items can make quite a dramatic impact on the daily habits, also for the more conservative. A woman says that she found new technical equipment difficult but admits that it can be handy when she has grown accustomed to it:

> in terms of technical equipment or stuff, according to my son I'm hostile to technology (laughs)… I got a hand blender a few years ago and I thought: No, why should I want that? I have an old potato press, it will do well. But I have accepted it, and find it quite good. You can make funny little things with broccoli and all sorts of vegetables. As purees that can be soup base and the like. It takes some time for me to accept new things. (Laughs) I have become more tolerant towards new utensils (Interview no. 7).

It was not easy to obtain information about cookware and appliances in the interviews. Their triviality made the theme difficult to reflect on. Even the ones used several times a day were more or less invisible. One informant who lives with his parents has to think about the equipment he uses:

> there is not much equipment here, well there is … a toaster! And knives, pans, pots, no blender […] We have a deep fryer. It's getting a little old … so it has been quite a long time since it was used, so it's a little dirty (Interview no. 19).

After some consideration, most were of course able to say something about the kitchen artefacts. Frying pans, knives, and pots were mentioned frequently. So was the kettle, used not only for tea but also for boiling water when some of the younger informants cook pasta. Electric mixer, stove, oven, cutting board are other important things, and so are food processors, spatulas, garlic press, peeler, refrigerator, dishwasher and microwave ovens. Even the most unglamorous items have a place in the mind. A 23-year-old man who was asked, "What cookware and kitchen appliances do you use most?" answered; "Kitchenware … well, since I wash up a lot (laughter) I guess that it is the dish brush" (Interview no. 10).

Most of the informants' views of shopping must be a bit of a nightmare for any retailer with premium-priced luxury design. When asked how much resources they spend on interior design and appliances, some say they do not use the kitchen appliances often and that their equipment is simple. The reasons may vary. One informant says that the household does not spend a lot of resources on kitchenware, and they do not have a lot of stuff they do not use, while another person also says that they do not invest a lot of resources in kitchen objects, but for another reason. There is already so much in the cabinets that is not used.

Discussions about late modern consumption have a tendency to focus on the glamorous items, made to shine as a sign of identity. There are informants who have chefs' knives on magnetic holders, pata negra ham on a stand, and spend both time and money on redecorating the kitchen. But the vast majority have a more relaxed attitude, not least because they have more or less everything they need, and more. What unites rich and poor, trendy and traditional, hipsters and retirees is the fact that they have a lot in the drawers that they don't use. We will now turn our attention to the kitchen items that have been put to rest.

Kitchen Dumpster Diving

The cultural biography of things, as Igor Kopytoff (1986) developed the concept, indicates the changing meanings of things. They could be filled with meaning, emptied, and new meanings added. Kitchen items get abandoned, reused or recycled for different purposes. I wanted to get access to the dark spots of the kitchen by asking about which artefacts informants had, but seldom or never used or perhaps even dumped. I became inspired by the concept of dumpster diving, where people try to retrieve useful things hidden or thrown away in containers. What is actually there, in the bottom of kitchen drawers or at the rear end of the cupboards in people's kitchen? This task was also given to a class of folklore students as part of a guest lecturer visit to the University of Iceland.

It was actually easier to get the informants to reflect on the tools and equipment they do not use, than of those they employ. Most respondents report that they have had utensils they have thrown away. Mixer, toast-maker, ice cream maker, food processor, coffee maker, blender, waffle iron, deep fryer, vegetable peeler, food processor, hand chopper, electric corkscrew, bread maker, pressure cooker, wok, steam juicer, mandolin, meat grinder, kettle, coffee grinder, kitchen scales and juicer are some of the objects mentioned. Fondue pots, bread makers and woks are other examples. Reasons for objects to be discarded, given away or put away vary. It could be that they serve no function, they can be too complicated to clean (such as the kitchen aid or the deep fryer) or that the informants have bought new equipment or appliances that made them less useful.

The semi-automatic appliances also seem to be overrepresented in the category of unused artefacts. They were often launched as a budget version, neither giving the full value of rational production as the automatic ones, nor the handicraft feeling of knives and such.

But how did all these unnecessary things enter the kitchen? Apparently, many of them were not purchased by the informants, but had come in the shape of gifts. With gifts come special obligations, making them difficult to throw away. They are annoying items, collecting dirt, at the same time a reminder of social relations with other people. People that perhaps should have shown better judgement than to give away such things…

Marcel Mauss's analysis of the gift may be of explanatory value for the gift problem. "The gift is thus something that must be given, that must be received, and that is, at the same time, dangerous to accept. The gift itself constitutes an irrevocable link especially when it is a gift of food" (Mauss 1950:58). The kitchen appliances are not food, but still linked to the production of meals. And it is indeed still a delicate balance. On the one hand you have the risk of giving away something a person already has in his or her possession. If not, you run the risk that the item is useless, since most people hopefully have the items needed for cooking. To not accept a gift is impolite, so they remain in the drawers as a reminder of the irrevocable link with family members and friends, yet sometimes threatening the trustful relationship.

But even if you manage to find a useful gift that is not already in the possession of the receiver, problems may occur. A girl who received an electric whisk as a gift from her boyfriend found it offensive. She took it as a hidden message that she was not taking care of the household in an appropriate way.

Things to be used only for special occasions is another theme where artefacts seem to face a high risk of not being used. They are also difficult to get rid of, especially if they are inherited from ancestors. It is not only the respect for the older generations who baked complicated cakes, taking time to prepare butter in artistic shapes and making sausages by hand. Their utensils are also a connection to memories, often good ones. They are reminders of the possibility to put in some extra effort once in a while, and try to create the same magic as grandmother or some other relative once did when they were young. This leads us to the final theme of the tales from the kitchen drawers, that of nostalgia.

Nostalgia in Hi-tech Kitchens

Jean Baudrillard outlined two distinctive features of postmodern consumption: "firstly the nostalgia for origins, and secondly the obsession with authenticity" (1998:76). While nostalgia is present all through the different phases of modernity, it has a distinctive presence in the last phase. A comparison between the questionnaires of 1972 and 1988 shows how nostalgia became more prominent in the 1980s. The values attached to rationalization and standardization were no longer positive. There was a longing for something more and a growing desire to get unique experiences related to food and meals. The work with time-saving equipment and design clearly had not always been successful in providing greater satisfaction in housework. "I think that housework is actually something you can do with pleasure if you have time. If you haven't got the time, it's no fun and machines are no fun either – even if they rationalized everything" (M239 / 35015). Technology and equipment were at this time, at least in some circles, regarded as a problem, in order to get an authentic experience and high quality in cooking.

But nostalgia is not necessarily related to old utensils, used by hand. It seems more appropriate to talk about processes of upgrading and downgrading. Among the artefacts that have returned and gained renewed status is the coffee grinder. It went out of fashion when cheap ground coffee in square cartons made the grinding of coffee a thing of the past. With the renewed interest in artisanal coffee, grinding once again returned to the kitchens as a daily practice. One of the informants tells us about how an electric appliance can go through a full circle from luxury to a neglected thing and back to luxury.

> I did get a nice thing that has become modern now and it's also a rather imaginative story. I had a job in the seventies where I came in contact with international companies and various big shots and I once got a gift in the form of a Bosch coffee grinder, electric, to grind coffee beans. And I thought it was a bit … Well there I went and bought coffee beans and I learned how to do it. But then the ability to buy whole coffee beans disappeared, until now. So now I have started to buy coffee beans again and returned to this ancient luxury thing. So it's a bit special, I think (Interview no. 27).

For some reason, grinding items has a high density of nostalgia. Meat grinders and spice grinders, especially manual versions, have gone through the same processes. But the same thing could be said about other things, such as preservation jars, which have experienced a renaissance.

At the same time, other artefacts, such as the can opener, have declined in status. A respondent born in the 1910s, reported in the questionnaire from 1988 that the practical wall-mounted can opener was one of the few new objects she acquired in recent years. But the can opener, which in the 1970s and 1980s was a prominent wall-attached object, is no longer there. During one of the kitchen refurbishments it lost its place as a wall decoration and is today tucked away in a kitchen drawer or thrown away. The meat hammer is another artefact that acquired lower status.

Consumption studies have often emphasized the identity aspect of consumption. But this approach has also been criticized for being too focused on individuals, not taking into account either the relation-making aspects of consumption (Miller 2001) or the power relations involved in consumption, namely gender (Schroeder 2003) and class (Burrows & Marsh 1992). It would not be fair to deny the identity-building aspects of the kitchen and its artefacts. The informants' stories often revolve around how they created their sense of self in kitchens. The stories of kitchens and cooking are also life stories, about breaking up from some relations (parents and siblings) and creating new ones in single households, in couples and families with kids. That is not to say that everyone is involved in conscious identity building and distinctions by consumption. *Navigating* might be a better metaphor than *creating* when it comes to consumption practices in the kitchen. Karin M. Ekström and Torbjörn Hjort (2010) have used navigation as a way to capture the practices of families with low income, which indicates how the practices may be more about adjusting to cultural norms with limited capital (both economic and cultural) than actually creating a consumption space for the individual.

The Kitchen – a Laboratory of Modern Rationalities

The first modernity came with the ideal that the kitchen should be a laboratory for domestic work. And perhaps this is exactly what it turned out to be? Even though the informants do not conduct experiments based on rational science, they are experimenting with ideals and practices of life, dealing with the frictions between life as it is, as it should be, and perhaps one day can become.

With regard to modernity theory, there is some empirical material in the kitchen that supports the theories of different phases of modernity. From the enchanted pre-modern tvara to the rational equipment designed by HFI, to the overflow and nostalgia of the post-modern kitchens – at least if we take into account Jean Claude Kaufmann's remark that modernities are rationalities, not epochs, and this can co-exist in the same places. This is exactly what is seen in the informants' rhetoric and practices about their kitchens. The different rationalities exist in the same kitchen drawer. Brand new electrical screwdrivers can be found next to baking tins that have been inherited for genera-

tions and the scientifically designed whisks of the 1950s. It also points towards the processual aspects of modern rationalities, being results of the interaction between people and artefacts. By whisking a cake or using a French press coffee maker, the cultural processes are shaped, negotiated and developed in the trivial practices of everyday life. The unglamorous artefacts of the kitchen drawers and the outdated kitchen interiors should therefore not be neglected. They are important parts of our material cultural heritage, and excellent empirical material for the study of the cultural significance of meals and cooking.

The results call for further studies of abandoned and invisible objects, rather than more studies of iconic design utensils in order to grasp the spirit of certain epochs. The resting kitchen is as important as the restless one if we want to dig deep into the transformations of the practices of everyday life. Another aspect for future research is the remaking of place-bound identities by the interaction with artefacts. The material used in this article coincides with the peak and decline of the nationalization of everyday life. The will and power to design the kitchen and its artefacts is declining for nationally based institutions, in both the public and the private sectors. National guidelines and standards are being replaced by European and/or global standards and both manufacturers and retailers become less bound to (and dominant on) national markets. The assortment of global retailers like Amazon may create new reference points for kitchen practices across the globe. Media representations of the good home is also becoming more diverse in terms of geographical origin. What does the increasing flow of goods, people and ideals do to the trivial practices of the kitchen? Which new conflicts, alliances, anxieties and joyful moments arouse during the interactions between humans and artefacts in the twenty-first century? Further studies, using the framework set up in this article, will be able to answer such questions and others, related to the microphysics of modernities.

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Note

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Reading the Reindeer

New Ways of Looking at the Reindeer and the Landscape in Contemporary Husbandry

By Kajsa Kuoljok

I am leaning over a smartphone, looking at a map with a red line going in different directions when the elderly male herder points his finger at the screen and says, "Here we have a reindeer; you see where it is right now, it sent its position two hours ago." The herder is in his sixties and reindeer husbandry has been his livelihood his entire life. We have been talking about the conditions for reindeer husbandry and how it has changed. One of the changes during his lifetime is that the use of digital technology has become a part of everyday herding life. Together we are looking at a GPS map, and the herder says, "If I press here: 'All positions', then we can see how he has moved this summer." The red line goes quite straight from the forest area up towards the mountain area; suddenly it goes back and forth. I ask why it is like that. "There is a cross fence here that the reindeer didn't get through. The fence is not visible on the map but it goes right here and that is why she goes back and forth, she is trying to get through the fence." The date on the map shows that this was in May. "She wanted to go up to the mountains," said the herder and continued, "Here you can see that she found a hole in the fence. Look at the speed with which she headed west when she came through. She was up in just three days." That was really fast, I replied. "Yes, she probably did not have a calf when she was travelling so fast. This reindeer was incredible at following the traditional migration route instinctively; she was really sure where to go." We keep looking at the phone and the herder zooms in to look more closely at the tracks as he comments: "However, she was bad at getting the calf to survive. She had a nice calf last summer at the calf marking but later at the separation in the autumn, she was without a calf."

The herder speculates on what might have happened to the reindeer. "Maybe she gave birth to a calf down here," he says and points out an area just above the tree line. "But there are a lot of streams she had to pass and such a reindeer who wants to go up west quickly might not want nor have time for the calf." I ask if he know this reindeer so well because she carries a GPS collar around her neck. He shakes his head and says that he has known this reindeer for some time. Deeply focused on the map, the herder changes the date and we jump forward in time. "Here you can see how she went far north after the calf marking before she turned back. This is ancient knowledge, the elders said that reindeer do not travel in eternal times, they turn and go back. They have their territory."

In modern husbandry, reindeer movements are made visible through the use of new digital technologies and interpreted through traditional Sámi knowledge. In my fieldwork I have followed these movements, both on the ground and at home through a smartphone or a computer screen together with experienced herders. With the introduction and growing role of new technologies in everyday life, husbandry practices change for the herders. The historian Pär Blomqvist and the science historian Arne Kaijser emphasize how quickly we become unaware of technical systems that surround us (1998:7–8). New technology is something that can be questioned, but we quickly embrace it and then it gets so familiar that it becomes invisible. GPS transmitters on reindeer,

known as GPS collars (GPS – global positional systems) are a new tool in husbandry. As the incorporation of the GPS collars in husbandry happened in the last years for the participants, there is an opportunity to study these changes in the moment. The philosopher of science and technology Don Ihde states that new technologies are often met with a utopian or dystopian view (2017). These are thoughts that can be mirrored in the material here, where the interviewees emphasized both expectations of the possibilities that the device is capable of, and fear of dependencies and concerns that technologies will deskill and have a negative influence on traditional knowledge and livelihoods.

Aim of the Study

This article brings together reindeer husbandry grounded in traditional Sámi knowledge and present the use of a new tool: GPS collars on reindeer. The reindeer herders' knowledge is based on skills derived from their relationship with the reindeer in different settings and during different times of the year. The new technology affects the herders' ways of knowing. The aim is to examine how the GPS collar is used in the reindeer herding community with the intention of generating insights about the two knowledge systems that operate simultaneously in husbandry today: traditional Sámi knowledge and a technology-based knowledge. Husbandry is not limited to historical traditions but transforms and adapts itself to new conditions. Today, different knowledge systems are blended together, as the Sámi scholar Elina Helander-Renvall states: "cultures never give away completely to the new" (2007).

The analysis is based on material collected through interviews and observations. Observations take place at both physical and digital localities (Postill & Pink 2012:125). Herding practices at the winter grazing land provide the context. In the article, herders share their experiences of some of the challenges husbandry is facing, such as changing environment and changes in the surrounding society. The article argues that new digital tools are important as they facilitating adaptation to new circumstances. The article briefly outlines how the herders engage and connect to the winter grazing area through a practice which is an ongoing process that is conceptualized by the anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000). The landscape is not ready-made, according to Ingold, the landscape is a living process and cannot be treated as an object (ibid. 198). In husbandry specific tasks and activities are carried out at the place and it becomes synonymous with these practices.

The focus has been on users' practice with the aim of investigating how the reindeer movements are perceived, interpreted and understood as knowledge in the "real" world and through the digital screen. A framework for understanding the herders' process of knowing is drawn from the concept of traditional knowledge (Guttorm 2011; Porsanger & Guttorm 2011; Sara 2009, 2013; Helander 2007; Nordin-Jonsson 2011) and the phenomenological approach to the perception and environment applied by Ingold (2000). With emphasis on exploring the ways in which humans and non-humans interact, the study shows how knowledge is acquired with digital technology. Actor Network Theory (ANT) helps us to under-

stand the relationship between human and non-human (Latour 1987). A relevant aspect in ANT is to overcome dualistic thinking such as human–animal, nature–culture, local–global (Murdoch 1997, in Ojala 2006). The view that human and non-human actors are equal is called generalized symmetry (Murdoch 1997). With an ANT-inspired approach, husbandry can be understood as an actor network, that is, a heterogeneous system composed of different entities such as technology, reindeer, herders, knowledge, regulations and so on. For husbandry, it is important that all these interactions in the actor-network are balanced. Entities enrolled acquire their forms and performances through the relations in which they are located (Law 1999:4). Helander-Renvall states that both human and non-human actors are treated as partners in the network within Sámi culture, as the Sámi do not stand apart from nature; instead, they regard themselves as an integral part of it (2016:71).

Research Material

The analysis is based on material collected through interviews and observations. Observations took place at physical as well as digital localities (Postill & Pink 2012: 125). Participant observations were conducted, for example during winter and autumn separations where I participated in the activities and at the same time made observations. There were no recorded interviews on those occasions since the aim was to focus on the practical work in the hope of detecting new, unspoken factors that might be too familiar for the informants to mention in interviews. Many practices are done unconsciously and there are aspects for which it is not easy to express why and how they are done. Much of the knowledge is practical knowledge, i.e. knowledge about how to do something (Riseth 2011:129). During the activities I kept notes about my observations and thoughts which were later used as I analysed the material. A different arena for observations was on the screen, watching the reindeer movements as points and lines in a digital format. These observations are used in this study. When activities such as reindeer movements are transformed into map inscriptions, certain references are filtered out and others are preferred, leading to a map as a narrowed-down framework (Hind & Lammes 2016: 84). For me, following the lines that represented the movement of the reindeer were made meaningful through the collaborative work with the informants. As they described the events, they gave me insights into the way they "read" the GPS maps and a glimpse of their world of knowledge, their practice of wayfinding.

The GPS collar is a relatively new part of the work that is still in the process of being integrated into everyday reindeer husbandry, and little has been written about it. Interviews can provide information that is not found in written sources, and therefore the material in this article has mainly been collected from interviews. The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions and lasted between one hour and two hours. The time context of the study is based on today's conditions and the place is the winter grazing area, which represents the reindeer herders' place of work. The informants are two women and three men. Those interviewed are persons in my close circle,

which has already had an effect on the choice of informants, as in the performance of the interviews (Ehn & Klein 1994). In the interviews, I am not a neutral and objective researcher, but I both influence and am influenced by those I talk to. Having closeness to the informants makes discussion easier, more informal and conversation-like, and it is possible to discuss events and places that both interviewer and informants are familiar with. I am familiar with the cultural codes, which makes understanding easier, and I can perceive and interpret what is not said. A personal relationship between researcher and informants can lead to thoughts and feelings spoken of in confidence coming out in the interview. For this reason, the informants have been able to read through the text and approve it.

One disadvantage of having a close relationship between researcher and informant is that it can be difficult to explain and describe people one is close to. There are things that are taken for granted, both from my point of view and from that of the informant. However, closeness to the people involved meant that, before I started work on the article, I was able to note in daily conversations about the reindeer a diversity of comments with regard to the GPS collar. The comments demonstrated conflicting feelings when they read off the reindeers' wanderings on the GPS transmitter. The ethnologist Susanne Wollinger has noted the significance of seizing the opportunity of the moment and capturing the conversational situations as they arise. Informal conversations can give important insight and knowledge (2002:55). For my part, it led to the insight that there are many aspects to the GPS collar. This made it interesting to carry out a closer study of this, and my material collection started there. The interviewees include both active reindeer herders and reindeer owners who do not actively participate in day-to-day reindeer husbandry.

I have taken ethical principles into account in gathering material. Informants have been informed of the purpose of the study and have given their consent to participate, and the interview material has been obtained confidentially (Nordin-Jonsson 2011). All informants have been anonymized (Kvale 1997). The informants represent two generations, since they are in their forties and their sixties. Different generations have different experiences. Although the questions were about the present, comparative questions often arose about what things used to be like before GPS technology began to be used. Those interviewed all belong to the same winter grazing group in the Sirges Sámi community. This means that these accounts cannot be seen as representative of the Sámi in general, but are connected with the local context. The accounts of the interviewees can be seen as their subjective view of life and not as a representation of the life itself (Frank 2012). For large parts of the year, reindeer husbandry is connected with the community's collective work. But reindeer husbandry is conducted as a financial company in which the reindeer herder has an individual agenda and the work is characterized by options. One option is whether to make use of the GPS collar on their reindeer or not, and there are reindeer herders in the community who have chosen not to. The main reason for not using the GPS collar mentioned by herders is the welfare of the animals; other reasons that were men-

tioned are the high costs of purchasing the technology. Due to the focus on the article, I have chosen not to include interviews with those who do not use the technology. Instead, what my interviewees had in common was that they all had chosen to buy GPS collars and attach them to their reindeer. They were early adapters of the technology, and their reason, as one younger male reindeer herder expressed it, is that it is "important to get on board what is new".

The Place – the Winter Grazing Area

During the summer, the reindeer are in the mountain areas where they graze in the valleys and find cool and escape mosquitoes on the snow-capped peaks. When winter is approaching, the reindeer move towards the woodlands in the southeast. The travels of the reindeer between winter and summer grazing are governed partly by their needs in the different seasons, but also by the reindeer herder's planning and control of the animals' movements. During November and December, the large reindeer herds are taken down from the mountains and the community's large herd of common reindeer are divided up into smaller groups. The smaller units represent family groups or groups of families who hold their reindeer together, known as a winter grazing group, a *sijdda* (Lule Sámi) (Sara 2009:157). During the separation, the reindeer are counted, treated for parasites, and some reindeer get a necklace around the neck which makes them easier to recognize, to be able to keep statistics and make them visible in the traffic. Some reindeer get a necklace with a GPS transmitter. Separation is an intensive task that lasts for several hours and sometimes several days. Afterwards the reindeer are transported to the winter pastures in the southeast. The migration takes place on foot or by transport by trailer or truck. During the autumn of 2018, the snow came very late and the consequence was that the separations of the herds, which usually starts in the middle of November, started in the very late December. The reason for that was absence of snow and a younger female herder stated: "I do not think it has ever been like this, there are only patches of land areas that have a thin layer of snow, the whole ground is not snow-covered. Not even the elders remember that winter has been this late." This is an example of how the seasons have changed, says one of younger female herders, "the real winter comes later but usually not as late as this year".

The winter grazing areas are very important for the reindeer herders, since winter is seen as the bottleneck of reindeer husbandry. Reindeer pastures are renewable resources, but limited (Rønning 2007:234). In the forested areas, the reindeer find their winter food, lichen (Roturier 2009). The place described in the article is the area of a winter grazing group in the Sirges Sámi community that is located just south of Jokkmokk in northern Sweden. For the *sijdda* the winter grazing area is an important place, both in the sense that the reindeer needs the grazing and that the herders have an attachment and a sense of belonging to the place. The anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000), who has done a great deal of fieldwork among the Sámi, argues that a place is created through its daily activities, by spending time and experiencing the place with all one's senses, such as sight, hearing and feeling. The stories one has heard about a

place mean that one can get to know it before going there and there is a connection between the past, the present and the future. Similarly, Gunvor Guttorm, professor of *duodje* (Lule Sámi), Sámi arts and handicrafts, emphasizes that it is only when you have been to a place, seen and experienced the landscape, that you know how it is (2011). The place represents an entity that is part of a greater whole (Ingold 2000). The winter grazing area is one place of many that the reindeer use and which they come back to every winter, and thus the place represents continuity and tradition. It is one of many places that are bound together by the migration of the reindeer. Because this specific place is not used by the reindeer at times of year other than winter, there is no activity that is performed here by the reindeer herders and the place in the article is, therefore, directly associated with winter grazing. The routes and place can be changed in response to the quality of the environment. As the external conditions are unstable and constantly changing mainly because of the weather but also, for example, because of felling in the area, the place is always changeable and never static.

Guttorm describes how the land and terrain are assessed in relation to one's needs (2011:68), in this case as grazing land for the reindeer. This is also described from a herder's perspective by Ingwar Åhrén, who describes how the significance of a place is based on how the reindeer assess it (Åhrén 1988:118). When one of the interviewed younger male herders describes the winter grazing area, it is the terrain that he describes: "Our winter grazing area has an undulating terrain, which means it is easier for the reindeer to dig. The snow is not so hard-packed." When asked how the winter grazing area is described, he answers "I say that I am going out to the reindeer forest." Through practice, the herders have developed a specialized vocabulary. The Sámi language has a rich terminology to describe nature, reindeer, snow and weather, which reflects the Sámi way of life and the close relationship with the reindeer (Jernsletten 1994). In research about human relations to landscape, the archaeologist Audhild Schanche shows how different names for the landscape have been used both historically and today among permanently resident and reindeer herding Sámi in a North Sámi area (2002). The use of different names brings out a perspective where life and the landscape are brought together. Today the term *luondu* is used to mean "nature" in North Sámi, which was previously used when talking about the inner nature of a person or animal. *Meahcci* (North Sámi) is the name for the landscape you come to when you leave home, or a place where people do not live (Schanche 2002:163). *Meahcci*, landscape, comes into being in practices of living in and with the land, knowing how particular physical forces, lakes, rivers, terrains, non-human beings, place and vegetation, animals and fish may act together in particular locations, at particular times, and in particular circumstances (Østmo & Law 2018:358). *Meahcci* is used together with the resource that is found there or the activity that is performed there, e.g. *guollemeahcci* (North Sámi) where you fish and *muorrameahcci* (North Sámi) where you cut firewood (Schanche 2002:166). This is consistent with how the interviewed younger male

herder says that he goes to the reindeer forest, where the reindeer are.

Traditional Knowledge in Husbandry

In the empirical material, the herder states that familiar landscapes are changing as the weather conditions have changed drastically during the last 10–15 years. Every winter since then herders have noticed that the temperature has altered and that there have been warm periods during the winter, sometimes with heavy rain. The destabilized environment makes well- known grazing lands unknown both for the reindeer and for the herder. Husbandry is constantly challenged by spatial and temporal variations in weather and predators and by other types of disturbances (Johnsen et al. 2017). Traditional knowledge about animal and nature is the base in husbandry and has facilitated resilience through history (Inga & Danell 2012; Johnsen et al. 2017). Generations of reindeer herders have built up a traditional Sámi knowledge, about reindeer, the landscape and the environment (Sara 2013). This knowledge is linked to what is part of everyday life for the reindeer herders and represents an invisible, embedded knowledge in which they are socialized: traditional Sámi knowledge – árbbediehto (Lule Sámi). The significance of traditional knowledge in reindeer herding has been highlighted by several authors (Sara 2013, Eira 2012, Eira 2012, Turi 2016). Árbbediehto is a relatively recent term and has many definitions (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011:17). According to the Sámi scholar Elina Helander, when we speak about traditional Sámi knowledge, we are primarily thinking about the knowledge that the Sámi themselves own, use and describe (1998). The Sámi scholar Åsa Nordin-Jonsson says that it is "knowledge inherited between generations which is often the foundation of Sámi life and times (2011:98). For the owner of such knowledge, it offers a clear link between the Sámi past and present."

The Sámi culture and reindeer husbandry have been in constant change, which has been decisive for their continuing existence. The social researcher Nils Mikkel Sara (2009:175) emphasizes that traditional knowledge is "carried out, tested, and renewed", and therefore traditional knowledge is never static. Having analysed mechanization among herders in Finnish Lapland in the 1960s, Elina Helander-Renvall claims that culture never gives way completely to the new (2007). Each new generation of reindeer herders learns and uses the most important knowledge, as traditional Sámi knowledge is dynamic and adapts to the prevailing conditions in the environment and surroundings (Nordin-Jonsson 2010b:13). Continuously adapting together with an acceptance of uncertainty and unpredictability are important factors for resilience (Danell 2005:40). Herders' flexibility is sustained by observing the herd, the landscape, and the climate and always being prepared to take action by moving the herd and by keeping buffers (Johnsen et al., 2017). However, adaptive actions are dependent on the geographical room for adaptation which has decreased (Eira et al. 2018:930, Löf 2014). With changes in weather and shrinking pastureland due to resource development, herders implement creative ways of adapting, where individuals, households and communities change their productive activities to secure livelihoods (Eira et al. 2018). A study of husbandry by Annette Löf and Naomi Car-

riere has shown that herders have adopted a range of strategies and approaches in dealing with impacts, drawing on a combination of tradition, previous experience and modern technology (2011). Similarly, this is also the case demonstrated by the interviewed herders. Before exploring how new digital technique is incorporated by the herders, traditional herding practices will be described briefly.

Traditional Herding

The reindeer herders devote a great deal of time to herding the reindeer and checking the grazing during the time the reindeer are at the winter land. Herders focus their attention on *guohtom* (Lule Sámi), the ability of the reindeer to access food which is dependent on snow conditions (Kuoljok & Blind 2012:66). Tim Ingold and Terhi Kurttila emphasize how the Sámi people use their whole body to perceive the environment; they have a multisensory perception (2000:189). Without needing to think about it, the reindeer herder interprets and analyses the prevailing conditions by putting together a number of factors such as how the wind is blowing, how hard the snow is, and what conditions are like under the snow. Herding also includes observing the health of the reindeer; their body condition, hair quality and antlers (Johnsen et al. 2017). The winter grazing group's area is limited by the boundaries of the Sámi community, which is something that the reindeer cannot comprehend. Since the area is limited, the reindeer herders must monitor the reindeer to prevent them from moving into another group's winter grazing area, which involves a lot of work. Herders drive around the herd on snowmobiles, which create an edge track, so that the reindeer stay within the intended grazing area. The edge track is checked to discover whether any reindeer have left the area, and if so where they have gone, and to estimate the number of reindeer that have gone outside the area. Because reindeer can walk in the same tracks, it can be difficult to assess the number of reindeer from the tracks. Without access to technology, all the senses are used to investigate whether they are still in the winter grazing area. The Sámi scholar Ylva Jannok-Nutti (2007) interviewed reindeer herders to find out how they located the reindeer:

> He says that then he only tends to use the tracks to find out the direction in which the reindeer have gone. He says that sometimes he has had to put a hand down into the tracks to try to find out which way the hooves were pointing (Jannok-Nutti 2007:47).

Additionally, the herders have tools that affect their knowledge practices, tools that give them a range of possible actions. The car and the snowmobile make the grazing area more accessible. The herders just drive the snowmobile around the area, they do not want to drive into the herd and create tracks. This also allows the reindeer to graze in peace. Binoculars are a tool that reduces the distance between the reindeer and the herder as the herd can be monitored from far away. The ethnologist Elin Lundquist, in her study of birdwatching, has shown how the way of experiencing the animal is formed in the relationships between humans and other human non-human actors (2013). Binoculars can be regarded as an active mediator of events; they affect the relationship between the viewer and the animal. The agency of the equipment lies in

the fact that it can influence the course of events in a clear way as the binoculars enlarge the image (Law 1993:10 cited in Lundquist 2013:24).

Herding with GPS Collars

Access to various technical aids has changed over time, which has also led to a changed way of practising herding. In recent years, there has been a development in broadband and mobile systems which have increased opportunities for communication between different places. The reindeer herders interviewed have introduced the GPS collar into husbandry. The GPS collars are attached to the reindeers' necks and the transmitters generate reindeer movement data, which is sent to the reindeer herders via satellite. Based on Bruno Latour's notion of both humans' and non-humans' capacity to act and "to do things" (2005:154), the digital technology enrolled in husbandry acts in the knowledge production as the GPS collars make reindeer activities visible to the herder. Herders alone are not capable of gathering knowledge from several places at the same time. With the help of the GPS transmitter, husbandry utilizes new possibilities as the herders expand the capacity to reach many places simultaneously. The technology transforms the traditional experience being physical on the ground to a digital experience of space. This can be viewed as an effect of relations and associations in the network and the knowledge

GPS collar with transmitter and bell. Photo: Jan Gustavsson/Ájtte museum.

is a "relational effect". GPS technology can be understood as inscription techniques that translate what is observed into representations as it shows the animal's position with precision in real time on a map on the web or as coordinates on a mobile phone (cf. Latour & Woolgar 1986). This illustrates a shift in the way knowledge is transmitted. The GPS transmitter allows the local observations to "travel" (Latour 1987).

With the new GPS technology, the reindeer herders go to their computers to see where the GPS transmitters show that the reindeer are grazing, before they drive out to the winter grazing area to tend them. The information received from the transmitter shows where the reindeer are located and how it they have moved. Following the GPS transmitters has been integrated into the daily work of reindeer husbandry and is mainly done in the morning before preparing the day's work. The reindeer herders explain how this now has become routine, even for the older generation who may have found the technology a little more difficult to begin with.

> Now even the older ones have begun to learn about GPS technology. They go in each morning and see where the reindeer are as they drink their morning coffee. It's like reading the morning paper; they get the news about what has happened. (Interview with a younger male reindeer herder)

Reindeer husbandry is carried on through each herder's individual enterprise, but the actual work is done through collaboration as a working collective since reindeer husbandry is difficult to practice alone (Åhrén 2008:105). Just as work at the place and tending the reindeer are done collectively, monitoring of the reindeers' movements by means of GPS transmitters is also conducted collectively. The log-on codes admit entrance to a network of the winter grazing group where they are shared and everybody have access and can see each other's transmitters. In discussions at home about the reindeer, the monitoring of reindeer movements is shared and interpreted in an attempt to see order and patterns in the information received. The animals' movement and the place are transformed as the herders experience it through the technology. They are at present on the ground, and still not there. This is observation at long range as the reindeer are followed virtually from another place and are not physically perceived by being there and looking and listening, which is what would otherwise be done. The information received by the herder causes them to "know at a distance" (Law & Hetherington 2000). With the aid of the GPS transmitter's map, the reindeer herders are offered a different perspective on the grazing area as they gain access to a raised viewpoint which gives a strategic overview. The technology not only bridges distances but also allows the herders simultaneously to take in information from a number of places at the same time. The GPS collars act as mediators by the way they connect and share information from the reindeer to herder.

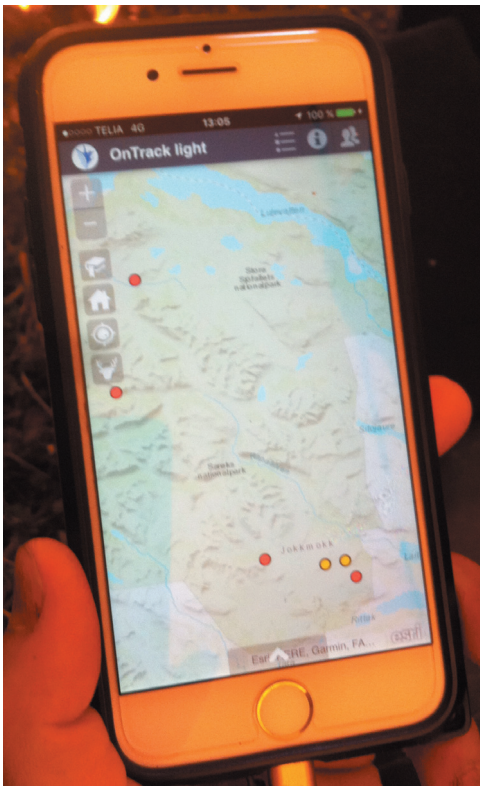
With the use of the GPS system, multiple knowledge traditions simultaneously create information. The data are interpreted and make sense in relation to what the herders already know. As the movement of the reindeer is exploited from the GPS map and the herders negotiate the information, their interpretation is firmly embedded in previous practices, experiences

and memories. The movement shown on the digital map is interpreted and understood through the lens of the herders' embodied experience. The herders said that there is a difference between experiencing the reindeer's movements at the site compared to experiencing the same thing at a distance through a GPS map. During my field observations and interviews, I have participated both in the "real" world at the grazing land and in the "virtual" world looking at a screen as the herder has shown different tracks of monitored reindeer. The herders have explained their observation and shared their sense of what was going on. They witnessed tracked reindeer that moved in both expected and unexpected ways. The GPS collar revealed new things that the herders could not have seen without the collars, "I didn't know before just how far the reindeer actually move in just one day," says an elderly male herder, pointing out, on the GPS map, a reindeer that was recently found again.

There, around the kitchen table at home with the herder, I got an insight into how the choice of which reindeer to put on a collar could be a coincidence. "This reindeer has been missing for five years. We used to say about such reindeer which disappear, that they did not need to be with other reindeer, they did not have to have a friend with them." Reindeer are gregarious but reindeer ox, male reindeer tend to be for themselves. The herder continues "that's why we put a transmitter on him; it's interesting for us to see where he goes." By following the tracks on the GPS map, we could see how the reindeer had moved within the boundaries of the Sámi village but that he did not go up to the mountain. The herder explained that they initially thought that the reindeer had been in other Sámi communities and that was the reason why they never found him. He explained: "A reindeer like that will not be taken into the separations. When you are out gathering the herd and see traces of only one or two reindeer, you do not have time to drive around and collect them." The herder emphasized that this was an example of how husbandry is conducted today, that everything should be done in a fast and efficient manner. "When you are on the snowmobile you think, 'it's just two reindeer, I'll leave them.' That is why he has been able to stay away for five years."

Research by the sociologist Deborah Lupton offers valuable insights into understanding how digital data "comes to matter" (2018b) and influence actions or decisions (2017:337). Digital data are viewed as highly relative, located in time, space and a specific social and cultural context (Lupton 2017:337). Therefore, digital data can only tell a certain narrative and offer a limited perspective (ibid.). The elderly female herder explains how you have to be experienced to be able to fully "read" and interpret the movements on the screen. It is important that the data on the GPS map does not have an orderly effect that determines how to move around on land, and explains:

> I am familiar with the land and the GPS map helps me to be really effective in my work as I know where the reindeer are and then I can drive directly there. However, you have to be familiar with the land. The GPS does not show what the land is like, in fact it can be dense forest and rocky but you do not see it on the map. (Interview with an elderly female reindeer herder)



GPS points that show coordinates on reindeer with trackers. Photo: Kajsa Kuoljok.

The reason the reindeer move around in the grazing area is governed by various factors. In addition to a spatial component, the reindeer are affected by a temporal component, for example, due to biological (e.g. calving, rutting) or seasonal (e.g. phenology, snow cover) constraints (Pape & Löffler 2015). A younger female herder explains that the movements shown by the transmitters may be small, subtle changes that might indicate disturbance in the herd, or large, rapid movement patterns that could indicate the presence of predators or other disturbing factors in the landscape. The herder describes how, if the reindeer moves far, this may indicate that grazing conditions have changed. When grazing conditions are favourable and the reindeer have peace to graze, they do not move very much. In that sense, the movement is an indicator of whether there are good or bad grazing conditions. To illustrate her statement, she takes up the phone and says: "We can look at this reindeer. This reindeer has moved around in this area all winter and that is a sign that there is good pasture here." The herder continues, "There is an old forest in this area, if the reindeer cannot dig through the snow, she can find hanging lichens on the trees. That is why she stayed there."

Analysing the difference between experiencing the movement on site and through a screen, an elderly male herder said, "it is another way of knowing … it is a more certain way of knowing, at the same time, it is a more uncertain way of knowing." The transmitter does not show what the reindeer is doing and there is no knowledge of the context of the movements. The herder can see their movement but not be sure of the reason for moving. When the reindeer moves, this gives information about where it is, and it also gives a feeling of security, because it confirms that the animal is alive. Following the transmitters and being able to see that the reindeer are grazing in one area creates a sense of security for the reindeer herder. Just as binoculars reduce the distance between the reindeer and the herder, the GPS collar creates a close relationship between humans and other human non-human actors. They become an active mediator that affects the relationship between the herder and the reindeer and influences the course of events as the daily activities are plans

based on the knowledge transmitted by the GPS on the reindeer.

Herding with a GPS Collar in Changing Conditions

"As we never know how the weather will be from one day to another, we never know how the pasture will be," a younger female herder stated. As stressed by the herders, winters with a thin layer of snow on the ground make it harder to keep the herd together. The winter grazing groups used to contain larger amounts of animals than today, and the reason for this change is that the work of keeping many animals together will be too much. Within husbandry, the ability to predict future events is important. This prediction is often made on the basis on previous experiences from the past. An important part of the knowledge is to recognize patterns unfolding over time and changes to those patterns (Joks & Law 2017:65). The herder explains that extreme weather conditions can quickly lead to difficult grazing conditions, and it is important to make rapid decisions on how to manage the herd under such circumstances. In the light of this uncertainty, the GPS collar is one tool that assists the herder in the quest for knowledge. With unstable snow conditions in wintertime, the GPS enables the herders to respond more quickly to changing conditions. In a study in Vilhelmina Norra Sámi community by Bethan Davies, the use of GPS tracking was identified by the herders as important for facilitating the enhancement of husbandry resilience by generating data which substantiates traditional knowledge, and also by generating new knowledge (2017:42). For the individual reindeer herders, enhanced resilience was identified due to the greater understanding of the herder concerning the modified reindeer-ecosystem interaction (ibid.). With the GPS trackers, the herders were more capable of accurately predict reindeer responses to changes which means that the GPS facilitated quicker adaptation for the herders.

The Sámi scholar Israel Ruong states that as husbandry has changed over the last decade and moved from intensive reindeer husbandry, the relationship between herder and animal has changed and the reindeer have become less tame (1982). Just as husbandry has changed, so too has life for herding families. Nowadays herders go out to the grazing land to herd the animals, in contrast to previous generations where the whole family followed in the footsteps of the reindeer. In this context, knowledge of the movement of the animal is not as vast as before. Here, the GPS transmitters circuits data and gives an overview of the herd as the reindeer with the collar is monitored full-time. Even though only a small number of reindeer have collars, access to data gives a feeling of control. However, in a study in Norway herders emphasized that the extensive use of technological tools could not substitute the added value of being and moving with the herd because technology could not protect reindeer from predators, prevent animals from straying, or ensure the well-being of the herd (Eira et al. 2018). Further, concerns were expressed by the herders of fear that people will lose traditional knowledge, lose the Sámi language, and lose the knowledge of the features and function of the reindeer (ibid.). Non-humans such as digital tools have the potential to act; they can act to conserve

traditions and structures as well as to bring about change (Ojala 2006:170). Already in the classic work by Pertti Pelto on the introduction of snowmobiles in husbandry, changes in society followed in the footsteps of incorporation of technology (1973). As has been shown in this article; one key element stressed by interviewed herders for adapting to new circumstances is traditional knowledge. The loss of traditional knowledge would make husbandry less flexible and more vulnerable. Some herders firmly stated that the GPS collars improved their herding and were convinced that the technology is here to stay. The fear of loss of traditional herding knowledge is nevertheless one factor that makes people ambivalent to new technology and hesitant to implement new technological tools.

Conclusions: Challenges and Opportunities

This article describes and analyses how a process of network building takes place within the larger networks of husbandry that is adapting to climate and global change. These networks and relations are important in analysing the role and the experience of new technology. Reindeer husbandry shares the winter grazing area with other interests such as forestry, tourism, industries (hydropower and wind power), which means that competition arises over the use of the land. According to the herders, there have been great changes in the weather in recent years, which has varied between cold winters and warmer periods. Unpredictable weather is followed with great concern because it is outside the reindeer herders' control. The cumulative effects of land area fragmentation together with changes in the weather put great pressure on reindeer husbandry. The reindeer are negatively affected by the disturbances and react by becoming more mobile rather than remaining grazing in one area in peace and quiet. The reindeer herders do not have the opportunity to control these disturbing external factors, but must adapt to the prevailing conditions.

One effort to meet the new conditions taken by the reindeer herders has been the incorporation of GPS technology in husbandry. Through the creation of new networks, technological devices together with human and animal participants act together. People, animals and places are connected through the digital material as the reindeer's actions are made visible on a map. The spatial field where the herder can be connected to the animal is extended through the GPS transmission. The usefulness of the technology in bridging geographic distances is emphasized by the herders. The empirical material shows that the uncertain conditions in which husbandry works make the herders rely on more on technologically mediated knowledge. In interviews, herders stressed that these digitally enabled networks were perceived as strengthening the monitoring capacities and provided a sense of certainty and control of the herd. According to the herders, the GPS collar is a complement and cannot fully replace their presence in the reindeer forest, because the information received does not include the status of the grazing area. Therefore, the new information technology changes processes of knowing without replacing the older means (i.e. Stammler 2009:51).

The analysis based on material collect-

ed through interviews and observation shows how the herders' work in monitoring the herd has changed through the use of the GPS collar. Changes of routines are related to old routines. Husbandry practice contains the skills, traditions, capacities and traditional knowledge that the herder embodies. The article shows how the systems – traditional knowledge and the technologically transferred knowledge – work together. Through the herders' narrative, the article has shown how they orient themselves using traditional knowledge and new digital knowledge in their reading of the GPS map in a manner similar to what Ingold refers to as wayfinding in a taskscape (Ingold 2011). The GPS map can be understood as a space where herders use their practical and cognitive skills as they interpret the movement in the form of points or lines on a GPS map. Therefore the "online" space does not replace the "offline" space; instead they are interwoven into a shared relation. What a herder does in practice, reading the GPS data, is a result of his/her connection in the network together with other entities. Both human and non-human actors are treated as partners in the network within Sámi culture (Helander-Renvall 2016:71). The point or line as an agent connects the network and they are all equally significant.

Sámi culture is often considered to be traditional and husbandry considered to be conducted in a traditional manner. The incorporation of the GPS collar, however, is more than yet another tool incorporated into husbandry; it is a part of an ongoing process which according to the Sámi professor Israel Ruong's (1982) theories can be seen as active and passive adaptation of the Sámi culture. Ruong argues that active adaptation enables continued survival of Sámi culture, while passive adaptation leads to erasure (1982:1). Reindeer husbandry's active adaptation to nature's changes as regards the weather, seasons and environment occurs with the aid of adapted equipment that enables flexibility (1982:17). Herders and Sámi communities have appropriated the GPS collar just as they have incorporated several other tools in order to continue their livelihood under climate and global change. In research about the cultural development of reindeer nomadism in Finnish Lapland, the scholar Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi (2013) stresses that the snowmobile made it possible to continue with nomadism under the pressure of social assimilation (Valkonen & Valkonen 2019:15). Motorization was a condition for the continuity of reindeer nomadism, instead of a problem (ibid.). This article stresses that the use of new digital technologies like the GPS collar can have a positive impact on meeting contemporary and future challenges for husbandry. Traditional Sámi knowledge is an important part of the network and, in combination with the technology, it becomes a part of a durable, heterogeneous actor network.

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Sensations of Arriving and Settling in a City

Young Finnish Rural Out-migrants' Experiences with Moving to Helsinki

By Lauri Turpeinen

The first days in the city after extended fieldwork in the countryside can be overwhelming. Suddenly, the other customers in the supermarket feel too close for comfort. Mundane tasks like navigating the city's busy sidewalks and its public transportation system without bumping into too many people have become challenging. The constant hum of the traffic, the occasional wailing of sirens, and overheard fragments of passing pedestrians' conversations all demand attention. In these moments, it appears as if the city has become a louder, a more hectic, and a more stressful place in one's absence. Yet, the city itself obviously hasn't really changed much – what is different is only one's perception of it, and after a few days these initial irritations ebb off again.

They are also familiar to me. For my PhD research, I conducted two stints of long-term fieldwork in Kainuu, a remote region in Eastern Finland. I did fieldwork there for seven months in 2017 and for five months in 2018 for a multi-sited ethnography exploring young people's experiences with rural depopulation. The second fieldsite was Helsinki, which is one destination for young adults leaving Kainuu. I moved back and forth between both locations, and in each of my returns to Helsinki I experienced re-adjusting to the city as surprisingly irritating. Hereby, my sensations were similar to those many of my informants from Kainuu have reported with regards to their own move to Helsinki. Many mentioned initially having felt overwhelmed, exhausted, and stressed by the pace, immensity, and hubbub of urban life.

Kainuu is a peripherialized, mostly rural region about 600 kilometres north from Helsinki. It has been struggling with structural difficulties already for a long time. Hence, especially the more remote parts of Kainuu have developed local cultures of migration, in which leaving has become widespread and where a young person's decision to stay anyway would raise eyebrows (Kandel/Massey 2002). In such regions, the "image of the 'successful' mobile student and the unsuccessful 'stuck' other" (Corbett 2010: 227) has strong influence on young people's migration decisions. This, along with the valorisation of urban life among younger people (Bæck 2004), can be assumed to affect also rural young people's expectations of city life. Yet, prior expectations and short visits to the city are one thing, actually relocating is another. Accordingly, the unexpected irritating sensations arising while moving from a rural region to the city came up in the interviews repeatedly. These – often mundane – irritations are where prior hopes and ambitions are tested by lived experience. The eventual uneasiness occurring in this context is, so far, mostly overlooked in the research on rural-urban migration. This context is also where affects become noticeable. David Farrugia, John Smyth, and Tim Harrison have noted as well that the affects emerging in rural young people's mobilities have so far been neglected in this research field because of too strong foci on structural inequalities and discourses. They conclude that the full scope of young people's experiences with rural-urban migration has not been presented and call for an inclusion of affect into future analyses (2015:

118). This diagnosis concerns not just research on rural-urban migration. Paolo Boccagni and Loretta Baldassar find that also in migration research more generally "the emotional side of the migrant condition seems still relatively understudied" (2015:73). Moreover, studies of rural depopulation often rely on quantitative methods to track decline or, if qualitatively oriented, focus on signs of resilience that are obscured by popular narratives of rural decline (Peters et al. 2018:454). Yet, also in these cases rural young people's experiences after leaving remain outside of the scope of research. This article takes aim at these blind spots and builds on the work of Farrugia and his colleagues. They have opened up a discussion on how young rural out-migrants experience arriving and settling in urban space on an affectual level. Yet, the question of how they then adapt and make the city their home remains open. This article sets out to answer this question in more detail and explores rural out-migrants' everyday strategies for alleviating the irritations that arise in their interactions with urban space. The article is also aligned with the current surge of a renewed ethnological interest in rural spaces.[1]

Methodology

Initially, the data used in this article was not collected with the aim of investigating affects. The research interest guiding the data collection concerned the alleged inevitability of leaving in cultures of migration. It was presented at a conference with the theme of affect that first made me look at my material from this perspective. Consequently, I developed an interest in the subtle frictions in everyday life that accompany settling in a city.

In total, the research project had 34 participants, all of them young adults in their late twenties or early thirties, and all born and raised in Kainuu. I have worked with 18 of them in Helsinki and with 16 in Kainuu in 2016–2018. All participated in semi-structured interviews and were then given the option to participate also in the visual part of the project. In it, they were asked to take or share five to ten pictures that show meaningful aspects relating to their decisions of either staying or leaving, and that can give insight into the outcomes of their mobility decisions. We would then discuss the pictures in a second interview. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and later transcribed, but I have translated the excerpts in the text to English. The translations were checked by a native speaker, as Finnish is not my first language. Overall, the research project is based on 47 semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and 155 pictures. In preparation for the conference paper this article is based upon I have searched this data for evidence of irritating sensations that relate to the move to Helsinki. I acknowledge that this approach narrows the analysis significantly, but – as noted above – affect wasn't the focus while collecting the data, it only became a topic later quite serendipitously. For this article, I have focused on material from five of the participants, all of which have moved to Helsinki to attend university. These empirical examples have been selected according to their ability for making rural young people's subtle everyday frictions in urban life visible in a comprehensible way.

From Simmel to Affect: Sensing the City

Lieven Ameel writes in his dissertation that the "first and most defining experience of Helsinki in Finnish literature at the turn of the twentieth century is that of arrival" (2013:67). He has shown how in these novels the arrival in Helsinki has often been described in a quite drastic manner, as causing the protagonists to have severe visceral reactions. Sometimes these would even include "an acute sense of disorientation or physical paralysis" (2013: 68), when for the first time confronted with urban Helsinki. These experiences may be fictional, but they are still reminiscent of perceptions held by coeval researchers of urban life. The German sociologist Georg Simmel, for instance, has addressed this issue in his essay *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben* (1903). In it, he described urban citizens as possessing characteristics that enable them to cope with the constant attractions and surprises of urban life. They would use a blasé attitude and an indifference towards the hustle and bustle of the metropolis as filters protecting them from the urban overabundance. He also found people with a rural background lacking this protective mechanism. They would be overwhelmed and paralysed by the immensity, pace, and diversity of urban life (1903: 1–4), just as it was depicted in the novels analysed by Ameel.

Today, such assumptions of inherent difference between urban and rural dwellers are shunned by most researchers (Dirksmeier 2012:76–77). Yet, the ethnologist Pilvi Hämeenaho found her informants often resorted to such distinctions when interpreting their own experiences (2013: 188) and I have made the same experience with my informants. They described arriving and settling in Helsinki in ways that strongly echoed the early sociologists and they would often make an issue of sensations, feelings, and emotions in a manner not too far off from Simmel's conception of an overwhelmed country-dweller and a blasé urban citizen. These similarities are curious, as Simmel developed his theory in the metropolis Berlin more than a century ago – in a context very different from contemporary Helsinki. Hence, I will instead approach my informant's sensations and how they interpret them with the affect-based works of Farrugia and his colleagues (2015, 2016). They have also recently found that rural young people's interactions with urban space are of a rather ambivalent nature, even if they have had a positive view of urban life before moving. The young rural out-migrants would feel uprooted and adrift in an unfamiliar environment and would find it difficult to adapt to the city's rhythms. Their own interpretation was that the different qualities of urban and rural spaces were the reasons for their uneasiness (2016:846). Aileen Stockdale has encountered this explanation as well in researching rural-urban migration in Scotland. She noted even surprised about "the number of migrants who commented on the different physical and social attributes of their donor and host community" (2004:189).

Farrugia explains these aspects and the uneasiness connected to them in noting that rural young people's lives are defined by practices and social interactions that have created an affectual relationship between their bodies and their rural homes.

He calls this an embodied place attachment. Young out-migrants do not shed this attachment when moving to the city. It doesn't just disappear. Hence, they find themselves in a position, in which they must negotiate their old place attachment and the newly developing relationship to a city space. For Farrugia, this is a process of becoming, a re-shaping of subjectivities, in which not just past attachments have an affectual and embodied dimension, but the developing relationship to the city as well. The rural out-migrants' self-understanding is negotiated in this process of adaption and said frictions – feeling maladjusted, uneasy, or somewhat out of the place's rhythm – are a part of it (2016:845). The question remains, whether Farrugia's stance perceptibly differs from Simmel's view and can be taken as a permissible approach for analysing the sensations rural young people have while moving to the city. I would argue, yes. The important distinction is that Simmel naturalizes urbanness and rurality, while Farrugia and his colleagues see these as attributes of different forms of subjectivation that are not fixed states of being, but part of a process of becoming. They are labels that can be claimed or rejected and this process of negotiation, as will be shown in more detail now, does not necessarily go by frictionless.

Unexpected Frictions

My informants mentioned repeatedly that to get ahead in life and to attain success and an education, you would have to leave Kainuu, even if you do not want to go. Hence, the qualities of the city as a material structure – with its rhythms, complexities, and sounds – may not have been the first thing on their minds, as the move was motivated by ambitions and not by the features of urban space. Still, in recounting their arrivals in Helsinki in the interviews, these features and the sensations they caused certainly were topics. Helka, a woman in her early thirties, recalls her first autumn in Helsinki this way:

> The first days and weeks I was pretty enthusiastic, but in the first autumn, well... just tiredness, really physical tiredness […] I was studying here in the central campus and my flat was in Kruununhaka, a shared flat. Just like with my daily school trips, I had a place here from which I could walk without it taking too long. And when you go on the walk and you find a place where you have to stop – like at a traffic light, not like when there is a long, straight road and a bike path next to it – where you can't just go, this was just a little bit like a suffocating feeling. And the sea is for me, I do like the sea, but for me it is a little bit, I mean, the open sea, it makes me feel claustrophobic, because I can go nowhere, because the sea is everywhere [...]. Well, this was that and then there was something that changed about the rhythm of life. It led to a stronger need to have an own space, as the environment was so active. Just like, well, just because I would not look at the faces of the people passing me by on the street anymore, because they were just coming all the time. I did not look what person is walking there when I was on the way back home, like, for instance when walking back from school, when I was always looking, like, who is driving there? Isn't that a familiar person? It's just that here in Helsinki's centre I don't look at anyone, just because I am not capable [laughs].

Helka experienced the physical properties of Helsinki as constraining. She described traffic lights and the Baltic Sea as barriers that make her feel trapped. Farrugia has noted that also his informants described their rural homes as open spaces allowing for free movement (2016:846). This changed after the move. Besides the constraining setting of the city itself, there

were the other pedestrians. Helka was able to recognize individual people in Kainuu, but in Helsinki the masses made this impossible. This would leave her exhausted and these irritating sensations – feeling constrained and worn out – forced her to adapt her behaviour to meet the requirements of city life and to alleviate these frictions. She would stop looking at people and noted an increased need for personal space – a calm space. Speaking with Farrugia, she was developing new practices and routines that fitted better with the demands of the urban space she now inhabited. Seemingly, the initial frictions stem from her continuing with practices she was used to, but which were disrupted by the new environment. Above, Farrugia had pointed out practices and socially situated activities as central for establishing embodied place attachment. Another way to think about them is to see them as a part of everyday life as routines. Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn have found that routines "can be transformed from a feeling of security to one of constraint" (2009: 101) as well. Here it is also a routine – a daily commute – that has changed in its quality because of the move.

Another informant, a young woman named Helena, had picked this image when asked to choose the most meaningful pictures out of the ones that she had taken.

This was a surprising choice for me, as it did strike me as rather unremarkable when skimming through her images before the interview. However, Helena explained to me later that it had great symbolical value:

H: Well, this is my new bike [...] when I moved from Kajaani to Helsinki in 2007, then I brought my bike with me, but I never used it, because in my opinion there was too much traffic here, so that I didn't dare. Yet, now after having lived in Helsinki for almost ten years, or, okay, eight, nine years, I was abroad in-between, well, now I dare to use the bike here. Now I am so integrated that I can use the bike. And this picture does show this integration [laughs]. [...]

Bike, 2016. Picture taken by participant "Helena".

Later in the interview, when asked to elaborate about the picture and its meaning, she added:

> It is a meaningful step for me. It really is like, like, yes, I am free, finally! Because for me, this picture shows my integration into Helsinki. Not like I think of myself as someone from Helsinki, not that, but that I can be normal, let's say, or more normal and, and then... What I want to say is that it took maybe ten years before I could be safe and integrated here and use my bike.

Helena experienced an initial mismatch as well, which presented itself as an inability to take part in Helsinki's traffic. Its dimensions deterred her from using her bike for ten years. In Kainuu, biking likely was a part of her everyday life, but not anymore. Farrugia sees such sensations of discomfort as constricting mobility and as one of the reasons for rural migrants' difficulties of getting in tune with the city's rhythms (2016:846). The characteristics of urban space have also in this case disrupted a formerly unproblematic practice and made adjustment necessary. Helena describes her eventual adaption not only as liberating, but also in evoking the term of normalcy. With this remark, she characterized her initial problems with participating in Helsinki's traffic as something divergent. Her statement was reminiscent of a bias in which urbanness – which includes the ability to securely navigate urban space – was equated with normalcy, while rurality is marginalized as something 'other' (Stenbacka 2011).

Henri, another informant, had moved to Helsinki only a year prior to the interview. Hence, his experience of arriving in Helsinki was still quite present in his mind. He explained:

> In Helsinki, in particular in Helsinki, I do feel this hecticness now in adulthood, or, or such a, well, a stir or such a, well, a feeling like a bombardment with information and in contrast to Kainuu and Kajaani the life is influenced by this... there is kind of a protection and it's special in a good way. In my opinion... this is definitely the biggest difference and naturally this does not... Well, the employment prospects, then again, aside I can say that last year, just after moving to Helsinki, this feeling developed that it would be nice to live in Kainuu again. But the biggest obstacle is clearly the fact that, well, that employment and outlook are uncertain there.

Henri noted a perceived lack of possibilities and the need to leave characteristic for cultures of migration. Hence, he saw a return as unlikely, even though he toyed with the idea and described urban Helsinki not necessarily as a pleasant place. He experienced frictions in his everyday life in Helsinki as well: A feeling of being overwhelmed by the daily input, which is a disturbance he felt protected from in Kainuu. Farrugia sees such ambivalent feelings of rural new-arrivals as stemming from and being "shaped by the interaction between the embodied subjectivities established in rural spaces and the unfamiliar space of the city" (2016:846). Yet, it takes time to overcome these initial frictions through a re-shaping of subjectivities, a process aided by the development of new practices for bridging the different characteristics of rural and urban spaces and for alleviating the irritations they cause. These irritations have in some cases been managed in a quite practical manner, for instance in the case of Hannu, another informant. He grew up in Kainuu's remote countryside and for him the noise of the city was a problem. In the interview, he compared sleeping in his childhood home,

where he could only hear the wind in the trees, to sleeping in an apartment in Helsinki, where much more could be heard. He handled the irritating noises with wearing earplugs at night even after a decade of living in the city.

All examples show rural migrants from Kainuu affected by some of the characteristics of urban space. As noted earlier, their statements resemble Simmel's description of how rural dwellers would experience urban space as overwhelming. They all mentioned features of urban life also noted by him: The noise, the anonymity, the complexity. In the background of their testimonies looms the pattern of explanation that the underlying reason for their sensations is an initial mismatch between space and subject, an incipient problem with their *Weltbeziehung*[2]. This initial mismatch is mended by adapting daily practices and routines.

Making Sense of Sensations: Situating Affects

Space and subjectivity both play roles in the explanations given by the informants and there exists literature on the interrelations between affect and these concepts. The theorist Nigel Thrift, for instance, has extensively written about cities, space, and affect. It is Thrift's non-representational theory on which also Farrugia and his colleagues have based their exploration of affect in rural-urban migration. Thrift also belongs to the choir of researchers lamenting the neglect of affect in various fields of scientific inquiry. Accordingly, he criticizes that "to read about affect in cities it is necessary to resort to the pages of novels and the tracklines of "poems" (2004:57) even though they are "roiling maelstroms of affect" (2008:171). Concerning affect itself, Thrift has stated that a clear definition is lacking, but that the term most commonly will be associated with sensations, feelings, and emotions (2008:175). Still, Thrift has found shared features in the various understandings of affect that are on offer. He emphasizes that affects are in all approaches understood as a way of thinking, as a form of intelligence: a way of *making sense* of the world. He goes on in stating that this intelligence not necessarily stands on a verbal footing, that it goes beyond language, and that causes for affects not only come from within the subject, but also from outside – born in the interactions of the body with a surrounding setting (2004:60). The social psychologist Margaret Wetherell puts forward a similar perception in stating that affect works in "a realm beyond talk, words and texts, beyond epistemic regimes, and beyond conscious representation and cognition" (2012:19). Therefore, young out-migrants' reactions to urban space as a material structure may fall into the scope of affect. Their sensations could be pre-conscious reactions to an environment undeniably different from what they have been used to.

Methodologically, these initial bodily reactions to urban space are not easy to observe as they occur. It seems also that in making sense of them, these sensations are later – in the interviews – fitted into dichotomous narratives about rural and urban spaces and dwellers, like the ones used by Simmel. Hence, focus should be put on the cultural and social contexts of narrated affects. Wetherell has also taken this position in making clear that already some social constructionist "work in the

1960s consistently pointed to the importance of context and the role of interpretation in reading body states" (2012:41). Satu Venäläinen sees as well that "attempts to isolate affective phenomena from those that are considered linguistic render affect unapproachable with the tools available for doing social research" (2017:40–41).

Hence, to adequately understand the sensations and feelings reported by the young migrants, it is not enough to simply take them as bodily reactions to unfamiliar environments. In turn, it is necessary to disentangle how they are linked to associated narratives and practices, but also to set them in relation to spatial and social settings as well as in relation to the subject's connections to those settings. Just like in Clifford Geertz's famous example of either twitching or winking boys, a sensation or emotion – or any other bodily (re)action – will not tell us much without cultural context. Geertz writes:

> The winker is communicating, and indeed communicating in a quite precise and special way: (1) deliberately, (2) to someone in particular, (3) to impart a particular message, (4) according to a socially established code, and (5) without cognizance of the rest of the company. [...] the winker has not done two things, contracted his eyelids and winked, while the twitcher has done only one, contracted his eyelids. Contracting your eyelids on purpose when there exists a public code in which so doing counts as a conspiratorial signal is winking. That's all there is to it: a speck of behavior, a fleck of culture, and… *voilà*… a gesture (Geertz 1973:6, italics in original).

The cultural context gives the act of contracting an eyelid meaning and elevates it to the status of a gesture. Linking this to the writings on affect above, one could state that to be fully non-representational[3] in thinking about sensations, feelings, and emotions will only take us so far in understanding them. In experiencing them, affects may be – different from Geertz's wink – not deliberate, not an act of communication aimed at someone, not there to impart a message, not embedded in a socially established code as they may go beyond (or exist before) language and meaning, and also not necessarily occurring without other people's cognizance, as an affect's effect on a body sometimes definitely can be observed from outside.[4]

Nevertheless, this all changes when informants retrospectively explain their sensations and feelings. Stating to have had a sensation in relation to a place or experience is deliberate, directed at the researcher, imparting a message, embedded in socially established codes and, given the interview setting, it certainly isn't hidden or conspiratorial, as there is an awareness of the fact that their answers are stored for posterity. Hence, there should be some emphasis on the question of why for them a sensation, emotion, or feeling was deemed to have been the appropriate one to go beyond difficultly applicable notions of affects as non-verbal sensations.

Alleviating Frictions

Cheryl Morse and Jill Mudgett recently compared expressions of homesickness in accounts of 19th century out-migrants from Vermont to those of contemporary movers. They found place-based attachment present in both, as well as a longing for landscape (2017:96). Stockdale found also in Scotland that many rural out-migrants "suffered from homesickness – not just for their family, but also for their rural environment" (2004:189). Another ex-

ample for such yearning is a study about out-migration from rural Finland to Sweden. There, Hanna Snellman encountered Finnish migrants longing "for elements of the landscape that were missing in Gothenburg: the wilds, the silence, the light summers and the snows of early spring" (2005:159). My informants reported similar sensations. Now living in Helsinki and asked about the move, a desire for the landscape of Kainuu was part of their everyday city life. I also noticed that some would, after being tasked with taking pictures relating to arriving and settling in the city, bring in pictures that did not show urban structures, as I would have expected, but instead present pictures of places in Helsinki that reminded them of Kainuu – or even pictures taken in Kainuu. Helka for instance took pictures from her balcony, which showed the woods facing her apartment in Helsinki. She explained that she had decided to buy it also because of this view and noted that it was a privilege to live in Helsinki with a view reminding her daily of Kainuu's landscape. For her, not only her memories of this landscape with its clearings, hills, and woods have been meaningful; regular visits and related practices also were important.

In their advancement of the concept of place attachment, Holly R. Barcus and Stanley D. Brunn have outlined the concept of place elasticity to grasp people's relationship to places, in which they most of the time do not physically reside in. It describes how people remain connected to a place of origin, even if they have left for economic gain or possibilities elsewhere (2010:281). It captures Helka's relationship to Kainuu well, as it "focuses on the role of place and place attachment, rather than just the human connections" (2010:285). Accordingly, her attachment to Kainuu continues to manifest itself in regular visits also after her parents have left the region and sold her childhood home. These visits create permanence in her relationship to Kainuu, which is another dimension of place elasticity. Barcus and Brunn explain that this permanence is fostered by contacts with remaining friends and family, but also by memories and the imagination (2010:285). Hence, beyond her visits to Kainuu, it can be assumed that the woods opposite her home in Helsinki contribute to this sense of permanence and may help her mitigating the frictions she experiences in the city. Morse and Mudgett have also pointed out that not only features of a dearly missed landscape are important, but also the practices relating to it. They mention, for instance, the place-based practice of "cross country skiing in the woods after a snowstorm" (2017:100). Such practices are, according to Farrugia, how embodied place attachments will have developed in the first place (2016:845–846). Engaging in them after moving can strengthen old place attachments, is associated with positive feelings, and can – in creating continuity or permanence – alleviate everyday frictions that are experienced in new places with different qualities (Chow and Healey 2008:367). This picture by Helka shows one such practice.

She took it while visiting Kainuu. It is a cherished tradition for her to go to Kainuu for berry-picking. This practice, and being out in the countryside, is connecting her to the landscape. She elaborated that she could not envision any better place to be at on a windy autumn day, than a clearing on a hill in Kainuu. She explained:

Landscape in Kainuu, 2016. Picture taken by participant "Helka".

H: Now my parents aren't living there anymore. They moved to Lahti because of my father's work. And, eh, before, when they were still living there, then I was going there more often. I still have some relatives, but it is not a childhood home anymore. Well, I am going about three times a year. Generally, I go for the cloudberry and for blueberry seasons. So, sometime in July or August. A couple of weeks in summer and then again in the fall, in September or October maybe. Just like, now I am leaving, when the hunting season has begun, then lingonberry picking-time and this is just such a regular thing every year, just being there in the cottage. [...]

I: This, well, the lingonberry-time, this is then also important to you?

H: Yes, I pick a lot of berries and then I bring them with me.

I: Oh, nice. Is this maybe also a homesickness-thing?

H: Oh, yes, absolutely. Just these things. Moving in nature and picking berries is not just taking a walk for fun. The benefit is the berry-picking. I generally bring about ten or fifteen litres with me and it is enough for the whole year.

The choice of her apartment, regularly visiting Kainuu, and the daily consumption of self-reaped berries all hint that Helka's place attachment to Kainuu is strong even after a decade in Helsinki. It can also be assumed that these practices continually renew her place attachment to Kainuu. Unsurprisingly, she was also among those, who weren't adverse to the idea of returning to Kainuu someday. Helka said that an employment arrangement in which she could divide her time between Kainuu and Helsinki would be ideal, and her practices made clear that she valued a life close to nature. Her responses were reminiscent of Henri's in associating Kainuu with feeling protected and calm in contrast to a hectic and loud Helsinki. In the following excerpt, Helka describes a drive to Kainuu with a friend, which makes clear that she shares Henri's sentiment.

I especially remember this ... and I think this is about, this is something about this idea of the trip back home. That I have this feeling, here in Helsinki, that here is no, just not that kind of space. And I think this is familiar to others, who before the move haven't been used to the city. And then this feeling, I remember how I was going back with a good friend from Kajaani [...] So, this feeling when you get on the national road No. 5, right there at Lahdentie. Well, this, this... it is like now nothing is coming anymore. You do not need to stop at traffic lights and you can just keep on driving and it is this straight road and there is nothing in the way. And then when it goes on, when you are going from Helsinki in the direction of Kajaani, everything just disperses and thins out and becomes looser and when you are somewhere north of Kuopio... Well, then there is this strong

feeling. I remember this feeling, just such a relaxed and pleasant feeling. This is a really great memory.

The motif of feeling restricted in the city and able to move freely in the countryside, as described by Farrugia, appears here again (2016:846). The efforts to establish continuity or permanence and longing for a familiar landscape seem to be a related. Were Helka's feelings of liberation and calm explainable with her leaving a space in which she felt maladjusted? Or were they occurring because these trips caused the positive sensations of re-establishing permanence in her relation to Kainuu? Chow and Healey noted in the case of their informants that sensations of dislocation and discontinuity were answered with attempts of creating exactly this kind of continuity. They alleviate the disruptive effects of the move (2008:367) and may explain the feelings Helka reported while driving north.

Continuity or permanence can not only be fostered through practices, but also through objects. Maja Povranović Frykman and Michael Humbracht have found that objects can be "animators of material practices that occur on a habitual basis and establish continuities in transnational social spaces" (2013:64). Their research focused on mobility across national borders, but similar uses of objects can also be found in internal migration (2013:63). In the case of this research project, I have also found some examples of objects being used to establish continuity, for instance in Henri's case. He took the following picture.

It shows a *kuksa*, a traditional Finnish wooden cup filled with black coffee. Henri declared this picture to be one of the more meaningful ones. As noted by Povranović Frykman and Humbracht, such objects are not only important in themselves, but also because they enable practices – in his case a specific morning ritual. It must be noted here that in their research, Povranović Frykman and Humbracht were focusing on practices that

Kuksa, 2016. Picture taken by participant "Henri".

migrants had engaged in while still living in their home regions, and which they then would continue to engage in after migrating. They present for instance the continued use of a teapot by one of their informants as an example (2013:52). In Henri's case it was a practice that started after moving, but because of the object's nature and meaning, it still was a tool for creating continuity. He explained:

H: Every morning I use it, this kuksa. It is from my mother. I have gotten it from her sometime in the 90s, when I was still living in Kainuu and when I was hiking a lot. And now, in recent times, I started to use it again and, well, to use it daily. It reminds me of things that... or also the wood and the wooden material are things that I like more than plastic cups or ceramic dishes.

I: And this is kind of an important object for you?

H: Eh, yes you could say that. In a way the object is important, but also the moment of drinking coffee is, it is an important ritual, every day.

Later, he added:

The life of Helsinki is often somehow, it is somehow hectic, or, like an avalanche of information, or, or something of this kind. You are right about that. And this coffee-moment alone is something that is somehow kind of a safe haven or something similar momentarily.

Povrzanović Frykman and Humbracht explain that object-based practices like Henri's coffee-ritual help mobile people to negotiate frictions in creating a sense of ongoing continuity (2013:48). The cup's relationship to his family made it even more meaningful, but it was also connected to Kainuu's landscape and nature, as it had been used in this context before. This example also is reminiscent of what Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren have written about morning rituals as "small tricks of mental reframing" (2009:102) to prepare oneself for the demands of a new day. This solitary practice provided Henri with exactly such a calm space for gathering himself before venturing out into busy Helsinki.

Moving in nature is another practice pointed out by many of my informants that did continue after the move to Helsinki. It was also present in many of the pictures. They were taken while moving in the woods around Helsinki or showed objects needed for this, like cross-country skis. An informant named Heikki, for instance, took a picture of cross-country skis. They enabled him to move in nature around Helsinki also in winter. Like the other informants, he seeks out calm spaces from time to time that offered him breathing room in his now more hectic life. Heikki also mentioned regularly going cross-country skiing when he was still living in Kainuu. In this sense, his skis were tools for creating continuity or permanence as well.

Helka, Henri, and Heikki shared a longing for Kainuu's wilderness, which articulates itself in Helka's case through regular visits and practices connecting her to the landscape, for Heikki in regularly moving in nature near Helsinki and in choosing to live in a neighbourhood of Helsinki close to a forest, and for Henri in his daily use of his *kuksa*. Another similarity is that they seemed to associate Kainuu with relaxation and calmness, while they experienced Helsinki as hurried, stressful, and restrictive. These sensations became visible in Helka's description of her feelings while driving north. Henri also noted a sense of being overwhelmed when talking about his daily coffee-ritual, in which an object strongly connected to Kainuu is used as a remedy for the stresses of urban life. Here,

the fact that Helka eats self-reaped berries from Kainuu for breakfast in Helsinki every day also seems meaningful. Lastly, and pointing back to the concept of a culture of migration, they were also aware that a return was unlikely, because of their perception that there were no possibilities for them in Kainuu. This left them in a position, in which they had to grow accustomed to the idea that they would stay in the city for the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

Arriving in, settling in, and adapting to an urban space is a process with its own difficulties and irritations. Unexpected affectual frictions appear and continue to appear in the everyday lives of rural new-arrivals and act as reminders of sensibilities developed in a space different from their new home. The decision to put feelings, sensations, and emotions at the centre of analysis made this visible and has shown that the trope of rural migrants' struggles with urban space is not only present in fiction, but also a part of concrete everyday experiences. My informants experienced settling in the city as challenging and this challenge pertains not only to the task of building a new life, but also to managing the urban environment. They do not only have to establish themselves, but also must develop strategies to overcome the unexpected irritations arising in their interactions with urban space to succeed in making the city their home. My informants have managed these everyday frictions in utilizing objects and practices that help them with alleviating the unpleasant sensations they would experience from time to time. Their techniques ranged from filtering the often-overwhelming input of the city with objects like earplugs to the creation of or the seeking out of calm spaces for recuperation.

Simmel has written about urban citizens that they would possess a *Schutzorgan*, a protective organ (or mechanism) that helps them to deal with the demands of city life (1903:1). In a way, my participants' efforts could be seen as them developing their own *Schutzorgan* for coping with the city. For Farrugia, in turn, this process and its frictions rather were to be explained by them being part of a re-shaping of subjectivities. He concluded that young rural out-migrants experience uneasiness in urban everyday life, as their experiences are mediated through the embodied place attachments and the related practices they have brought with them. These sensations of discomfort are mostly unanticipated reactions. Yet, over time and through the development of new practices and the altering of old ones, as well as through eventually becoming attached to the urban space they now do reside in, they can ultimately settle (2016:847). Yet, this is by no means a secure outcome, as one informant pointed out to me. She reported that one of her friends from Kainuu had capitulated only after a couple of months in Helsinki and returned to Kainuu, as she could not cope with city life. This is a small reminder that these irritations matter and that the ability to overcome them is not always given. In some cases the emotional strain may just outweigh the ambitions of out-migration.

Still, the subtle everyday frictions contemporary rural out-migrants experience after moving to cities may at a first glance appear insignificant. Yet, there is some value in investigating these overlooked

nuances of contemporary rural-urban migration. They matter to the people who are experiencing them, and still they occur mostly unnoticed by researchers working on rural-urban migration and rural depopulation. Moreover, – leaning on Raymond Williams' vast body of work – these sensations could also be significant as a part of a larger structure of feeling specific for late modernity, which unifies the experiences of young people that currently are leaving shrinking rural regions in societies where the countryside has seen massive transformations over the last decades. Hence, it can only be beneficial to describe and scrutinize the sensual and emotional aspects of this form of mobility and the ways rural young people cope with them – from dealing with atmospheres of abandonment in their shrinking home regions to their responses to the sometimes oppressive sensations of a new urban everyday life.

Lastly, the question remains: is the terminology of affect the right one to grasp these frictions between subject and space, between old and new embodied place attachments? As said, these aspects of rural-urban migration have so far not received much research attention. A focus on affects – on feelings, emotions, and sensations – sheds light on nuances that have not yet been described much. Still, it is also clear that the way the informants narrate these affects seems to be influenced by a dichotomous conception of rurality and urbanity. In summoning this dichotomy and in proclaiming to have had the experiences they have had when faced with the reality of everyday life in urban Helsinki, they also did actively position themselves as people of a rural background. Hence, the focus of further explorations should here be on the fact that in looking back on arriving and settling in the city years ago, they see sensations of stunnedness as the ones that make most sense retrospectively. Therefore, more attention should be paid to how embedded in popular, dichotomous conceptions of alleged rural-urban differences their testimonies really are.

In conclusion, all changes and shifts in life are challenges to some degree and moving from the countryside to a big city is no exception. There are subtle frictions occurring in everyday life during the process of adapting not only to spatial change, but also to other life events that do alter one's situation. Accordingly, there are many layers to this issue and more than enough reasons to further explore how people experience change, mobility, and space on a sensorial level.

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Notes

1 See in this context also the activities of the newly formed research committee *Kulturanalyse des Ländlichen* (cultural analysis of the rural) within the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (dgv)*. This commission sees itself as a new network of ethnologists working on rural culture and can be visited online at: http://landkultur.blogspot.com.

2 The word *Weltbeziehung* can be translated as *relationship with the world*. The German sociologist Hartmut Rosa has addressed this in his recent book *Resonanz – Eine Soziologie der Weltbeziehung* (2016). In it, Rosa attempts to illuminate the nature of the subject's either successful or failing relationship with the world. While he is focused rather on succeeding and failing conducts of life in general

(2016:52–53), he offers thought-provoking impulses for the issue at hand, for instance that a flawed relationship between the subject and its respective fraction of the world – being out of tune – can lead to an equally flawed subjectivity (2016:35–36) and that this relationship also is affected by space (2016:642).

3 An approach that "commits itself to the study of processes that are described as 'more than language', below the 'threshold of cognition', and thus preconscious and bodily, rather than individuated, discursively mediated and constructed" (Wetherell 2012:55).

4 Yet, the categories and knowledges that are informing these observations are also mediated through their social and cultural contexts (Wetherell 2012:41).

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Returnees' Cultural Jetlag

Highly Skilled Professionals' Post-Mobility Experiences

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The aim of this article is to develop the concept of returnees' cultural jetlag as an aspect of highly skilled professionals' post-mobility experiences. In the framework of our research project "What is the Use of Internationalization for Transfer of Knowledge and Professional Status? A Case of Highly Skilled International Returners in the Medical Field",[1] we have analysed Swedish medical professionals' experiences of working abroad and returning to Sweden. The project explored the loop of moving abroad, living and working there, and returning to Sweden. In this article, we focus on the experience of the post-mobility phase upon return to the country of residence, and the process which we conceptualize as "*returnees' cultural jetlag*", consisting of initial bewilderment, estrangement, and the endeavour to re-establish one's cultural bearings, resulting in a new insights and perspectives on the taken-for-granted and a gradual, reflexive (re)adjustment.

Our ambition is to propose theoretical refinements, especially in relation to the more established concept of "reverse culture shock", and to give the concept of returnees' jetlag an empirical ground. As will be demonstrated, our empirical findings do not align with the theory of reverse culture shock. In our material, the professionals' experiences of return were seldom world-shattering (though it happened). The most frequent narratives were about a milder form of temporary cultural incomprehension, which nevertheless enabled a person to regard things from new perspectives and enhanced a critical reflection about the order of things both "over there" and "at home". While a reverse culture shock is something someone should recover from, the returnees' cultural jetlag is rather a process of learning and reflection.

In the next section, we present the article's empirical material. After this, two sections follow: one on previous research and the theory of reverse culture shock and one where we briefly outline the concept of cultural jetlag. These are followed by a longer section in which diverse post-mobility experiences, as articulated by the interviewed professionals, are presented. Finally, we will return to the concept of cultural jetlag in order to discuss it in relation to our empirical findings and we suggest some explanations as to why our empirical findings differ from the ones in studies about reverse culture shock.

Material and Method

The analysis is based on 43 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with three groups of professionals in the medical field: medical molecular biologists working in laboratories (n=12); physicians involved in clinical work and/or research in English-speaking countries (n=15); and physicians working for international aid organizations (n=16). With one exception, all interviewees were born in Sweden, while one moved to Sweden as an adult. All interviewees have lived most of their adult lives in Sweden and at the time of the interviews they were all working in the medical field in Sweden. For most of the interviewees, their work in another country was thoroughly planned and prepared, with a fixed time frame – naturally, with the exception of assignments in catastrophe situations. The interviewed physicians who had moved for research and/or

clinical work in the West mostly stayed for 1–2 years. The researchers worked abroad for approximately 2–6 years. Some of the interviewees had worked in several countries, especially those working for international aid organizations, but their stays abroad were shorter, mostly limited to a few months. For the majority of the interviewees the return to Sweden was planned and prepared, and they were coming back to employment, a well-known social environment and economic security.

The reason for choosing semi-structured qualitative interviews as the primary method was that this type of interviews provide a broad knowledge about an individual's life course and self-presentation, at the same time offering a space for the person to formulate what are perceived as important matters and reflections. A presentation of professional mobility is seldom confined to professional matters only, as the professional and private life (especially in relation to family or other social relations) can be intertwined, which is important to investigate.

All the interviews followed the same semi-structured interview guide enhancing narratives and were conversations organized by themes, leaving room for the interviewed person to develop the threads considered most relevant, and to follow up the reflections and statements inspired by the interview themes. The themes included background, education, career, decisions to work abroad and the process of leaving Sweden, living and working in another country and returning home. Most questions were revolved around learning from working abroad and returning to Sweden. The interviews have been digitally recorded in Swedish and transcribed verbatim. Quotations used in this article have been translated into English with minor revisions for better readability. All persons mentioned in the text have been given fictitious names and, in some cases, less relevant details about a person were obscured to ensure anonymity.

Research on Highly Skilled Returnees and the Theory of Reverse Culture Shock

There are several studies about highly skilled persons returning to their country of origin after studying abroad or working in organizations or multinational companies. Most studies focus on corporate repatriates (e.g. Linehan & Scullion 2002) and students (e.g. Kartoshkina 2015; Tomlin et al. 2014; also Riemsdijk & Wang 2017) but there is also a strand of research on returnees in the academic field (Wang, Tang & Li 2015) in medicine (Williams & Baláž 2008a, 2008b; Wolanik Boström 2018; Öhlander et al. under review) and highly skilled return migration to the local labour market (Lee 2013; Gu 2016).

Even if highly skilled mobility has been in the focus of many scholars' interest, still too little is known about the return experiences from a cultural perspective (see e.g. Konzett-Smoliner 2016; Riemsdijk & Wang 2017; Szkudlarek 2009).

While most studies on post-return experiences focus on work conditions and professional career advantages or disadvantages, fewer studies raise questions about social and cultural aspects of returning. Some important research on this topic has been conducted in the field of intercultural

studies and cross-cultural experiences, where the returnees' experiences have been discussed in terms of "re-entry" (Wilson 1988), "cross-cultural re-adjustment" (Adler 1981) or a need of "intercultural adjustment" (e.g. Pitts 2016). Pitts (2016:420) summarizes the process of students' re-entry as "the transitional process of returning and reintegrating into one's home country after an extended period abroad. Returnees often experience a disruption of the social ties, roles, and routines developed in the host country and a loss of access to the lifestyle and material resources abroad to which the sojourner has become accustomed." There are some similarities to our material, though as we mentioned, most of the studied professionals had returned to safe and stable material and social environments and to well-known routines.

Other studies describe re-entering as "reverse culture shock" (Allison, Davis-Berman & Berman 2012; Huff 2001; Presbitero 2016; Tomlin et al. 2014). The concept of "reverse culture shock" originates from the term "cultural shock", usually attributed to the anthropologist Kalervo Oberg in the 1960s (see also Allison, Davies-Berman & Berman 2012). Oberg (2006) described cultural shock as a condition when a person loses the ability to interpret "the thousand and one ways in which we orient ourselves to the situations of daily life" (Oberg 2006:142). According to Oberg, a culture shock is a serious condition with symptoms such as "excessive washing of the hands; […] fear of physical contact; […] a feeling of helplessness and a desire for dependence on long-term residents of one's own nationality" (Oberg 2006:142). "Reverse culture shock" is similar but concerns individuals' return to their country of origin after a long stay abroad. Tomlin et al. (2014: 107) define reverse culture shock as "the negative effects experienced while readapting to the environment of one's own culture after having spent time abroad". The term has been used in studies about, for instance, missionary children (Huff 2001), students (Gaw 2000; Allison, Davies-Berman & Berman 2012; Tomlin et al. 2014), and expatriates in the private sector (Howard 1974).

In her review article, Szkudlarek (2009) summarizes and discusses more than 150 research publications, mainly in the field of intercultural studies, on migrants' and internationally mobile professionals' return to their country of birth. A conclusion from Szkudlarek's (2009) research overview is that most studies about reverse culture shock focus on highly negative psychological effects. She argues that there is no conclusive empirical support for the existence of really grave re-entry problems. Tomlin et al. (2014) comes to a similar conclusion in their survey-based study about students returning to the US.

In relation to the implications of existing research for our study, we aim to contribute to the research on cultural aspects of post-mobile experiences and to the theory of returning process by developing the concept of *"cultural jetlag"* (see the next section) in relation to returnees. We are critical of the idea and the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of reverse culture shock and, also based on our empirical findings, we suggest that the concept of cultural jetlag opens up for a more accurate depiction and has a greater analyt-

ical value in the analysis of post-mobility experiences of professionals.

The Concept of Returnees' Cultural Jetlag

The concept of "cultural jetlag" has a somewhat unclear origin and seems to lack a straightforward definition grounded in empirical studies or a theoretical framework. The term was coined by Marc Perraud in regard to "third culture kids", having parents from different cultures and travelling between them. The term is used sporadically in cross-cultural psychology, and more frequently in popular psychology (Szkudlarek 2009; also Tung & Lazarova 2006).

The original concept of "jetlag" means that when a person travels between time zones they become disoriented in time or out of step with time. With the expression "*cultural jetlag*" we want to conceptualize an experience of estrangement, puzzlement and/or reorientation when the mobile professionals return to their home country. This means a short period of cultural disorientation before they (re)establish their bearings; a feeling of temporarily being estranged from the cultural traits that previously were taken for granted. With Sarah Ahmed's (2006) term, the returnees feel temporarily "out of line", which enhances reflexivity as a strategy to understand and to remedy the situation. The concept of "returnees' cultural jetlag" is thus a metaphor for feeling temporarily like a "stranger" in one's own cultural environment, a disorientation and a reflexive musing about some of the previously taken-for-granted norms and behaviours, trying to re-orient oneself, and perhaps re-evaluate one's cultural bearings.

The Interviewees on Post-mobility Experiences

Almost all of the interviewees remarked on how they altered, both professionally and in general, when returning to Sweden after working abroad. The interview guide did not include specific questions on estrangement, puzzlement or reorientation. Experiences we later labelled as "cultural jetlag" were narrated in response to open questions about how it felt to return to Sweden or what they had learned from working abroad. The interviewees described the feelings of return, especially getting "back" to everyday life, more as a self-imposed necessity and a reinforced capability to reflect on cultural differences and to make (often valuable) cultural and professional reorientations. These return-experiences put Sweden into a larger transnational context, enabling comparisons and reflections on culture. None of these reflections upon return seemed intolerably challenging or causing excessive problems for the interviewees. However, it enhanced their cultural sensitivity and considerations about what they had previously taken for granted, e.g. cultural norms, work conditions or material standards.

In the following, we give examples of reflections on the process of return. These reflections are of very diverse character and concerned a variety of topics, depending on the professional's specific life situation and conditions for mobility. Some elaborated on the demanding and complicated project to bring the whole family along when they were working in another country, and then making a smooth return for everybody. Working life and family life were often described as intertwined,

more intense, and challenging during the stay abroad, as well as upon return (see Wolanik Boström 2018; Wolanik Boström, Öhlander & Pettersson 2018). When some of the interviewees articulated experiences of returning, their work life and family life were parts of the same "narrative". For others, work was more strictly in focus. The following presentation of different post-mobility experiences gives some empirical ground to further discuss the concept of cultural jetlag.

We present our examples under two headings: (i) Initial readjustment and new perspectives on things taken for granted pre-mobility; and (ii) Insights into global inequalities and the Swedish style of life. The headings originate from the differences between the experiences narrated by those who worked in other Western, mainly English-speaking, countries and those who worked in poor areas in the Global South or on disaster assignments.

Initial Readjusting and New Perspectives on Things Taken for Granted Pre-mobility

The experiences of return vary from very smooth to a temporarily strong estrangements and readjustments. Susanna said that coming back home was relatively easy, even though the first days felt unreal.

> When we came home, it was just like, those first days it felt very strange and desolate and kind of weird. […] And silent and empty, we came at the end of June and it was biting cold, not a person in sight and it was very weird and I missed India a lot, but after a couple of days it was summer and nice, and the kids had come home, and it was just so lovely. And starting to work, it was just fine; it felt a bit rusty but after a couple of days it let go and it was mostly fun.

She said that her return had been easier because she started a new job; in her old clinic, she would probably have been frustrated and irritated over the slow pace and the many things "around" the job. But for her daughter, who had "missed out a year of social development", the behaviour and relationships back home proved more complicated. The child was used to being followed everywhere by her parents or the nanny while living in the huge city in India, while her peers in Sweden have grown much more independent. She found it difficult to adjust to the freer movement and playing with other children and visiting her friends' homes on her own. This was a cause for concern, which clouded Susanna's return.

Another example of readjustment upon return is given in the interviews with molecular biologists returning to Sweden as group leaders. They needed to re-learn all the procedures regarding Swedish laws and workplace-specific policies and routines.

> The system of recruiting is not easy to understand. Just buy stuff, by themselves, all [lab] orders had been submitted, so, I had like three pallets with boxes of things standing here. To find people who should start. To apply for all permits and to report everything to the Occupational Safety Authority.

A couple of other researchers who worked in labs highlighted their meeting with colleagues upon return to Sweden and how they understood what the Swedish welfare system actually offers. On the one hand, they agreed, and pointed out how much easier it is to raise children in Sweden and to have a dual career relationship. On the other, they also described a feeling of coming back to a system with internal recruitments. "I don't want to call it inbred," said one of the research participants, "but it was a shock to see how the internal ca-

reer system works in Sweden." Several of them also pointed out that they experienced their colleagues taking the Swedish welfare system for granted, but on the other, also saw the welfare system as a system that keeps people back and makes them reluctant to change university and research group, even for a couple of years.

Lisa, who had been living for several years in the United States, returned to a job in Sweden as a senior researcher. Her experience of what might be called the "cultural jetlag" was most noticeable between the hours in the lab and at the office. After the years in the United States, she was not used to departmental coffee rooms where the coffee break was almost institutional, and how people were supposed to socialize with each other during lunch. She recalls a feeling of uneasiness, and frustration.

> And here [in Sweden], at work, I reflect on how people socialize. You talk a lot to each other, catch up with each other, you sit down and have coffee breaks all the time. I was not used to that. It took some time before I dared to walk in to the lunch room, and have lunch. Because I'm used to eating at my office alone, you know. You enter a huge [lunch] room, and "Who should I sit with?"

Lisa was also struck by the importance these social spaces and behaviour seemed to have. Moreover, she considered it a must to participate.

> I felt that we had many, many meetings, and we had discussions, but there was never a decision. I remember we only talked and talked, then it was like we talk about it again, and we'll talk about it again. But, oh my God, what shall we do? And then also that you sat down and had coffee. Sometimes I felt "It's good, I get to know everyone, to sit here and hang with people." However, I felt "God! Go and do something now!" It was such a contrast. And there were parties and stuff, I'm not used to it. We used to have a reception and have some cheese and biscuits in [the Western country], but you never had to spend several hours drinking alcohol or wine […]. On the one hand, it was a bit of fun and different as well. But on the other, it was also very strange and frustrating. I didn't know, I probably didn't count on all that.

Apart from the above example about how to organize work and interacting with people at the workplace there are also examples of how new experiences resulted in new ways of looking at oneself as a professional or changed concepts of oneself as a person in a more general sense. Maria, who spent twelve months doing research in North America, said that she became more independent as a researcher after having been "infected with this American mentality":

> I became quite good at thinking outside the box, but still trying to think about the possibilities and not so much about the difficulties of each project or the disadvantages, but try to think "how can we make it possible". […] It's really about being alert and not lying back, lolling and thinking that I'm still working between eight and four and that's it. If you want to become a prominent physician, researcher, academic, then I think it takes more. I'm probably prepared to do it, unlike before I went [abroad]. I have become a little infected with their way of working and just wanting to get better.

Others who worked in clinics and/or with research in North America or other English-speaking countries also reflected on how more clear-cut hierarchies could result in less initiatives and independence. In the interview with Jan he compares his experiences of hierarchies in the United States and in Sweden and how it changed him as a professional:

> I think Americans are more hierarchical than we are. So, you can't do what you think is best on our own but have to go and ask for permission. And here [in Sweden] you are much more, so that you give responsibility early. In that way I get much

more responsibility and confidence, even before [I went to the United States]. […] But at the same time, I become more independent [during my time in the United States] because I learn things from people who can do different things than here [in Sweden]. So that I become independent in that way and I take it with me.

Almost all interviewees told us how they changed as individuals. Some said they got a broader perspective; some reappraised what is important in life. Firsthand experiences of living their everyday lives in new ways made them exercise a cultural sensibility and incorporate a somewhat different view of the world (cf. Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2015). One example was provided by Jan, who worked with research in a Western country. He said that the experiences of living abroad made him and his family re-evaluate things they used to take for granted:

I think my wife feels the same […] the reflection and character-building that you learn through, and by […] the fact that you move the whole flock [the family] for a while and experience something together. And, in fact, to reassess things you have done before, […] rat race that you do in your life much like everyone else and you don't reflect on it. But when you have to tear everything up, move somewhere and so; for example, we felt that it was less materialistic than it was at home [laughing]. It was strange because it is the United States and so on. But then you question things, you start thinking about yourself and how to live your life […] which I think comes from the move itself. Then maybe the place you come to also affects you.

In Jan's understanding, the mobility as such is the key to change. When he brought his whole family to another place and exposed them to another cultural context it fuelled reflections about lifestyle, ideals and what is valuable in life.

A concrete example of this is that in Sweden, and in Stockholm and so on, there is a lot of discussion about the renovation of houses and the purchase of houses, and everyone is aware of housing prices and so on. Or brand clothes among the children and the like. It is nothing like this in the United States. And that can be partly because many people are staying temporarily where we were, there are many who rent and you do not live your life in the same way, you don't hang out in the same way at each other's houses, you take pizza home instead of having dinner. […] No one discusses different brands of different kitchenware or anything like that. And it's quite liberating.

This kind of reflection is based on comparison of two non-complex descriptions of life at two different places, which is a not unusual practice in mobility process (see e.g. Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2015 on everyday mobile ethnography). And the social and cultural context in the United States was a bit special; Jan and his family lived in a residential area where most others had the same situation of being on a time-limited stay and formed a temporary community.

A memory of widening one's perspectives was conveyed by Sara. Her description was more abstract, almost "philosophical":

Most important experiences? Yes, this is so hard to explain, but it is that you raise a snap above and get a broader perspective, I think. In this way you see that the world is bigger. It can work in many different ways. You might be a bit freer in formulating visions, or understand that it may be different. I think this is the biggest personal lesson. And you realize that there are thousands of worlds that you have not seen. So now I have only got one perspective, but if I were to go to Germany for two years, I would have yet another way of thinking. Yes, and then it became really important. I probably did not realize how much before, but my daughter had to go to school two years which gave her a new perspective, other than mine, but she has also elevated her thinking and knows that it works another way in another place. Yes.

Victoria articulated yet another kind of experiences from living abroad with the family. She talked about how it was an educational experience to be a foreigner, and she brought these insights back with her to Sweden:

Victoria: It was incredibly valuable to be foreigners. It's very enlightening and then we were still, what should I say, high-status foreigners. We came and we had work, we lived in a good area, and we could speak the language more or less proficiently. The kids spoke [the language] fairly well from the beginning, but it's really interesting to be foreigners and not knowing when people are talking about a politician or an author or an actor. So there's so much you don't bring with you.

Magnus: As a frame of reference.

Victoria: Yes exactly. And [it is] also [educational to] feel that you are a bit slow in understanding the language, and what it means to feel [short break] it actually takes quite a few months before you feel that you really are into it, and feeling a bit dumb as well, because you can't really keep up [in conversations]. […] And that you are drawn to your own compatriots. This I have brought with me and I know the rest of the family have too, very much when we are home with all our different immigrants. /.../ So, there are lots of such things, just not to be in your own country is a really an educational, super-valuable feeling.

Victoria underlined how she had learned something from how it felt to be a stranger and not be able to do things the way she wanted, such as keeping up with everything said in a conversation. Her new perspectives were grounded in her own bodily and intellectual experience of being in place and feeling like someone who does not fully master everyday situations.

So far, we have given examples of how mobility experiences resulted in a need for a cultural re-adjustment upon return, in professional and personal changes, as well as new and wider perspectives. Cultural readjustments and insights of this kind are not only or primarily based on text-based information or hearsay, but on the concrete practice of having done things another way – the embodied experience and habituation of ways of working and living, of ideas and ideals. The reflections organized as comparisons of lived, first-hand, embodied, emotional and intellectual experiences are also the main modus of returnees' cultural jetlag experiences that we present under the next heading, but these examples are more concentrated around differences in living conditions and global inequalities.

Insights into Global Inequalities and the Swedish Lifestyle

Anders is a medical researcher who spent 18 months in another Western country. He said he had become very concerned about the segregation and poverty he observed during his stay in this country, which is usually described as a Western welfare state. The indigenous population had a very tough social situation. The schools did not serve free lunches, so the children in the area "did not get food the last days of the four-day period because the parents could not afford it". His research colleagues explained to him that the parents did not waste money, for example, they did not smoke often, but there was just no money to get. "So it was not that there was parental insufficiency in this way, but there was no money at the end of the month, then the children did not get any food." This experience put Sweden in a new perspective for him:

And it has probably changed me, that I am totally, in another way [than before] proud of the Swedish

model, where we still try to care for each other better and the children at least get a meal because they get to school.

Similarly, the physicians working in poor areas in the Global South or on disaster assignments reflected upon the extremely large differences in living conditions and the necessary, but sometimes very painful priorities to be made in health care. They told about their new insights into both the benefits of the Swedish welfare state and some of its flaws, for example, the inefficiency of the health care system. After seeing "what really sick people look like", as one of our interviewees expressed it, they could think of Swedes as sometimes being spoiled and whining over what (in this new light) appeared like trivialities.

In spite of the above-mentioned Susanna's rather "smooth" return to work, some of the experiences lingered and changed her view of the world. She had worked for several months in a clinic in a poor region in India and she said than it became much clearer that the world was unfair, and that people in Sweden were very well off. But this insight was difficult to maintain in daily life if you wanted to function as a professional.

Of course I feel sometimes, when I work with old people who had lived a long life and have lifestyle diseases, that, well: 'Don't lie there complaining over health care because you have kind of brought it upon yourself, and you have all possibilities to improve your situation – while there are those born into a reality where they have no opportunity to get away, they don't stand a chance, no matter what they do'. And well, you can think about it – but at the same time you cannot go on, because you will go crazy. So: 'Now I am *here* and I work *here* and I have to do my best, and for this particular patient, this operation *is* important.'

Victor, who had been working abroad for MSF and the United Nations, talked about the hierarchies in the world and the importance of respecting other cultures. People from the West always think they know best, giving money and directives on how to use it, but he started to question this assumption. Victor said also that the difficulty of returning to his clinic was coming back to the Swedish patients:

It is a good population in many respects, but then you come to people who might have problems of lesser medical dignity but have very big "problems" with those little problems, and I may have a hard time to *endure* that sometimes.

When Anna reflected after her Operation Smile assignments, she realized how incredibly well off the people in Sweden were. "It is so easy to go around whining about things at home, but you don't do that when you return after an assignment," she said. It happened that she got irritated at some colleagues' whining and made a comment; then she was taken aside by her boss and told that "you are in Sweden now!"

To Kajsa, the village in sub-Saharan Africa where she worked for an NGO and Sweden felt almost like two different planets. She remembered vividly her first week back at the Swedish clinic, trying desperately to communicate some of her experiences and insights. People showed a kind but very short-lived interest; they were preoccupied with what to her seemed totally unimportant things and trivial problems, like the latest fashion or the royal family. She regarded those – previously so ordinary – conversations with total estrangement, feeling "like an UFO". At first she made attempts to "merge the two worlds" but she soon stopped trying

and decided to keep them separate in her head, while she got along with her Swedish working life.

The interview with Pia gives another example of an estrangement experienced when she had returned from a catastrophe assignment in Haiti, where so many people had lost their homes and slept under tarpaulins. She came into her spacious, newly redecorated house with shiny new bathrooms and a huge living room, and she started to cry as she thought about the number of people who could find room to sleep on the floor. At the hospital, she had troubles adjusting, e.g. to meetings about what felt like futile administrative issues.

> We work in intensive care also, and there are priorities. There [in Haiti], we might have left young people to die because it would be impossible to take care of them later, and here we go on taking care of ninety- or ninety-five-year-old people with dialysis and respirators. I had a really hard time working in intensive care during those first months after Haiti.

She felt the constant need to check with her colleagues whether her medical priorities were right. "I had got used to the other way, and I felt pretty torn." Coming back was extremely tough, much worse than actually being away on the assignment, she said. On the bright side, she became less interested in material things.

> I am not overly concerned if it is untidy at home, or whether I have done the shopping or not, or a fine couch. I think I have changed quite a lot as a person, and my husband thinks it's great. That is how I changed maybe, I am more humble, I don't stress up over things because there is more important stuff to think about.

This kind of reflections was less common in the interviews with professionals who worked in other Western countries, as these interviewees compared experiences from rather similar living conditions and ways of life. And with some exceptions among those who had witnessed catastrophes or extreme poverty, the overall pattern in the interviewees' experiences was that coming "back home" evoked a feeling of cultural friction, puzzlement or estrangement, which in many respects were eye-opening, but not cataclysmic. It seemed to result in a sharpened gaze for cultural norms and "certainties", a reappraisal of one's way of thinking and a more open approach to different ways of living and thinking. In a few interviews, there was an awareness of the global cultural hegemony in which the West gives itself the role of the all-knowing expert. This kind of experiences of estrangement, frictions, and puzzlements, as well as new insights and the endeavour of a reflexive (re)adjustment, is what we want to label as *returnees' cultural jetlag*.

Post-mobility Experiences as Cultural Jetlag

The interviewed professionals had worked abroad for different periods of time, from several weeks on catastrophe medical aid to several years (e.g. on post-docs). The length of the stay did not seem to be of primary importance for evoking the sense of estrangement upon the return to Sweden. A shorter assignment in a precarious region of the Global South could result in a more overwhelming sense of discord, whereas several years' work in a Western university or a laboratory could give rise to only a mild "jetlag". However, after return, they all regarded Sweden with new eyes. Mostly, everyday life got back to "normal" after a

while, but the insights emanating from being a temporary stranger lingered on and the "normality" was (however slightly) transformed. We conceptualize this process as returnees' cultural jetlag. Research on highly skilled international mobility and knowledge transfer may focus on what professionals learn from working abroad and the transfer of this knowledge upon return (e.g. Ackers & Gill 2008; Williams 2006; Williams & Baláž 2008a, 2008b; see also Wolanik Boström 2018; Öhlander, Wolanik Boström & Pettersson under revision). In this article, we wish to highlight the insights deriving not only from "being away", but from "coming back" to one's "home country" and experiencing the cultural jetlag of a returnee. Thus, the concept of cultural jetlag includes a process of learning. The empirical examples given in this article suggest that the outcome of this process is a kind of heightened cultural sensibility (cf. Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2015) and skills to analyse cultural contexts, putting them in a meta-perspective.

Returnees' cultural jetlag has its foundation in lived, first-hand experience, in both actually "having been there" (witnessing other ways of life and doing things differently) and "coming back" (to the seemingly well-known). It is, in many respects, an embodied experience of being temporarily "out of line" (Ahmed 2006), bewildered or "uncomfortable", as far as culture is inscribed in the body and taken for granted; something a person "just does", maybe without a second thought. The bodily inscription of experiences is a prerequisite for cultural jetlag to become something tangible and real, a feeling or a new way of reacting or evaluating things. That is what makes it more than just an exercise of thought about "there" and "here".

Returnees' cultural jetlag can thus be understood as mental and embodied experience of cultural friction in what previously felt like "natural", well-known, self-evident everyday practices, perspectives, and attitudes. It gives a sharpened cultural sensitivity and feeds reflections on cultural traits and differences, challenging the familiar and habitual. The post-mobility experiences, as narrated by the interviewees, are reminiscent of the feeling of being temporarily "out of line" with the Swedish reality (cf. Ahmed 2006) – a not pleasant, but thought-provoking and educational experience, recalled as a stage that mostly has passed, solved by different strategies (though resulting in some lasting insights).

Our interviews with the returning medical professionals do not give empirical support for interpreting social and cultural aspects of post-migration as something world-shattering or a highly problematic lasting experience. Rather, our study underpins Szkudlarek's (2009) and Tomlin's et al. (2014) suggestion that there is little empirical support for understanding the experiences of returnees in general as "reverse cultural shock", as this theory implies a highly challenging negative psychological process.

Why then do our results differ from the ones described by, for instance, Allison, Davis-Berman & Berman (2012), Huff (2001) and Presbitero (2016)? There are several possible explanations. One could be the amount of time spent abroad, which is also suggested by Tomlin et al. (2014). Some of the medical professionals pre-

sented in this article have spent several years abroad, others only a few months, and yet none of them confirms the theory of reverse cultural shock. The differences of places or countries where the returnees have stayed could have some impact on the variations in experiences of returning "home". This has some support in our material, when we compare the return-experiences of the professionals who worked in Western countries to the ones who had worked in poor areas in the Global South or on disaster assignments. The latter expressed more drastic differences in cultural and material characteristics of localities, which could be a source of a more severe cultural jetlag (but still not "reverse cultural shock") upon return, rethinking things previously taken for granted.

Another explanation could be that several studies about reverse cultural shock were based on undergraduate students, while our study is based on interviews with well-established professionals. However, this is contradicted by the fact that the study by Tomlin et al. (2014) also is about students (also e.g. Kartoshkina 2015). Yet another significant factor could be the time period in which some of the research was conducted. Some of the studies about reverse cultural shock were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. Since then, the Internet has in some ways reduced the time-space dimensions of the world. Apart from finding information and being updated on what happens in the "home country", it is now possible to get abundant and up-to-date information about other localities, as well as communicate over long distances at a lower cost. The distance between "away" and "home" has been reduced.

Another line of explanations for the different findings is to be found in how the returnees' experiences are theorized, and thereby also hypothesized. The theory of reverse cultural shock is based on the assumption that cultures are well-demarcated, closed units one can travel "to" and "from". Crossing a national, regional or local border is presumed to be a crossing of solid cultural borders. This perspective on migration postulates that: (i) there are major and substantial differences between static, fixed cultures; (ii) these cultures are site-bound and national borders are often the same as culture borders; (iii) migrants enter and leave these nation-bound cultures; (iv) the process of entering and leaving static cultures results in problems such as depression and mixed identities. Note the use of the term "re-entry"; you do not just move back home, you are crossing a cultural border and you re-enter your old and sometimes forgotten culture. This is of course an oversimplification of a complex research field, but in the research on re-entering these seem to be the most dominant theoretical assumptions, on which hypotheses on re-entry problems are based, as well as popular notions of culture used by the mobile professionals (cf. Wolanik Boström & Öhlander 2015). The last 20–30 years' cultural research has demonstrated that culture is a process that accommodates change and hybridization. Obviously, we can define different cultures or cultural contexts, though in the complex global web of influences these are seldom static or completely unaware of each other. Experiencing the differences between contexts first-hand may still give rise to new insights, new perspectives, a feeling of initial estrangement

– and a new "normality", bearing a hint of cultural hybridity, and maybe a promise of cultural change.

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Note

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Danish Gentlemen around 1900

Ideals, Culture, Dress

By Mikkel Venborg Pedersen

The idea of the gentleman, it seems, is not disappearing. Like the cat's smile in *Alice in Wonderland* from 1865 (Carroll 2015), he stays long after he (may have) left as a leading cultural ideal. Present-day books on male dress often refer to this ideal (e.g. Roetzel 1999; Grunwald 2014), middle- and upper-class polite male behaviour is frequently denoted by the word, and in the world of sports gentlemanly virtues are constantly invoked. Whereas in Scandinavia today it is perhaps less common to hear men use the word to describe themselves, unless they are bringing up their boys to be men, before the First (or even Second) World War many men of the bourgeoisie and the nobility used the word about themselves, denoting a guiding principle in their lives including firmly established ideas about its cultural references and the values, ethos and behaviour implied, not least regarding personal appearance and clothing.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the guiding idea of the gentleman reached its apex in Europa. It is much older, though, and stems from several European predecessors, to which we shall return below. By way of introduction it is sufficient to note that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the British gentleman became the leading cultural figure, regardless of whether he was an original noble *gentleman born* or hoped to become a *gentleman bred* of more modest roots. At the same time this cultural figure became a shared reference for men of a certain social standing all over Europe.

Danish gentlemen are the subject of this article, which, against the background of wide-ranging studies into the lifeworld, lifestyle and cultural horizon of such men will deal with the ways in which the gentlemanly ideal was perceived and expressed in the decades around 1900.[1] There is a close connection between such expressions and the ideal. The answer in this article will mostly be sought in the realm of dress and clothing but there were many other paths to take, all of which belong in a comprehensive picture (Venborg Pedersen 2018). Thus, the article is not a study of masculinity as gender, nor is it a fashion-history study *per se*, nor is it an exact account of a gentleman's dress in all its details and variations. It is an example of (parts of) a cultural history with Danish gentlemen as the subject and with their dress as its point of departure. Its aim is, apart from the historical insight, to contribute to the field of ethnological and historical contextual cultural analysis by understanding (*verstehen*) an ideal, its reality in life, and its expressions, in the case of the gentleman.

The Subject and European Ethnology

Dealing with clothes and attire as an entry to the path of understanding cultural horizons places the article deeply in an embedded tradition in European Ethnology. Dress is one of the four canonical subjects: housing, nutrition, clothing and belief systems, and it has a long research tradition which has followed the general development of the discipline ever since its founding days in the mid-nineteenth century. Dress and clothing have been studied as variations of form and style, technically, in evolution and diffusion models, with a nationalist and/or regional bias, as part of functional systems and totalities, as structural code systems and/or as semiotic

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the English country house style made its mark on male fashion, as seen here in King Christian IX's tweed sport suit with breeches from the 1870s. Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

codes, as part of gender creation and much more besides (Stoklund 2003:9–24, 193–214). In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, aspects of history of style and chronological fashion history have had a primary standing, as can be seen through cross-reading *The Fashion History Reader* (Riello & McNeil 2010), whereas in the continental tradition closer to Scandinavian Ethnology, such aspects have been part of a comprehensive whole, but most of all the studies have had broader goals. Dress has, so to speak, been seen as a cultural indicator, as argued further below (Gerndt 1986; Bringemeier 1985).

It is one of the subjects too, where museum-based research has been central all along, not least because the collections of dress and attire form and often must form the main sources for such a study. In Scandinavian Ethnology, a lifelong professional engagement with particularly male dress in different aspects can be seen in the *oeuvre* of the Finnish ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist (for a recent example, see Lönnqvist 2008). In Norway, Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen in particular has paid special attention to (male) dress and how it is worn; he has especially dealt with the Norwegian folk costume as both a tradition and as a practice forming both body and body movement and speaking into the general cultural horizons of its wearer (Haugen 2014:119–132). It is noteworthy too that these two as scholars combine museum and university traditions. In addition, especially the work of the latter and my study behind this article are indebted, although in slightly different ways, to the Scandinavian-German cultural history tradition too, closely linked to names such as the Dane T. F. Troels-Lund and the Norwegian Eilert Sundt, leading to a commitment to the concrete, to the artefact, the function or the context and informed by the dimensions of time, space and social environment, as the "ethnological credo" ascribed to the founding father of the Swedish discipline, Sigurd Erixon, declares.

Such a form of cultural history witnessed international revitalization from the late 1980s onwards in the so-called new cultural history (Hunt 1989). In comparison to the older Scandinavian-German cultural historical tradition, the joint German-Italian Microhistory, which is part of the new cultural historical field of interest and inspiration, seems perhaps even more obvious to mention with its often quite particular studies of the life and world of a single individual, its interest in a single event, or of a single cultural group of individuals etc. (Venborg Pedersen 2013: 9–18; 312ff.; Christiansen 1995).

I shall return to this in more detail below, but for an introduction perhaps there is more need here for a few remarks on the study's source material, the treatment of which is so closely linked to methodology and theory. A main set of sources is male clothes itself, mainly as represented in the very deep, broad, and thorough collections of the National Museum of Denmark. Another is the contemporary novels and treatises with often very idealistic perceptions of what a gentleman ought to be. Such books and artefacts are accompanied by published memoirs, which all share the quality of expressing an individualized perception of what it was to be a gentleman around 1900 and how to become one. There is no warranty that these men remembering in public writing all were, or always were, gentlemen in all aspects and situations of life, but their writings have been chosen for their open expression of (paths to) the goal. Apart from such published memoirs, and material from the questionnaires of the National Museum's Ethnological Survey serving the same purpose, accounts and bills from men in the National Museum collections tell a story of consumption and the acquisition of the necessary clothes and items expressing gentlemanly values (Venborg Pedersen 2018).

Below, I shall continue to develop ways of studying such a gentleman in theory and method. Thereafter the ideal and word deserve some comment before we dive into the matter itself and the analysis of Danish gentlemen and the historical period around 1900, selected parts of their dress and how they obtained these. The article will end with some concluding remarks.

Studying Gentlemen, their Clothes and Attire

It is characteristic of the (remarkably few) existing studies of gentlemen that they mostly base themselves on literary examples. When the British scholar Philip Mason in his very detailed book (1982) on the subject describes his task, it is less what a gentleman actually did than what was considered fitting for him to do, and Mason chooses his examples more from literature than life itself because "a good deal of the behaviour of a gentleman is unconscious and, even if he knows that it is because he is a gentleman that he is acting as he does he is forbidden to say so … in a novel the author can comment and tell one why a character behaves as he does" (Mason 1982:14).

Literature is surely an important source also for cultural historical investigations; however, I would argue that so too is what a gentleman actually did, how he dressed and expressed himself without the help of an author. Through his doings, he practises a lifeworld and reveals behind it a

cultural horizon – and that is the interest of this article, which in its methodology is based on a decidedly interpretative cultural historical tradition with a close affinity to (historical working) ethnology, as mentioned. In this case it means looking at both (possible) literary ideals and memoirs and lifestyle expressions such as hats and coats in a historical context of approximately 1870–1914 in the same analysis. For a gentleman, dressing is of the utmost importance – and therefore for us an important way to understand the world of a gentleman.

As for most people, the lifeworld of a gentleman consisted of ideals tied in a cultural horizon making actions possible in a daily lived life with a lifestyle attached to it. These three basic concepts – leading from the abstract horizon over a lifeworld practice to the concrete elements of lifestyle – form the theoretical basis for the analysis. All three concepts stem from the (in principle classical Greek) interpretative tradition of humanistic scholarship, reclaiming its place in the eighteenth century with the professionalization of humanistic studies as a whole, beginning with the works of the Schleiermacher brothers and professionalized for history and general scholarship not least through the thinking of Wilhelm Dilthey in the latter part of the nineteenth century, expanded and followed up in modern hermeneutics (and phenomenology).

For my narrow purpose, this parentage means that the three concepts form a whole set of approaches based on the premise that culture is not loose ideals outside life, quite the opposite. It is in life's context that it is shaped and shows. Cultural norms and assessments may be ideal in character but they are embedded in the world in which the people in question are living. It is this concrete world (or "worlding world", *verweltende Welt*, in its ontological nature to speak with Martin Heidegger 1993) that culture makes understandable and whose elements and expressions (or *Lebensäußerungen* in Dilthey's words (1927)) it conveys with meaning. It follows that such meaning is best studied and comprehended through description and understanding (*verstehen*), as is usually argued in hermeneutics, including a circular cognition through mutual understanding of parts and totality, text and context (Honderich 1995; Medick 1994; Daniel 1994; Ginzburg 1992). From this it follows that it is possible to understand a certain lifeworld by observing such elements not just as singular examples but as expressions of values leading to a method of observing what people actually do (or did), in addition to what they thought about it in literature and elsewhere, for instance when dressing (Venborg Pedersen 2000, 2013, 2018). What this means when dealing with artefacts, I shall now turn my attention to.

In general, for such a purpose of understanding it is crucial to use a varied source material. And for the understanding of gentlemen it is not least profitable to study artefacts, of which ethnology has a long tradition (Stoklund 2003; Venborg Pedersen 2013:20–69, 234–267), in this case clothes and accessories. Artefacts and dress are not only tools of expression or easing daily activities, though. They can also establish their users' cultural, perhaps even psychological identity (Csikszentmihaly & Rochberg-Halton 1981:5; Ga-

damer 1990:72ff.). Manmade things have, in other words, a double dependable purpose built in. Because artefacts are created by man they are intentional in a way that nature's objects are not, which is a point close to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant's basic observation that consciousness always is directed towards an object. For example, the use of clothes contributes to defining group relationships and individual self-perception, the sense of 'such a man am I!' (Venborg Pedersen 2003 89–104; 2013:32–41).

Man is not imprisoned by culture, though, which perhaps could be read into the above arguments. It seems more profitable to state that one may have a certain scope for development within one's cultural horizon throughout life; at one and the same time both continue the given world and reshape it or, in the words of the French philosopher Michel de Certeau, people "operate" in culture, man exercises "*les combinatoires d'operation*" (Certeau 1988: espec. Vol. 1). In other words, man continuously creates both cultural meaning and slight change (sometimes willingly or unwilling major change) through doing, thinking or saying something, dressing for instance. In a strict sense there is hardly a shared inner world of values and beliefs covering a large group of people – for example all Danish gentlemen around 1900 – but there are perhaps a number of worlds which to a degree are shared by a certain number of people. But the inevitable generalizations all people make when seeking to create meaning in their lives and everyday doings may take the shape of ideals most people share and which they use as guiding principles in their lives – and yet at the same time change (Gerndt 1988: Introduction). The gentleman is one such lived ideal.

Clothes and attire, accessories and equipment play an important role for a gentleman; it a kind of communication of his character both to himself and towards others, as argued and as further investigated below. Pointing out dress as a tool of communication is an old feature of ethnological research and is in a broader understanding based on the general methods of studying culture sketched above – apart from structuralist studies operating with a much closer frame of meaning and sign than hermeneutic traditions find purposeful. In a study of fashion and its social agendas, the American fashion historian Diana Crane sums it up thus: a person's or groups' "clothing choices provide an excellent field for studying how people interpret a specific form of culture for their own purposes, one that includes strong norms about appropriate appearances at a particular point in time (otherwise known as fashion) as well as an extraordinarily rich variety of alternatives. One of the most visible markers of social status and gender and therefore useful in maintaining or subverting symbolic boundaries, clothing is an indication of how people in different areas have perceived their positions in social structures and negotiated status boundaries" (Crane 2000:1).

For an elite group such as gentlemen, this is crucial. Dress was simply one of the most significant ways of making oneself present in society and "certain items of clothing worn by everyone, such as hats, were particular important, sending instant signals of ascribed or aspired social status. Variations in clothing choices are subtle indicators of how different types of socie-

ties and different positions are actually experienced" (Crane 2000:1). The top hat is not only, actually not at all, a protection against the rain and sun. It has another cultural quality than the peasant's or worker's cap: elite status for one.

Such an understanding of clothes and culture is not only related to general interpretive ethnology and cultural history, as mentioned, but directly connected to the fashion sociology of the German philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel (1995: 9–37). Simmel's famous essay on the philosophy of fashion was originally published in 1905 and thus it belongs to the same period as the gentlemen of this article. Given this, it should be read both for its essential principles and as a token of contemporary perception. Simmel sets out by stating that man is "two-sided" and so are things; they are both given and symbolic and it is therefore "only as a result of a plurality of elements that a forceful unity is created" (Simmel 1995:9)[2] – this is more or less the same as what was called lifeworld above, recognizable through cultural expressions (and with a collective horizon behind it), and Simmel's sociology, though not strictly hermeneutic, is indeed interpretative in nature, stressing interactions as it does. "Fashion and style of clothing, the possible choice for a specific person with a specific cultural horizon, may be a straitjacket literally restricting the movements and manners of a person … alternatively dressing may be seen as a huge reservoir of meanings, which may be manipulated or reconstructed to enforce the opportunities of action of a person", Simmel points out (1995:9). Clothing may make the man and is one of the best outward signs for others to read him socially and culturally, but it takes a man of character to wear clothes, if they are not to be mere costumes.

In his article, Simmel takes an interest in the change of fashion too and points to the imitation of the elite by the common man. For example, at a few ceremonial occasions he may wear a (borrowed, rented, somehow obtained) top hat, otherwise an elite symbol. This explanation of shape and idea sinking down – which in ethnology is well-known in the shape of Hans Naumann's notion of *gesunkenes Kulturgut* from 1922, which till sometime in the 1950s or even a bit later was an often cited model of explanation in cultural scholarship, in the social sciences known as *trickle-down theory* – has not least by ethnology itself been disproved as a uniform model of explanation for cultural transfer and change though it has some explanatory force still (Venborg Pedersen 2017:321–348). And there is a point worth bearing in mind here, that Simmel wrote his article at a time in European history when society was strongly divided along social lines and when each class had its distinct general appearance. In such a society the most prestigious cultural group is that of the elite and it seems reasonable still to think that an elite of this kind often possesses "the power to set the terms through which tastes are assigned moral and social value" (Crane 2000:7). On the other hand, it is well-known in ethnology that people of popular culture may have enjoyed a laugh or two thinking and viewing what the masters may have come up with (Venborg Pedersen 2005:203–230). This is not least so because the use of, for instance, pieces of clothing not only requires possession of them but cultural knowledge of how to use them; a knowledge not necessarily very well known to a person if he has not

been through a long socialization process to become, for example, a gentleman.

In dealing with this figure, the fashion and dress researchers Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil (2010) underline this relationship as especially clear for precisely this period in time and regarding these men. The built-in moral values in clothes and attire were such a serious matter for the Victorians, Valerie Steele says in her essay on the subject in the fashion history reader (Riello and McNeil 2010), "because they perceived clothing as an 'index of the mind' and 'character' of the wearer … Dress bears the same relation to the body as speech does to the brain; and therefore dress may be called the speech of the body", in the words of a contemporary guidebook (Steele 2010:284). This is underpinned by Victorian society's views on restricting the body itself as a token of good morals and decent living, at the next level a picture of a decent society. One of the noblest creations of this society was, at least to themselves, the gentleman. When it was so important for them, it has to be so too for the scholarly interest in them. It was crucial for a gentleman to appear as such – or otherwise he might be suspected of not being one after all – and if he deviated from the societal and cultural norms, it had to be done in a gentlemanlike way. What that meant takes this article directly to the matter at hand.

The Word and the Ideal

The British ideal was almost complete in its Victorian version, though it did mean different things to different people.

> To some it meant "anyone as good as I am or better". To others it still meant some association with the ownership of land. But to everyone, it also meant a standard of conduct, a standard to which the best born did not always rise, and which even the humblest might sometimes display. The moral term, like the social, did not always mean the same thing to everyone who used it, and yet somehow it did stand for something. And that one English word was used in many other languages to express something peculiarly English (Mason 1982:12).

The British Victorians inherited the word "gentleman" but they made it their own, as they did with his female counterpart, the lady. As mentioned by Philip Mason, there was no fully shared definition, but a common understanding, a sort of social stereotype combining social and moral life, as mentioned (Gerndt 1988: Introduction), embedded in a cultural horizon with a practice attached to it. It was in a way a very British mindset, although it spread to the continent and can easily be found there as well.

That this is the case should not come as a surprise, though, when we bear in mind that the figure of the gentleman stems from medieval Europe with traits from much further back in European history (Mason 1982; Wingfield-Stratford 1938). The original gentleman was of noble descent, often without title and maybe not possessing any deeper right to the name than that of being fittingly born and, perhaps, claiming ownership of land; in short: a gentleman born. However, medieval England (and Europe) knew a gentleman bred as well. In Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* from a little before 1400 a series of characters appear who want to be gentlemen. The noblest of them all is the knight, of course. Though hardened by war and knowing the wrongs of the world, he is "in his bearing modest as a maid … He was a true, a perfect gentleknight", as it says in modernized English (Chaucer 1977:5). In *The Wife of Bath's Tale* from

King Arthur's court it is even said that true nobility lies in the Grace of God and gentlemanlike behaviour: "Christ will take our gentleness from Him. Not from wealth of ancestry long dim" and "You are no gentleman, though duke or earl. Vice and bad manners are what make a churl" (Chaucer 1977:288–289).

Nothing more is needed! However, through the following centuries other elements and/or another weighting of them appear, stemming not least from Italian, Spanish and French court culture, as we read, for example, in Baldassare Castiglione's famous book from 1528 on *The Courtier*. Here stress is laid on lineage as the basis for everything else, including virtues such as mastering weaponry, courage, largesse, dauntlessness, chastity, wisdom and proficiency in the knightly sports as well as elegant appearance and all-round gallant behaviour towards women

It cannot be the correct and finely made redingote with waistcoat and trousers that gives this unknown young man his perplexed face at the photographer's studio in 1915. The shirt with standing collar and bowtie, the pocket watch is not missing. The redingote stayed on as office dress for men in the city's more formal offices, and it was the much beloved dress for social calls. Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

(Burke 1996). With Castiglione, social difference is stressed. In the following centuries this Italian conceptualization informed the French notion of a *honnête homme*. Another important ingredient in the French connection is that, in order to meet the ideals of *honnêteté*, one has to be a free man with free time and, it goes without saying, plenty of money, as a result of which professional people are left out of the core of true *honnêtes gens*. In pre-revolutionary Europe the ideal came to belong to the spheres of nobility, princes and free spirits. It was aristocratic in a most non-Chaucerian way.

The French Revolution in 1789 was in part an encounter with such a societal view and after the Napoleonic Wars the "English Century" could begin. At the same time medieval thinking and ways came into fashion with the Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott and the English, German-born, Prince Consort Albert as proponents in the British Isles. This brought German medieval thinking into the British world and from there back again to the continent. The Christian-informed medieval knightly ideals came to play a crucial role in the shape of the gentleman during the nineteenth century in Great Britain and on the continent (Girouard 1981). As in the rest of Europe, in Denmark this figure of thought became a cultural *leitmotif* for men of honour, status and with leading societal roles to fulfil, marked by courage, some learning, solid conservative values and a certain moral prudence combined with Christianity and a solid dose of Roman stoicism (Venborg Pedersen 2018: chapter 8). The Chaucerian ideal from around 1400 came back in a new guise.

The Danish encyclopaedia *Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon*, first published in 1893–1911, collects the contemporary general understanding of the Gentleman as "in the British Isles a denotation for a man of solid culture and fine tact and who in his speech and expression as well as in his whole appearance in all circumstances of life and in association with other people shows a magnanimous character elevated above all pettiness and selfishness. Being a G. demands therefore a certain independence, leading one to keep oneself from low company and too much consorting with the uncultured" (Salmonsen 1893–1911). The older German *Meyer's Konversationslexikon* from 1883, also widespread in Denmark, mentions that a gentleman is a respected man "by virtue of his cultured behaviour and honourable character" (Meyer 1883) – in German the corresponding term is *Ehrenmann*.

Outer appearances and inner qualities are underlined in such encyclopaedias, and the personal integrity of a gentleman is attached to something both social and moral; he is "two-sided", as Simmel would phrase it, and we may study him in detail through his life-expressions, as clarified above. There is a consciousness of moral standards and the way they are expressed through personal hygiene, behaviour and dress, securing both self-perception and social status. And there is – this should not be forgotten – a claim of recognition of this position closely linked to both an elite perception and the notion of honour, obliging its bearer to behave in accordance with a certain (high) moral codex (Venborg Pedersen 2005:11–13).

Dress and Values for Danish Gentlemen

In 1851, a Danish translation appeared of *Pelham, or, Adventures of a Gentleman*, published in England in 1828 (Bulwer-Lytton 1851). It was written by Bulwer and this abbreviated name quickly became the common way of referring to the book, whose author was Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. In Britain as well as in Europe the book gave him a reputation as both a dandy and a man of wit. More important here is the fact that the book quickly exerted a heavy influence on gentlemen's dress; it is ascribed especially great importance in formulating the change of male clothing from colourful to dark. Briefly, the book is about the young Pelham's travel through English and French elegant social life and it is striking how much dress takes up the young man's thoughts (and deeds) in becoming a gentleman born and bred.

This becomes apparent not least in volume two, chapter 24, which lists no fewer than 22 rules for dressing. I shall not repeat them here, just sum up the main tenor of them: never to draw attention and deviate from common sense, remembering that clothing is decisive for one's social position and reputation. In general, the importance of (stoic) calm is underpinned and thus one should never dress when out of balance. In addition, one should be manly and without too many items of jewellery and always remember that dress should suit the occasion, not the individual temper; dress is a diplomatic means. Cleanliness, meticulousness, and tidiness are underlined as tokens of good morals. Means to these ends are constrained use of colours and moderation in all respects (Bulwer-Lytton 1851, vol. 2:351–359).

Bulwer's rules serve as a sounding board as we now proceed to take a closer look at the dress itself. Dark clothing is often mentioned in fashion history under the catch phrase of a "male renunciation" and is not infrequently connected to the social and political results of the French Revolution and the subsequent bourgeois nineteenth century with its focus on paid work and trade as suitable frames for masculine display and development in contrast to ceremonial life at the courts of the *Ancien Régime* (Breward 1999:24); at times *Bulwer* is mentioned as standard bearer for the dark and proper attire, at other times it is the

A young Copenhagener in dinner jacket with shawl collar and elegant, brushed-back hair was at the photographer's studio one day around 1910, probably in connection with his graduation from the Gymnasium. Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

dandy George (Beau) Brummel. This general idea may need some moderation, though. The very preoccupation with measured and finely cut tailoring, the details of etiquette and a correct use of colours, patterns and materials provided men with a large playing field (Breward 1999: 25) not to mention that the nineteenth century was the heyday of both military and civilian uniforms with bright colours, gold and silver braiding and hats with festive plumes (Venborg Pedersen 2018:70–73). The totality of male dress tended to be dark, yes, but there were many other opportunities. A brief example is the waistcoat. Up until 1900 there was a tendency for waistcoats to become darker and single-coloured; yet they could still display contrast in the fabric or be embellished with embroidery etc. just as a man easily could sport a tie in bright colours (Buck 1984:188–192; 195). However, and as *Bulwer* recommended, the situation is more important for a gentleman than is the actual fashion of the day (Buck 1984: 200–201).

A memoir may underline this statement – though what was suitable for which occasion was a question which could easily lead a young man out on to thin ice. The later director of the Danish Museum of Industrial Arts in Copenhagen, Emil Hannover, was 22 years old in 1886 and travelling to Paris and London. In France he was invited to a luncheon at the Château Chantilly, owned by the Duc d'Aumale, Prince Henri d'Orleans; a social event he had not expected when leaving Denmark.

> My self-consciousness was severe. First it was about my French, second it was about my dress … In Denmark back then – and as known many years later – one wore a white tie and tails at all festive morning occasions and it did not occur to me that it could be otherwise in other places. A lucky coincident saved me from a terrible gaffe. On keener inspection my tails (if I remember correctly my brother Harald's old left-over) proved in no way suitable for wear in daylight and thereafter it was clear to me that I had better stage myself in a certain *sans façon*, permissible for a foreigner, and retreat to my redingote. By the same account I thought I could also spare myself the expenses of a top hat; an item of dress I had until then never worn. In my redingote, a light-grey felt hat and a pair of brand new light gloves, on the morning of 9 May 1886 I went to the Gare du Nord to board a train for Chantilly. From the conversation between several gentleman on the platform I understood that they were travelling to the same place as I and to my delight I noticed that their clothes were just like mine. A few wore top hats but the most experienced wore soft hats. Here it was apparently good tone to make oneself comfortable for a country outing and by a stroke of luck I had struck this tone (Hannover 1966:135–136).

Luck was generous towards the young Emil Hannover this spring day of 1886, and his recollection includes several aspects of this article's subject, both when it comes to detail of dress, in the ponderings about dress as a diplomatic means, and the cultivated context of gentlemanship that it is part of; the example encompasses a life-world practice performed through material elements and points to the cultural horizon in which it is embedded, if one is to use the theoretical wording.

Selected Parts of Male Dress

In the period approximately 1870–1914 in general there is a great stability in male clothing (Bech 1989:9), resting on the three-piece pattern finally established in the early nineteenth century. This apparent simplicity is in reality very demanding, though, and male tailoring has never been higher in standing or been as sought-

after as in the latter part of the century. In contrast to female dress, which was draped and could be embellished with ribbons and bows etc., male dress has to be cut with great skill making the final dress fit perfectly, not fall, hang or reveal less becoming (though perhaps natural) shapes of the body.

The tailor skills and ready-made clothes I shall return to below; now the subject is the items in a gentleman's wardrobe. Given the modest space of an article, I shall restrict myself to everyday and evening clothes. For that purpose, I choose to follow the 30-year-old naval lieutenant Henry Gad who in 1903, in a section on gentlemen's clothing in the work *Vort Hjem* ("Our Home"), put things in their place (Gad 1903:153–159). Henry Gad was born in 1873 and made his career in the Danish Royal Navy and retired much later as a commander. In 1903 it is a still fairly young though adult man who is writing, marked by the military codex of the Danish Royal Navy, underlined by the fact that his father too was a naval officer and retired as rear admiral. In addition to literature on fashion and dress, Henry Gad's observations will be expanded by what we learn from the National Museum of Denmark's collections of clothes and attire.[3]

The lieutenant opens up by defining himself as a gentleman and he sounds almost like a paraphrase of *Bulwer* (he probably knew the book anyhow) when writing:

> It has been said one should never appear too well dressed and that is of course true in so far as one should not make the impression that dress is the main issue; it should form the frame around the personality and blend together with this without attracting attention in too high a degree. This is best done by using subdued colours, a not *too* modern pattern and especially by meticulousness and neatness.

And he continues his introduction by stating that

> it is often details that give a gentleman a somewhat shabby and scrubby look – less clean linen, a frayed collar, a worn tie or a greasy hatband … that is not sensible behaviour on their part because neatness in such small matters can give a person a look of cleanliness and order at the same time as one spends relatively little money and interest on the larger and more expensive items of clothing, which, when tailored of solid fabrics, even in changing fashions may well be long-lasting, when treated with care … [one] should always strive to convey a well-groomed impression.

After this statement deeply embedded in a gentleman's cultural horizon, he begins with undergarments. Quite in line with the health ideas of the day, he recommends woollen *combinations* or two-part woollen undershirt and drawers. In the 1870s and 1880s the German medical doctor and zoologist Gustav Jäger had developed his so-called Normal Clothes (*Normalkleidung*), designed to keep the body warm, harden the physique and protect against diseases. In 1884 a wholesale dealer in London started production and the year after Jäger outfits could be bought in Copenhagen (Cock-Clausen 1994:46). Combinations, where upper and lower parts were connected, were preferable, pace both Gustav Jäger and Henry Gad, because they prevented the undershirt and drawers from slipping apart underneath the slim silhouette of the outer clothes. The woollen quality could be worn the whole year round, if one consulted Gustav Jäger, whereas Henry Gad recommends undergarments of cotton or thin merino wool for shorts during summer – he is even open to

brown or black silk shorts. These are somewhat decadent but this is excused by their popularity abroad. They could be bought in leading Copenhagen department stores.

Wool, cotton or merino are also the lieutenant's preferred materials for socks, though for evening wear silk rules without competition. Socks were kept up with sock suspenders made of the brand new and very popular elastic material and usually embellished with a silk covering or embroidery, if the museum collections are to be believed. Socks should be black, according to Gad, though in the summer when perhaps wearing brown shoes during the daytime the colour of the sock should match them. Sportswear with knee breeches required woollen knee-socks held in place by a garter below the knee, hidden by turning down the sock.

The next section for Henry Gad concerns linen, and he underlines that "it is about the most important for a gentleman" that his linen is clean and well-fitting – one might say it has a moral value too, it is "two-sided". Collars and cuffs could be part of the shirt or detachable. The first was the most elegant though impractical and expensive choice, leading most men with style, including Gad, to prefer attached cuffs and detachable collars. Loose cuffs, in contrast, were not *comme-il-faut*, and numerous cartoons have been made showing men losing their cuffs. Collars could be standing or turn-down, straight-up or wing-collar, high for long-necked and low for short-necked men, and mostly made from starched linen. As long as the collars were clean and well-made, collar-buttons nice and spotless, there was a wide range of possibilities in these choices. Shirt fronts were usually heavily starched, dress shirts always, though in the years close to 1914 soft pleated shirt fronts came into fashion for the equally novel (and ultimately American) dinner jacket. Detachable shirt fronts were commonly used as well, though an expression of solid elegance they certainly were not. For many they were the affordable choice, though.

Back then, shirts were drawn over the head and only with buttons half way down at most. For morning use, Lieutenant Gad recommends slightly coloured shirts with white collars or soft Oxford shirts; the last a choice which just twenty years before had been socially impossible. The same modern tendencies follow when he recommends coloured woollen or linen shirts for country stays. They can even be worn with the waistcoat replaced by a sash. This was a short-lived fashion (except for dinner jackets where it reappeared later); it did not take long before men resorted to the well-known and safe waistcoat once more.

To hold one's trousers up, braces were the usual choice, not altogether to the joy of Lieutenant Gad, who found that "braces – especially when growing up – spoil the posture" and he goes on to say that the easiest way to avoid braces is to have one's trousers tailored to fit! Today's delight in belts was not shared back then, when the waistcoat covered the stomach, though belts were known. Belts and braces may also, as implied by the lieutenant, be seen as a remedy for badly made trousers, perhaps even ready-made clothes. Braces were, by the way, considered such an intimate item of dress that they were often embroidered and used as a romantic

present between young couples or from the mistress to the master (Cock-Clausen 1994:54).

Now dressed in underwear, socks, shirt and (perhaps) braces, the lieutenant continues with the outer garments, maintaining his high-modernity line by beginning with work clothes, following the motto that they should not restrict one from doing one's work. For office wear – this is 1903 and not 1873! – he recommends lounge suits instead of morning coats or redingotes, and he even goes so far as to think it proper to wear Oxford shirts and soft collar, perhaps with an apron, over-sleeves and/or shop coat when doing work with many movements. "Shirt sleeves are ugly!" he exclaims, and recommends the use or a sweater or, better, a light and soft jacket in alpaca wool.

Work clothes are followed by sportswear which, as the novelty they are, take up almost one third of Gad's entire essay. I, on the other hand, will skip this subject here and continue to the promenade dress, which also formed the basis for Gad's thoughts on working clothes. By introduction, Henry Gad once again warns against excessively fashionable dress and underlines the importance of tastefulness and moderation. And then he sets off. During summer, when one can go about without outer garments, the double-breasted lounge suit is mentioned as a possibility for young men but in general black morning coat or redingote with grey trousers are the things to go for. Especially for mature and elderly gentlemen, a jacket is not becoming; a morning coat or redingote is better! To this attire belongs the top hat, unless you are Emil Hannover in Paris, and the top hat completed the for men slim silhouette so characteristic of the day. Hats must definitely be modern, nothing is more ridiculous than a battered old hat, is Gad's opinion. When in the countryside, in the morning one may sport a light-coloured lounge suit with a coloured shirt, brown shoes and straw hat.

Lieutenant Gad's recommendations were in vogue in his day. As mentioned, the lounge suit could be worn in the streets during the day in the summer without outer garments, and as travelling became more and more popular, the lounge suit became the usual travel outfit as well. On the head, a low, round hat or a bowler was much beloved. Straw hats were the thing in the summer, either a boater or a Panama hat. Unlined gloves were better during summer replacing the heavier winter specimens, but back then too nature took precedence over upbringing, the comfortable one were preferred to the correct, though the borderline ran in a different place than for most people today. In other words: gentleman back then could be seen with bare hands during summer, if contemporary photos are to be believed; part of being a gentleman is to know the rules so well that one may break them in a gentlemanly way, an action stressing his elite quality, as mentioned.

A special and much beloved jacket for informal use and in the countryside was the Norfolk of heavy wool or tweed. It is a fitted jacket with pleats on the back and a belt round the waist. A large flat cap (called a *sixpence* in Denmark) or a tweed hat went with it, often worn together with knee breeches. Manor owners in particular used the tweed suit as their daily dress which, by the way, was much worn on travels too. A Norfolk is easy to regulate

in temperature, it doesn't rumple and it has so many practical pockets.

A jacket could be all right during day, especially for the young, but the morning coat was, next to the redingote, the safe choice for the grown man. In the morning it could be both black and grey and there were smaller sport coats with two or more buttons and more formal long promenade coats with a single button. The morning coat was worn in the morning accompanied by grey or black-and-grey-striped trousers, later in the day by black trousers, and it was a suitable dress for promenades and social calls. It was worn with a grey or black waistcoat and never with a colourful tie. On the head one could either wear a top hat or a round felt hat, perhaps a bowler. Business people and the professional classes kept to the morning coat in their offices too, but for dinner parties and dinner dances it was not possible. One cannot dance in a morning coat.

Neither is it possible in the redingote, which stayed on as a frequently worn dress item fitting for most occasions. In Danish it is – and perhaps therefore – called a *diplomat* coat. It was the gala of the morning and the promenade wear for afternoons next to the morning coat. The redingote was usually black, in summer and at the races it could be grey. The waistline in a redingote was usually slightly prolonged, which is indeed helpful for the less slim man. The silk lining folded over the lapel and it was considered even more elegant if it only covered about half the lapel's width. Trousers were usually black. To a redingote one customarily wore a black or grey top hat according to the occasion – once again Emil Hannover's predicaments in Paris are illustrative – and a tie of discrete colours. On the feet were (lacquered) boots, on the hands gloves matching the colour of the hat.

During winter men wore heavy coats and fur coats, which are fine with Lieutenant Gad, although he recommends the possession of a summer coat in a light colour too, usually sand. To go with the coats, a top hat is the thing unless the coat is of the modern short version suitable for young men, known as cover coats; then he recommends low hats. Gloves are indispensable. Full fur coats are, by the way, only for evening wear or days of heavy frost; a collar of sealion or beaver fur is more commonly acceptable. Again one senses the fear of appearing excessive and the importance of mastering code symbols of discreet character and display. In fact, the coats of the day could be quite varied in size and shape (Cock-Clausen 1994: 40–42). The paletot was still much beloved and elegant with up to four shoulder capes, and so too was the Ulster of the Irish tweed that gave the fabric its name. The Ulster was considered sporty as well and was one of the first ready-made coats as it did not require fitted tailoring. With Ulsters, soft hats or even flat caps were used. The tailor-made, fitted overcoat was still the most elegant and much used, though.

Lieutenant Gad's next category is social and evening wear. He begins with the tail coat. It was black, so too were the trousers and embellished with galloons, and the waistcoat could be black for less formal occasions or white or slightly coloured for formal evening wear; the (bow) tie followed its colour. Decorations were worn according to present rules – they have not changed since then – and the

It is not difficult to depict a small Sir Lancelot or Siegfried in this boy's suit made of brown wool from 1908, but it is in fact made after a pattern called *Russian Coat*. That did not disturb the dream of the Middle Ages coming back, and in the suit the four-year-old Erik Poulsen could feel a knight embellished with his hair in long, soft curls. Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

tail coat is used for royal audiences as well, which was and is a Danish speciality. The lieutenant mentions a dinner jacket too, though in inverted commas, telling us that it was not quite the standard as yet. He thinks it proper for smaller occasions without ladies present. In more relaxed socializing when in the countryside, he recommends leaving the tail coat at home and resort to formal day-wear instead throughout the day and evening. For the tail coat one would wear dancing shoes or lacquered boots with the silk stockings. The shirt would have a standing collar; the top hat should be of silk and preferably a *chapeau claque* or *mechanique* making it possible to carry it indoors under one arm. The mechanism made it heavy to wear but that was unimportant. The evening gloves were white kid gloves maintained with benzene, leaving a slight foreign smell in drawing rooms otherwise filled with perfume.

Apart from what is mentioned regarding type, shape and fashionability, Lieutenant Gad does not say much about hats, perhaps because hat fashion details changed so quickly. The hat was most important for a man, though, and an important symbol for knowing a gentleman from other men, as mentioned. A gentleman always wore a hat (Cock-Clausen 1994:58ff.); incidentally, this was one of the places where Vienna kept London on its toes in the elegance and quality of its hatmakers' produce. A silk top hat was the norm; during summer and following English fashion a grey derby could be used for races. The chapeau-claque was for evenings only, during the day the top hat had competition from the bowler or a stiff, low round hat, a melon. The soft hat, maybe a fedora, was also known, and the more formal though still informal hat, the homburg (Eden hat), increasingly came into use. For tweed suits, a tweed hat or sixpence was the choice to make, for summer we heard about the boater and Panama straw hat. In addition, a multitude of different hats and caps came and went, either as

short-lived fashion items, for special occasions – the jockey cap used when riding bikes, for example – or used as a gimmick by a man who knew his worth. Thus, the hat is in part subject to social rules, in part a very personal element in a gentleman's attire (Hazelius-Berg 1963:126ff.). The cap, the sixpence, the hat finally could be a token of the leap from boy to man, of a *rite-de-passage*.

The rest of Lieutenant Gad's essay is about attire and accessories needed by a gentleman. Most unfairly, I shall skip that part: umbrellas, canes, shoes, galoshes, boots, handkerchiefs, scarves etc. It must be mentioned, though, that the man's hair was short (cut with scissors, not a machine!) and gentlemen usually sported a moustache and/or beard. The brushed-back hair with a side or middle parting was kept in place by oil or perfumed pomade. If the moustache was waxed, a special wax or balsam was used. This was a time-consuming endeavour, both indicating the importance of the right expression and demonstrating that one had (or appeared to have) ample spare time to devote attention to such a detail in a true gentlemanly way that was not possible or desirable in other cultural groups in society. The dress was completed in a Simmelian "two-sided" way by the beard and moustache and finally finished with a drop of *eau-de-cologne*, perhaps the *4711* from Cologne itself, marketed since the 1790s, or the Danish *Esprit de Valdemar* produced from 1836.

Tailors and Department Stores

Not only did fashion change within fairly stable frameworks in the period 1870–1914. Some of these changes within frameworks also concerned where men obtained their garments from. Ready-made clothes and department stores came to Denmark too and helped both the possibilities of selection and the worries of less wealthy gentlemen. As a young man Emil Hannover's father was a not very wealthy medical doctor and he had to look after his money. Hannover remembers "that as a child I suffered by watching him being considered like that [stingy], for example when he took us boys to the tailor shop and ensured in advance that he would receive a four per cent discount for cash payment" (Hannover 1966:39). But it was still at the tailor shop and not in a ready-made outlet. Hannover Senior was a gentleman and raised his sons to become so too.

This was also the case for the owner of Serridslevgaard Manor near the town of Horsens in Jutland, where the daughter, the later dress historian, Ellen Andersen remembers around 1900:

> Dad's clothes were tailored at Brønderslev og Lohse in Copenhagen. Occasionally it may have happened that he had his clothes tailored in Horsens … He always wore a lounge suit and always with a waistcoat. Not wearing a waistcoat was unthinkable. In summer he wore a jacket and trousers of a fabric somewhat like Nanking … white cotton waistcoat … Evening wear in summer was a dinner jacket and in winter tail coat and white tie … Dad only used white shirts with double cuffs, never coloured, and heavily starched. The collar was detachable, but the cuff had to be part of the shirt – loose cuffs were not considered *comme-il-faut* … The shirts were taken to Horsens for washing and starching; this could not be done at home (Andersen 1983:87–88).

The dress and its cultural implications are recognizable, but the mention of the company Brønderslev & Lohse, which had its shop at number 52 on the most fashionable promenade street of Copenhagen, Østergade, is interesting. This shop was both a tailor and marketed a broad variety of

ready-mades, undergarments, accessories and other necessary items for a gentleman.

Ellen Andersen does not go into detail about her father's purchases, although her memory is a correction to the general picture of the consumer of the day. In fashion history it is fairly common to reserve the glittering temptations of the modern department stores for the female sphere (Breward 1999: chapter 1). The woman becomes the very token of the consumer, whereas the man is hidden away in offices and serious business. However, just as the male dress was not altogether dark, this picture of a purely feminine consumer is one-sided. Men like Henry Gad or Emil Hannover were preoccupied with their appearances. From this follows the importance of acquiring one's garments oneself and not solely as an effect of one's wife's doings. This leads to the man becoming a conscious consumer at the tailor's shop or in the department store as well; the latter advertised the latest fashions and used handsome young men as models for customers aware of their wishes and standards, modernity being one such, as argued by dress historian Christopher Breward (1999:25). For gentlemen the respectable and masculine wardrobe expressing the right moral, aesthetic, cultural and social values was a necessity and he was a keen consumer to that end.

And now it had become easier to obtain these symbolically heavily charged objects; one could buy oneself a male role, as it has been provocatively phrased (Breward 1999:101). This is a provocation and only half-true when considering that dress and attire has to be worn and understood as well in order not to become ridiculous. On the one hand, the tailor was the gentleman's best friend; he and he alone could create a flattering whole and mask what was less favourable. On the other hand, the modern shop fashion is tempting, changing and worth following if one does not want to appear old-fashioned. Ready-made, made-to-measure and the department store can better keep up in this area, situated in the city's new squares and main streets and with huge windows, gas lighting and departments in the style of a gentleman's study and with purchasers in London, Paris, and Vienna.

The department stores bring both the temptations of the day and the choice of each individual man to our knowledge (Breward 1999:109) and hence there is good reason for looking a little more closely at them – and Brønderslev & Lohse was by no means the only option in Copenhagen around 1900. In 1868, Th. Wessel & Vett opened up in Aarhus and Copenhagen and was such a success that in 1893 the company had a new palace of goods build at Kongens Nytorv, the still existing *Magasin du Nord* with its own in-house tailor shop (Hammerich 1993: 15ff.; 53ff.). Others joined; old tailor shops followed and offered an all-round stock of goods. Next to these the city was full of less prominent possibilities, just as the ladies had exclusive department stores for their special wants. However, if the ladies craved the highly fashionable tailored suits it was the gentleman-tailor who could satisfy their demands too.

The shops were mostly situated from Kongens Nytorv to Amager Torv, the fashionable shopping street *Strøget* of Copenhagen (including Østergade) which served as a scene for the daily promenade too. The officer's son and himself later barrister Otto Rung remembers in the 1890s, that

> … for us young men it was important to have a high standard in taste and style, especially on the daily promenade through *Strøget* … At promenade time between three and four p.m. the wonderful and – we knew this with certainty! – in all of Europe famous *Strøget* swarmed with nothing but familiar faces … First and foremost the new moneymen of the city and industry with customary top silk hats and heavy fur coats … the foreign diplomats nipped down to *Strøg*et too, wearing fur brimmed cover coats … Dashingly dressed father's sons came with tennis rackets and jockey caps … in impressive uniforms came the much-courted elite of young lieutenants … (Rung 1984:184).

The importance of the outward appearances for expressing inner values is underlined here by Rung, who has a keen eye for the fashion battles of the day. In general, the inhabitants of Copenhagen had nothing to be ashamed of. The news magazine *Illustreret Tidende* could tell its readers in 1894 about the opening of the racing season that "the living bourgeoisie of the Capital, who do not let any occasion escape for a battle of etiquette with the landed gentry, met well equipped for the battle …" (after Cock-Clausen 1994:17); that is, for the men a redingote or morning coat, with top hat and a cane with in-built seat. Gentlemanly ideals were indeed present in Copenhagen too.

Danish Gentlemen around 1900

The way to shape one's cultural appearance and social expression has changed through time and is informed by place as well. It is part of man's "operation modes" (Certeau 1988) at a given place in time. The modern ideal of the gentleman culminated in Victorian and Edwardian Britain becoming a huge inspiration for men of a certain social standard in the continental countries. In Denmark, its apex is from sometime around 1870 till World War One. It was a period, too, which has been characterized as "a time when change was a given situation" (Stoklund 1976:7). There were deep structural changes going on. The number of people only kept rising and urbanization took a huge leap in the footsteps of railways, dairies and co-op shops which created new market towns all over the country. Some did not leave it at moving to the market town nearby; some went to Copenhagen or even undertook the long journey to America. This was the case for poor people in Denmark and not least for Danes in Schleswig and Holstein who after 1864 came under Prussian rule. Socially the period was one of eternal change too – one could quickly rise on the social ladder and just as rapidly fall again – and a growing division of labour and specialization developed as well.

Posterity has not least paid attention to the co-op movement and the farmers of a new era who became the solid upholders of Danish democracy from 1849 onwards. The nationally inclined, popular culture of the farmers gained weight through societies and modern farming, and it perceived itself as an alternative to the otherwise dominant bourgeois culture (Christiansen 1978), where gentlemen in part belong. "This culture was carried and shaped by a numerically very modest group of civil servants, financiers, people of the city and industrialists. However, their high-bourgeois lifestyle gained immense importance as norm for people far out in Danish society" (Stoklund 1976:21) and, pace Simmel, social and cultural symbols, such as clothing, carried great weight. In the small Danish elite such bourgeois groups merged with people from the traditional gentleman residences: the manors, the

royal court and the nobility, leading to a vaguer division between a gentleman bred and a gentleman born in Denmark than was the case in Britain.

The gentleman at the turn of the century had to possess many fine and noble virtues and, as it says in the Danish Royal Navy's Saturday Prayer, the cadet has to seek "to avoid all effeminacy, to be able to miss and do without, happily and contentedly take life as it is given and with manly strength master and control myself when this is deemed necessary" (after Kaarsted 1966:66). A gentleman, in accordance with this stoicism, had to conduct himself with manly prudence, well-dressed and clean. The white shirt collar and the silk top hat, his keen interest in correct dress and appearance in general and in all circumstances was all an expression of inner values which in this century, just as much as lineage, made the gentleman, even more so in a country like Denmark with a very small elite. The ideal is a thousand years old but the nineteenth century carried it to an apex to which people of the present still refer when speaking of a perfect gentleman in the world of sports, fashion, child-rearing or consorting between the sexes.

In its full meaning and shape the ideal hardly survived World War One, though still today there are real living gentlemen. Clothes make the man, it is said, and that is in part correct. But it takes character and culture to wear clothes. In the Great War, the old Europe fought and after the war the world had changed – and so too had the world of a gentleman in all imaginable dimensions. The old conservative-aristocratic yet culturally rather liberal societal model was crushed between the millstones of strong ideologies dominating the twentieth century. A series of elements in that change had been underway well before 1914 in art and high culture, politics and economics, but after 1918 the world was not the same anymore. The horrors of war changed the world and men's ideals, reality and appearances – or in the philosophical-theoretical terms of interpretative scholarship: cultural horizon, lifeworld, lifestyle elements – changed with it.

Like most cultural developments, this happened over a long time. As the dissolution of the old world was intimated before 1914, the men in this article, their sons and descendants kept nourishing the ideal also after the war and the well-dressed, well-mannered man did not go out of fashion as such. Indeed, these men of a century ago still have resonance in the present, and men of today can still strive to be gentlemen of our times, in values and appearances.

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Notes

1 This article builds on a much more comprehensive study of the gentleman's cultural world, presented in Venborg Pedersen 2018. In the book, subjects such as clothes and accessories, socialization, boarding and schooling, work, spare time, holidays, sports, masculinity and the heroic ideal of the medieval knight are treated as well as a historical account of the gentlemanly ideal, its elements and contexts.

2 This and all the following quotations in other languages than English have been translated by the author.

3 The collections are described in many places, especially in the series *Danske Dragter*,

though with a substantial emphasis on female clothes at the expense of male and children's dress. See Bech 1989 and Cock-Clausen 1994 for the period 1870–1914. Information is also taken from the collection registers, and not least the items themselves, that is: through my daily dealings with them.

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Narrating and Relating to Ordinariness

Experiences of Unconventional Intimacies in Contemporary Europe

By Tone Hellesund, Sasha Roseneil, Isabel Crowhurst, Ana Cristina Santos & Mariya Stoilova

We are ordinary people and such great events, apart from death and birth, do not happen to us. I can't tell you much.

Despite this claim, Albay, a Bulgarian man of Turkish descent, did have lot to tell us about his life. When we interviewed him, Albay was in his early fifties and married to a woman, but he was living in what we characterize as a non-cohabiting relationship.[1] Albay was amongst the 67 participants in the research project, "Intimate Citizenship in a Multicultural Europe: Women"s Movements, Cultural Diversity, Personal Lives and Policy".[2] We conducted interviews with people from a range of ethnic and racialized communities who were living outside conventional families in four European cities: Sofia, Lisbon, Oslo and London.[3] We have analysed these narratives from many different angles, focusing on the narratives themselves (Roseneil et al. 2012) and on the experiences of the different groups amongst our interviewees (e.g. Roseneil et al. 2013a; Roseneil et al. 2013b; Stoilova et al. 2014; Roseneil et al. forthcoming). Whilst there are significant differences among our interviewees, across many axes (Roseneil et al. 2009; Roseneil et al. 2010a; Roseneil et al. 2010b), our focus here is on how the lure of "ordinariness" cuts across these differences, exerting a powerful impact both on those who see themselves as being denied ordinariness and those who consciously seek to escape it.

We use Albay's words as a starting point for exploring the notion of "the ordinary" as conceptualized, presented and lived by our research participants. Like many of our interviewees, Albay switched between sometimes portraying himself as ordinary, and at other times focusing on what he perceived as his own non-ordinariness. The negotiations around the ordinary in Albay's story are linked to the normative value of the ordinary. In this paper we explore the positive and negative valences associated with being ordinary. In so doing, we intervene in recent discussions about intimate life by focusing on how *the idea of the ordinary* colours life stories and self-perceptions. We draw on a body of biographical-narrative interviews in which ordinariness emerged as an important theme when people were asked to tell the story of their personal lives and relationships. Through their narratives we will discuss the duality of the ordinary in contemporary culture: it can both be accepted as the gold standard of a good life as well as being rejected as stifling and restricting. We further argue that both these ways of relating to the ordinary are entangled with diverging, but coexisting, cultural ethics.

The transformations of intimate life that have taken place during the last forty years mean that "more people are spending longer periods of their lives outside the heterosexual, co-resident nuclear family unit that became the dominant model during the twentieth century" (Roseneil et al. 2012:43; Roseneil & Budgeon 2004). Despite major changes in the way people lead their personal lives, we also see a tenacity of norms regarding how people *should* live them (Roseneil et al., forthcoming). In other words, some intimate lives are seen as more norm-fulfilling, and are more valued culturally, than others.

Ordinariness was not a concept with which we began our research, nor was it elicited through direct interview ques-

tions. Rather, it emerged from the accounts of our interviewees. We were struck by the centrality of being ordinary, or not so ordinary, in the life narratives that were shared with us. But what is an ordinary life? Who are ordinary people? What do people think and feel about being ordinary or extraordinary in their lived experiences of intimacy? And why does ordinariness have great symbolic meaning to so many people who are living unconventional intimate lives? In this contribution we explore some of the ways in which our interviewees relate to ordinariness and its opposite. In his article "On Doing Being Ordinary", sociologist Harvey Sacks argues that to be able to "do being ordinary" one has to have access to the appropriate tools: one has to be in a position in which doing the ordinary is possible (Sacks 1984). By living outside conventional families, our interviewees report experiences of exclusion from "doing being ordinary" in their intimate lives.[4]

The four national languages used by our interviewees attach slightly different value and connotations to the word *ordinary*, relating it in different ways to notions of *the usual, the conventional*, and *the regular*. The most common Norwegian word *vanlig* connotes usual, while the English word *ordinary* also indicates plain and not fancy. The etymological origin of *vanlig* stems from *vane* which means habit, and the ordinary thus also links to the habitual. In the interviews the term *A4* was repeatedly used by the Norwegian respondents when they talked about ordinariness. "A4", the standard European format for a sheet of paper, is often used to describe something ordinary, something that fits squarely within the standard size and shape of things. The Bulgarian word обикновен has connotations of 'plain' and 'uninteresting'. However, in Bulgarian the word for 'normal', нормален, is more widely used than 'ordinary', and with the former comes the powerful implicit assertion of normativity and stigmatization of that which is out-of-the-ordinary. In Portuguese, the word *ordinário* or *ordinária*, is a gendered adjective that can have two contrasting meanings: it can either mean common, average, normal, or it can mean of poor quality, cheap or even 'slutty'. Indeed, when preceded by the word woman – *mulher ordinária* – it is the most common euphemism to describe a woman who has several lovers or whose sexual behaviour is condemned by dominant moral values. As in Bulgaria, the word *normal* is more widely used, along with the word *tradicional*, to signal a family life and/or an intimate arrangement that is in accordance with the dominant standards. Similar to Portuguese, another English definition of the term *ordinary* is of something unrefined and vulgar.

Our interviewees did not make clear distinctions between the concepts of *ordinary* and *normal*. This is in accordance with the work of the historians of ideas Peter Cryle and Elizabeth Stephens in their genealogical investigation of the word *normal*. They argue that the word came to mean 'ordinary' and 'common' after World War II, and still retains this meaning (Cryle & Stephens 2017). And it is not only our interviewees who slip between words and definitions. In his article on "Doing Being a Misfit", the literature scholar Alessandro Grilli uses the concept *normal* when he discusses the work of Harvey Sacks (1984), without comment-

ing that Sacks originally wrote about the *ordinary* (Grilli 2018). This illustrates how closely linked the notions of ordinary and normal can be, not only in contemporary perceptions and everyday language, but also in contemporary scholarly work.

We could also have framed an analysis of our material through the lens of "the normal" or "the conventional". We will argue, however, that "the ordinary" is an interesting core of the negotiations performed by our interviewees in their stories about their intimate lives. Despite the fact that different words are sometimes used (ordinary, normal, usual, typical, average, common, A4), and that ordinariness is talked about in indirect ways, our interviewees seem to share an understanding of the great symbolic importance of "what most people do" and of "the usual way of living" in the realm of intimacy.[5] Maybe surprisingly, the phenomenon of "the ordinary" is something everyone we interviewed relates to and seems to understand in much the same way. In their highly diverse living situations, across national contexts, legal and policy regimes and group belonging, they all related to notions of an ordinary life. Although the concrete content of what is seen as ordinary might vary in different contexts, the notion of the ordinary as a central cultural yardstick was present across our interviews. What distinguishes our interviewees from one another is not so much their understanding of the ordinary, but rather the value and disciplining force they attach to it.

The example of Grilli/Sacks also exemplifies how these terms can seem so self-evident and obvious that they do not need further discussion, reflection or definition. Both Sacks and Grilli use ordinary/normal without seemingly feeling that explanations are called for. Among cultural researchers of the ordinary, Sacks and Grilli are not alone. The practices of the ordinary are looked into without necessarily investigating the category of the ordinary in itself, or the significance of it at a given time, in a given context. The ordinary's status as natural and obvious – as doxa – is in some ways dependent on this silence. It does not need a definition, because "everybody knows" – or should know (if they are ordinary) – what the ordinary is. To make it explicit, to attempt to discuss or define it, to look at it too closely, could potentially break the spell of "the ordinary" as a "natural" and "stable" category.

This article seeks to make explicit how people breaking with conventional family norms bring up ordinariness as an important theme in the narration of their life story in the early 2000s. Although our study is certainly not a terminological genealogy, we hope that it contributes to an understanding of "the notion of the ordinary" not as a universal or an ahistorical term, but as something that is constantly constructed and negotiated in people's lived lives and the stories they tell about them. The understanding of being ordinary, and living an ordinary life, is open to cultural negotiations and to personal interpretations and practices, although the hegemonic status of the ordinary can make doing the non-ordinary difficult and hard. We acknowledge the "fuzziness" of the concept of the ordinary, and explore, rather than sorting or categorizing, the articulations of ordinariness that emerged in

our material. Under two themes – *ordinariness denied*, and *ordinariness escaped* – we discuss the variety of ways in which our interviewees related to being seen as non-ordinary. Although "the parameters of 'ordinariness' vary for each human being" (Weiss 2008:1), in living a life outside the conventional family, all of our interviewees experienced a cultural gaze defining their intimate lives as "not ordinary". There are, however, major differences in how they approached this. We are interested in how the interviewees' constructions of ordinariness, and their experiences of being seen as living somehow out of the ordinary in the field of intimacy, lead to different reflections and life strategies. What language, and what values, are available when they talk about and evaluate their lives as not being ordinary?

The Common Hero[6] – the Values of Ordinariness

As researchers invested in queer studies, scepticism towards ordinariness is a familiar theoretical and political position to us.[7] However, in various theoretical traditions, in popular culture and in our interviews, it is also possible to find many positive values imbued in the concept and implications of ordinariness. In one interpretation, ordinariness represents moral virtue. In *A Politics of the* ordinary, the political scientist Thomas L. Dumm writes about how "ordinary life" is accorded specific symbolic and moral significance.

> Ordinary life, the life-world, the everyday, the quotidian, the low, the common, the private, the personal – everybody knows what the ordinary is. The ordinary is what everybody knows. The ordinary gives us a sense of comfort; it allows us to make certain predictions about what will happen; it provides the context for the text we provide. The ordinary allows us to assume a certain constancy of life. It is reliable. We can count on it. The sun sets, the sun rises, another day of life begins. No matter what else happens, we live our lives in the manner of ordinary people. And so we celebrate the ordinary as the practical form that peaceable living takes when catastrophe takes hold of us or when our circumstances are diminished, when life is bad (Dumm 1999:1).

Dumm further argues that ordinariness is romanticized and rendered synonymous with common sense. As such, it becomes the backbone of liberal democracy, the essence of what is democratic and good. Ordinariness is the place where "the good life" is found (Dumm 1999:3, cf. Hellesund 2008:67–70; Hellesund 2011). Dumm writes from a North American perspective, but much of his contribution is also relevant in the national contexts in which our research took place: indeed "ordinary life" is widely cultivated and sentimentalized in all four countries of our research – Bulgaria, Portugal, Norway and the United Kingdom. An appeal to the ordinary is a part of the political and institutionalized imaginaries of each of these countries, and each political culture works with ideas about "ordinary families" as central to their notions of the worthy citizen/subject. Ordinariness can also be seen as an egalitarian ideal, and be valued as such. As Dumm says, "A picture of ordinary people pursuing ordinary goods and leading ordinary lives constitutes an ideal vision of liberal-democratic society" (Dumm 1999:3). The ordinary people are the people uncorrupted by the decadent and dishonest ways of the elites. In such a context, separating oneself from the crowd can be seen as disloyal to a group,

family or society, and to their collectivist projects. Sticking out by being non-ordinary can also be interpreted as being "pretentious" (Sacks 1984:418–419).

Many would claim that the study of ordinariness – seen as the everyday – constitutes the core of European ethnology. It is primarily the life-worlds of "ordinary people" that researchers seek to understand and analyse (e.g. Ehn & Löfgren 1996; Ehn & Löfgren 2001; Ehn, Löfgren & Wilk 2016). Eilert Sundt is seen as the founding figure of ethnographic studies of Norwegian folk life and culture. Starting out with a study of the Norwegian travellers, his concern soon became the living conditions of the common or ordinary people, "den almene mands kår" (Sundt 1855, ch. 1, 3). He was among many other academics around Europe who became interested in doing "folkelivsgranskning", "volkskunde", or "folklore studies" – studying the "folk" ("the people") – from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. "The people" was here understood as the ordinary people, a group the cultural and economic elites until then knew and cared little about. For many of the new "people-investigators", it was paramount to uphold the overlooked and neglected *valuable* elements of ordinary people and their ways of life.

A focus on "ordinary people", "normal people", "most people", and "the average person" can thus also be seen as a political move, expressing criticism of elites and elitism, and resistance against the cultural hegemony of the elite (cf. Carpentier & Hannot 2009; Gibson 2001; Gregg 2007). Such an explicit turn can also be found in cultural studies, sociology and history during the 1950s, '60s and '70s (McCarthy 2006). The idea of ordinary people had strong class-related connotations, as it was primarily the working classes who were understood as "ordinary" or "common". Precisely for this reason, ordinariness, everyday life and mass culture became important themes in the social and cultural sciences during these decades (see e.g. de Certeau 1984). Ordinariness was to be elevated and saved from the contempt to which it had been subjected by elites and academics.

In recent years, much exciting literature has been published in European ethnology and cultural studies on phenomena that are so commonplace that they can be difficult to detect and articulate. What is going on an ordinary Thursday in an ordinary supermarket among the ordinary people who shop there, for instance? This is not usually a question we ask, but Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren argue that in the unarticulated ordinary we can find "the subtle knowledge of everyday skills and shared competences and understandings" (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:5).[8] It can be argued that both the so-called "phenomenological turn" and the "affective turn" in cultural studies and the social sciences can be seen as a part of this trend (Frykman & Gilje 2009; Gregg & Seigworth 2011; Highmore 2011; Löfgren & Wilk 2006; Löfgren 2014; Vallgårda 2013). Many scholars want to explore fantasies, dreams, longings, moods, the unsaid – things that are so well-known that they remain unarticulated, and that are often ambiguous, fragmented, contradictory and inconsistent (Ehn & Löfgren 2007; Highmore 2011; Löfgren & Wilk 2006; Stewart 2007). Researchers concern themselves with how these phenomena stand at the

margins of, or in-between, well-integrated ideas, systems and cultural patterns (Ehn & Löfgren 2007:10–11), and how apparently deeply personal, routine, random, confusing, isolated and surprising phenomena are also connected to "a realm of communal (and differentiated) life" (Highmore 2011:vi).

Although our work is more concerned with exploring *the idea of the ordinary* than exploring the practice of the ordinary (de Certeau 1984), what we share with the above research is the recognition of the powerful ethical and emotional significance that is attached to the ordinary. Kathleen Stewart poetically defines the ordinary as "a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges, a scene of both liveness and exhaustion, a dream of escape or of the simple life" (Stewart 2007:1). The ordinary as a dream, a cluster of affects, filled with promises and reassurances, is certainly present in the landscape we explore. Our approach is inspired by a wish to understand this aim for the ordinary, what we call *an ethic of ordinariness*. Striving to lead an ordinary life is also striving to live a good and honourable life, and to many the ordinary seems to be "a dimension of life from which the raw material of happiness might be drawn" (Dumm 1999:3).

Whilst in other work we have focused on the differences in how intimacies can be lived in our different national and group-contexts (Roseneil et al. 2010, 2012, 2013a and b, forthcoming; Stoilova et al. 2014), in this article we are more struck by how ordinariness is a theme that cuts across the different belongings and positionings among our interviewees. Focusing on structural differences can also make us overlook the *similarities* in some of the cultural negotiations that we all as social beings must undertake. Although we recognize how people are differently positioned regarding the possibility of "doing being ordinary", we want to focus here on how the cultural imperative of ordinariness is talked about within a wide variety of life stories, and how the interviewees use ordinariness as a standard for measuring their own lives, as either sadly lacking, or as happily transgressing, ordinariness.

The Problematic Ordinary

While ordinariness and ordinary life have been romanticized, sentimentalized and treated as ethically worthwhile projects, they have also been subject to scepticism and contempt by critics of the ways in which ordinariness is imbued with moral value and how it acquires a hegemonic and exclusionary character (Titchkosky 2003:22–23; Cohen 2004; Duggan 2002; Lenon 2011; Warner 1999). The notion of the "ordinary" citizen can be used, and has been used, to implement policies that erase the right to difference, placing the heterosexual and reproductive citizen as their normative reference point (Roseneil et al. 2013b). Michael Warner is among those who criticize homosexuals who want normality, ordinariness and respectability. The logic in the "respectability camp", he argues, always leads to some (other) groups being singled out as non-respectable. Fighting for the recognition of one's own normality necessarily confirms the deviation and pathology of others. Like Dumm, Warner argues that "the taken-for-granted norms of common sense are the only criteria of value"

(Warner 1999:60). He is also a strong opponent of deviant groups' desires to be accepted within the bounds of such logic.

In her essay "Extraordinary Homosexuals and the Fear of Being ordinary", Biddy Martin claims that both queer theory and profiled queer academics have expressed an incredible fear of ordinariness, and a fear of assimilation (Martin 1994: 70). The media scholar Alan McKee expands on this, arguing that this is also a fear of "being banal, mainstream and suburban" (McKee 1999:214), of losing one's identity, disappearing in the crowd, and being reduced to statistics (McKee 1999: 239). McKee studies science fiction literature in which the assimilating culture is often presented as lacking feelings and passion. Its feelings are "constrained and analysed, safe and stable, and barely deserving to be named as emotion" (McKee 1999:240). The assimilated world – the ordinary, normal, A4 world – appears as "unsexy" and "boring".

The sociologists Henning Bech, Anthony Giddens, Sasha Roseneil, and Jeffrey Weeks have all argued that the differences that are used to mark the distinctions between homosexual and heterosexual intimate lives diminish in late modernity. Through the rise in, and prevalence of, divorce, the increase in the single population, the emergence of "pure relationships", serial monogamy, and "chosen families", heterosexual intimate lives have changed at least as much as homosexual lives, and heterosexual intimate patterns have become more like homosexual ones (Giddens 1992; Bech 1997; Roseneil 2000; Weeks 1995; 2007). In the context of this changing intimate and sexual landscape, in which the cultural valuing and recognition of same-sex intimacies has undergone significant transformation (Roseneil et al. 2010), and the stark binary opposition of homosexual/heterosexual has shifted (Roseneil 2000), our research nonetheless points to how some patterns and practices of intimacy are still seen as ordinary, whilst others are not. Although the philosopher Gail Weiss quite rightly argues that "what counts as 'ordinary' can differ radically from one person to another" (Weiss 2008:1), societal structures as well as overarching norms favour some forms of intimate lives over others, and in so doing they also contribute to a sense of what an ordinary intimate life is.

In our study we looked at a multiplicity of intimate arrangements that fall outside the conventional family. This extended view means that we look at ordinariness from a different angle from the discussions of Warner, Martin and McKee above. Our goal in this paper is to understand the negotiations of ordinariness in which people engage. We explore what being ordinary, or non-ordinary, means to the people we interviewed, and the ethical connotations they attach to ordinariness.

Method

In our multimethod research project we carried out an historical study of the claims and demands of movements of gender and sexual equality and change in regard to intimate life (Roseneil et al. 2010a), a critical analysis of law and policy concerning intimate citizenship (Roseneil et al. 2009), and a biographical-narrative study of everyday experiences of intimate life among people living outside conventional families, which is what we

draw on here. By conventional families we mean those family patterns preferred and promoted by law, policy and cultural traditions.[9] Some of the currently (still) prevailing conventions relate to being part of a couple, and more specifically, an opposite sex couple, and to living in a shared home with one's partner. Having children within such a couple and living together as a household is also part of the conception of a conventional family across all four of our national research sites. We therefore chose to interview people who were one or more of the following: (a) un-partnered; (b) in a non-cohabiting (living-apart-together, or LAT) relationship; (c) lesbian, gay, bisexual/in a same-sex relationship; (d) living in shared housing (with people to whom they were not biologically related or in a sexual/love relationship). People living outside, or in conflict with, convention are often forced to a higher level of reflexivity than people following more culturally expected life patterns. They have to explain and defend their situation in a way people in conventional family settings never have to. We believe that this, together with our chosen interview method, resulted in particularly reflexive life narratives.

Participants in the project were between 30 and 55 years old. In each of the four countries, we interviewed (at least) 16 people, both men and women. The four countries were selected according to a "most-different" comparative methodology. We wanted to hear the intimate life stories of people living in different kinds of welfare regimes, and in long-standing as well as newer democracies, recognizing that the structural frameworks of the nation states influence what kind of lives citizens can legitimately live. We chose Bulgaria – a post-communist state, Norway – a social-democratic Nordic welfare state, Portugal – a southern-European, Catholic post-dictatorship state, and the UK – a north-western, (neo)liberal/social investment welfare state (Roseneil et al. 2012, p. 44–45).

The interviewees were recruited largely through gatekeepers, organizations and online platforms, and snowballing from participants and from personal contacts (Crowhurst et al. 2013). The recruitment was somewhat challenging, particularly because we were seeking participants with different ethnic/racialized backgrounds. In each country, we interviewed both members of the national majority population and of two different minoritized/racialized groups. In Norway we selected people with Sami and Pakistani backgrounds, in addition to people from the national majority population. In Portugal we interviewed Cape Verdean and Roma people, in the UK people from the Pakistani and Turkish-speaking communities, and in Bulgaria Turkish and Roma people.[10]

The interviews and analyses were conducted in accordance with the biographical narrative interpretive method (BNIM) (Breckner & Rupp 2002; Roseneil 2012; Wengraf 2001, 2009). After giving information about the project, we opened each interview with the same narrative-inducing question: "Can you tell me the story of your life and personal relationships — all the events and experiences that have been important to you personally, how it has been for you? Please begin wherever you like." The intention behind this approach was to let the interviewees

themselves decide the focus and the narrative structure of their story, and to let them choose what they thought was relevant in their lives in answering the question. Through this part of the interview, the interviewer remained silent, and did not ask any follow up questions until the interviewee had finished answering this first question. The length of this session varied from 5 minutes to 4.5 hours. During this opening session, the interviewer took extensive notes, and after a short break (during which the interviewer consulted her notes) a second follow-up session started. Here the interviewer asked for more narrative detail about the events and experiences mentioned in the interviewee's initial answer. The questions followed the structure of the story told by the interviewee, and follow-up questions were only asked about the topics raised by the interviewee in the first session. In our view, this one open-ended question, and the time and space allowed for the interviewee to shape her/his own story, provided rich, complex material about intimate life experiences. We believe that this method gave us more varied and self-directed stories than we could have achieved with semi-structured interviews. It also allowed specific themes to emerge from the interviews that we had not conceptualized in advance, such as ordinariness.

In accordance with the method, we also developed a rigorous system for analysing the interviews, requiring that we all worked closely with the interview transcripts, aiming for an in-depth interpretation that stayed close to the complexity of each case. We performed a group analysis process for a large number of the interview transcripts, where we first focused separately on each individual's "lived life" and then on their "told story". We spent a substantial amount of time collectively discussing each case.[11]

All the interviewees had experienced being seen as non-ordinary because of their non-conventional intimate life arrangements and status, and all the interviewees we discuss in this article actively constructed their stories in relation to being seen in this way. We find it intriguing how ordinariness is *both* something that can be desperately wanted and lamented if lost, and something that people are happy to escape. As we shall see, the experience of being non-ordinary ranged from a feeling of being different but still socially acceptable, to feeling ab-normal, and to having something wrong with the self, to those who aspired to being non-ordinary, or even extraordinary, to rising above and/or overtly challenging the value of ordinariness. In our interviewees' narratives of intimate life, we identified different ways ordinariness was perceived as having been denied or lost, as well as ordinariness seen as a fate that was happily escaped. We also investigated therein the ethics imbued in pursuing or transgressing ordinariness.

Ordinariness Denied

The interviewees discussed in the following section all strove to live good and honourable lives, and in many ways they would agree that the good life could be found in the ordinary. They embraced the value of ordinariness, and tended to regard with regret that their intimate lives were breaking with ordinariness. Some of them were constantly reminded of this by the questioning they experience from relatives and friends

Omar (mid-40s) and Behat (mid-30s), British men from Pakistani and Turkish backgrounds respectively, both talked about struggling with being single at an age when they are expected to be married with children. A recurrent theme in Omar's story was not only that he "is still single", but also that "something must have gone wrong" in his life. Omar saw his story as highly unconventional, an unconventionality resting solely on the fact that he was still single in mid-life: "My story will be very strange for you. Not a typical Pakistani life. I stand a little bit different, because I am still single, because I took another route."

Subverting the norm of marriage makes his life "very strange", at least "a little bit different", and throughout his story, the lack of marriage repeatedly came up as something that needed an explanation. As he talked, he tried to figure out what had gone wrong, at which point of his lived life he had made the wrong choices.

Marriage and unfortunate singleness also figured prominently in Behat's story, a British Turkish-Kurd man. He talked about feeling great pressure to get married. His parents lived in Turkey and they were constantly asking him when he was going to settle down and have children. They themselves felt a great pressure from the community around them about his plans to have a family.

> Nowadays my biggest issue is my marriage. I am almost 35 years old and I am still single, and this is not acceptable. It is not my parents' own decision but it is the people around them […] For example, the first thing, when I go to Turkey, is: so are you married? Are you engaged? And I would say no. "Oh this is not acceptable, you must!"

Behat also explained that when he calls his parents every week, they always ask him whether he has a girlfriend, and when he is going to get married. His mother cries and his father starts lecturing him:

> There are certain things in life […] for example, you are born, then you grow up, then what you do after a certain age, you get married, you have to produce, you have to make children, so why are we alive? What's the meaning of life, if we don't do it? OK you come like a plant and then you go like a plant, without any meaning, and I say "Dad", then I start justifying again, "it's not easy to get married. […] it's not like your time, it's difficult now". […] But they are not convinced and they say it is a big shame on our family and everybody thinks that OK, I am living a totally deviant life and my Dad always tells me "you know, I am ashamed to walk the streets in town sometimes", and he gives me examples like that person I know, "Ali […], I went to see him today and we had coffee and he asked me if you are married and he said I couldn't answer. You don't know how I felt that day, you can't imagine it, you see, I am facing this kind of thing every day because of you." And you know the conversation starts with my marriage and it ends with marriage. And the next week, of course, it is the same. Honestly, there is a big, big pressure on me.

Not having achieved intimate ordinariness weighs heavily on Omar and Behat. They both longed for a permanent partner and marriage, and their stories focused on the external pressure to conform to an ordinary life according to the standards of their family and cultural community. Being ordinary is not only an individual but a communal issue. Cultures more oriented towards collectivism than to individualism tend to demand even greater loyalty to the recommendation of parents, family and tradition (Bredal 2006). To deviate from ordinary family life is to disrupt the social

order and the cultural logic and values of the community.

While Omar and Behat did not achieve what they regarded as an ordinary intimate life, others had been there, but had lost their ordinariness. In the stories of Bjørn (an ethnic majority Norwegian man, mid-40s) and Shirin (a Norwegian-Pakistani woman in her mid-30s), painful divorces were key themes. Both had taken it for granted that their lives would follow customary, traditional trajectories when they married and had children at an appropriate age. They had expected to remain on this track. Bjørn explained:

> When I got married, it was… of course the ideal for my family was that I would grow old with my wife and be married until death. I do not know to what extent I had reflected on it at the time, but that was just how it was. I had never imagined that I would divorce at some point.

Living an ordinary life, achieving the expected small and large milestones, make reflection somewhat superfluous. In a late modern life of seemingly endless possibilities, "doing the ordinary" seemed to relieve the self from some major choices. Doing the ordinary can seem both obvious and natural; it "was just how it was".

For Shirin, the divorce was even more of a shock. She entered into an arranged marriage as a teenager and had tried her best to be a good housewife. Her husband nevertheless wanted a divorce. Neither Bjørn nor Shirin imagined they would one day undergo divorce. Both felt sorrow and shame over having failed marriages, and over having lost the normality and respectability they had assumed was their destiny. For Shirin, the complications of being non-ordinary were redoubled since she needed to relate to more than one type of intimate ordinariness:

> But I think… us girls, we… from two cultures, right? That is very difficult for us, because sometimes I am half-Pakistani, half-Norwegian. When I… There are no Pakistani girls who live alone in our community. But I do. What does that make me? A Norwegian girl or a Pakistani girl? But I can't just find a man to live with, because I'm Pakistani. But I can live alone. Do you understand what I mean? That's what I don't understand myself, sometimes it's allowed and other times not. And when it's allowed, it's because it suits the others. But when it suits you, then all of a sudden you are being the wrong person. So you have to adapt to the opinions of others.

To be what Shirin called "a wrong person" – someone who breaks the important norms and moral codes – was not what she wanted. Quite the contrary; she did all she could to fit in with what she understood as the ordinary and normal pattern. However, the divorce entailed a dramatic break with what was ordinary in her environment. Shirin pointed out how conventional morality is also subject to negotiation and cultural change. Divorce and women living alone had become a social reality in some Norwegian-Pakistani families. Shirin never wanted to be placed in this position, and partly blamed her parents for finding herself there. As she saw it, her parents were busy with their own lives and left her alone and lonely in an unacceptable social position. She had been forced to live like a "Norwegian girl". However, when she wanted to change her situation and find herself a new man, which is what a Norwegian girl would do, she was "not allowed". She adapted to the norms that "suited" her parents, and carried all the burden of living the "wrong" sort of life alone. To be "a wrong person" – someone

who breaks the important norms – was not what Shirin wanted.

Shirin and Bjørn are differently positioned in the national context within which they live. Bjørn is a white, well-educated, majority man, centrally situated in a culture where approximately 50 per cent of marriages end in divorce. Shirin is a minority woman without an education, in a Norwegian-Pakistani culture in which there were very few divorces when her own divorce took place. In this context we are more struck by the similarities in their divorce stories than by their differences. Both Shirin and Bjørn were devastated and deeply shaken by their divorces. This was not how life was going to be – they were supposed to live an ordinary life. Their ideas of an ordinary life, and the ordinary life as the good life, were very similar. When it came to the future, however, their ways parted. While Shirin saw her divorce as placing her permanently outside the ordinary, Bjørn was busily trying to rebuild his life, and his hope and plan was to enter a "new ordinary" through entering a new romantic relationship.

The ordinary can be felt as a challenge to be achieved and an ideal to be realized.[12] The interviewees in this section are prevented from experiencing their intimate life in a positive way due to the pressure to conform to what is seen as an ordinary intimate life. They are unable to experience their own lives as ordinary. The ordinary life is the respectable life, and the interviewees – and sometimes their families as well – feel strongly the scorn and the lack of recognition when the respectability of intimate ordinariness is absent. But even more existential than the shame of being gay, single or divorced in contexts where this is seen as less than ordinary, is the feeling that not being ordinary is preventing access to the good life. For different reasons, these interviewees' lives are not lived "in the manner of ordinary people" (Dumm 1999:1). Although there are significant differences between the levels of exclusion and marginality in these cases, they all feel that they are denied access to the "ordinary as the practical form [of] peaceable living" (ibid.). The comfort of ordinariness is out of reach.

Ordinariness Escaped

Although ordinariness can be highly desirable, ordinariness can also feel stifling and restricting. Bowing to the convention of the ordinary can be experienced as in conflict with another central cultural value, namely, the ethical obligation to live in accordance with an authentic inner self, and not to let societal conventions hinder a realization of this truth (Taylor 1991). The interviewees in this section do not aspire to ordinariness.

Amina (British Pakistani woman, late 30s) moved from Pakistan to Britain when she was a teenager. She works in the media, and her story revolves around her struggle to get away from a conventional and traditional life. Amina fought hard to remove herself from the pre-determined path that she saw awaiting her, and she left her family in Pakistan in search of a freer life. She ran away to avoid an arranged marriage, to avoid a life "where I wasn't going to be able to be free to be myself". She fled to London, determined to make a new life for herself there.

In London, Amina had some sexual liaisons with work colleagues, but soon

she also met and started a secret affair with Peter, who was a "big name in the industry". They used to drink a lot and talk, and it was "very intense, crazy, excessive".

He was my idea of what bohemian is, someone who has never been married, he was almost twenty years older than me, never been married, with long relationships with people, in a Jean-Paul Sartre kind of way.

Amina loved being alternative, different, living a life that was a complete rupture with what she views as the ordinariness of her family.

My entire relationship with him [Peter] had been based on a sense of unconventionality and the appeal of him was that he was much older than me, and I found it quite attractive. There was something sort of subversive and transgressive in our encounter. He came from a '60s politicized, bohemian sense of the world and had lived a very unconventional life, having girlfriends, more than one at the same time. He felt like my kind of guy, very bohemian.

When Amina unexpectedly became pregnant by Peter, the relationship with him completely lost its appeal to her, as it became ordinary. As she explained, whilst Peter was very supportive, "very there for me, and for the baby", she felt that her romantic and sexual attraction to him had completely faded away. This was not what she imagined for herself.

During this time Amina met Hassan, an Asian man, and started a relationship with him. She continued to share a house with Peter and their young son, with Peter knowing about her relationship.

It went on for three years, and it was fine. It was society that wasn't able to cope. Everyone else wasn't able to cope. It was just too much. I would have loved Peter to meet someone, and for us keep living in the same house.

Here Amina seems to suggest that the extraordinary circumstances of her family arrangement suited her perfectly, but it was just too difficult to sustain them because other people found them too complicated and untenable. She bought a house not far from Peter and broke up with Hassan, as he wanted a more conventional life, with more children: she was not prepared to do so:

What made Hassan unsexy is that he wanted the conventional set-up and he wanted me to be pregnant again, and he wanted a baby, and he wanted a house together, and I am "no thanks", and he became less desirable.

Her current set-up was one that Amina cherished: she had her own house, and her son Sabir spent part of the week with her and part with Peter, who lived a few blocks away.

I like it now that he [Peter] lives down the road. He's Sabir's dad, he has an involvement with me. We hang out, we are very friendly with each other […]. I am sure it's to do with the fact that when I was growing up the stuff that I was reading, the role models…Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir…oh God I want to be like that, and it is still like that. And even now, my ideal is to meet someone who wouldn't necessarily want to live with me, but might want to live next door, or opposite, or down the road. 'Cos I've done the living together thing, and all the things that people say about it, are ultimately true, it's that although it is lovely companionship, although it is lovely familiarity, the truth is that I don't know how anyone manages to sustain that and keep it sexy, and keep it surprising, and keep it alive, and different and energized, when you are in this set-up together and it is your default position.

At the end of the interview, Amina reflected upon her fear and dislike of "conventionality" and whether she would be able to find a way, the "magic formula", of

having a sustainable, long-term non-conventional relationship, and be able to sustain it.

I don't know how people in marriages, where they are living a conventional life together forever, I admire them, but how the fuck do they manage it, I don't know! [Laughter] That's why I feel that the way to keep that spark is to have the artifice that you get together, you have a passionate evening, and then you go for a few days, and then you do it again. I feel that there's a magic formula that I don't know yet.

To Amina the ordinary was boring and unsexy – the opposite of her own life project, which was about "keeping the spark" and being "free to be herself". In her case, the ethic of authenticity trumped the ethic of the ordinary.

Norwegian Astrid (mid-thirties) is from an ethnic majority background, works in a creative profession and lives with her female lover. She was uncomfortable with our open questions and tried to find out more about what the interviewer wanted to hear. She asked whether she could focus on the fact that she does not "live a completely A4 life". Up until Astrid met her present partner, when she was in her late twenties, she had only been with men. She said that it was relatively unproblematic to enter openly into a relationship with another woman, and she had only received positive reactions from those around her. For Astrid, choosing a female partner seemed to be a way of making a positive break with a suffocating ordinariness:

Yes, I could have ended up in a kind of A4. I had, you know, a sort of lover, a boyfriend, when I was younger, so we could have easily ended up together. But luckily we did not. […] The A4 life I could have ended up living would have been with this boyfriend of my youth, and we could just have stayed together and married when we were 24 and bought a semi-detached house and children and car and… And I would surely have ended up with a completely different career than I have now. And I do not think I would have been as happy.

Why would you have ended up with a completely different career?

Because I believe he would have seen it as… a bit, you know, exotic that you suddenly work completely strange hours and that… and he is probably much more like, it's fine if you work from nine to five and eat dinner when you come home and… So, as such, I am very glad that I don't… I would probably have ended up working in a store or something. But it's like you… or what I've been afraid of, what I think of as an A4 life, that it would bore me to death. But of course, it's not certain that those who live that way think it is. And nowadays my life is actually not all that different either. I have a house and a lover, a cat, car and job. It's not all that different.

In the interview, Astrid suggests a certain fear of disappearing in the crowd, of drowning in ordinariness. For her, choosing a female partner represented a welcome non-ordinariness. The role this non-ordinariness plays in her story has very little to do with dramatic violations of convention and far more to do with a freedom from the "A4 norm". The life she lives is consistent with her values and ideals and she experiences these as legitimate in the society in which she lives. She values a life that is not boring and a partnership that is based on intimacy and an active desire to be together, exemplifying the notion of the late modern "pure relationship" developed by Anthony Giddens (1992). For Astrid, living a lesbian life offers more room for excitement and unconventional choices than are offered by heterosexuality. She imagines that if she had ended up with a male partner, she

would have made more "boring" choices than she actually has made in other areas of life.

While Amina quite consciously had chosen to flee a traditional intimate life, and to pursue something else, Astrid seems to have stumbled upon unconventionality by choosing a same-sex partner. However, they are both embracing the excitement this non-ordinariness adds to their lives. Our three next interviewees resemble Astrid and Amina, but resisting intimate ordinariness also seems to rest on a wider ethical rationale. For them being true to themselves and their inner potential is far more important than bending to convention. The final two interviewees in this section, Vera and Paul, also seem to understand themselves as part of an intimate avant-garde. By defying conventional ordinariness they can help 'widen the scope of intimate ordinariness for others.

Norwegian Saera is in her mid-30s, and is from a Pakistani background. As a divorced single mother, working as a secretary, she feels partly excluded from the community in which she was raised. Nevertheless, she does not experience this as a great loss since she feels she has little in common with many people in that milieu. She has started an academic education and is heavily involved in debating various political and religious questions on Internet forums. Through this activity, she experiences herself as having both power and influence. She describes herself as rebellious and strong. Even as a child, the longing for autonomy, the ability to decide for herself, was what was important; it was not important for her to be ordinary. Saera wants to make a mark on the world. She says she would like to "be remembered in 2,000 years", either for the intellectual work she hopes to do, or through her descendants. She believes in development and progress:

> The meaning of life is that you should develop yourself and become something better, so that the generation you give birth to will inherit your genes and develop to become even better. This is because if you didn't do this, we would still be Neanderthals today. We should develop ourselves. We should develop ourselves to be the best, and all our qualities.

Saera has little time for uneducated, narrow-minded ordinariness. Indeed, she seems to be aspiring to extraordinariness.

In her interview, Vera, a Portuguese woman in her 40s from an ethnic majority background, focuses on what makes an interesting life, interesting experiences, and interesting personal relations, and their opposites. She underlines that she leads an interesting and unconventional life. She takes great pleasure from having the freedom to construct her intimate life in any manner she wants. From a very young age she decided that she did not want to have a biological child, and later she decided that she would adopt a child by herself, and that she never wants to live with a lover. In her biographical account of herself, it was clear that Vera feels that she is not living a conventional intimate life, and she was very proud of this. She has a lover, Victor, whom she often sees at weekends, whilst she shares her daily life with a gay friend, Bruno, with whom she has a strong emotional bond. Realizing that her living and love-arrangements are anything but ordinary, she enjoys the reactions she gets from others around them:

We've got a long-term joke which is to say that Bruno is my husband, and all of my friends know this: he is my husband! When I say "my husband" everyone knows it refers to Bruno, and so [laughs] all of the others who come in the interim are my lovers. And the same with him, [laughs] his lovers and the wife. And it is like this, really, if we wanted to transpose this to a normal or normalized family relationship, say, the one that is considered normal by society, Bruno would indeed be my husband, because it is him with whom I share almost everything, right, except for bed. So, this is why I like to [say this], because it shakes [convictions/expectations] a bit, and, really, my husband and my lover, people get a bit lost and I make sure I explain them so that people get to think it over, and to question things.

Paul, a Norwegian man from a majority background, is another interviewee who does not strive for ordinariness, but at this stage in his life he is quite happy to see himself as non-ordinary, or even extraordinary. Paul is married to his long-term male partner. He is in his mid-40s and works as an engineer. As a young man, he experienced his homosexuality as an almost insurmountable abnormality, but it has now been many years since he felt homosexuality to be a problem. He lives what can be characterized as an exceptionally successful life, with a brilliant career, a good marriage, children to care for, and close relationships with friends and family. But Paul also has a more hidden life. After being with his partner for some years, the two decided to open up their relationship to other sexual liaisons. Paul relishes the thrill, the chase and the sexual experiences, and he also develops close friendships with some of these other men. Paul feels that Norwegians – including homosexual Norwegians – are too puritanical about sexuality, and that important elements and possibilities in homosexual life have been suppressed through the focus on securing normality, and the struggles for the right to marry and to adopt children. Paul refuses to be "tamed", as he puts it, by these norms, choosing instead to live a life that corresponds with his own ideals, not with conventional societal norms about monogamy.

The lifelong monogamous relationship is a social construction that is important to the continued existence of society. It's very, very important as a… as a set of traffic rules. But biologically… you need discipline for that to work, I think. And I am in the privileged position where I [get] the social pattern to work for me, while I am able to also live out the animal side. And to me that has been just great.

Paul experienced that being sexually promiscuous at the same time as being married strongly diverges from ordinary Norwegian morality and ideals of the good life, and he was careful about who he shared this information with. He had no desire to fit into ordinary society in this respect. On the contrary, he lived a life that he thought many men would envy: a stable marriage with a loving, long-term partner, and the excitement of extramarital sexual relationships and encounters. He recognized that society is not yet ready to accept his lifestyle, but until then, he lived well by enjoying the best of both worlds.

In the previous section on "ordinariness denied" we also saw how ordinariness can be unavailable to some groups or individuals due to key aspects of their intimate lives that place them outside the boundaries of ordinariness in their cultural context, and we saw how it can be lost with changing intimate circumstances. This section also showed how several of the interviewees saw ordinariness as a value and

a way of life to pursue, or to grieve when it was lost or unattainable. From this perspective ordinariness is a privilege for the lucky ones, offering the reassurance of order, safety and existential stability. In the section on "ordinariness escaped" we have seen how other interviewees in different ways and for different reasons embrace and take joy in breaking with ordinariness in the field of intimacy. Here non-ordinariness might be seen as a privilege, particularly for the resourceful and lucky ones (see also Heaphy 2017). The philosopher Gail Weiss underlines how the ordinary, "the sedimentation of everyday experience into recognizable patterns can serve to codify oppression as readily as it can promote a reassuring sense of existential stability" (Weiss 2008:5). For the interviewees in the last section, "intimate ordinariness" represented constraint rather than relief. For them intimate non-ordinariness offered new opportunities for self-realization and satisfaction. In the words of Alan McKee, it also gave them the opportunity not to disappear in the crowd, to escape the "banal, mainstream and suburban" (McKee 1999:214). Weiss points out that the disruption of the ordinary can also can "be a hope, a fantasy or even a prayer" (Weiss 2008:5). Maybe these stories could be looked upon in such a way, as hopes and dreams, or as the prefigurative practice of utopian living?

Concluding Discussion

In our study of life-narratives of people living outside conventional families, we found *the notion of the ordinary* to be a prominent theme. Being situated as non-ordinary through their intimate lives, our interviewees reflected extensively on how their own lives could be seen and spoken about in relation to this notion. People around them questioned their lives as single, as not living with their partner, as divorced, or as living in same-sex relationships. They were aware that people were questioning whether their lives and relationships were good and valuable lives.

The worldview that it is opposite sex couples living in monogamous, lifelong reproductive unions who are ordinary (and hence experience the "good life") is produced and reproduced through subtle and sophisticated mechanisms of power. Our interviewees met these mechanisms through daily reminders from the popular press, from their relatives and friends, from official documents and encounters with law[13] and policy, etc. that their intimate lives were not seen as ordinary. Even more importantly, many found it natural and obvious that their lives should be seen this way. The hegemonic worldview of what qualifies as an ordinary intimate life has been rendered as natural and legitimate. The sociologist Tanya Titchkosky, who reflects at length on being blind, writes that when people intuitively think of an ordinary person, they always think of someone who can see: "Anyone appearing normal, competent, average, or ordinary is often seen as sighted" (2003:69). Here one could also add: the person perceived as normal, competent, average or ordinary is also usually heterosexual, white and has a partner with whom they cohabit (Roseneil et al., forthcoming).

Through its interrogation of the significance of the idea of ordinariness this article has also touched upon the vulnerabil-

ity of our personal lives, the longing for belonging that most of us share, and the crucial role that recognition of our intimate relationships plays for most of us. How this vulnerability plays out, what sort of recognition different people crave – and from whom – needs to be addressed if we are to understand how ordinariness, and exclusions from it, work. The category of the ordinary is not universal and natural. Neither do we see the longing for ordinariness or for the not-so-ordinary that we have demonstrated as a universal longing, but rather as a longing situated in the complex relationship between belonging and exclusion, community and individualism, adaptation and authenticity, all pressing issues in our time and place.

Living peacefully in the manner of ordinary people is certainly an important ideal in all the four national contexts we have studied, and many people find joy and happiness in subscribing to this ethic of the ordinary. But the other side of this are experiences of frustration, exclusion and unhappiness if access is denied, not only to an ordinary present, but also to the future life-script of events and life-phases that the narrative of the ordinary promises.

In an often heartless world, intimate ordinariness represents a haven of continuity and safety (Dumm 1999). Being a cog in the machinery, doing what is expected, fulfilling the expectations of those around us, honouring traditions, just living an ordinary respectable life, is rewarded with thousands of large and small affirmations. The ordinary is where the good and righteous life is assumed to be found. Bjørn and Shirin subscribed to such an ideal. In some ways, so did Omar and Behat, although for them the external pressure to conform was as present as the internal ones. In Brian Heaphy's study of same-sex civil partners, he found that ordinariness was an ideal among both the privileged lesbians and gays and the more marginalized who were "less well positioned to fully achieve it" (2017:41). The general aspiration towards ordinariness is also something that Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward write about in their ethnographic study of blue jeans in north London. They argue that jeans allow individuals to inhabit the "the ordinary", and emphasizes how becoming ordinary is important for immigrants and the population of north London more generally (Miller & Woodward 2012). In contrast to this, our study showed that the extent to which ordinariness was held up as an ideal varied significantly among our interviewees. Relief and pride in being "not so ordinary" was also a position that was taken by interviewees.

And there is also an ethics attached to breaking free of the conventions of the ordinary. The ethic of the non-ordinary can also be connected to the ethic of authenticity (Taylor 1989; 1991). Living a life in accordance with one's inner self is, for some, more important than striving for ordinariness. Heaphy argues that the queer perspective on ordinariness as primarily oppressive is "derived from the relatively extraordinary experiences of elite cosmopolitan queers, and that ignores the social, economic, cultural and spatial constraints that shape 'ordinary' non-cosmopolitan lives" (2017:33). Our study resonates with Heaphy's findings. While the ethic of the ordinary can be found across our sample of interviewees, the ethic of the non-ordinary is primarily found among inter-

viewees with higher cultural, social and economic capital, although there are exceptions to this (e.g. Saera).

Both of the ways of relating to ordinariness that we identified amongst our interviewees – embracing the value of the ordinary and rejecting it as stifling and potentially inauthentic – resonate with powerful discourses in contemporary European cultures. These parallel values can be activated by, and put their mark on, people across different socio-cultural groups. For those who felt they were in danger of drowning in ordinariness, or who felt ordinariness to be like a straitjacket, elements of life outside the conventional family could be used to build a positive identity as someone unusual, unique, special, exceptional or "not completely A4". For others, ordinariness was a place to which they desired access, or sometimes a lost condition, representing the possibility of belonging and social recognition for which they yearned. In one way or another our interviewees connected to a positioning of ordinariness as either the valued good to which everyone should aspire, or as the boring and banal, conventional and inauthentic that should be resisted. This duality in people's relationships to ordinariness, and the powerful lure of the ordinary in narratives of intimate life, represent an important aspect of culture in contemporary Europe.

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Notes

1 For a further discussion of non-cohabiting relationships, see Stoilova et al.

2 This project was a part of the larger European Union Framework 6 project FEMCIT Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: The Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements (www.femcit.org). The work package on Intimate Citizenship was led by sociologist Sasha Roseneil, at Birkbeck, University of London. The researchers were Isabel Crowhurst, Tone Hellesund, Ana Cristina Santos and Mariya Stoilova. See also Halsaa et al. (2012).

3 Further information about the sample and selection criteria will be provided in the methodology section.
4 Sacks also argues that even when people have "illegitimate experiences" they can still choose to do them in the usual, ordinary, way (Sacks 1984:418). This interesting point will not be further explored in our text.
5 For a discussion of when, how and why the statistical average came to be a category, and a category also linked to what is normatively good, see e.g. Cryle & Stephens (2017) Igo (2007).
6 Michel de Certeau starts his famous book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, writing "To the ordinary man. To a common hero, an ubiquitous character, walking in countless thousands on the streets" (de Certeau 1984).
7 See e.g. Duggan (2002) and Warner (1999), and our further discussion in the next section.
8 Their focus is on waiting, routines and daydreaming.
9 We discuss how our four nation states have different laws and regulations around family life, and how these have changed historically in several of our publications (e.g. Roseneil et al. 2009 and 2010b).
10 The scope of this article does not allow for a full discussion of how belonging to a minoritized ethnic group affected our interviewees' attitudes to being ordinary.
11 For more detailed discussion of our use of this method, see Roseneil (2012:44–45) and Crowhurst et al. (2013).
12 Kathleen Stewart writes about an early morning walk in a residential neighbourhood, "This is no utopia. Not a challenge to be achieved or an ideal to be realized, but a mode of attunement, a continuous responding to something not quite already given and yet something happening" (Stewart 2007:127). In our material, however, *the idea of the ordinary* sometimes takes the form of utopia, and certainly as a challenge and an ideal to be realized.
13 Examples of laws that have regulated intimate ordinariness are laws against homosexuality, homosexuality as a diagnosis, race-discriminating laws and regulations (cf. Gibson 2001: 286), taxing bachelors at a higher level, and the denial of legal majority to unmarried women (Stoilova 2009:78–79).

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Between Care and Punishment

Fantasies of Change and Progress in Ethnographies of Compulsory Care

By Kim Silow Kallenberg

We strive for constant progress and development, since we are not afraid of change (from the ethical principles of the secure unit Viby).

The idea of change – of progression or transformation from one thing into another – is an inherent part of treatment practices, and of institutional work in general. Quoted above is a document where the ethical principles of Viby – an institution for compulsory care of troubled youth where I did a fieldwork – are stated. Here, one can see how change is essential to treatment, and that it is equated with progress and development. Being afraid of change is here understood as unethical, and to develop and be progressive is understood as its ethical counterpart. But how that change is to come about is not further developed in this document of ethical principles. Is it accomplished by caring for troubled youth, or by punishing them? Are these aspects even possible to separate from one another in the complex context of compulsory care?

Compulsory care is a paradoxical concept in itself. How can you care for someone while doing something against his or her will? This simple, and maybe somewhat naïve, question was one of the points of departure in my ethnographical research project about compulsory care, and during fieldwork in a secure unit for "delinquent youth" – or problematic teenagers – I tried to focus on the "how" of this enterprise. In other words, I focus on the practices and ideas of the staff working in this institution, with special attention given to the ways in which they handle the paradox of working in an environment for both care and punishment.

Aim and Scope

My research is focused on giving new perspectives on staff culture in secure units in Sweden. The aim of this article is to analyse how staff members understand change and progress in treatment work. How does staff imagine how change comes about in treatment work with problematic teenagers? How is change conceptualized and understood by the people working in institutions for compulsory care? I shall elaborate on what I refer to as *logics* in my material, and I shall also discuss the role of *fantasy* in institutional work.

The focus on staff is based on my interest in power relations, and on an identified research gap in this field. Most of the previous research on secure units focuses on the young people; on various aspects of their lives such as their life-stories (see Berglund 1998), and on the methods and techniques that work in helping them to change their way of life (see Andreassen 2003). Little attention has been directed towards the staff, even though they are a large and important part of the care given in the institutions.

In what follows I will map out my theoretical framework, discuss the methods used and give a brief contextualizing background to my empirical field of institutional care in Sweden. Thereafter I will move on to the analysis of the empirical material, and finally to a concluding discussion.

A Post-structural Framework

The main theoretical influence for the analysis has been Jason Glynos and David Howarth's discourse-theoretical logics approach (Glynos & Howarth 2007,

2008), as well as Michel Foucault's theories of power (see Foucault 1987, 2002). *Logics* is a unit of explanation that allows us to understand what makes the practices of the secure unit of residential care "'work' or 'tick'" (Glynos & Howarth 2007:15). Logics are discursive formations that I understand as a subcategory to discourse: A concept that operates on another analytical level than discourse (Silow Kallenberg 2016:44). By studying interactions, practices, and expressions in a defined context, and at the same time keeping in mind how this context is related to overarching processes, our knowledge of how discourse is produced and maintained can increase (ibid.).

Logics – in Glynos and Howarth's understanding of the concept – "refers to the purposes, rules and ontological presuppositions that render a practice or regime possible and intelligible" (Glynos & Howarth 2007:15). To put it differently, logics can be understood as a system of rules that affect what is possible to do or think in a particular context (Lundgren 2012:59–60). Different types of logics speak to different dimensions of social reality, and the concept of logics is threefold and divided into *social logics*, *political logics* and *fantasmatic logics,* that each speak to different aspects of social reality and explanation (Glynos & Howarth 2007:15).

Social logics are about characterizing practices in a particular field of study; logics are therefore highly context-dependent, and explanations using the concept of logic must always proceed from contextualized self-interpretations of the people in the field of study (Glynos & Howarth 2007:30, 49; Howarth 2005: 318). Social logics could be described as the discursive patterns that exist in a certain context at a given time (Glynos & Howarth 2007:140). They consist of rules, practices, and ideas that are naturalized and taken for granted in that particular time and in that particular place.

Political logics become visible when a certain practice, or regime of practices, is contested (Glynos & Howarth 2007:15). Political logics can help us understand how a social logic came to be and how it may be questioned and changed. One could say that social logics are more concerned with synchronic aspects of social practices, while political logics are more about analysing practices along a diachronic axis (Glynos & Howarth 2007: 141).

Fantasmatic logics, or logics of fantasy, "provide the means to understand *why* specific practices and regimes 'grip' subjects" (Glynos & Howarth 2007:145, 107). In my work, the dimension of fantasy is what I am most focused on. Although I need to map out and analyse social and political logics as well, to be able to distinguish the fantasmatic aspects of my empirical material. The role of fantasy in social practice is to reinforce the natural character of that practice and to conceal the radical contingency of social reality (Glynos & Howarth 2007:145, 147). Logics of fantasy have a role in completing "the void in the subject and the structure of social relations by bringing about closure" (Glynos & Howarth 2007:146).

Following a view of reality as *radically contingent* (see Glynos & Howarth 2007: 15), articulatory practices are what constitutes reality, and are also what can poten-

tially constitute it in radically different ways (Glynos & Howarth 2007:179; Laclau & Mouffe 2008:166, 147). According to this perspective there is no essential or given reality. It could, and can, always be constituted in a different way. *Articulation* is therefore a practice where meaning is partially fixed through the construction of nodal points: elements that are especially important in a certain context (Glynos & Howarth 2007:179; Laclau & Mouffe 1985:113). Articulation is a concept that can be used both in the explanation of empirical phenomena of study, and in the discussion of research strategy and methodology. Just like informants, or research participants, researchers are also putting together elements of meaning into a seemingly coherent whole when we analyse and write up our results.

Method and Research Ethics

The ethnographic methods used in collecting material, are participatory observations in a special residential home for boys aged 14 to 21,[1] and interviews with members of the staff in that same institution. I participated in everyday activities about two to three days every week for approximately five months. During the observations, interviews were carried out with seventeen of the employees formally, and with even more people informally. The analysis in the article is based on excerpts from the field notes, as well as on six of the interviews.

The qualitative research interview is the most relevant method to ascertain how people subjectively understand their context and their own place in that context (Gray 2003:71). Interviews with staff members gave me knowledge about how they articulated thoughts and emotions, and on how they described their work and what they found meaningful about it (Silow Kallenberg 2016:54). Participatory observations helped me to reach the non-linguistic and practical aspects of institutional work. The observations were useful to the knowledge produced since they gave me access to material aspects of the institution, and also to practices and affective dimensions of institutional interactions (Silow Kallenberg 2016:58).

Inspired by post-structural thoughts on methodology, I used the strategy of *retroduction* in gaining material and performing analysis. Retroduction is a research strategy and method that takes its point of departure in the view of reality as radically contingent. Jason Glynos and David Howarth use the concept of "retroductive circle" to explain this strategy of to-and-fro reasoning on multiple levels (Glynos & Howarth 2007:40). Retroduction implies that meaning can only be temporarily and partially fixed, and that conclusions can always be reworked after being scrutinized. One should therefore move to and from the field of investigation, always prepared to ask new questions and pose different models of explanation. According to this line of thought, there is no such thing as a final result. There are only temporary and partial results that the researcher should be prepared to rework if necessary.

Some of the interviews with staff members were carried out before the observations took place, and some after I finished my participation. This allowed me to use the strategy of retroduction in that I posed new questions along the way as new knowledge was gained. The retroductive

way of working also allowed me to pose new questions to already collected material after gaining new theoretical insights; from academic conversations and literature studies, for example.

When it comes to self-reflexivity and research ethics, the secure units of compulsory care provide interesting, yet challenging fields of research for scholars. This calls for a thorough, careful and empathetic research process, especially since the knowledge produced in environments that are closed off from the public eye cannot be controlled by readers in the same way as knowledge from other fields of study.

Further, my research is a critical project. This doesn't mean that my aim is to criticize certain individuals, but rather that I intend to critically examine the practices and presuppositions in this field and how they are related to larger societal contexts and discourses. During fieldwork I have often found myself in situations that I experienced as utterly problematic and sometimes disturbing. They frequently contained aspects of violence or other forms of dominance. Fieldwork that includes violent acts has been described by the anthropologist Beatrice Jauregui (2013) as *dirty anthropology*, and Jauregui claims that these types of fieldwork do something, not just to the subjects in the field but to the researcher as well, that is deeply existential (see also Silow Kallenberg 2015).

This calls for thorough self-reflexive work during the whole research process, and the area where I had to do most work regarding my position in the field was the area of gender. This is a familiar experience among female ethnographers who study men, and especially among female ethnographers who study criminal men or men in all-male institutions (Bucerius & Urbanik 2018; Jauregui 2013). For example, I will discuss male aggression as a characteristic of Viby, and as something that often accentuated my position as a woman first and foremost. My position in the field was to a large extent a gendered position, which probably also had epistemological consequences and affected the knowledge that was possible for me to gain, although not automatically in a negative way.

Throughout my fieldwork, and the analysis, I have used the strategy of trying to understand the actions of my research subjects, instead of condemning them (Silow Kallenberg 2016:61). Understanding is not the same thing as accepting, and understanding is facilitated by contextualizing the institutional work, for example by gaining knowledge of working conditions such as wage levels and educational levels among staff.

Background: Institutional Care in Sweden

Sweden has a long tradition of institutional care of various forms, ranging back to at least the seventeenth century (see Söderlind 1999:15; Bolin 1992:13). Early examples are orphanages where unwed mothers could give birth and leave their young children to avoid social stigma (Sandin 1986:106, 125). From the 1900s onwards, institutions for children and teenagers became an integral part of building the Swedish welfare state (Andresen et al. 2011:14ff). During the previous century the state gained more and more influence over children, while at the same time

the power of individual families was limited in various ways. Through legislation and other measures, the welfare state became the guarantor of a good childhood (Arvidsson 2011:35; Andresen et al. 2011: 138, 169). The state – as well as municipalities – being responsible for children's well-being is today something that we take for granted in the Swedish context, even though it is not that long ago that this was far from self-evident. One could describe the position of state welfare institutions in children's lives as a social logic; an order of things that is perceived as natural, and that therefore is hardly ever questioned (see Björkman 2001:125).

The special homes for residential care, or secure units, in Sweden are the institutional form that is the most drastic intervention that can be used in the care of teenagers. These residential homes are aimed at caring for troubled youth with various problems such as criminal or violent behaviour, substance abuse, and other behaviour that puts them or others at risk. Placing teenagers in a secure unit is a form of imprisonment, yet not formally a punishment. Compulsory care is rather conceptualized as protection for so called "delinquent youth". Teenagers at risk do not get sentenced to a stay in secure units, yet they do not choose to go there since the care is compulsory. Secure units are therefore hybrids of care and punishment, and in my analysis I describe this hybridization as two logics articulated together: a *logic of care* and a *logic of punishment* (see Glynos & Howarth 2007; Mol 2008).[2] Both of these identified logics in the compulsory care of teenagers can be articulated as social logics, as political logics, and as fantasmatic logics. My focus in the analysis of these institutions is on cultural aspects; how institutional ideas and practices are perceived and acted upon by the people working there, rather than on formal juridical categorizations.

Secure units are always governmental, and the staff working there have special compulsory measures at hand that staff in other forms of residential homes are not allowed to use. For example, the staff is allowed to keep teenagers in solitary for 24 hours if they are perceived as violent, they are allowed to do bodily exams to search for prohibited items (such as mobile phones, drugs, and weapons), and to go through teenagers' possessions or mail at any time. This gives staff in secure units a special power position, and a far-reaching control over young people's lives.

One could refer to secure units as *total institutions*, in Erving Goffman's sense of the term (Goffman 1961). A total institution is a place of residence or work – in this case education and treatment work – where similarly situated people lead a formally administered life, cut off from the wider community (Goffman 1961). All of these characteristics are true for secure units, even though teenagers only stay in these institutions for a limited period of their lives. The teenagers that are subjugated to compulsory care in secure units spend all of their time there: they eat, sleep, work or go to school, and spend their leisure time within the institution.

In previous literature on this subject a division between *delinquent* and *dependent* youth and children is made (see Söderlind 1999:13). Different types of institutions have targeted either one or the other of these categories, and this is still the case today. But as other scholars have shown,

the division between delinquent and dependent is often hard to make, and both aspects are present in most institutions (Söderlind 1999:13; Andresen et al. 2011: 22). This means that acts of care and nurture often go hand in hand with actions of discipline and punishment.

It is also hard to establish what the concept of "delinquency" means, since it is very much context-dependent, and also dependent on such categories as class, gender, race and age. In other words, I understand delinquency as a construction that is made in the intersections of the categories mentioned above, partly through everyday practices in institutional settings, and partly through discursive articulations in society at large. But the focus here is on the former, that is, on how care and punishment is perceived and come together in everyday institutional work.

Care versus Punishment: Paradoxes of Treatment and the Idea of Progress

Secure units are not prisons, nor are they hospitals aimed at treating illness, nor are they schools. Yet, secure units bear traces of all these areas. One could say that secure units are places where logics of punishment, care and pedagogy meet and are articulated together. In this section I shall explore this – often paradoxical – status of the secure units that I have begun to sketch here. The focus of the discussion is on care and punishment, and although pedagogical aspects are also present I do not elaborate further on them here.

In compulsory care punishment and care co-exist, but what aspect is more relevant varies from situation to situation. It is related to practices and ideas situated in the institutional work, and one aspect or the other is made relevant through the process of *articulation*.

I did fieldwork in the secure unit referred to here as Viby. In the field of secure units the concept of *treatment* plays an important part. Many different practices and ideas are a part of the broad concept of treatment, for example, medication, routines and structure in the everyday life of the institutionalized youth, and various forms of techniques for modifying and changing behaviour. In most cases the staff are not formally educated, but through working experience they learn methods and techniques that have all sprung out of the cognitive-behavioural understanding of human beings.[3] Most of the time the staff are concerned with changing things that you can measure – behaviours that are visible – such as how much a young person uses bad language, how often he makes his bed and keeps his room tidy, and if he is sleeping or not. So treatment, in the setting of secure units, often equals behavioural treatment.

Treatment also equals *progression* when the staff talk about it, and this in more than one way. For example, Anders who has about fifteen years' experience of institutional work, talks about progress in the way the staff work now (present) compared to then (past). He says that significant changes have taken place since he first started working in Viby and talks about the past in the following way:

> We had more confrontations. I mean in the late nineties. Not more penalization, but it was more like that in those days. If they did something wrong [the teenagers], bang! Solitary for 24 hours [...] Now, as soon as they calm down, we let them come out. Before, if we had said 24 hours, that was what happened. Much, much more confrontation. A lot of people working that where really

large. Guys that is. Maybe that reflected back on the mentality of the staff.

The present and the past are contrasted in the quotation from Anders. Time is therefore a central part of his narrative, where he is constructing institutional work from his experiences of it. He points out that the past of the secure unit was characterized by being keener on confrontation compared to how it is today. He does not want to call it penalization or punishment, but admits that the compulsory measure of solitary or isolation was often used as a form of punishment in the past. It is not the methods that have changed, but how they are used has changed compared to before. So the use of isolation of teenagers is not in itself to be understood as either care or punishment. It is through articulatory practices that the logic of care or the logic of punishment is highlighted.

Anders also mentions that the staff working back then had large and muscular bodies. This is something that other staff members talked about as well. Anders believes that this may have reflected back on the mentality of the people working in the institution, and connects muscularity, aggression and masculinity in his understanding of what the staff were like in the past.

During my fieldwork muscularity, aggression and masculinity were all factors that I found to be highly present. The following paragraph is an excerpt from my field notes where I describe a situation of conflict that was rather typical of the interactions between staff and youth during my fieldwork.

When we get back to the ward we walk straight into a conflict. Eva [staff] is gesticulating and showing Emil [youth] to his room. He is very upset and is punching the walls as he goes. Eva and Azar follow him into his room. Ali [youth] tries to follow them as they go; he laughs and seems to think that the conflict is funny. We hear loud voices from the room for a good while. The other teenagers are asked to go to their rooms as well. It is only Oleg and Amal that obey this demand. The rest of them say that the staff can't make them and things like that. Ali and Issa are very upset. They think that the quarrel was unnecessary and that the staff are to blame for the conflict. It started when Emil and Issa threw their cigarette ends on the outside of the fence in the yard, even though a staff member (John) explicitly told them not to. John then told them that they wouldn't be allowed to smoke at the next cigarette break. When it was time for the next cigarette break, and they were told that they couldn't smoke, the conflict started up anew. Eva comes back to the ward and walks up to Issa. She tells him that he will get a chance to pick up the cigarette ends that he threw out earlier. If he does so he will get a chance to smoke as scheduled. Eva also says that she gave Emil the same choice but that "he chooses to be unpleasant". Issa goes outside with Eva to tidy up in the yard. Emil is still in his room and is still very upset. A few minutes later he comes out to the ward and sits down in the sofa. Azar asks if he wants to go out for some fresh air. Emil, Azar and Eva go out into the yard, and the rest of us can see them through the window. We can hear their loud voices from there, and they stay outside for a long while (field notes, April 2013).

This is an example of how conflict and aggression were elements that were present in the secure unit. In contrast to the narrative of Anders, my experience is therefore that aggression is an element that is not left in the past, even though I do not know anything about the degrees in this since I work with contemporary material. It is of course possible that male aggression and muscularity was even more accentuated in the past compared to the present. But they are certainly not phenomena that have dis-

appeared or become irrelevant to institutional practices.

The male, muscular body was understood as one of the most important tools for the staff and was something that they all related to in one way or another – for example when they put together teams that were to work together. A general opinion among staff was that teams of three people should ideally consist of two men and one woman. Two or more women working together were understood as a security risk. Male muscularity and physical strength were believed to uphold security in the secure unit by preventing violence on the part of the youngsters (see Nilsson 2013:20). When I spent time in the secure unit, I sometimes felt uncomfortable with the aggressive atmosphere that I found to be very apparent. It was noticeable in the way (mostly) male staff used their physical strength in disciplining the residents by physically holding them down when they became upset or did something wrong (see Frangeur 2007). Sometimes staff members could also just manifest their physical advantage in relation to the teenagers by standing up in front of those that did not obey the rules or in some other way were out of line in relation to the expectations. Some of the staff members talked about the violent atmosphere in the interviews as something that was inevitable, as in this quotation from Charlie:

> It takes a lot. I know that we have had female staff that have been really tough and that they never backed down. Sometimes it is enough to use a certain tone of voice. That you show them that you don't back down, that you are hard.

According to Charlie it was much harder for female staff to prove their toughness and to be taken seriously by the teenagers. Ideas of fragile women with a certain competence for care work is something that the historian Maija Runcis (2007) has shown to be a part of the whole history of Swedish welfare work (2007:40). As in the empirical examples from my fieldwork, women in social work have always been understood as complementary to men (Runcis 2007:41; see Ohrlander 1995:39).

Other staff members talked about the aggressive atmosphere, not as an inevitable thing, but more as a problem. Lennart talks about his experiences of working during a weekend when many violent incidents occurred:

> During the weekend we had three incidents where staff wanted to play-fight with the teenagers. And they exaggerate with the muscle power. You can feel that this is a borderline case where it starts to become a thing related to power. Even if it is in jest, you can feel the power built into it. Don't come at me! Kind of.

The type of masculinity that Anders refers to as something in the past was something that Lennart, and I, found to be present in institutional work today and is also something that was a norm for the staff working there (see Wästerfors 2009). Female staff members were an exception to this norm and had to justify their position in another way than male staff members. For example, the women in the institution talked about how they could do a good job even though they were not as strong as their male fellow workers. Instead they emphasized other qualities in themselves, such as being good listeners or being better at handling emotional problems that the teenagers had. Linda uses this strategy and emphasizes both her physical strength in

comparison with other women and the benefits of being a woman when it comes to making the boys in the institution feel safe.

> On some occasions I felt like I was being sexually harassed in a way by the boys, and it was almost impossible for me to uphold my boundaries in that situation. But then I had good colleagues that helped me uphold that boundary. They had my back and it made it good, the situation. That was because I am a woman, that I got into that situation. And you have to know your limitations. I am very strong for a woman because I do weight training. But I mean, a seventeen-year-old boy can be very big and very strong, and then you have to know your limitations. Maybe I shouldn't try to take him down if he attacks me (laughs). You have to be smart. Otherwise, I believe it to be an advantage to be a woman. You might get the role of a mom or a sister, and the boys feel safer with you than they do with men working here.

Linda was not the only woman in my material that used this strategy to legitimate her place among the staff at Viby. Others also talked about being strong compared to other women, at the same time as they emphasized feminine-coded characteristics as well, such as being good at doing emotional labour and tasks such as cleaning or cooking. Violent situations were supposed to be left to their male colleagues to handle, was the general opinion. One could interpret this as an understanding of care as female-coded and punishment as male-coded in institutional practices.

Returning to the quotation from Anders above, progression in what he says is about progress of the institution as a whole. In Anders's narrative the logic of punishment was more evident when he referred to the past, and the logic of care was more evident in his descriptions of work today. In his understanding this is a move from something worse to something better and could therefore be understood as a forward-facing process of development or progress (see Jönsson 2013:113).

Progression is also brought up in other ways in my empirical material. The following passage is an excerpt from my field notes where I have been participating in a meeting with staff of the institution, police and lawyers. It happened occasionally that officials with various positions visited the institution to interrogate teenagers residing there, or in other matters.

> After a while I go with Azar to unlock the door for the police and the lawyers. The two policemen are interested in what kind of place Viby is. They ask if it is usually a calm environment, and how many teenagers live there etc. One of the policemen says: "This is really a form of juvenile prison, isn't it?" He continues his line of reasoning by saying that the doors are just as locked here as in any prison. Azar doesn't argue against him, instead he confirms much of what the policeman is saying. Azar explains that the unit where he works is known as the "emergency ward" and continues by saying that "some call it custody, but we are not supposed to use that term". One of the policemen then asks him: "But is it only custody while you wait for the next allocation?" "Absolutely not!" Azar exclaims, and gives an example from the programme activity where they have been discussing criminality and drug addiction in the morning. "You make them turn around," he says. "They might look back and think about what I said today, that is what we can hope for." When we have said our goodbyes to the policemen it is time for lunch (field notes, April 2013).

In this passage, Azar refers to "the programme activity" which is a method used locally in Viby, and a few other residential homes, to discuss issues deemed as important for the delinquent youth. The topics that were a part of the programme activity during my participation were addiction,

criminality, family and sexuality. They worked with one topic for one week at a time, and then they started over again. Typically the staff and youth watched a movie together that had something to do with the theme of that week, and after that they discussed some related questions together in a group. Other times one of the staff members held a lecture on a particular topic, and then they had a discussion. Before the meeting with police and lawyers, Azar had held a lecture on criminality where he talked about his personal experiences of being on the wrong side of the law. Having experiences like that was also something that was quite common among the members of the staff at Viby, and something that was believed to be an advantage in the work with treatment of delinquent youth.

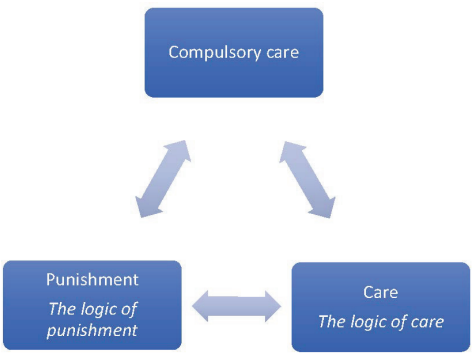
Azar talks about looking back as the experience that makes his job meaningful, and I would say that this is a way to talk about progress. This progress is what he hopes for in the work he does with the teenagers. He explains this to the policemen after one of them has been talking about the institution as a juvenile prison. Azar talks about progress as a way of contrasting the work in Viby to the penalty system, constructing the secure unit Viby as something different from a prison. Progress is what distinguishes Viby from a prison in Azar's narrative.

Progress is present in the conceptualization of institutional work, both in the form of the institution as a whole moving forward and changing its methods and attitudes, and in the form of progress at the individual level. In western society the idea of development is present in many different contexts (see Hörnfeldt 2009; Rose 1995). People and societies are supposed to develop in a continuous movement forward along a linear path; from something worse to something better (see Salomonsson 1998:182; Arvidsson 2011: 25). This idea, or discourse, of development is also evident in the institutional work in Swedish residential homes. Development, or progress, is visible in the logic of care. The logic of care, where treatment is a key concept, aims at changing the individual and improving him or her. Change is characteristic of institutional work in general. Through the right kind of treatment change will come. This idea presupposes rationality, and that we as a society continuously and collectively learn from our mistakes and change over time (Silow Kallenberg 2016:137; Arvidsson 2011).

The logic of punishment also implies change for the individual, although the means to reach that change are different, and also the purpose of change differs. While the logic of care proceeds from a wish to help individuals that are at fault in some way, the logic of punishment focuses on retaliation, which also aims at changing a dysfunctional behaviour but does not do that through the empathetic care for others, but more through a moral stance concerning what is right and what is wrong.

As I have suggested before, these two logics, of care and of punishment, are seldom viewable in pure form but rather articulated together – in relation to one another. Elements of punishment or retaliation are therefore to be found in practices of care and of treatment in the secure unit. Compulsory care consists of two interrelated practices: *punishment* and *care*

(see table 1 below), as mentioned above. It is not either/or, but both at the same time, although sometimes care is foregrounded and sometimes punishment is, in the institutional practice. Here, it is important to point out that punishment is not an official purpose of the special residential homes (see Hallerstedt 2006:17), but it is something that is sometimes foregrounded in the institutional practices and in narratives of the staff. In other words, the intention may be caring practices, but the outcome is sometimes punitive practices.



The two logics of compulsory care.

Fantasmatic Logics of Possible Futures – "To Plant a Seed"

As we have seen, the secure units are paradoxical and/or hybrid contexts where it is possible to articulate various opinions or purposes. The secure unit is neither an institution for care nor for punishment: a logic of care and a logic of punishment are rather articulated together in different ways in the institutional setting. I have discussed the articulation of these two logics in relation to the concept of progress in the section above. Here I will elaborate on the strategies used by the staff in handling the intersections of care and punishment, and further discuss the concept of fantasy or fantasmatic logics in practices of care and punishment. As we shall see, fantasmatic logics can be a way to talk about progress that is not always visible. To articulate narratives in the form of fantasies can be a way to imagine progress even though you cannot see it.

When the institutional workers talk about their motive force when it comes to work, almost everyone mentions a desire to help others. This can be understood as an articulation of the logic of care, where protection; and other caring practices, are more foregrounded than punishment. At the same time most of them say that the concrete confirmation of having done a good job is small. In the interviews, the staff often talked about not being able to see the results of one's work. They only worked with the young people a short period of time,[4] and often not very much changed during that time in the teenagers' lives and behaviours. Anders expresses this line of thought in the following way:

> As I usually say: I plant a seed. That is probably what I … I am not the one who reaps, harvests, like that. It is more like I plant a seed. And that is payment enough for me, to motivate me to keep on working.

The metaphor of being the one that plants a seed is a narrative figure that recurs in several of the interviews, as in the example of Anders above. This narrative figure can also be understood as a fantasy that gives meaning to the institutional work.

The concept of fantasy should not be misunderstood as being an illusion or something made up but should rather be understood as a narrative with ideological significance aimed at the future (see Gly-

nos & Howarth 2007:145). Anders is saying that the idea of having planted a seed is enough motivation for him; that it is "payment enough", as he expresses it. The payment is not concrete since he will not get to see the effects of the work he is doing.

Some of the other treatment workers reason in the same manner as Anders and point out that the effects of their work are something that will be visible later on. But not all of them use the metaphor of planting a seed. We could, for example, relate this to what Azar said, in the previous section, about teenagers looking back, sometime in the future, on what they learned during their time in the institution. This is also a way of imagining how institutional work will affect and change youth and their futures for the better, even though you might not see it now, in the present time.

Michelle talks about one of the treatment programmes at Viby, referred to as "the programme activity", described above. She talks about the work being done in this programme as a beginning, and this is yet another way where fantasmatic logics are expressed in relation to change in teenagers' futures.

If it is not rewarding right now, at least you have started to talk about it. They have put words on their feelings, they have put words on their thinking and they have opened up to someone other than themselves. That can be rewarding further on.

I think that the first step is really important. I *believe* in the programme activity and I *believe* that it will be really good when it is working the way it should. Precisely because it is meaningful, because it can provide something for the boys, like I said: if not now, then further on. That it is a beginning of something.

When Michelle talks about the programme activity as being the start of something that can be rewarding in the future, it resembles the fantasy of the seed that will grow in the future. Michelle expresses this by saying that she *believes in* the programme activity, and she puts emphasis on the word "believe". The treatment work can be viewed as a belief system that motivates the institutional workers by providing an image of the future where the results of treatment can be harvested (see Björkman 2001:77; Jönson 1997:113). The belief in a positive future for the youth under treatment is expressed through the fantasy of *planting* a seed or the *beginning* of something meaningful. The ideological significance of narratives or fantasies like this is the concealment of other possible futures where things might not end so well for the youth in Viby (see Stavrakakis 1999:51).

Other interviewees reflect upon the effects and results of compulsory care in similar ways as Michelle. In the following quotation by Filip one can see how he is aware that the care provided doesn't always have the intended effects, but that he chooses to believe in the work he is doing anyway. During the interview, we talk about whether he ever gets information about how life turns out for the young people he meets in his work. He says that it happens sometimes that someone calls or writes a letter, but Filip is reluctant to try to get in touch with the teenagers after they leave the institution.

I don't know if I want to. Then you might get information you don't want. They might have committed suicide or they might be locked up somewhere. They might be junkies or even overdosed. Or killed someone, you know. You don't want to know that. Then it would feel hopeless (laughs).

Then there is no meaning with the work you do, whatsoever. Except some kind of temporary accommodation.

To provide temporary accommodation for problematic teenagers is not enough for Filip to feel satisfied with the work he is doing. He wants to experience that he actually helps the institutionalized teenagers as well. To contribute to a change in a destructive life pattern is what provides meaning to his work. That is why it is better for him to hold on to a belief in doing good, something that might be accomplished through him being reluctant to scrutinize the results too much. The negative images of what might happen to the young people after leaving the institution could be understood as dystopian fantasies of their futures – or a form of "worst case scenarios" that Filip imagines.

Another empirical example is Charlie, who is ambivalent when asked if he thinks that institutional treatment helps the boys and young men who are subjugated to it. The fantasy of planting a seed is present here as well, but the conviction that this is an unambiguously good thing is absent.

It is hard to say if it will help them. I don't know that. I don't know how it is going to be when they are out and free. Hard to say. But that you have planted a seed, that is definite. They will remember their time here at Viby. Then, if they remember it while being intoxicated by drugs or if they will remember it dressed in a suit and sitting at their desk. They will definitely remember it. I can only hope that they will do OK in life.

In the quotation, both a dystopian and a more positive – if not utopian – narrative of the teenagers' futures is present. Here one can see hope rather than belief in compulsory care providing good results for institutionalized youth. The fantasy of planting a seed is meaningful for Charlie, but it is at the same time characterized by ambivalence.

When we look at the results of the treatment work in the secure units we see that they are rather poor. Claes Levin, a Swedish scholar of social work who has studied secure units, concludes that about 80% of the boys and 50% of the girls relapsed into criminal behaviour or substance abuse after staying at a secure unit (Levin 1998:263). When the staff in my study talk about doing good, they are therefore relying on hope rather than on empirical facts. It is rather the fantasy of doing well, of helping, which is at play here. This fantasy, often expressed through narratives of planting a seed or beginning something new, helps in legitimizing the social practices of institutional work and in preventing the political dimension from reaching the surface (see Glynos & Howarth 2007:147; Stavrakakis 1999:51). The fantasy of planting a seed, which will grow and give results in the future, is one that will not resist public official disclosure (see Glynos & Howarth 2007:148), as for example the results of Levin show us (1998:263).

Conclusion

In this article I have investigated some of the important issues of compulsory care of delinquent or problematic youth. I have proposed a model where compulsory care is understood as a twofold concept, equally consisting of both punishment and care. I understand the two branches of compulsion as a logic of care and a logic of punishment. These two logics are articulated together through institutional practices, and both of them can be either fore-

grounded or stay in the background depending on context. In the narratives of staff members the logic of care is foregrounded, for example through their ambition to help delinquent youth. The logic of punishment, on the other hand, is often downplayed or marked as something belonging in the past. It is clear that care has positive connotations while punishment does not.

The role of fantasy in the context of institutional work is to conceal the ambivalent and problematic aspects of compulsory care: for example, the not so positive statistics showing the numbers of teenagers that return to a destructive lifestyle after having been subjugated to compulsory care. To believe in the work they are doing is something that provides meaning for the staff in the secure units, even if they never see concrete evidence that their work has intended effect. The fantasy of planting a seed gives meaning to institutional work, and hope for staff who intend to make a positive difference in young people's lives. The seed is hidden from view, yet the staff believe that it is there and that it will be visible in the future.

Progression, or development, is present as an aspect of this fantasy as well. The growth of a seed into a flower is a metaphorical narrative of change. Institutional work in secure units is about changing people from "bad" to "good", and to treat delinquency. This fantasy of planting a seed also helps in concealing the aspects of punishment that are present in institutional work, and to highlight aspects of care instead. I also interpret the focus of the staff narratives on imagined futures as a way to avoid an often chaotic and stressful present. I understand this focus on fantasmatic aspects as a reaction to the limited tools staff have to actually help teenagers in the everyday practices of compulsory care, when it comes to resources, preparation and institutional support.

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Notes

1 This particular institution accepted boys, or young men, in ages ranging from 14 to 21. During my fieldwork most of the teenagers living in the institution were aged 16 to 18.

2 The tension between care and punishment on which I focus in this article is something that other researchers have investigated in other types of institutions, for example in institutions of forensic psychiatry (Skipworth 2005). What I find interesting when it comes to institutions of compulsory care in Sweden is that these institutions are not formally punitive, but that they still hold aspects of punishment in ideas and practices. Such cultural aspects of punishment are what I intend to analyse here.

3 *ART – Aggression replacement training*, and *MI – Motivational interviewing* were two of the techniques used in Viby. ART and MI are both methods based on development psychology and ideas of human cognition and behaviour.

4 The average time a young person stayed in a secure unit was approximately five months (according to the Swedish National Board of Institutional Care: http://www.stat-inst.se).

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“Young Women Dominate the Blogosphere”

Portrayals of Teenage Girl Bloggers in Swedish Media

By Ann-Charlotte Palmgren

In a Swedish context the first online diaries, later referred to as blogs, appeared in the second half of the 1990s. During the same period the girl figure entered the public space with a bang, and questioned cultural expectations of what a girl is, should be, or could be (Söderberg, Österlund & Formark 2013:11). The questioning happened just after the publication of several Nordic studies showing teenage girls as publicly confident and active (see e.g. Frimodt-Møller & Ingerslev 1993), and as extrovert and independent (see e.g. Schultz Jørgensen 1990). Cultural expectations on girls and girlhood also correspond to an Anglo-American context, where we can see the growing visibility of girls and young women in popular culture and policy discourses in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Koffman, Orgad & Gill 2015). While adult women and men mostly wrote the first blogs, they very soon became popular and associated with teenage girls.

As blogs became widely spread, numerous annual reports not only on people’s use of the Internet but also on blogs, bloggers and blog readers have been conducted and published in Sweden (see e.g. Findahl 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011). At the beginning of the history of blogs, most of the newspaper articles, columns and opinion pieces, letters to the editor, and interviews with bloggers, related to the reports focused on defining blogs or discussing how they are a potential for free speech. After the publications of such reports, newspaper articles, columns and opinion pieces, letters to the editor, and interviews with bloggers did, however, focus on girl bloggers, girls’ blogging or blogging as “girly”. This focus happened even in cases where the reports were on Internet use or blogging among Swedes regardless of gender or age.

This article aims to distinguish and examine discursive representations of teenage girl bloggers in Swedish newspaper discourse during the period 2008–2014. The blogs as well as the newspaper articles of this period were written and published just as the “influencer” as a career and work was forming (see e.g. Abidin 2015, 2016). This will be touched upon below when discussing the material and methods. Through qualitative textual analysis inspired by critical discourse analysis, this empirically driven article will investigate three main discursive representations identified in twenty-eight newspaper articles and columns. The representations are girl bloggers as:

- Powerful factors
- Intruders
- Role models/bad influences

As the media are often viewed as an essential agent in constructing an image of youth, but also youth problems (Ohlsson 1997:42), these representations of blogs and bloggers can be considered as cultural constructions. In other words, analysing discursive representations in newspaper articles and columns is one way of studying how Swedish girlhoods are constructed in public spaces. Central theoretical concepts such as power, agency, moral panic, gender, and age are applied as analytical tools for the analysis. The overall aim of the article is divided into the following more specific research questions: How can the three main discursive representations be understood in relation to

girlhood? How are the discursive representations related to normative and/or un-normative femininity, in addition to semi-public blogs discussed in public spaces?

Research Material and Methods

The analysis and discussion are based on newspaper articles, columns and opinion pieces, letters to the editor, and interviews with bloggers from Swedish national and local press. In total, the data sample includes twenty-eight newspaper texts published from 2008 to 2014 from both tabloids and high-profile newspapers. As the article is empirically driven, the research material was identified before the theory or analytical concepts were chosen or considered. A small part of the twenty-eight newspaper texts was stumbled upon within another research project with other research aims. When selecting the sample for this article, the database "Mediearkivet", a large Scandinavian digital news archive, was used. By searching for the words *blogg* (blog) and *tjej* (girl or chick) articles, covering the whole period were found with headlines such as: "Every third young girl has a blog" (*Dagens media* 21 October 2008 and *Metro* 22 October 2008), "Young women dominate the blogosphere" (*IDG.se* 31 January 2008 and *Alingsås tidning* 19 January 2011), "Girls own the Internet" (*Liberal Debatt* 17 February 2014), "Blogging, the domain of girls" (*Göteborgs-Posten* 5 June 2011) and "Why do so many girls blog?" (*Trelleborgs Allehanda* 19 August 2011). As the headlines show, blogging is often related to gender and age. A short article (*Svenska Dagbladet* 2 November 2009), stated that one-third of the Swedish youth spend six hours a week on social media, and that left-wing members of the Left or Green Party are more engaged in social media. The article is interesting as it did not make a distinction between different forms of social media or gender, but is still titled "Red-Green unemployed girls blog the most".

Although the newspaper articles studied were not written that long ago, some eleven years before and others five years before the article is published, the study is still a historical study as blogging as a phenomenon has partly evolved since then and the approach to bloggers has changed somewhat. Some of the named bloggers in the newspaper articles, who then were teenage girls, are today young women, some still blogging and some of them making a living from the blog as influencers or entrepreneurs. Just by following, not studying, contemporary newspaper and tabloid articles on girl or women bloggers, I would argue that the discourses would be different, with less moral panic, as blogging is today much more connected to making money. In retrospect, I would argue that the period saw the start of the rise of blogger influence and the commercialization of the blogging space (cf. Archer & Harrigan 2016). It is also of interest to note that when looking for the Swedish word *blogg* (blog) in combination with the word *tjej* (girl or chick) in the news database Mediearkivet, 30 articles could be found published in 2005 and 193 articles could be found published in 2018. However, in the year 2008 the number was 402, in 2009 it was 573, in 2010 it was 670, with a low but steady decrease to 381 articles in 2014. The period studied was a time when the word combination was the

most common, which makes the time aspect interesting.

The method of the analysis of this article is a qualitative textual analysis inspired by critical discourse analysis. I have read details and lexical choices and representation of actors (van Leeuwen 1996). A qualitative textual analysis is a way of identifying different types of narrative, thematic structure of texts and value-laden words and expressions. Here, textual analysis is a method of showing how particular texts take up elements of different discourses, articulate them and consequently "knit them together" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994:94). Discourse refers to any written or spoken language use conceived as social practice (Fairclough 1996:71). Additionally, discourses are structures of possibility and constraint, which means that they are historically-constructed social constructions in the organization and circulation of knowledge (Talbot 2007:11). In other words, discourse refers to constellations of statements and representations that construct, in this article, girlhoods and ways of thinking about those girlhoods, operating to bring these girlhoods into existence.

This textual analysis aims to illustrate how discourses about blogs and bloggers in media texts can be seen as related to multiple subject formations of the girls and power structures within the culture. Hence, the method of textual analysis can be used to describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (Dijk, van 1996: 84). This article is not, however, a quantitative content analysis, but a qualitative analysis focusing more closely on the discourses found. Even though the material consists of twenty-eight newspaper texts of varying length, they will not be quoted in equal amounts. I attempt to provide selected illustrative examples found in the material.

Blogs and Girlhood in Relation to Space, (Girl) Power, and Moral Panic

A study conducted by Findahl (2009:20) stated that every fourth female Internet user aged 16 to 25 has written or is writing a blog, while every fifth male in the same age group was or had been blogging. Every time an annual statistical report about Internet use among Swedes, regardless of age group, was published, I have found that newspaper articles about the prevalence of girl bloggers appeared. While Reid-Walsh and Mitchell (2004) regard girls' websites as private spaces that exist in a public domain and compare them to bedrooms, where they express themselves creatively and store their virtual artefacts, in one of my earlier article (Palmgren 2015), I regard blogs as simultaneously private and public, while Keller (2016) explore girls' blogs as sites of contemporary feminist activism. Furthermore, Keller (2016:261) suggests that girls' marginalization from traditional places of activism, such as the public street, the voting booth, or the town hall, has resulted in the creation by some girls of alternative spaces. This is especially interesting in relation to this study as newspaper articles are public spaces where girls traditionally have taken up little space. In addition, Dmitrow-Devold (2013:67) shows in her study of Norwegian blogs that massive audiences have superseded the limited and mostly small

circles of readers, and public visibility maintained by mainstream media has replaced anonymity.

For this article, it is central to view and recognize discourses as part of formating, operating and maintaining power networks, which ascribe to a Foucauldian understanding of power (Foucault 1991). According to Björck (2003:12) the Swedish expression *ta plats* (take up/claim space) and *girl power* were frequently used by the media as well as in feminist discourse, to describe girls' and young women's entrance into new areas and occupations, such as popular music, technology and sports. In addition, Garland (2008:9) argues that the concept of "moral panic" has had a large impact on the language of cultural debate and the practice of journalists and politicians. Following Cohen (2004:1), I argue that moral panic involves a condition, person or group of persons defined as a threat to societal values, which led to presentations of it in a stereotypical fashion by the mass media and socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions. In other words, moralizing reactions towards, for example, youth or girl bloggers, are connected to society and culture at that point. According to Zaslow (2009:2–3), girl power has, since the 1980s, represented an expansive media culture that encourages girls and women to identify themselves both as traditionally feminine objects and as powerful feminist agents. Blogs in general could be an excellent and somewhat contemporary material for an analysis focusing on this, and during the past years this research area has grown in a Scandinavian context (Dmitrow-Devold 2017; Lövheim 2011a, 2011b; Palmgren 2010, 2014, 2015; Zettermarck 2012), but fewer have discussed the portrayal of girl bloggers in newspaper material (Dmitrow-Devold 2013).

Girl Bloggers as Powerful Factors

While I have not come across the exact expression *girl power* I have several times come across the Swedish word *maktfaktor* (powerful factor or force) in media texts about bloggers. One example where power is mentioned is in the article "Girls dominate the blogosphere", where the journalist simply stated that "bloggers are a factor of power" without elaborations (*Alingsås tidning* 19 January 2011). Similarities can be found in another article where the word power was included in the headline "Bloggers have power" (*Norrbottens-Kuriren* 23 May 2011). Thus, it appears evident that blogs and bloggers were considered to be powerful.

In the lead paragraph ingress of an article with the headline "They decide what you are wearing" the blogger as a factor of power was also mentioned (*S* 4 May 2011):

> Many have dismissed them as a passing trend. However, the (very!) young and fashion-conscious bloggers have become a factor of power to take into consideration. Meet the girls that direct you to what you wear.

In this article, however, it is interesting that questions of power are not discussed with the interviewed bloggers, while in another article with the seventeen-year-old blogger Isabella Löwengrip, where the headline was "I feel fairly superior", Löwengrip returned to the statement throughout the article (*Expressen* 21 March 2008). Löwengrip was not questioned or ridiculed in the article, and dur-

ing the time of the article, she had the most visited blog with around 300,000 readers per week, according to herself. The article began with the blogger describing how her day started with a television interview with a former political editor who said to her: "Isabella, you know that you are the teenager who has had the most power in Sweden since Charles XII [King of Sweden 1697 to 1718], right?"

In some of the articles power and blogging is connected to money, regardless of whether the blogger was represented as a blogger with not that many readers or a highly popular blogger. Money was, for example, brought up in an interview with twenty-five-year-old Sara Lindberg (*Östersunds-Posten* 29 March 2008). The article described how the public debate about fashion bloggers had been heated as many girls earned money from their blogs. Lindberg stated that she would also have liked to earn money on her blog and added that "fashion, fashion blogs, shopping, and young girls are often questioned, but what about guys who have been shopping for technology and other "unnecessary" things from time immemorial". She later continued by saying that, in her experience, "most things that girls do where they earn money cause a debate" and "when girls help themselves, like themselves and shower their blog with photographs of themselves it is perceived as disturbing by many". Girls earning money on something like (fashion) blogging or girl bloggers seen as influential factors can be read through moral panic. The panic surrounding the dangers of the Internet, and especially girls at risk online, was not new. The moral panic, however, has often been connected to stranger danger online. In my material, the moral panic was different. The danger was here in the way the girl, not a boy, and young, not an adult, as well as low culture, not high culture, took up space and could be seen as an influencer earning money on something that started as a hobby.

Parallels could be drawn to selfies, which have been argued to be a gendered object and practice in which negative feminine stereotypes are perpetuated to legitimize the discipline of women's behaviours and identities (Burns 2015:1716) grounded in moral panic over the safety and well-being of women (Dobson & Coffey 2015). Even though blogging girls were perceived as powerful factors, they were also belittled.

Girl Bloggers as Intruders

In the following, I will discuss how girl bloggers have been seen as intruders. A particular basis for the discussion is one newspaper column, as this is a text that has been widely spread and has stirred up many conversations in print media, online and in blogs. In the rather provocative column headlined "The Unnecessary Blog" (*Dagens Nyheter* 4 July 2009), Alex Schulman wrote:

> If one wants to say that a few blogs constitute a factor of power it is required that many read them. This is, however, not the case. According to a study presented by the University of Gothenburg a couple of weeks ago, only five per cent of the Swedes read blogs daily. It is, therefore, one of twenty. To claim that the blogs and the blog readers constitute a critical mass is therefore wrong. It is a very tangential part of the Swedish population that reads or writes a blog.

When looking at the study conducted in 2009 by the SOM Institute, it becomes clear that Schulman only referred to one

of several results. According to the study four per cent read blogs several times a week, eight per cent read a couple of times a week, eleven per cent a couple of times a month and fifteen per cent read blogs but more seldom. The study implied that forty-four per cent read blogs on the whole. By focusing only on the ones that stated that they read blogs daily, Schulman made it appear as if the number of blog readers was very small. The biggest problem, according to Schulman, was that printed and traditional media gave space to the bloggers in what he called the best room. Furthermore, Schulman wrote that "the blog as such is not a power tool, but due to traditional media reporting about blogs, the blogs are turning the blogger into a factor of power". In the article blogs and bloggers were dismissed and marginalized, at the same time as traditional media were made out to be the villain. Schulman was not the first, however, to read the numbers the way he did, and not the first one to expression an opinion like this. Four months before the publication of Schulman's text, another newspaper published a letter to the editor by Sandström, a journalism student at the University of Gothenburg (*Göteborgs-Posten* 9 March 2009). In the letter, Sandström questioned the blogosphere as something that was made into the news by the media. The letter started with:

> It has been said that the blogosphere challenges the political establishment and mass media. That it offers a shortcut underground to the corridors of power. That it sets the societal agenda. Sure, it sounds thrillingly good. The problem is, though, that this is not true.

The continuation of the letter had several similarities to the text by Schulman, and Sandström also referred to the five per cent that read blogs on a daily basis and continued:

> The list on Bloggportalen of the 50 most prominent blogs in Sweden mostly consists of fashion bloggers. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the blog readers in Sweden do not read blogs in an attempt to stay tuned to the societal debate. They read because they want to find a dress for the evening's party in town.
>
> It is difficult, in the light of the SOM Institute's numbers, to understand the fuss about the blog as a democratic miracle-worker. So maybe there is not much to understand really. Instead of statistical facts, it is all about media dramaturgy. The story about the blog as a delivering tool in the service of democracy is instead an underdog story of epic proportions.

At the same time as fashion blogs and people who wrote or read about fashion were criticized, Sandström also criticized the media for giving space to bloggers in newspapers. Democracy was compared to being read instead of being visible in a public space and being heard, which marginalized the bloggers even more. Parallels can be made to a Habermasian understanding of the public and political sphere as spaces for the sovereign to be experienced as legitimate and for the sovereign to get credibility (Habermas, 1991). Since the blogging girls are not seen as sovereign, they are perceived as intruders.

Returning to the text by Schulman, he also questioned the media, referred to Bloggportalen and fashion blogs. The text started with: "Swedish media show respect to blogs and bloggers, which is often very difficult to understand", and later he continued:

> Who are the few bloggers? Is it the country's intellectuals? The blog portal has a list of the most

often read blogs in Sweden. Eight out of the ten most visited blogs are written by girls in their teens, who write about fashion. In other words, they blog about "today's outfit" in different forms. It is not bloggers who disrupt a media hierarchy or set the agenda for something other than possibly the younger people in the fashion world.

That the bloggers, according to Schulman, did not disrupt a media hierarchy is interesting, since it can be perceived as meaning that the girl bloggers did precisely this. It seems as if Schulman viewed girls as harmless and people that one did not have to take into account, which is a traditional, stereotypical and belittling view. When newspapers write about bloggers to a more significant extent, it can be interpreted as showing that bloggers are climbing higher up the hierarchy and at the same time it is made visible that young women, a marginalized group, are not often given space to speak in media, and that this is in itself a hierarchical break.

The response to Schulman's text was large online, in the blogosphere, and in the printed media. The text received 216 comments, and several blog entries discussed the text and several persons wrote responses that were published in the newspaper. A couple of days after the text was published the newspaper *Aftonbladet* (7 July 2009) published a response with the title "That is why blogs are power factors" written by Lisa Magnusson. In the response, Magnusson argued that "even if Schulman tries to reject his conversation partners, he cannot keep them quiet. That is why bloggers are power factors that one has to take into account". The statement by Magnusson can be read as resistance against an internalization of norms. Roman (1999) has named the internalization of norms as an invisible power mechanism and a condition for male authority to not be questioned by women. Elza Dunkels, also responded with a text titled "Girl bloggers are certainly important" in *Dagens Nyheter* (8 July 2009). Aside from Dunkels asking for a power analysis by Schulman, Dunkels also argued that a comparison between old and new media was not sustainable since the Internet not only replaced traditional media forms but also offered many new possibilities.

As girlhood researchers (see e.g. Gonick et al. 2009; Projansky 2014) argue that we are now in a "post–girl power" moment, this could be an explanation why "girl power" was not mentioned. While girls in the 1990s could be active, in the 2000s they were expected or required to be fully self-actualized neo-liberal subjects (Gonick et al. 2009). This does not, however, seem to apply in the Swedish articles studied, since the power was often questioned. The questioning could be connected to space, as the public space is often seen as masculine, and young girls are therefore intruding. The impossible silence, which the girls' blog entries in the public sphere can be understood as, can be an explanation why most of the newspaper articles on blogs had taken the focus and perspective they had. They tried to maintain order in the public sphere when marginalized girls took up space and broke into a masculine territory. However, it would also have been impossible for the media not to relate to the blogging girls, because of the impossible silence.

Apart from seeing the public space as masculine, it is evident in one of the articles that the public space was also seen as white and heteronormative. In a newspa-

per interview with three popular bloggers, one of the bloggers did not identify as a girl or woman. In the interview, the topic was Internet hate. In the weekly magazine *Veckorevyn* (14 August 2014) the blogger Daniel Paris, who is racialized and openly gay, declared: "I receive many comments with a racist undertone or "you fag", but I don't think about it that much. It is something that poisons the online space."

How the text goes on is also interesting, as the blogger Clara Henry, said:

> I do not receive hate, which is probably because I fulfil many norms. I am white, straight, not fat and not ugly according to how ugly is defined, and I am not that provocative in my blog […] Apart from when I write about menstruation or feminism, then I am called a repulsive feminist cunt and stupid.

Even if these quotations refer to blog comments, and my article centres on newspaper texts, discourses found in blog comments and newspaper articles were quite similar.

Girl Bloggers as Role Models or Bad Influences

Apart from portraying the blogging girls as powerful factors and/or intruders on the masculine coded public space, there are also articles that debated whether girl bloggers could and should be understood as role models or bad influences. In these cases, the girl bloggers' relationship to other girls as blog readers were the focal point. At the same time, this illustrated the girl (blogger) in relation to societal and cultural norms of girlhood.

When Louise Bratt was asked whether girl bloggers are good role models (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18 June 2010), she answered:

> "Yes, they are enterprising young women, who are in many cases running their own companies and become successful on their terms."
>
> It is not only about fashion and today's outfit that young women blog. Vulgar-bloggers, with Kissie and Dessie in the lead, are significant at the moment. Personal insults are common, and the blog entries often evolve around partying, vip-affairs, gadgets, travel, rumours and shopping. Often very outspokenly and in a cocky way.

In the article, it remained unclear whether these "vulgar-bloggers" were good role models and if it was Bratt or the journalist who made the above statement. In a blog context these blogs can be understood as subversive if they are compared with blogs on fashion. Even to ask in an interview whether girl bloggers could be seen as role models suggests that the answer could be something other than yes. In other words, the answer is not obvious. In an interview (*Borås Tidning* 4 January 2012) with a seventeen-year-old girl blogger named Flora, who had blogged for five years at that time, one of the interview questions concerned what she thought about other bloggers:

> When you hear the word "blog" or "blogger" you often imagine young women with provocative clothing, big breasts and who write mean and provocative texts.
>
> We asked Flora how she feels about these kinds of blogs, and she said that she feels that it is a winning concept for success since people like to be provoked, but that she feels sorry for the girls.
>
> "I do not think it is okay to encourage young women to lose weight by eating canned children's food or that you are only good-looking if you fill your lips with chemical substances. In the end, these girls only lose by doing this," says Flora.

The girls could be understood both as a problem and as a bad influence since they

encouraged excessive weight loss and plastic surgery, at the same time as they were perceived as role models. When reading newspaper articles where girl bloggers were viewed as role models, the girls align with normative girlhood and normative femininity. This is also illustrated in a column (*FaluKuriren* 5 December 2009) by Fridah Jönsson where balanced girls with healthy opinions were perceived as good role models:

> It is chicks who say what they think without being mean or using their position to convey stupid things. They have healthy opinions and express them in a well-formulated and level-headed way. I think that it is all that is needed to be a good role model.

Anna Svärd and Nelly Fritz, two fifteen-year-old bloggers, had strong opinions, while interviewed, about what characterized a good or a bad girl blogger. They had even started a blog to spread the message of how a good girl blogger should be: She should just be herself and not cross the line or be too much (*Trelleborgs Allehanda* 19 August 2011). The headline of this article, "The girls that dare to go against the flow", illustrated how it was assumed that most of the girl bloggers were not themselves. However, most of the portrayals of girl bloggers in the media were about a minority, the ones that were exceptional in different ways. Furthermore, the act of writing provocative and mean texts can also be interpreted as joking with the traditional view of femininity, which was reproduced in newspaper articles on blogging girls. Furthermore, these blogging girls can be interpreted as threatening since they were visible in the first place, and visibility is usually not related to the feminine. The blogging girls also joked about how they were expected to behave by exaggerating the conventional femininity or by doing the opposite; whichever they chose they were perceived as provocative.

The newspaper articles mentioned earlier are by no means exceptional when it comes to articles about girls who blog, since aspects of being dangerous, ridiculous or insignificant are most often somehow and to some extent brought up. The trend analyst Stefan Nilsson mentioned the prevalence of provocative girl bloggers in an article (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18 June 2010), when Nilsson was interviewed about why so many girl bloggers have become so successful:

> The blog girls are outspoken, load and dare to provoke. […] The blogs are interactive, and it is possible to comment on Kissie's new lipstick. The girls also dare to say what they like and dislike in an obvious way. The most visited blogs are the ones that are the meanest.

Both in the discussions about the girl bloggers as role models and in discussions about the most visited blogs, the "girl matrix" and normativity can be applied. The girl matrix, constructed by Österlund (2005:66), consists of the good girl and the bad girl, as well as the active and passive, power and powerlessness and the subversive and affirmatory. In the statements that could be found in the newspaper articles, the blogging girl was presented as the bad girl, partly because she claimed space in a threatening way where she did not belong, partly because she was not a girl in the correct way. In an article titled "Girls rule the Internet" (*Liberal Debatt* 17 February 2014), the paradox was elaborated. Sofia Brändström expressed it as follows:

> [I wish that] we could say that women rule the Internet. However, as always, nothing is as provocative as when young women set their conditions. When girls started to take pictures of today's outfit and posted them in their blogs, and this way inspired thousands to find their style, they were accused of being self-centred and superficial. When girls started to blog about interior design, do-it-yourself crafts, and lifestyle and realized that it is possible to make money from it, they were accused of preaching housewife ideals and were thus both bad role models and feminists.

The quotation illustrates how the girl blogger could be criticized regardless of what she blogged about or how she did it. This is also something, I argue, that is visible in how newspaper texts portrayed them as intruders and bad influences. The portrayal of the girl blogger as bad or good was maintained by both media and the girl bloggers themselves, which the earlier statements by different bloggers can be interpreted as examples of. Gina Dirawi stated in an interview in *Göteborgs-Posten* (16 January 2011) that she did not want to be defined as a blogger since it then felt like she was not doing anything, that she did not want to get stuck in the blogosphere, and that blogging felt "a bit dorky". However, in another interview (*Aftonbladet* 10 February 2012) Dirawi said:

> You become, by default, a "dumb blog chick", as soon as someone sees the words blog and girl and people do not understand that the blog is an excellent forum for important questions, questioning, and discussion. Not every blogging girl is stupid. If I had been a guy, more people would perceive me as nice.

In the first quotation, Dirawi used the same jargon as the printed press where blogging was belittled. In the second quotation, however, Dirawi did not do this, as she instead showed how the male was the norm, and the things that he did or the things or practices that were perceived as masculine were made superior to the feminine.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, I have distinguished and examined three discursive representations of teenage girl bloggers in twenty-eight Swedish newspaper articles, columns and letters to the editor. The empirical material was published during 2008–2014, and the newspapers consist of national newspapers, local newspapers, tabloids, and weekly magazines. More specific questions were: how can the three main discursive representations be understood in relation to moral panic? How are the discursive representations related to normative and/or un-normative femininity, in addition to semi-public blogs discussed in public spaces? With power, agency, moral panic, gender and age as analytical tools for the analysis and as my points of departure I have investigated how girl bloggers were perceived as power factors, intruders, role models and/or bad influence. By doing this, I have shown how, regardless of how the girl bloggers were portrayed, their discursive representations were associated with normativity. The girl bloggers were either seen as relating to normative femininity or as resisting norms. To be perceived as a powerful factor was not simple, as the girl bloggers were simultaneously belittled in several of the articles where the word "powerful factor" was mentioned. The empirical material also illustrates how role model and bad influences were intertwined, as it did not seem possible to perceive the bloggers as

role models without relating them to bad influence. In addition, it is clear how good or bad influence was connected to questions about normative and un-normative femininity, instead of other possible subject formations. In the article I have also shown how earning money from blogging or girl bloggers seen as influential factors were moralized, while today they would be called influencers.

Furthermore, I argue that this is very much related to space. Here space is both the Internet as a public space and also the media space as public and gendered and directed to adults. To be powerful and to take up space, which has not traditionally connoted femininity, is consequently perceived as intruding on public space. The teenage girl bloggers did intrude through their gender and their age. They were not boys, and they were not adults. The portrayals of girl bloggers were not only constructed or maintained by adults or people that were not blogging. The girl bloggers, as can be seen in some of the newspaper interviews, did part of that work themselves. This is, however, very much in line with how gendered power relations, in general, are maintained and constructed. At the same time, I argue that girl bloggers and especially teenage girl bloggers are interesting, as they were aware of the different portrayals of girl bloggers in the media, but also among the general public, and they could also challenge norms concerning spaces. They challenged these norms, as they would otherwise not be perceived as threats or be belittled as the studied discursive representations show. One reason for identifying, discussing and deconstructing discursive representations, as I have aimed to do in this article, is to reveal implicit ideological power formations connected to, for example, gender and age.

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Oil as Heritage

Toponymies and Temporalities on the Norwegian Continental Shelf

By Lise Camilla Ruud

Since a major oil discovery was made on the Norwegian continental shelf in 1969, governmental engagement in and regulation of the petroleum industry has been strategic and strong, securing national ownership and societal welfare. Offshore toponymy forms part of such regulation, and most field names on the Norwegian continental shelf stem from national golden ages. Names bring different pasts to petroleum fields: the *Tyrihans* field, named after a folktale hero, puts other cultural rhythms into play and makes other connections between past, present and future than does the *Oseberg* field, named after a Viking ship, or the *Johan Sverdrup* field, named after the 1880s prime minister often referred to as "Father of Parliamentarism". When oil companies, after thorough logging and testing, decide to start production at a petroleum field, they must deliver a "Plan for Development and Operation" to the authorities. In it, a name is suggested for the field. Issues of security are central, and field names must not be confused with names of other fields or existing place names; they must be brief, in Norwegian, and easy to pronounce in various languages (Vikør & Ølmheim 1978: 13).

During the 1970s and into the 1980s, oil companies developed their own systems for field naming.[1] In 1984, the Norwegian Language Council elaborated a list of pre-approved names from which the operators were urged to choose. The names were divided into three different categories: Norse mythology and the Viking Age, figures from folktales and sea-birds. Among the roughly 120 fields on the Norwegian continental shelf, some seventy have names from the Viking Age and Norse mythology, thirteen are named after folktale figures and only two have bird names. Names from national pasts are preponderant on the Norwegian continental shelf, and in 2011 the authorities decided that memorial names related to the Constitution of 1814 and nation-building efforts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should be used on new projects (Ellingsve 2012; Johannessen 2015). This naming practice has so far resulted in six fields named after figures associated with nation-building in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Place naming is "a political practice *par excellence* of power over space", and governmental guidelines on toponymy function as tools for directing offshore toponymy towards uniform naming practices that are culturally recognized by a broader public (Ellingsve 2012; Pinchevski & Torgovnik 2002:367; Vikør & Ølmheim 1978). This article investigates naming practices from the point of view of heritage processes, focusing on names anchored in the Viking Age and Norse mythology, on folktale figures and on figures related to earlier nation-building processes.[2] Field names connect petroleum to national golden ages, and the discussions will show how they promote cultural rhythms both contrary to and supplementary to the more speedy rhythms of industry and politics.

Heritage, Time and Three Versions of Fields

If we were asked to localize the causes of global warming, many of us would point

to petroleum fields. Fields come into being when we humans interfere with formerly undisturbed, natural processes, and the environmental historian Mark Fiege has argued that it is in such hybrid and "apparently unnatural places [...] that we most directly confront the reality of our deeply tangled and problematic relationship to the natural world" (Fiege 1999: 10). When we think of climate change and ruined natures, the future tends to be our primary concern, but they can also be thought of in terms of temporal entanglement and multiplicity. The cultural historian Helge Jordheim asserts that "we experience in the world at any one time a plurality, or even a multitude of times" – and in our times, manifold, hybrid thinking about natural and cultural temporalities is useful and needed (Jordheim 2017: 61; Chakrabarty 2009; Haraway 2016). The historicity and heritage scholar Aleida Assmann clarifies how we humans find it hard to adapt to the speedy rhythms of modernity, and in compensatory ways combine the fast life of progress with a slower life of tradition (Assmann 2013: 50–51). While the industrial pace of petroleum is rapid, field names bring different pasts, and offer familiar rhythms, to oil and gas.

Most Norwegian petroleum fields are given names from the past. The heritage scholar and cultural historian Anne Eriksen describes how the past has become "a supplier of attractive goods and commodities", turning heritage into "a matter of the present and the future" as it "is being cut off from the period or historical context that has produced it and brought into the present" (Eriksen 2014: 147). The key to the success of the term heritage in recent decades is "the conceptualization of the past as property", and Eriksen argues that "in principle anything can become heritage" if someone "takes on the role as heir" (ibid.:149). The concept of heritage extends the range of objects of relevance, and this extension is followed by an increased politicization: heritage has invaded "more and more fields", "an increasing number of agents" and as a consequence "far more political issues are now argued and negotiated according to heritage" (ibid.:161). The drill rig that made the first major oil discovery on the Norwegian continental shelf was named Ocean Viking, and from the very beginning of Norway's oil age, petroleum has connected with and profited from different pasts. The term heritage "reflects different experiences of temporality, situating the present in different relations to both past and future" and the article explores how names from the past have drawn different temporal logics to, and enacted Norwegians as heirs to, oil and petroleum fields (ibid.:161).

How does one figure out how different times and rhythms are attached to petroleum through names? A close-up study of the material world has traditionally enjoyed a privileged status within Scandinavian ethnology, and in the last decade a turn towards materiality has gained momentum. Various scholars, often combining concepts from science and technology studies and actor network theory with insights from ethnology and cultural history, nowadays approach materiality as a *relational* phenomenon (Brenna 2014; Damsholt et al. 2009; Hol Haugen 2014; Maurstad & Hauan 2012; Olsrud 2018;

Ruud 2013; Skåden 2013). Actor networks, assemblages, gatherings and enactments are some concepts deployed when the material world is understood as resulting from relations and connections between human and non-human actors (Asdal & Ween 2014; Damsholt et al. 2009:9ff; Latour 2004b, 2005; Mol 2002; Mol & Law 2008). Associated with this is the understanding of materiality as a *processual* phenomenon; the material world is not static, relations change, and it happens over time and with different rhythms (Damsholt et al. 2009:9ff). Petroleum fields are relational and processual, and this article is restricted to a search for relations and agencies that actualize time: Names bring different times, durations and rhythms to oil, and names connect and anchor fields within pasts, presents and futures.

Discussions will stretch into different heritage- and time-producing environs.[3] Petroleum fields are not the same everywhere, and the incorporation of fields in different political-toponymical practices results in a variety of petroleum fields actualizing different national times. Fields "come into being and disappear, with the practices in which they are manipulated" and various versions of them result (Mol 2002:vii,5).

Three different kinds of fields will be elaborated, and insights from heritage studies and science and technology studies (STS) will guide the analysis. References to place name studies and environmental humanities will also be made. The empirical point of departure for the discussions are the names of Norwegian petroleum fields, as listed by the Petroleum Directorate in the mobile application OilFacts.[4] Connections between names, fields and other agencies are not actual lines one can see, but analytical constructions and methodical tools for making sense of empirical material (Latour 2005:131). Heritage implies the use and manipulation of the past according to present needs, and names are already entangled in time-producing networks elsewhere – networks that accompany names to, and adapt to, petroleum. Therefore, there is a need to move broadly and expand the networks in the exploration of offshore toponymy.

This article is organized as follows. The first section explores folktale names by drawing on insights from folklore studies, and the discussions will show how these names contribute to a one-dimensional and sequential time within fields. The second section investigates names from the Viking Age and Norse mythology by drawing on archaeological research and museum practices, and analysis will identify both a directional and a cyclical national golden age within oil. In the third section, the empirical basis expands as discussions move onto political scenes and into public debate. Expositions from newspapers, websites and blogs, white papers, written correspondence between state agencies and other political documents form a basis for discussions here, and the analysis will demonstrate how time is manipulated and compressed by exploring the nation-building and future-oriented naming policy introduced in 2011.

Gas-producing Troll. A platform on the Troll field. Photo: Øyvind Hagen, Equinor.

The Folktale Field

The Norwegian oil age has frequently been referred to as "*det norske oljeeventyret*", habitually translated into English as "the Norwegian oil adventure". The translation, however, is somewhat misleading as "*eventyret*" has a double meaning. As in English, it designates risky, dangerous undertakings or exceptional, exciting incidents, but it is also the Norwegian term for folktales. The country's oil history could be described as an exceptional adventure. Since petroleum was discovered in 1969, clever politicians and engineers, bold divers and risk-taking workers have secured national ownership, defied harsh natural environments and provided the country with enormous wealth.

While adventures belong in the real world, folktales tend to be located in an idealized past. A portion of petroleum fields were given names from folktale characters, chiefly in the 1980s and 1990s, among them *Tommeliten*, *Veslefrikk*, *Troll*, *Tyrihans*, *Draugen*, *Snøhvit*, *Kvitebjørn* and *Trestakk*. *Askeladd* was accepted as a name in 1982, but the field was later included in *Snøhvit*, the Norwegian name for Snow White.[5] Field names connect pasts with the present, but names cannot do this work all by themselves; they rely on and gather with other agencies: "Actors are enacted, enabled, and adapted by their associations while in their turn enacting, enabling and adapting these" (Mol 2010:260). Within the "oil adventure", industrial and folktale rhythms connect and adapt, and insights

from folklore studies will be used to explore how folktale fields are temporally gathered.

The folklorist Max Lüthi explains how folktales are "one-dimensional" in the sense that the otherworldly and the worldly are in the same realm of experience: "the folktale lacks a sense of any gap separating the everyday world from the world of the supernatural" and the marvellous events "require no more explanation than do events of daily life" (1986:11, 8). The real and magical is projected "onto a straight line" in the folktale, and the hero will use both mundane and magical tricks (Lüthi 1986:9). Some fields were named after *Askeladden* ("Ash lad"), *Tyrihans* ("Fat wood Hans") and *Veslefrikk* ("Little Frederick"), and these folktale heroes appear in the well-known narrative about the assumed insignificant man who proves clever and wins it all.

A detailed scheme for the structure of folktales was elaborated by the folklorist Vladimir Propp in *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928/1990). Propp sketched thirty-one functions of the dramatis personae, which "fit into one consecutive story" (Propp 1990:25; Solberg 2007:29). The functions are ordered into a sequence of actions and events, and a shortened version of Propp's consecutive functions could look like this: The hero leaves home; he encounters many challenges, worldly and supernatural ones; he struggles and is threatened by enemies; he is rescued, given difficult tasks, and achieves magical powers or assistance; he arrives in another kingdom, where, after having solved more challenges, he appears in new shining guises or enters a marvellous palace, marries the princess and obtains the half or the entire kingdom (Propp 1990).

Flourishing in the 1980s and 1990s, this field naming practice formed part of a broader heritage boom of old farming culture and folktale aesthetics, peaking with the 1994 Olympic Games at Lillehammer. The anthropologists Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Iver B. Neumann expound how "a particular Norwegian symbolism presenting Norway, not as a modern, complex industrialized society, but as a traditional society untouched by modernity" characterized the 1990s (Eriksen & Neumann 2011:419). As Norway came into being as a modern and oil-rich society, "the production of national hallmarks" could be detached from the comfortable world of every day and be anchored "in the simple way of life of peasant community" (ibid.:420). Folktales add familiar times and pleasant cultural rhythms to the distant, unknown industrial field. The narrative of folktales is sequential and driven forward by external events and impulses, and the hero's responsive actions are guided and aided by chance, discoveries, gifts, challenges, prohibitions or miraculous aids (Lüthi 1986:15). The names add such a sequential temporality to petroleum, making industrial and folktale rhythms similar: oil companies follow sequential schemes; they may get lucky and discover oil, or they may not; adventurous oil workers set out on strenuous, predictable journeys, performing standardized operations according to a fixed plot, some weeks on, some weeks off, leading to money, welfare and luxury for workers, oil companies and the country at large, much like winning the princess and the entire kingdom. Extracted petroleum has

been transformed into massive wealth, as if by magic tricks, as if in a world where the magic and the mundane coexist.

The traditional farming culture of the early nineteenth century is portrayed in many Norwegian folktales, particularly the ones of Asbjørnsen and Moe, editors of the tales about the three heroes mentioned above (Solberg 2007:9, 44). From the late nineteenth century onwards, and in a context of increasing modernization, traditional lore functioned as testimonies about a disappearing culture that came to represent the original and natural way of life for the Norwegians (Hodne 1998:40; Nerbøvik 1994:142). The country gained its independence in 1905, and the collecting of folktales formed part of a political–cultural–scientific movement of re-establishing Norwegian culture after half a millennium of Danish and Swedish governance. Norway was for a very long time a poor country, and folktale names relate petroleum to the poor, traditional culture. Protagonists of folktales tend to be isolated; at the outset they are marginalized, poor and often bullied (Lüthi 1986:37). Folktales are governed by logics that make life consistent and fair; the good ones get rewarded and the bad ones punished, and Norway's position as the Scandinavian underdog adds to the temporal complexity. Norway was for half a millennium the little brother of Denmark and Sweden but proved creative, lucky and clever just as the folktale hero: with petroleum, the youngest nation outsmarted his elder brothers.

Folktales also characterize extreme beauty, gold and silver, marvellous palaces and astonishing princesses. Lüthi calls this the "shock of beauty", and beauty is not mere adornment in folktales; on the contrary, it is an active and central element that motivates the course of events (Lüthi 1984:1; Eriksen 1991:77f).[6] Norway's oil age has been both magical and real, guided by luck and cleverness. Within the "oil adventure" and through folktale names, industrial and traditional rhythms entangle. One could say that folktale names attract what Edward Said has termed "origins" to the fields; an idea of a "divine, privileged and mythical" time beyond human reach and time. Folktale names brought along associations of a sequential and one-dimensional mythical time and contributed to place oilfields within a golden age associated with traditional farming culture and the well-earned success of the poor. But they also attracted the opposite, namely the "beginnings" of the modern and industrial; expounded by Said as a "secular, humanly produced and ceaselessly re-examined" time (Said 1975/1985:xiii; Assmann 2013:44f). Folktale origins and industrial beginnings assembled well within petroleum fields.

The Viking and Norse Field

Names stemming from the Viking Age and Norse mythology are the most frequent category of Norwegian fields. Since *Tor* was approved as a field name in 1973, around 70 of the 120 Norwegian petroleum fields have been given such names.[7] The practice was initiated among oil companies Amoco/Noco, Petronord and Esso, but the Petroleum Directorate and Language Council embraced the practice and placed such names on the pre-approved list (Ellingsve 2012). Gods and goddesses are frequent field names, and alongside *Tor*, *Odin*, *Frigg*, *Frøy*, *Balder*, *Hod* and

others are used. Other fields are named after the giant creatures jötnar, such as the *Mime*, *Yme* and *Hyme* fields. Mythological objects like *Odin's* spear *Gungne* and the longship *Ormen lange* have been deployed, and so have animals and creatures, such as the horse *Gullfakse*, and the goat *Heidrun*. Further, both mythological and historical place names designate fields, such as *Valhall*, *Gimle* and *Sygna*, as does the author of Norse literature, *Snorre*, and his prose work, *Edda*.

What kind of time and cultural rhythm do Viking and Norse names gather in fields? From the nineteenth century till today, the epoch, often dated from 793 to 1066 AD, has been moulded into various heritages and has served different political and ideological purposes (Aannestad 2016; Løkka 2015; Dobat 2013; Fure & Emberland 2009; Johansson 2009). The excavations of ships and objects from grave mounds at Borre, Tune, Gokstad and Oseberg from the 1850s onwards corresponded to the Norwegian struggle for independence from Sweden. The ships gained important symbolic status, pointing back to the Viking Age as a golden national age, and scholars have explained it as a chief myth of origin for Norwegians (Løkka 2015:51; Aannestad 2016; Gjerde & Ween 2016). The emergence of the Viking Age field names in the 1970s may still seem surprising, as few decades had passed since the political use of Viking Age symbolism as ideological weapons during the 1930s and through World War II (Løkka 2014; Aannestad 2016; Esborg 2008).

Heritage is a political instrument, and Vikings had been brutal in foreign territories, an image that did not fit well with industrially advanced petroleum business or the broader Norwegian contemporary society. Before the oil age, the sea bottom and the layers beneath held no cultural history, but the waters above were easier to fill, and from the 1960s onwards historians and archaeologists revived the Viking research field with an increased focus on journeys and explorations while reducing the significance of plundering and brutality (Sawyer 1962; Aannestad 2016:61; Kjartansdóttir 2011; Halewood & Hannam 2001). The renewed focus aided in producing a heritage suitable for the late twentieth century, able to stretch into contemporary petroleum policy and industry. Elaborating on François Hartog's "Régimes d'historicité", Eriksen clarifies how modernity's accelerations have created fractures between our spaces of experiences and horizons of expectations, making us comprehend the relation between past and present as one characterized by dramatic rupture (Eriksen 2014:23; Hartog 2003). Heritage is a way of coping and living with these ruptures, and within a presentist regime, "the present becomes the sole motor" of the "continuous creation of heritage" (Eriksen 2014:23). Heritage slows down time, and we tend to compensate for the accelerations of modernity with tranquil rhythms of tradition (Assmann 2013:50–51).

An exhibition at the Norwegian Petroleum Museum in Stavanger, presenting petro-technological development, is illustrative. A first glass case, decorated with Norse runes picturing ships and displaying models of historical ships, is titled "A floating empire". The text underneath explains how "the Gokstad ship is representative of the swift sails which carried the

Vikings abroad as warriors, explorers, traders and settlers, a thousand years ago. Their shipbuilding skills allowed them to conquer the seas, and even to reach North America." Academic and heritage practices shaped Viking culture as manifold and more peaceful, and emphasis was placed on Vikings as skilful shipbuilders who deployed advanced technology (just as within the present-day petroleum industry) to conquer nature (and not primarily foreign territories) (Aannestad 2016; Gjerde & Ween 2016; Sawyer 1962).

Petroleum policy and industry were incorporated in broader academic and heritage practices, and Viking and Norse named fields did not wangle on heritage. They became efficient co-producers of a new golden Viking Age, as no other place could manifest a unity between nation and nature in such an impressive, technologically skilful way. One could say that the corpus of these names enacted historical continuity and progress in terms of skilfulness, bravery and nature-conquering technology, picturing Norwegians as increasingly more advanced and peaceful conquerors. Vikings initiated the tech development, and today's petroleum industry is, so far, the zenith.

But the new Viking Age also turned into a cyclical natural–national deep time because the ancient Norse qualities seem to be repeated in the present and thus manifest a universal union between a nature filled with resources and a skilful population extracting its resources (Eriksen 1999:51–54). Place names "inscribe ideological messages about the past into the many practices and texts of everyday life, making certain versions of history appear as the natural order of things" (Alderman 2008:196; Azaryahu 1996). Field names connect to the past, and as with many other place names, they "resonate in myth, history, worldview, and heritage" (Van Gijseghem & Whalen 2017:270). Understanding petroleum fields as relational phenomena implies that change is anticipated, and the next section elaborates on the most recent naming policy.

The Nation-building Field

In 2011, the petroleum and energy minister Ola Borten Moe introduced a new offshore naming policy with the white paper *An industry for the future – on the petroleum industry*.[8] New fields, particularly in the largely unexplored Barents Sea, considered the most promising area in terms of petroleum resources, would from then on get memorial names related to the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 and nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nation-building efforts: "Discoveries representing a leap or a large step forward for the industry, the region or the country, should have name reflecting this." Field names, according to Borten Moe, should connect population and nation, promote popular democracy and build upon multiculturalism: "In parallel with the discovery and extraction of an increasing number of oil and gas discoveries, Norway has become a multicultural society [...] At the same time, we shall be precisely that: a collective we."[9]

Above, it was discussed how names place petroleum into a one-dimensional, sequential kind of time and how they contribute to the shaping of a golden national age, in both directional and cyclical ways. Names may also function to compress time by establishing similarities and ex-

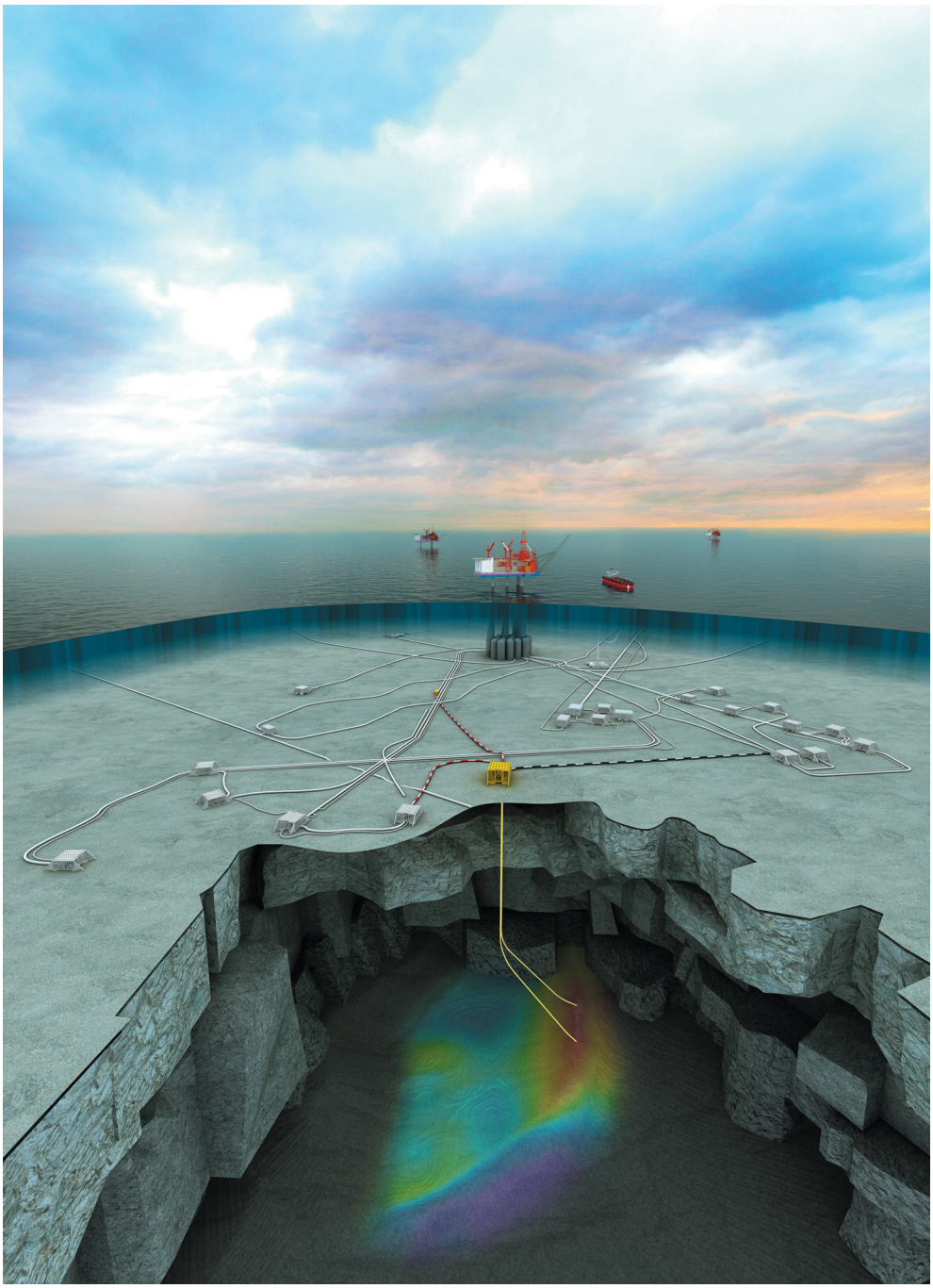

Illustration of the development of the field Gullfaks Rimfaksdalen. Illustration by Equinor.

cluding differences between past, present and future. Petroleum fields, according to the new naming policy, would promote memories of a democratic past, reflect a manifold present and lead into a prosperous future in which oil and gas would be central: "From now on, fields shall have names signalling their importance; names which narrate history and connect past and future".[10] A likely motivation for the changed policy was the upcoming grand national celebration of the Constitutional Bicentenary in 2014. In 2011, celebration activities were planned within the heritage sector all over the country, administered and generously funded by the Parliament. The bicentenary was present- and future-oriented in its celebration of the past, it should strengthen "participation and engagement in democratic processes" and "just as much as a celebration of the past, the bicentenary should be an investment in the future".[11] The future was on the political agenda, and oil would play along.

Heritage adapts the past according to its usefulness in the present, at the same time as it points to the future by defining some thing or some place whose natural or cultural significance is considered "so great that it ought to be the heritage of future generations" (Eriksen 2014:26, 143). An advisory name group of renowned persons from the political and cultural spheres was appointed.[12] The group's mandate was published on the ministry's website: "gas and oilfields in the seas outside our coast should plainly and unmistakably contribute to the nation-building upon which the nation shall be formed." The group was to suggest names that could lead the way into the future: "They can have names promoting a collective reverberation, they can be symbolic lighthouses enlightening the sea lane ahead – by reminding us about what, who and when Norway and the Norwegian popular democracy is. Like echoes, resonances – far away from shore. But still perceptible, in the background."[13]

Among the names suggested, some of them put in use, were *Johan Sverdrup*, known as the "Father of Parliamentarism"; *Johan Castberg*, the political architect behind early twentieth century concession laws securing national ownership of natural resources; *Christian Michelsen*, the first prime minister after the 1905 independence; *Nordahl Grieg*, national poet; *Fridtjof Nansen*, polar explorer, natural scientist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate; *Ellen Gleditsch*, radiochemist and second female to become professor in the country; *Gina Krog*, pioneering feminist, *Aasta Hansteen*, first formally educated female painter, author and feminist; *Elsa Laula Renberg*, Sami political activist, feminist and reindeer herder, and *Ivar Aasen*, founder of New Norwegian.[14]

The name group added academic and political legitimacy to the new policy, and the name group member, historian and literary author, Karsten Alnæs envisioned a range of future gatherings in Norway's most-read newspaper *Aftenposten*: "the name will express ideas attached to the emergence of democracy, the struggle for human rights, for ideals of equality and individual freedom. It may encompass efforts for the rights of minority groups, a defence for the nation in times of war, or efforts made for peace and understanding between nations."[15] He argued that the new names would connect oilfields to concepts such as "popular democracy and

human rights, humanism and compassion", that they would contribute to "a positive and including historical consciousness" as well as direct attention towards activists fighting for democracy and freedom of speech. Alnæs further stressed how field names ought to emphasize the Sami "fight for identity and political rights."[16]

The suggested futures accentuated some political concerns, while another influential future was ignored. "We are undergoing a fundamental shift in the structure of Western temporality, in how we understand and arrange relations between past, present and future", argues Aleida Assmann. The concept of future has radically changed and "can no longer be used indiscriminately as the vanishing point of wishes, goals and projection" (Assmann 2013:41). The recent, dramatic global changes have emptied out the resources of the future, and it can no longer "serve as the Eldorado of our hopes and wishes, rendering also the promise of progress more and more obsolete" (ibid.:41). As fossil fuel has "presented society with a large portfolio of dread problems", such as global warming, environmental crises and geopolitical instability, a new, widespread awareness of "how completely oil has become essential to all aspects of human's way of life" has emerged (Buell 2014: 274). When petroleum is extracted from the ground, it does not reach the surface as ready-made energy – it must pass through a series of conversions and translations, of a techno-scientific kind as well as in a broader cultural and political sense (Buell 2012:276f, Latour 1999:15). Such transformations rarely take the dilemma of the catastrophic consequences of and fundamental cultural dependency upon petroleum into serious account. Borten Moe and Alnæs strategically avoided the dilemma by relating fields to other contemporary important political issues and by anchoring petroleum in a democratic past that would lead into an Eldorado-like future fuelled by petroleum and filled with democracy, welfare, equality, human rights and well-functioning multiculturalism.

The "practice of naming, like all heritages, is inherently dissonant and open to multiple and sometimes competing interpretations", and the new practice was met with protests (Alderman 2008:195). The adaptation of the past to present and future needs implies selection and pruning, and the claimed connections between past and future were contested. When a field was renamed *Johan Sverdrup*, the leader of environmental organization *Framtiden i våre hender* ("The future in our hands"), Arild Hermstad commented on his blog, "It is [...] very inappropriate [...] to introduce a new naming policy for oil fields in a time where the world has to cut its use of climate-hostile fossil energy." Sverdrup himself would have disagreed with the use, Hermstad argued, and he rejected the future introduced by the minister and suggested another one: "If Borten Moe so desperately wants to use historical names, they should be used on windmill-parks, solar-cell factories and other future-oriented enterprises."[17]

Another proposed field name was *Fridtjof Nansen*. Nina Jensen, leader of World Wildlife Fund Norway, contested: "In a time when the poles are melting faster than ever due to the burning of fossil resources, one can hardly imagine anything that would be less appreciated by

Nansen himself than to have his name attached to an oilfield."[18] Jensen quoted a climate promise made by Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg in his New Year's speech transmitted by the Norwegian Broadcasting Company, *NRK*, in 2012: "Nansen and Amundsen conquered the ice – our accomplishment shall be to prevent it from melting." Claiming governmental climate failure, Jensen stated that "the main ambition of Norway in the Arctic areas is to exploit the commercial possibilities of oil and gas, instead of saving some of the world's most unique areas from melting." To put Nansen's name on a field would suggest a connection between the heroic past in the Arctic and present and future petroleum conquest. This would imply not only a manipulation of the past but also a compressing of time in the sense that previous and present conquest would become similar. Time could be compressed in the very opposite way, by leaving the Arctic, and Jensen concluded by gathering another future around the polar heroes: "Amundsen and Nansen were visionary, brave and targeted – they dared where no one else dared. Norway has the money and means to round off 2011 demonstrating global leadership."[19]

The name of *Elsa Laula Renberg* was suggested, thus including Sami history in the nation-building, future-oriented project. While the future has lost glamour and turned into an object of concern and something we must take care of, Assmann argues, the influence of the past has increased and a major motivation for the new interest in the past are traumas caused by Western empires and nations throughout the centuries (Assmann 2013:41, 56). During the last three decades, perspectives of victims have had a huge impact within heritage practices and led to new politics of regret where the past "is recovered, reconstructed and reconnected to the present by various emotional, moral or legal ties as a response to past grievances and a form of taking responsibility" (ibid.:53).

Renberg (1877–1931) was a southern-Sami reindeer herder and political activist advocating for improvement of reindeer herding conditions and suffragette for the Sami population. The place name researcher Eli J. Ellingsve argued that the use of "Sami memorial names could be perceived as a political and ethnic provocation" (Ellingsve 2012:17). The argument was grounded in the traumas resulting from the century-long, brutal governmental repression of Sami population and culture from around 1850 onwards, and thus the stark difference between past and present. The heated discussions a few years before, concerning the Snow White (*Snøhvit*) field located in the Norse Sea off the coast of the Sami territories, add to the picture, as the national authorities then denied claims made by Sami representatives about their right to a part of the income.

Taking governmental responsibility for traumas imposed on indigenous peoples is difficult when it comes to valuable natural resources but easier and cheaper in matters of heritage. Assmann elaborates how trauma redefines temporalities of heritage and memory: "When it comes to trauma, there is no divide between the realm of experience and the horizon of expectation; on the contrary, past, present and future are fused" (Assmann 2013:53). Wrongdoings of the past can be corrected in the present and the future, and in the 2011 annual report from the Sami Parliament,

such field names were approved of: "It is beneficial that Sami names are on the list of suggested names of oilfields and other installations in the Barents Sea. Sami names in the Barents Sea will contribute to accentuate the Sami language."[20] Heritages reconstruct and adapt pasts, and while Sami language was ignored and repressed by Norwegian authorities and by the majority of the country's population for a very long time, such field names could redefine the language into a more significant part of Norwegian history and culture (Helander 2009). Time would be compressed when the past was changed and made similar to the present.

Renberg dedicated her life to struggling for Sami culture and fighting the Norwegian authorities. No field has yet been given her name, but if it should happen, Renberg would partake in the same commemorative gathering as Johan Sverdrup. He is remembered not only as the "Father of Parliamentarism" but also for what he said, in concordance with most other delegates at the time, in a parliamentary speech in 1863: "The only salvation for the Sami is to be absorbed by the Norwegian nation".[21]

The new practice was even contested within the state apparatus and among oil companies. Prior to the new naming practice, the Norwegian Language Council had advised the ministry against bestowing memorial names on fields: "it is hard to decide who has earned the right to such bestowment".[22] Instead, the Norwegian Language Council recommended a continued use of Viking and Norse names, as they appeared "mythical and proud, without being politically charged"; the state advisory organ also suggested one could "expand with new groups such as weather, climate, topography etc."[23] The latter category had recently been taken into use by the oil company Statoil for projects in the Norwegian Sea: *Skrugard*, *Havis* and *Drivis*, all three terms for glacial phenomena occurring in the Arctic (and diminishing by global warming). When Borten Moe insisted on changing the name of Statoil's projects, it was met with the company's protests, which were ignored (Ellingsve 2012:17). The project was renamed *Johan Castberg*, after the architect behind the early twentieth-century concession laws securing national ownership of natural resources.

Named petroleum fields are temporally chaotic, a chaos often disguised through industrial precision and political scaling-up that block "our ability to notice the heterogeneity of the world" and instead allow "us to see only uniform blocks, ready for further expansion" (Tsing 2012:505). But democracy in the nineteenth century is not the same as today's or the future's democracy, as past society was not multicultural in the sense that it is today or will be tomorrow. The societal outcomes of the early twentieth century national control of natural resources was radically different from the global catastrophic aftermaths of present and future national control. When oil and named fields transform into heritage with nation-building names, it implies a manipulative alignment that moulds past, present and future into equivalents and removes the differences between them. One could say that this naming practice was an intent to compress time, as similarities were emphasized while differences were excluded. Heritage may shape pasts as different or similar to

the present to make it fit today's needs, and the ministry tried to manipulate past, present and future into resemblance. Such a transformative compression was not entirely successful, however, as the disputes demonstrate.

Conclusion

A paradox of oil history is "how a natural material understood from its beginnings to be non-renewable and disastrously destructive came to be embraced [...] as an unassailable 'fact' of everyday [...] experience" (Barrett and Worden 2014:269). Fossil fuel "has played an essential role in the shaping of modern social and cultural life", and our practices and values rely on an extensive use of energy (Wilson, Carlson & Szeman 2017:4). It is both important and difficult to understand offshore fields. They could be described as troubled places or ruined landscapes, even though we cannot directly see how troubled they are (Haraway 2016; Hastrup et al. 2015). Petroleum fields result when humans interfere and integrate with formerly undisturbed natural processes, and they are places where "we most directly confront the reality of our deeply tangled and problematic relationship to the natural world" (Fiege 1999:10). The manipulation of pasts forms part of this tangled and problematic relationship, and most field names on the Norwegian shelf come from national pasts with slower paces and familiar rhythms, in stark contrast to the speedy accelerations of petroleum policy, industry and consumption.

The article has explored how names bring different national ages and cultural rhythms to oil and petroleum fields. Oil happened to Norway in 1969, and petroleum fields soon connected to the past; different pasts added, or tried to add, political and cultural legitimacy to present and future industry. The past has become "a supplier of attractive goods and commodities" as well as property, and "anything can become heritage" if someone claims to be heirs (Eriksen 2014:147,149). Fields are perhaps not conventional heritage but as fields connect with names of national pasts, oil can be "argued and negotiated according to heritage" and profit from the networks loaded with cultural history brought along with naming practices (ibid.:161). The sequential, predictable timeline of the folktales leads towards success, and fields named accordingly make obvious the similarities between an oil adventure characterized by luck, cleverness and spectacular success and the one-dimensional world of the folktales. A progressive, directional as well as a deep cyclical national–natural unity is anchored within fields as they obtain Viking and Norse names, and the petroleum industry and policy were efficient co-producers of a new golden Viking Age.

The more recent nation-building naming practice was not implemented smoothly. The historical and temporal connections attached to the suggested names were complex and quite different from the postulated present and future, and the ministry's pruning of the past and the compression of time led to protests. The 2011 naming policy is still formally valid, but in practice it did not last long. After the national elections in 2013, Tord Lien of the Progress Party took over the chair as minister of petroleum and energy, and he proved flexible: "I believe that the State should be reticent about regulating these

things in detail. The industry should be able to think for itself."[24]

Petroleum fields are not located offshore and underground only. Petroleum, its by-products and emissions distribute all over the world and into the atmosphere, and they assemble many temporalities. Facing global warming and climate crisis, it is necessary to rethink times and our relations with nature (Chakrabarty 2009; Jordheim 2017; Haraway 2016). The versions sketched in this article may teach us that we humans are well-trained in gathering with time as complex and multiple, and that we have no problems in combining very different temporal logics and that we are able to manoeuvre within temporal chaos. While it is embarrassing and appalling to see how oil has profited from the past and connected to heritage, it may also turn out fortunate: heritage practices let us become accustomed to thinking about, and accepting with ease, temporal complexity.

Petroleum fields have been transformed into heritage, and Norwegians are the heirs: "Norway's petroleum resources belong to the Norwegian people, and they shall benefit the entire society."[25] Precarious times call for gallows humour, and the last lines are devoted to *Heidrun*, a Norse goat and a field in the North Sea. The goat Heidrun is thriving on top of Valhalla, the spectacular grand hall where Norse warriors go when they die, and where they eat, drink and feast while waiting for Ragnarök. Heidrun eats leafage on the Valhalla roof, and from her udder large quantities of mead flow down uninterrupted into a large cauldron in the grand hall, ensuring the continuous state of satisfaction and intoxication of the warriors when they feast towards the apocalypse.

The parallel to the Norwegians is easy at hand. Heidrun the field, and her likes, keep the feasting Norwegians in a constant state of luxurious intoxication by petroleum money pouring down into society's cauldrons, while they await the end of the world. The method of tracing connections and relations has an interesting consequence, Latour argues: "When we try to reconnect [...] objects with [...] their web of associations, when we accompany them back to their gathering, we always appear to *weaken* them, not to *strengthen* their claim to reality" (Latour 2004a:237). Versions of petroleum fields and heritage-producing networks are made, and they can be unmade. Enacted fields are not one, big, coherent reality but are many incoherent ones (Mol 2002). It is possible to change fields bit by bit: actors and ideas, practices and places, names, technologies and policies can be replaced, negotiated, altered and removed.

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Notes

1 Philips Petroleum named promising structures and discoveries they operated after Norwegian fish names, alphabetically ordered after the letter on the block. It proved difficult to find suitable names in Norwegian, however, and English names were used in addition to the Norwegian *Brisling* and *Flyndre*: *Anchovis*, *Cod, Dace, Eel*. Fish-like names were also invented (*Ekofisk, Eldfisk)*. Another company, Shell, intended to use names of shells, but only one field was named accordingly: *Albuskjell* (*Patella vulgata*, the limpet). The na-

tional oil company Statoil, highlighting the central role of the state, intended to use the prefix "Stat" combined with a name from Norwegian nature, but the only field named according to this logic was *Statfjord* (Vikør & Ølmheim 1978).

2 Around twenty fields have names from other categories than the ones related to national pasts. Some are constructed names such as *Statfjord*, *Eldfisk* and *Ekofisk*. Some are named after sea-birds (*Skarv* and *Ærfugl*) and other after fishes (such as *Cod* or *Marulk*). One is named after the wild cat species *Gaupe*, and another has an old name for wolf, *Varg*. Some names relate to the UK sector of the North Sea, such as *Murchison*, *Islay* and *Morvin*, while some are given female names (*Kristin*, *Oda* and *Maria)*. Two fields are named after biblical figures (*Enoch* and *Goliat*) and another two after stars (*Nova* and *Vega*). Field names are provided in the mobile application "OilFacts" by the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate.

3 STS scholars have discussed how to draw the boundaries of gatherings, enactments and networks; where do they start and where do they end (Latour 2005:131; Strathern 1996). Connections and relations within gatherings are not actual lines you can see but analytical constructions and methodical tools for making sense of empirical material (Latour 2005: 131; Asdal & Ween 2014). Analytical tools serve a purpose, and as the research field of petroleum toponymy is small, the article stretches the gatherings quite far and into various scholarly environs to sketch out a broader picture than often seen within STS studies. On oil toponymy, see Ellingsve (2012) and Johannessen (2015). On coastal and fishing ground toponymy, see Jakobsen et al. (2013), Hovda (1961) and Nash (2010, 2014), Hamilton (1996), Massing (2009), Si and Agnihotri (2014) and Stilgoe (1981).

4 https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=no.oljedirektoratet.oilfacts.

5 Information retrieved from the application "Oil Facts" provided by the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate.

6 Connections between industry and folktales have been analysed by the cultural historian Tale L. Grønmo in a study of how the early nineteenth-century multinational company Norsk Hydro was "folklorized" into a specifically Norwegian industry and its founding director Sam Eyde into an Ash lad (Grønmo 2016:86–88, 90; Eriksen & Selberg 2006).

7 Information retrieved from the application "OilFacts" provided by the Norwegian Oil Directorate.

8 Meld.St. 28 (2010–2011) *En næring for framtida – om petroleumsvirksomheten*. Report to the Storting (white paper).

9 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/tale-under-olfs-arskonferanse/id661255/, read 19 October 2017.

10 https://www.nrk.no/rogaland/vil-ha-mindre-harry-potter-i-oljen-1.7581414, read 27.03.2019.

11 https://www.stortinget.no/no/Grunnlovs-jubileet/Om-grunnlovsjubileet/Visjon-og-mal/, read 1 August 2018.

12 The name group consisted of the conservative politician Kristin Clemet, the historian and head of the Tromsø University Museum Marit Hauan, the language expert and retired editor of the country's most-read newspaper *Aftenposten* Per Egil Hegge, and the award-winning literary author and historian Karsten Alnæs.

13 https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/oed/2011-2811_mandat_navnegruppen.pdf, read 24 August 2018.

14 https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/aw9w4/Hva-skal-oljefeltene-hete, read 9 August 2018.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 https://www.framtiden.no/201201175469/blogg/arilds-blogg/sverdrup-tilgrises.html.

18 https://www.wwf.no/?35048 read 24 August 2018.

19 Ibid.

20 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-35-20112012/id700314/sec4?q=oljefelt#match_0.

21 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/nou-2016-18/id2515222/sec2?q=sverdrup#match_0, read 9 August 18. NOU 2016:18, p.154: "den eneste redning for lapperne er at de absorberes i den norske nasjon".

22 Letter from Norwegian Language Council to the Petroleum Directorate, Ref.10/599, date 17 June 2011.

23 Ibid.

24 http://www.npd.no/no/Publikasjoner/Norsk-sokkel/Nr2-2015/Intervjuet/, read 9 August 2018.
25 Meld.St.28 (2010-2011):5.

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Knowing Fatbergs

Waste as Matter, Monster and Mystery

By Blanka Henriksson & Ann-Helen Sund

When grease from cooking is poured down the drain, it might coagulate in the sewers and create big lumps together with non-degradable products. Sometimes these rock-hard lumps keep on growing and in the end disrupt the flow of sewer water. At the beginning of the twenty-first century these kind of blockages, called fatbergs in British English and FOGs (from fat, oil and grease) in American English, have become a pressing problem in many larger cities around the world.[1]

One such fatberg was found in the sewers under the London district of Whitechapel in September 2017. It became a media sensation because of its record size – it was the biggest fatberg found so far, with a weight of 130 tons and the length of 250 metres. The ripples from this event spread throughout the world, with several months of media coverage and reportedly with headlines in more than 156 countries and 550 million impressions on Twitter (Hackett 2018). The globally reproduced articles all go back to the British news coverage, echoing the statements from Thames Water, the water company that found the fatberg during a routine inspection, and was responsible for removing it. Thus, it was their representatives, and their so-called "flushers" (sewer workers) that were interviewed by media. Soon the Museum of London took an interest in the fatberg and an exhibition was created, extensively covered by the media. In spring 2018, Channel 4 gave the spotlight to another London fatberg in the television documentary "Fatberg Autopsy – Secrets of the Sewers".

What is disclosed in the sewers of London, when media around the world announce that this is "probably the largest fatberg ever discovered in London" (our translation) (Aronsson 2017)? As the ethnologist Lynn Åkesson (2012:151–153) has pointed out, things hidden and secret are also very potent. Although waste is separated and kept in certain places out of sight, it nevertheless constitutes a potential threat. Incorrectly handled it can return to haunt us, or even fight back. When what should not be seen becomes visible, emotional reactions tend to be strong. This threat from waste is, according to Åkesson (ibid.:153) commonly dealt with by social or ritual practices that are morally and emotionally charged, by educating people to handle waste, by transforming waste and by keeping waste in cultural backlands. As we shall see, all these strategies are also activated in the case of the fatberg.

Fatbergs, and other similar phenomena, have been called Anthropocene objects, referring to the idea that we live in the geological epoch of the Anthropocene, characterized by significant human impact on the ecosystem and geology (Sörlin 2017). These hard-to-classify objects (neither nature nor culture) are distinguished by their hybrid character (Þórsson 2018).

Waste constitutes a massive part of human influence in the Anthropocene, partly through the emergence of such new, and difficult to define, objects (Hird 2012).

Waste is highly transformative and often a very short, transient phase in the life of an artefact, before it takes on another value or is transformed in some way (Åkesson 2012; Wilk 2015). Following Karen Barad (2003:822), we understand matter as a doing and as congealed agency. In this article we analyse how the fatberg, as at once matter and meaning, is enacted in a series of overlapping events, or

pressure points (cf. Stewart 2007), where city and body are entwined and disclosed in different ways, as the fatberg moves from one site to another, materializing as a monster. Knowledge production is vital in materializing reality, and the monster "highlights the supposed divisions between the acceptable and conventional and their assumed opposites" (Hellstrand et al. 2018). Thereby monsters draw attention to the production of knowledge, and make visible technologies and systems of disciplining, categorizing and governing, showing how knowledge comes to be embodied (ibid.).

What knowledge-producing practices discover about the world, cannot be separated from the ways these practices affect the world, produce obligations and make demands (Stengers 2005).

The material analysed in this article consists of media reports from September 2017 until spring 2018.[2] We follow how the events reported in the media produce knowledge of both the fatberg and the people of the city. Different body representations lead us through the material, beginning with the events of discovery, highlighting the metaphor of the city as a body. Then we move on to the monster body, a body that is fought and that later becomes an artefact at the Museum of London and a piece of evidence. In the end, the fatberg, like a dead body, is placed on a dissection table, revealing the secrets of all living bodies above ground by forming a body of evidence.

The City as Body

The relationship between city and body is complex. According to Richard Sennett, the body politic exerts power and dominance in a society through master images of "the body". Such master images have often been used in urban development to define what a building or city should look like, creating coherence in city spaces (Sennett 1994:23–24). The creation of sewers transporting waste water under the surface of the city, instead of in the gutters as earlier, became a part of this civilizing process, tying the concepts of city and body together.

The new water-borne sewer systems built in the second half of the nineteenth century were closely connected to the ideas of the circulatory system of the human body. The discovery of the double circulation of blood made the concept of circulation a key metaphor for relating to the world, which also came to affect cityscapes both under and on the streets (Sennett 1994:[255]–[270]). This metaphor can be seen in contemporary fatberg discussions – like the following quotation explaining what happens when we flush grease down the drain:

> Our sewers are a bit like arteries in your body. So when it [the fat] leaves your house, it goes down the smaller arteries you might find in your hands or in your feet and then it eventually gets to one of our bigger sewers like your main arteries near your heart. And just like if you have a bit of a fatty diet, your arteries clog up with fat. That's exactly what happens in the sewers (CBC Radio 2017).

Just as the new boulevards during the nineteenth century kept the populace above ground in constant movement, the sewers under the streets kept the faeces in circulation. No accretions of excrements were allowed to linger and fester (Arndt 2006; Sennett 1994:263–265). The commodified domestication of water announced the withdrawal of the urban elite

A world famous fatberg clogging the Victorian sewers of Whitechapel, London in 2017. This photo by Thames Water contributed to its fame. Photo: Thames Water.

body and bodily hygiene from the public or semi-public sphere and its retreat into the privacy and intimacy of the bathroom and the toilet (Swyngedouw 1996).

The sewers were also seen as an "'underworld' where all sorts of despicable acts were carried out far from the gaze of the forces of order" (Arndt 2006). The concern about a disruptive world below, used as a refuge for criminals and members of the promiscuous proletariat, was a driving force on the urge to control and transform the subterranean nineteenth-century Paris, for example (Arndt 2006).

The fatberg in our media material dwells in this hidden and strange underworld, but when discovered, it was compared to familiar things above ground. In that way, it was made visible. In order to give an understanding of the pure size of the fatberg, different very specific and well-known landmarks of London were used as comparison. The fatberg was longer than the Tower Bridge (e.g. O'Shea 2017), or longer than twice the length of two Wembley football pitches (Adams 2018). The classical red buses, the double-deckers, were also constantly reappearing in the articles on the fatberg. The fatberg was put in motion by taking it out of the sewers, lifting it up above the surface, by referring to London and making the fatberg a "grand, magnificent, fascinating, disgusting" (Sparkes 2018) part of the city.

Civilization, urbanization, and globalization have their negative sides, but the disadvantages can be turned around and made part of a competition. The record

size of this fatberg was mentioned with a sort of pride, even if the subject of the record was indeed more of a problem than something of value: "'Biggest ever' fatberg weighing whopping 130 tonnes" (Moore-Bridger 2017). London is indeed a metropolis; not every city has the capacity and the population to create a record-sized problem like this.

The district of Whitechapel that gave the fatberg one of its names is itself characterized by multiculturalism and working-class inhabitants. It has a long history of immigrant population because of the closeness to the London Docklands. The area also enjoys some fame from being the location of the infamous Whitechapel Murders of Jack the Ripper in the late 1880s. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Whitechapel became a significant settlement for the British Bangladeshi community. All these connotations also contributed to how the fatberg was portrayed in the media reports. The fatberg was exoticized when it was compared to African elephants (e.g. Monster 2017; Taylor 2017) or when the grease component of the fatberg was connected to ideas of the ethnicity of the perpetrators in commentary sections.

However, even when the fatberg became a part of London, it was not a part of the city people normally have access to. It was found in a historical milieu – the Victorian sewer system – constantly referred to in the articles (e.g. Monster 2017). It was as if we had found our way to a different era, a place where time stood still. Or maybe a place that had not caught up with modern lifestyles.

Fatbergs are disgusting, fascinating things which mark a particular moment in London's history, created by people and businesses who discard rubbish and fat which London's Victorian sewer system was never designed to cope with (Moss 2018).

Through the fatberg, we learn about the areas of the city that are seldom mentioned. Richard Wilk points out that if you ask the average North American where the waste from their sinks and toilets go, after it is flushed down the sewers, most people have no idea (Wilk 2015). Suddenly with the fatberg monster our private lives are out in display for the public – this is what you do at home, look at this!

In the sewers, and in the fatberg, two of the most fundamental human actions meet – to ingest food and dispose of waste. Food scraps and cooking grease, from meals and food preparation, gather and are joined together with faeces and human residue. Chaos threatens, as Mary Douglas (1966) would put it, when things become homeless or dwell in the wrong place. The right place is of course culturally decided and varies according to time, place and social relations. The kitchen and the bathroom, symbolically very far away from each other, are unified in the sewer system.

The sewers tie people together, according to Åkesson (2006), through the mixture of human secretions and leftovers in a joint journey towards the sewage treatment works. Sewerage is literally a connection of the private and the public. Like water and electricity, it links people to the state with no feeling of direct interference (Hawkins 2002). As Gay Hawkins points out, we are so assured that the systems for waste removal will effectively protect us from even the knowledge of where the shit ends up, and certainly keep it hidden from us, that the slightest suspicion of faeces in

a public space threatens our faith in the infrastructure.

While the excrement is hardly ever mentioned, the fat is more prominent: it is a fat*berg*, a mountain made of fat. Fat is, in this case as in so many others, connected to bodies and disease, to heart attack and clogged arteries, common causes of death in today's Western society.

The articles used terms such as grease, cooking fat, oil and lard. Nevertheless, this fat is ambivalent, and often it is the bad fat and the bad (fast or fat) food that we meet in the fatberg stories. Consuming this fat food is connected to gluttony and unhealthy eating habits: "Christmas dinner fatbergs raise flood risk, say water companies" and "prevent post-Christmas buildup of congealed fat in sewers" (Press Association 2016). Our intricate and complicated relation to fat (cf. Willson 2005) can be seen in the fatberg reports. Eating is not exempt from cultural rules and norms, but can become a juggling act between consuming the right kind of fat and avoiding overconsumption and lack of self-control (cf. Meneley 2005; Gross 2005). In the consumer society food is supposed to be an indulgence but should never cross the line and become gluttony (cf. Sandberg 2004:181–184).

In a world obsessed with fat, it supposedly shows us not just other people's health but also their moral character (Kulick & Meneley 2005). Obesity is maybe the most distinct signal that you as an individual have not taken care of your body and health (Nilsson 2007). Mark Graham suggests that inhabitants of Western society have "lipoliteracy", a knowledge of the meanings of fat and obesity. Fat, or the lack of fat, mediates a cultural message of what is good or bad when it comes to food, bodies and people (Graham 2005). Fat is "a phenomenon that conjures images of repulsion, disgust, and anxiety for some, but associations of comfort, delight, and beauty for others", according to Don Kulick and Anne Meneley (2005).

When one of the flushers in the documentary film was asked about his favourite fatberg, he says, "Knightsbridge – it was all quality fat". "All goose fat", the reporter chimes in and they both laughed (Channel 4). Fat is not just fat – the fat in the fatberg disclose the people behind it. There is a perceived difference in quality depending on the stratum of population that caused the sewer blockage; "waste is class" as Wilk (2015) puts it.

Obese people are regarded as the antithesis to normality and morality. Through the fatberg, moral responsibilities for the personal body and that of the city enhance one another. This means that fatbergs can be evoked as moral warnings not only when it comes to flushing fat down the toilet, but also eating fat. In January 2018, a company working with preventive healthcare created a fatberg, a pile of "real lard", "the height of a London bus", and put it on display on a street in London. The idea was that people would think about health impacts "inside and out" of overindulgence, and the dangers of, and therefore need to control, obesity, diabetes and high blood pressure, services that the company in question conveniently provided (Knight, R. 2018).

Monster Body

So, the city is a body and the fatberg a lump of fat in the arteries of that body. However, the fatberg also becomes a body

in itself. A strange but at the same time somewhat familiar body – or maybe strangely familiar – something uncanny. It is made out of our discarded products, our cooking grease and our faeces, but it has taken the form of something absurd and threatening. When the fatberg made of human waste comes back to haunt us, it is in the form of a monster:

> An underground demon is plaguing London. Silently and stealthily, it grows terrifyingly in size and slithers through the sewers below our feet like a globby basilisk, waiting until the day it can rise above ground and take over the city (Hurst 2017).

The word monster derives from the Latin noun *monstrum* which denotes something strange and unnatural, but also an omen or a sign of evil. The verb *monere* that the noun in turn derives from has the meaning of both to admonish or warn and to advise/instruct. However, a monster can also be something that fills the spectator with awe and admiration, due to its size or other powerful characteristics. Used as an adjective the word can denote not only something terrible and dangerous, but something huge and outstanding or extraordinarily good (OED).

Things, or phenomena, take the form of a monster not just by growing big, but also by going out of control. The monster defies moral and normative behaviour, and where there is a monster there is breakdown of cultural order. In the edited volume *Managing the Monster: Urban Waste and Governance in Africa* (Onibokun 1999) different authors look at waste management problems in African countries at the end of the twentieth century. A. G. Onibokun and A. J. Kumuyi (1999) write, "the problem of waste management has become a monster", but it is not so much the size of the waste problem that makes it a monster, it is the inability of governments and waste-disposal firms to keep up with it. The monster born out of "[t]he rapid rate of uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization in the developing nations of Africa" which has "aborted most efforts made by city authorities, state and federal governments, and professionals alike" (Onibokun & Kumuyi 1999:2).

Making something into a monster is also a way of anthropomorphizing that which is threatening, thereby turning it into something more concrete and easier to battle. One example of this is a campaign to educate the public on the consequences of plastic pollution, where the plastic was made into a statue of a beast, with the idea that: "Australia is known for having some of the world's deadliest creatures and by positioning plastic as our ocean's biggest predator we were able to personify the problem" (Planet Ark 2018). "[T]hey are our worst enemy", the sewer workers said about fatbergs in interviews (Johnston 2017).

Monsters are said to "occupy peripheral spaces in all cultural traditions" (White 1991:1), and the monsters in folklore and popular culture have at least two things in common, according to David Gilmore (2009), their enormous size and their ability to swallow their enemies or humans. They are like the Bakhtinian grotesque body, characterized by openings and diffuse boundaries (Bakhtin 1984:303–436). The fatberg monster opens up and swallows everything that humans throw down the drain, but in the process of eating our discarded waste it grows in mass, becoming bigger and scarier, and more disgusting, the more wet wipes, condoms, diapers

The fatberg had to be broken down into pieces small enough to fit a manhole. This hard manual work was described as sewer workers fighting a dangerous and disgusting monster. Photo: Thames Water.

and faeces it devours. Like the traditional monsters, the fatberg also threatens to expand and swallow the places and people above ground.

The encounter with a fatberg in the sewers calls for determined and forceful action. Just as the monsters of folklore and popular culture need to be annihilated in order to ensure that balance is restored in the world (cf. Campbell 1968:15, 33–38), this fatberg monster needed to be fought. The flushers became our heroes when they bravely dared to step into the underworld in order to slay the monster, restoring order and chasing away chaos.

It is a close combat between man and monster, a battle filled with stench and disgust. Being a sewer worker is not just a job, it is a calling to fight evil. The work is dirty, hard manual labour with the lives, or at least health, of the flushers at stake, since the fatberg can emit sudden belches of hydrogen sulphide, carbon monoxide, and methane (Knight, S. 2018).

> The heroic flushers worked in teams for 30-minute shifts before they had to come up for rest and send another platoon down into the gloom. Generators pumped fresh air so they didn't inhale the fatberg's poisonous stench (Harding 2018).

At the same time these heroes constantly move on the brink of becoming ridiculous anti-heroes – fighting fat in the sewers with their shovels and protective overalls like ghostbusters wrestling with paranormal ectoplasm: "the story of how sewer workers tackled a massive blob of waste – using jet hoses, pickaxes, spades and shovels" (Adam 2018).

However, the monster had to be disarmed and conquered, and to do this was to drag it out of the sewers into open daylight. A strange saponification process had taken place, where chalk from the sewer walls combined with the grease and faeces from the fatberg created a chemical reaction, resulting in something similar to the making of soap (O'Sullivan 2017). The substance of the fatberg was no longer soft, like the original cooking grease, and it was impossible to either flush it away or suck it up. Instead, the fatberg had to be broken down into pieces small enough to fit a manhole. It was then remade into biodiesel. The fight was over: "'Victory declared' over 130 tonne Whitechapel fatberg" (Victory 2017). In autumn 2018 it was reported that a special edition manhole cover had been installed to commemorate the "[f]earless sewer teams" that it "took 13 weeks to defeat the 250-metre long beast from East London with high-powered jets and brute force" (Hackett 2018).

The monster was granted a new purpose in fuelling buses above ground, instead of disturbing the flow of dirt under the city. As the waste network manager of Thames Water put it:

> It may be a monster, but the Whitechapel fatberg deserves a second chance. We [are going] to transform what was once an evil, gut-wrenching, rancid blob into pure green fuel (Mann 2017).

The fatberg consisted mainly of palmitic acid (Hester 2017), one of the most common saturated fatty acids found in animals, plants and microorganisms, but the focus was on where the fat is going, not where it came from. The fat of the fatberg was very far from the places where it first was produced. Wilk (2015) has discussed how global capitalism spatially separates waste from consumer goods in a way that makes it hard to connect them. The total transformations of waste when recycled

and thus morally purified, also relate to a form of waste fetishism. When waste becomes a reified object, its origins are concealed and there is no understanding of the processes that have led to the production of waste (Graham 2016: 239).

The monster is dead; the disgusting body in the sewers had been turned into something good, useful and "pure". Nevertheless, as the monsters of folklore, the fatberg was not gone forever – the fight is an endless cycle of battle and (hopefully) victory, and battle again (cf. Gilmore 2009:13). Thames Water were simultaneously dealing with twelve fatbergs in spring 2018 (Channel 4) – which means the fatbergs were not done exposing people and their secrets. The monster in the sewers shows us the consequences of our living, but it also warns us – this is what is going to happen. It makes a good case for Thames Water to educate the public and get their message across: "Bin it – don't block it" (Taylor 2017) and "Don't feed the fatberg" (Don't feed).

Musealized Body as Evidence

Two pieces of the Whitechapel fatberg were cut off in October 2017 and, after several weeks of drying, displayed at the Museum of London in February 2018 as part of the museum's City Now City Future season. A fatberg had supposedly been on the museum wishlist for a long time (Adam 2018). The purpose of exhibiting parts of the fatberg was for the museum to show it as an integral part of London's history, but also to encourage reflections on the lives we live now (Sparkes 2018). Written on the museum wall in the fatberg exhibition was the sentence: "The size and foulness of fatbergs makes them impossible to ignore and reminds us of our failings" (Knight, S. 2018).

On the museum web pages, the story of the fatberg took a new turn – now it was all about the museum and making this into a part of the museum collections. It was not so much waste anymore as an artefact from a certain time and place (cf. Wilk 2015). At the same time, questions of what the fatberg is, its matter and meaning, were highlighted in new ways.

The conservation work was central to how the Museum of London chose to approach and represent the fatberg. This process was described as very challenging and the fatberg became "one of those uncanny objects where it is not immediately apparent whether it is animal, vegetable or mineral. […] 'It is really hard to classify'", the head curator of the exhibition summarized (Adams 2018). How are we to understand the following utterance of a museum conservator, when he comments on the result of the conservation work: "it retained its integrity" (Hester 2018)?

Much of the fatberg's motion and liveliness lies in disgust. Some exhibition visitors expressed a slight disappointment – it was not as disgusting as they had expected (Hester 2018). The former terrifying fatberg monster had lost its sense of motion, and calmed down both when it came to liveliness and activity – that which does not move is dead. Instead, the danger of the fatberg was raised. The audience must be protected from it and the conservation work includes many risk assessments and precautions, such as X-rays, quarantine and special sealed units. There was a shift from gigantic to small, from unlimited to delimited, from smell to sight, from low-tech, close contact, manual work to high-

When the fatberg is transformed into a museum object only a rocklike lump remains for the audience to admire. Photo: Museum of London.

tech analysis and no immediate contact. It was then presented as "the last remaining piece of the Whitechapel Fatberg" and displayed in a glass box (Sparkes 2018; Hester 2018) – a scene that resembles both a mausoleum and a high-security institution.

It was not the fatberg but the visitors that needed protection. The rule of seeing but not touching objects in a museum forms the relationship between museum objects and visitors, and lends a certain mystique to the objects (Lubar 2017:173). In this case, the untouchability of the fatberg had different connotations, but still created mystique. At the museum, what remains of the fatberg was brought to people for them to look at closely and reflect on. For this to be possible, techniques of distance and proximity were applied. Taken out of its natural habitat in the sewers and thus displaced, musealized and put on display, distance was created. This distance is connected to the fatberg becoming a visual, historicized and dangerous artefact, and to its mysteriousness. For some visitors the distance was now so great that what could be seen "look like clumps of moonscape or a small asteroid" (Adam 2018).

Museums often present artefacts as witnesses of something, and in that way they tell stories and hold clues about the larger world (Lubar 2017:180). Museums try to control the stories of artefacts by ways of framing them (2017:175). The fatberg also bore witness, as one journalist reflected: "It is hard not to think of it as a tang-

ible symbol of the way we live now, the ultimate product of our disposable, out of sight, out of mind culture" (Adams 2018). But the "we" might include just "some", as in this tweet from a visitor to the exhibition: "An actual display of how disgusting, wreckless & wasteful some people are #Fatberg." On the other hand, the body of the fatberg could also unite the city's inhabitants: "I've never felt more like a Londoner than being a multigenerational queue of people waiting to get a look at the hideous #fatberg", another visitor tweeted.

In the strange mass of the exhibited pieces of fatberg, what evoked the curiosity and imagination of the audience was a glimpse of something familiar. Out of one of the two lumps of fatberg, something orange and purple poked out. A piece of a candy wrapper was the consensus of the journalists and the audience, as seen in the following tweet from a visitor: "#Fatberg was a hit with the kids. Especially trying to work out what chocolate bar wrapper was entombed. #doubledecker @MuseumofLondon". The fatberg once again became part of our everyday life when it devoured the classic chocolate candy manufactured and sold since 1976.

Interest in the fatberg, its ways of mattering, were modulated at the museum through the practices of musealizing and displaying. The fatberg at the museum came to appear as a very unusual, strange and unique thing whose composition and ability was a mystery. It was conquered, but what could it develop into, become, reveal and do next?

Attention was drawn to signs of life in the pieces of fatberg. On Twitter, a visitor published a photo of condensation on the fatberg's case: "Working at @MuseumofLondon today so I swung by the #fatberg and look! IT'S BREATHING". The museum also reported on small flies that could be seen crawling on the sample:

> The exact species have not been officially identified but it is likely that these are of the Phoridae family. Phorid flies which look like fruit flies live in sewers and drain pipes and feed on decaying organic matter making fatberg the ideal home (Fatberg diaries 2018).

At present (December 2018) the fatberg is no longer exhibited, but it is still kept "in quarantine" at the museum's storage with the rest of the historical artefacts in the permanent collection, in a case fitted with a camera and livestreamed – "at all times for the world to see" (Fatcam 2018). It is said to have developed "an unusual and toxic mould, in the form of visible, yellow pustules", identified as the mould species aspergillus (ibid.), a visible proof that the fatberg is still alive and evolving.

Autopsy and the Body of Evidence

The corporality of the fatbergs was also very prevalent when a new, even bigger fatberg found in London's South Bank in spring 2018, became the main target of the documentary "Fatberg Autopsy – secrets of the sewers", that promises to reveal "the filthy secrets contained within a supersized fatberg" and new insights into a growing urban crisis, through "forensic analysis" by a specialist team of scientist (Channel 4). The initial words of the documentary, which was seen by more than a million people (Hackett 2018), show which path we are following:

> Across Britain, under the streets of our cities, something sinister is lurking. An epidemic of monster blockages plaguing our sewers. Known

as fatbergs, these huge masses of congealed fat and human waste are the products of what we flush down our toilets and sinks (Channel 4).

The presentation took inspiration not only from the documentary genre, but also from stories of the unbelievable (as maybe seen on the Discovery Channel) and the popular crime series focusing more on the causes of death than the perpetrator of the murder (cf. Åkesson 1996). The fatberg monster was fought and conquered but now that was not enough. The need for knowledge led to a situation where: "for the first time ever we're performing a fatberg autopsy", and this calls for a "team of experts to forensically dissect a massive fatberg" (Channel 4).

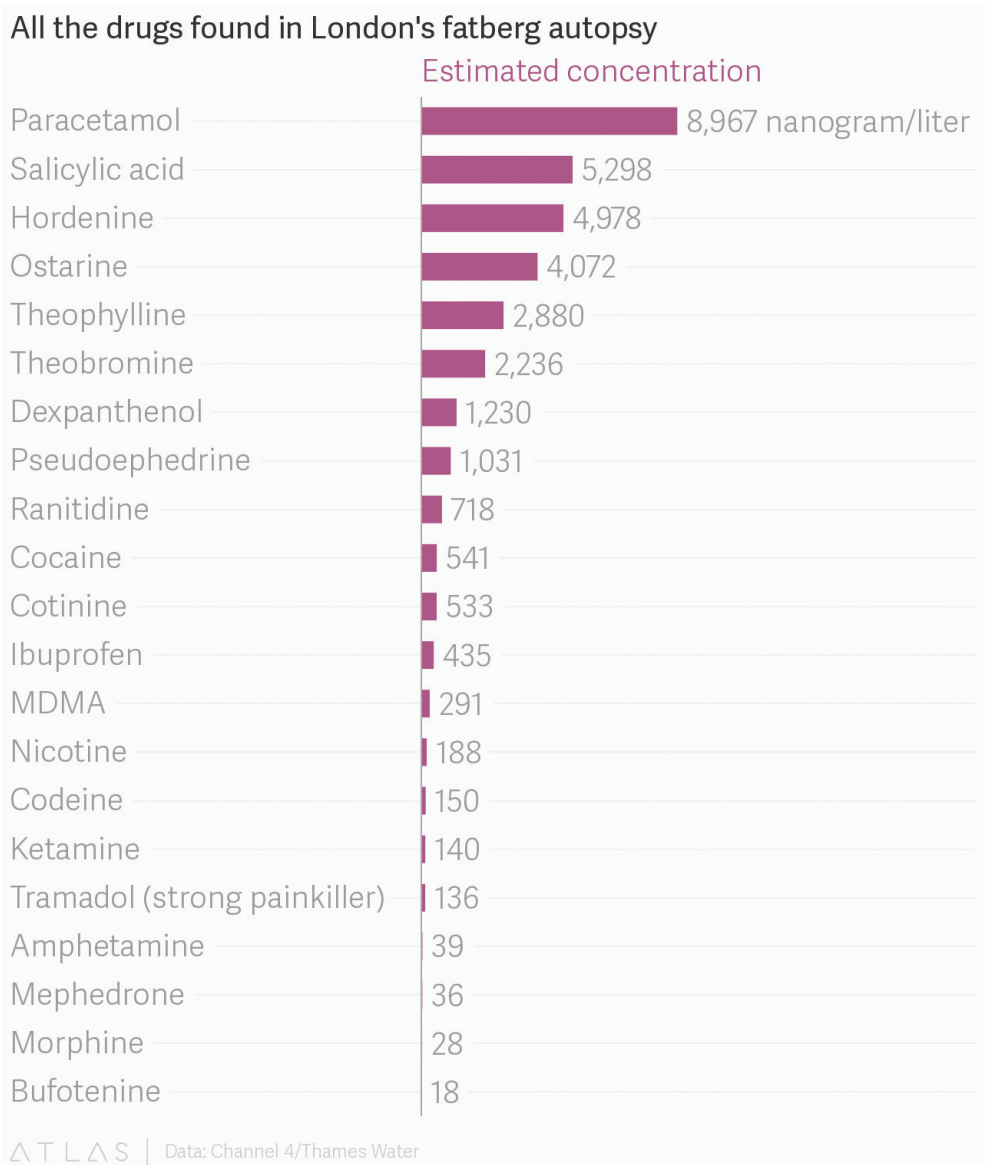
When the fatberg was removed from the sewers, aka the crime scene, it was placed on a big autopsy table like "an enormous, horrid corpse", and the following actions were described as "keyhole surgery on the flesh and bones of London itself" (Golby 2018). The dead monster became a body of evidence, much like the corpses dissected after crimes, unexpected death or maybe to see if a certain medication was working properly. Like a criminal case, the fatberg body was now to be read. The experts and the reporter stated that "we want to find out exactly what it is made of" and "and what it reveals about us" (Channel 4).

According to Åkesson, television series where pathology plays a prominent part can answer a longing for unambiguity, and the notion that the body carries an absolute but concealed truth. The medical examiner is the one with the competence to lure this truth out of the body (Åkesson 1997:37). In the same way, the medical experts in the fatberg documentary were putting questions to the dead fatberg body, in order to get answers about the living bodies above ground:

Mortician Carla Valentine is used to slicing up dead bodies but here she's hoping to see what living Londoners have been furtively flushing down the khazi (Sturges 2018).

By this forensic encounter with the fatberg body, new discoveries were made and evidence found – as can be seen in the pharmaceutical analysis, given out as diagrams of all the "foreign" substances, like cocaine and amphetamine, found in the fatberg body (Fernandez 2018). "Acne creams, household soaps, paracetamol and a mass of illegal gym supplements and recreational drugs were also revealed to be in the fatberg's DNA" (Harrison 2018). The focus was no longer on the fat, as before, or on the more substantial things that fill the earlier reports. Gone were the sanitary products like cotton swabs, wet wipes, baby wipes and diapers, there was no more mention of condoms or tampons, no funny stories of candy wrappers or unexpected debris.[3] This phase of knowledge production moved on a microscopical level of substances, and mere traces of substances, rather than to concern itself with objects and stuff perceptible to the eye. The fatberg corpse became analogous to that of the city's population, revealing multiple facts about their habits. There was no possibility to hide your actions when your (human) waste is put under the microscope: "anything we put in our bodies is gonna end up here" said one of the experts in the documentary (Channel 4).

Through these discoveries, the fatberg formed a body of evidence that produced more monster bodies: "goggle-eyed fit-



The pharmaceutical analysis presented in the documentary "Fatberg Autopsy – Secrets of the Sewers", connects the fatberg to the bodies and habits of the London population. Picture: www.theatlas.com.

ness freaks with massive drug habits" (Sturges 2018). We see ourselves in the monster as much as we see "the others". The monsters not so much threaten to cross the line between the human and the monstrous, as to obliterate it (Shildrick 1996). If the fatberg in its renderings appeared slowly moving and enormous,

"slowly choking the city" (Schultz 2013), then the freaks that the fatberg body in turn disclosed were fast-moving and fat-free.

The fatberg was given a role of evidence that is dual: it played both the criminal, the monster out of control that does not respect any borders, and the witness that speaks of who is guilty and responsible for its very existence. The monster both admonished and advised, as we discussed earlier in this article. It not only warned us about the consequences, but also thoroughly showed them to us. Just as "we" are faced with the unintentional consequences of our lifestyle as both perpetrators and victims.

Conclusion

The fatberg "shows our disgusting side," museum curator Vyki Sparkes declared in a blog post for the Museum of London. "It is hidden away, getting worse and worse as we pile the accumulated sins of the city into it: cooking fat, condoms, needles, wet wipes, and of course human waste" (Sparkes 2018).

In this case – of something discarded, disgusting, hidden and invisible becoming visible and perceptible –we see how it becomes so in overlapping but slightly different ways, depending on how the potency and power of the fatberg is comprehended and brought forth through various knowledge practices. As knowledge is produced about waste, waste produces knowledge about us. These are simultaneous processes.

In the sewers, the monster is lurking, threatening to expand and swallow the whole city. It is fought with force. In this context, the defining substance of the fatberg is fat. Fat is what glues the materials of the fatberg together, and what makes ideas and affects connected to fat stick to it. The media reports are full of lively sensory impressions, particularly of the disgusting smell. In our "fat-free" times, where fat is available to the extent that it has become a problem; fat is often talked about as something to fight and rid oneself of. Ironically, discarded fat is precisely what causes fatbergs. In a strange loop, fat returns in monster form. Timothy Morton's notion of a "dark ecology" (2016) seems to fit particularly well in relation to the return of waste as monster. According to Morton, this dark and uncanny ecological awareness affects "civilized people" in the Anthropocene, when realizing that the ecological disasters we are witnessing are caused by ourselves, as at once perpetrators and victims. Morton further argues that this situation brings forth very mixed feelings of insecurity, doubt, fear, shame, ugliness, irony and comedy.

At the museum, pieces of fatberg were displayed visually and historicized as "the last remnants", intended to evoke reflections. What these reflections might be can of course vary. The fatberg can be seen as evidence of wastefulness, accumulated sins and the dark side of consumption, but the mystique of the fatberg is also enhanced through displacement and techniques of distance and proximity that make something appear whose power is mysterious, dangerous but also comical. There might still be something hidden, some ability not yet shown, the vital matter yet unknown – such was the promise made. The audience was encouraged to follow what is (slowly) happening through live streaming.

The autopsy of the fatberg applied fo-

rensic and microscopic methods to find the truth of what was hidden and still invisible in the fatberg, in a sort of final move. Thereby a body of evidence was produced, composed of traces of both legal and illegal pharmaceuticals and body-enhancing substances hidden in the population. The illegal ones became what defined the fatberg in this criminological setting.

In the fatberg, there is an oscillation between fat as disease and blockage in a body and a monstrous body made of fat, an oscillation where city and body are entwined. There is also an oscillation between here and elsewhere. The fatberg is found in the sewers, which constitute an elsewhere, and when it is made visible, it is even more clear that it does not belong "here". In addition, the museum and the documentary activate in their knowledge-producing practices different kinds of elsewheres – the quarantine, the mausoleum, the autopsy. Museum visitors' thoughts sometimes even go to the extra-terrestrial (Moss 2018). The fatberg moves from one site to another, but never leaves these elsewheres – except for when it is converted to biodiesel, and ceases to be a fatberg – and from elsewhere it communicates and interacts with "here". Because the fatberg is always situated elsewhere, it is mysterious. Knowledge production about the fatberg was centred on what it contained and hid, and this aspect constitutes a potency.

Very often discourses around waste are moralizing and seek to find who is guilty. When waste "comes alive" and returns, it does so by its power to reveal its "makers" and the immoral actions that have caused it. The monster can be used to teach people to manage waste. At the same time, the fatberg is also perceived as a strange, new form of life, that has mysteriously evolved in the sewers and evokes curiosity, and as "magnificent, fascinating, disgusting" (Sparkes 2018) in a way that also can be embraced and that corresponds to the inherent complexity, strangeness and difference of the city (cf. Sennett 1994: 26). Jane Bennett (2010) has suggested that such a heightened sensitivity to the force of things and agency of assemblages, as we can see in the wonder and curiosity that the fatberg also evoked, could lessen the desire to find scapegoats and instead promote approaches to waste problems that are more pragmatic.

The power of waste to expand and take over, to act as evidence of immoral actions, to behave in unpredictable ways, and to reveal secrets and embody mystery, is taken up in the different but overlapping events that we have discussed in this article. Therefore, waste fascinates and evokes curiosity, as well as disgust and moral outrage. It unites and separates.

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Notes

1 This portmanteau word (fat and iceberg) seems to have been coined by sewer workers in London in 2013. It made it into online dic-

tionaries in 2015 together with *manspreading* and *Brexit* (Adams 2018). The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as "very large mass of solid waste in a sewerage system, consisting especially of congealed fat and personal hygiene products that have been flushed down toilets."

2 The events in the fatberg story (apart from the newer documentary) have been the focus of an earlier article (Henriksson & Sund 2018) concentrating on the affective encounter with the fatberg.

3 For a more extended discussion of the depiction of the fatberg via its content see Henriksson & Sund 2018.

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New Dissertations

Healthier Living

Julie Bønnelycke, Have Fun Living Healthily! An ethnological study of museums promoting health. Faculty of the Humanities, Department of Ethnology, University of Copenhagen 2018. 318 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ Today there is concern to increase the 'public understanding' of, or 'engagement with' science, partly to legitimate the character and costs of scientific activity. One outcome has been growth in museums and 'centres' designed to attract lay interest in things scientific – institutions which then need to maintain their attractiveness to visitors and to funding bodies. Simultaneously, anxieties about the public costs of ill health in the developed world, have led to attempts to promote healthier life styles – often involving a neo-liberal encouragement of individuals to take greater responsibility for their own well-being. 'Experimentarium' in Copenhagen is one of many science centres which now address both issues – and advertises on its website that 'exact replicas of its expertly made exhibitions are available for sale'. Among these exhibitions is 'PULSE', 'devoted to fun' in 'eight crazy rooms', each relating to a domestic space. Here visitors – once they have 'form[ed] a group of a minimum of two persons and creat[ed] a login that activates the exhibits' – are invited to participate in a range of exercises promoting cardio vascular improvement, increased upper body strength and so on. Thus they can, for example, dance in the 'bathroom', balance in the moving 'kitchen' and participate in a 'living-room' armchair rodeo. Rooms are interconnected via the MidPoint where boards provide information and also ask visitors about different kinds of exercise, their advantages, and how they might manage to incorporate more physical activities into their everyday lives. They can also compete in quizzes and request photos or videos of their participation in PULSE be emailed to them.

Julie Bønnelycke's *Have Fun Living Healthily: an ethnological study of museums promoting health* is an account of her participation, as a Science PhD student, in the project to set up the PULSE exhibition. Science PhD students, as far as I can see, are simultaneously enrolled in an academic department and employed in an organisation, carrying out their doctoral research not simply for its own sake but because of its specific interest to their employer. This mode of operation presumably entails less personal responsibility for the totality of research design than that exercised by the 'traditional' autonomous doctoral candidate, especially where the enterprise in question has a range of co-producers – in this case structured into three different teams under a steering group, advisory board and project manager. Bønnelycke's employer was Steno Diabetics Center, a non-profit research hospital which was engaged in a 'six year collaboration' with Experimentarium to develop 'new methods for health promotion to Danish families'. It is linked to the philanthropic NovoNordisk Foundation that, according to the museum's website, has funded the PULSE exhibition. In what once would have been called 'action research', Bønnelycke contributed to the PULSE project through providing information for it, participating in its assorted meetings and co-authoring a range of publications. Simultaneously, as PhD student, she reflexively evaluated the processes she was involved in, paying particular attention to those moments of 'disconcertment', which exposed differences in the presuppositions of project participants – presuppositions they did not always clearly recognise themselves. Her own frames of reference are multiple, embracing, for example, museum studies, the work of health promotion professionals, Science and Technology studies, performative post Actor Network Theory, Practice Theory and the ethnology of everyday life [although avoiding Foucauldian discussions of the body and its societal control].

Participation was a key motif of the PULSE project, initially in establishing the exhibition and ultimately in the form it took. In a way not previously attempted at Experimentarium, potential users were to help to shape the exhibition, in conjunction with specialist designers and other members of the PULSE team. Thus, after an initial 'literature study', Bønnelycke, sometimes together with other PULSE members, began an ethnographic investigation of two samples of possible museum visitors, aiming to provide insights that would be useful for the project and especially its design team. It was intended that those studied would then co-operate with the designers in a number of co-design workshops. Things did not turn out entirely as planned.

Respondents were to be drawn from two districts of Copenhagen. Firstly, Hellerup, an affluent and mainly ethnically Danish suburb, where Experimentarium was located. Here families were already well acquainted with the museum – Bønnelycke calls them 'super users'. Husum, by contrast, was a largely working-class area with a relatively high percentage of the unemployed and of families of non-Danish ethnicity. Seen as something of a problem district, with higher rates of self-reported ill health and crime, it was already subject to community-building efforts by various organisations and agencies. The PULSE Project hoped to increase the attraction of Experimentarium to Husum's 'underserved' category of residents who seldom visited it. One website linked to the project had claimed that 'the PULSE exhibition will …. serve as an international model demonstrating how science centre health exhibitions can involve socio-economically disadvantaged families…in improving their health.'

In both areas, families with children aged between 6–12 were the project's target category, with 15 households [of unrecorded family size] ultimately in some way taking part. However, whilst the Hellerup advert for participants resulted in more applicants than needed, the initial call-out in Husum received no response – although seven families were eventually obtained. No breakdown is offered of the specific occupations, ethnicities or length of local residence of either sample, although there are passing references to a Syrian and a Pakistani respondent in Husum and to an East European couple at the Experimentarium event mentioned below, photos of which also show some hijab-wearing females. Bønnelycke aimed to interview all members of each family together, and even in Hellerup sometimes found it hard to keep everyone present and focused on the tasks in hand. But in general these Danish, middle-class families understood what was required of them – even 'over performed'. They enthusiastically put stickers of their activities onto calendars. They took photos of the exercise they had been engaged in, sometimes commenting on what this recording of their practices had taught them about themselves. 'The mode of participation designed for them by PULSE', says Bønnelycke, 'matched them perfectly.' They were already keen to exercise and doing quite a lot, seeming to have 'truly adopted the prevailing discourses of health as self-management and self-realisation.' However, they also claimed family and routine commitments often prevented them doing as much as they would like. Learning that families wanted to achieve more, but found it difficult and sometimes just wanted to relax, but felt guilty about it, was one of Bønnelycke's moments of 'disconcertment'. That people's health-related actions are typically both enabled and constrained by the human and material household assemblages within which they find themselves is presented as a major revelation, leading 'to the reformulation of the target group as not individuals but household collectivities'.

The main Husum sample unsettled Bønnelycke even more, her contact with them seeming 'one prolonged moment of disconcertment'. Perhaps it's a bit surprising that she didn't seem to have anticipated the effects of language difficulties, nor that respondents from different backgrounds, though willing to help, might not understand what the interview situation involved and what was being asked of them. Some had problems marking out their favourite activity spots on a map, in contrast to the Hellerup sample, where one family had enthusiastically engaged in their own additional cartography to show the extended range of their excursions. Husum respondents didn't seem to subscribe to a vision of improving their health through their own knowledge and activities, and were likely to see Experimentarium as a place for entertainment rather than health promotion. Bønnelycke also suggests they did not buy into ideas of their responsibility to actively pursue their own health, viewing 'health knowledge as something possessed by professionals who should disseminate it to target groups when needed.' Some had mistakenly expected project participation to give them access to such professionals to help them, or that this might be a route to solve other local problems such as poor street lighting. Bønnelycke variously talks about the Husum interviews – and families – as 'chaotic', declaring 'the fundamental principle of the participants being co-producers and considered a creative resource and partner in the project was completely misplaced in this setting' and that 'those that participated didn't participate in the way that we would like them to.' Possibly more self-critically she at one point recognises that 'the project produced "right" and "wrong" kinds of participation and "good" and "bad" participants'.

Partly to mitigate the difficulties with the family interviews in Husum, attempts were made to con-

tact, and participate in the activities of, some of the pre-existing organisations concerned with the inhabitants of the area, such as the local municipal health centre and a housing association – with mixed success. Organisation leaders reported their ongoing difficulties in developing community spirit and democratic participation along expected [i.e. middle-class Danish] lines. Two types of 'outreach' events were organised in an attempt to create 'positive communal experiences'. The fun run day, however, disappointed, attracting only a small number of participants, mostly ethnic Danes. The three annual 'Xbus' trips to Experimentarium were taken up more enthusiastically, although we do not learn if they resulted in any subsequent independent visits. They offered free transport, free after-hours entry and a meal to those Husum residents who signed up. Providing a situation where the participants 'felt safe, among neighbours, not divergent, not a minority', the events seem to have been generally enjoyed and appreciated, with gratitude expressed for the opportunity to meet fellow locals not previously spoken to. Even here however, there were divergences between actual and expected behaviour, most especially at the third event where some of the young men engaged in what Bønnelycke calls 'enactments of status competition' and the PULSE project manager termed 'chaos'. Adults also often saw the visit as an occasion to sit and socialise with each other, leaving children to stray from the expected family control – 'some did not even try exhibits'. In a more ordered, but also unexpected move, some of the women and older girls spontaneously helped with the food dispensing and with clearing up.

There were also disconcertments at the next stage of the project – the actual exhibition design, in which the Husum sample, because of their late recruitment, did not directly participate, [although some later, also with difficulty, product-tested for an exercise-encouraging mobile phone app – the 'pocket dog']. The three co-design workshops with some of the Hellerup families seemed to suffer from tight timing constraints on the 'highly choreographed' range of 'exercises' set by the design team – a co-design manual 'prescribing minute by minute activities, methods and expected outputs' is mentioned. But there were 'deeper' problems. Not least the ethnographic information Bønnelycke brought to the designers initially disappointed and confused them because it did not immediately point to creatable product. Bønnelycke speaks of 'the frustrations among designers looking for ways to translate ethnological field work into design ideas and of participants in translating design exercises into real life action and behaviour change.'

The Executive Director referred to the way his life had been changed by an exhibition authoritatively explaining the dangers of smoking, and wanted the team to create something with equally transformative potential. But Bønnelycke was unhappy about aiming for what she sometimes refers to as a 'positivistic', top-down, dispensing of knowledge certified by unchallengable experts, to passive recipients. This may be because her theoretical ventures into parts of the Science and Technology Studies literature suggested that 'truth' is a social construct, always relative to prior presuppositions, something that can be multiple or negotiated. Here, however, she seems more concerned with the mode of *transmission* of the knowledge to be made available in the exhibition, than its ontological status. Along with the other project members she appears to take the benefits of an active life style as given, but favoured exhibition visitors being encouraged to co-participate in arriving at this conclusion and establishing ways to act upon it for themselves.

Bønnelycke's own ethnography also indicated the inappropriateness of a 'choice and behaviour' model – i.e. one premised on isolated individuals who, once provided with authoritative knowledge will choose to act appropriately. For, as previously noted, [and congruent with her interest in 'performative actor network theory'] it is embeddedness in the 'concrete socio-material setting' of their households, rather than simple ignorance, that is presented as limiting the health-related activities of the Hellerup participants. Thus she preferred a 'care-based', 'tinkering' approach, 'encouraging reflection' and persons' own discovery of whatever improvements they could practically make in their particular circumstances. And this was what the exhibition ultimately embodied via its MidPoint section where neither Hellerup nor Husum families were to be made to feel guilty about their existing practices. Meanwhile the 'crazy rooms' were to generate positive experiences of 'exercise as a pleasurable and fun activity' – 'fun' according to Experimentarium's website being a good facilitator of learning – and, we might suppose, a visitor attractant. A scoping literature review and a short research trip to

America, which possibly occurred *after* the PULSE exhibition design sessions got under way, pointed to a general trend towards conceptualising museums as 'fora for discussion of socio-scientific issues where visitors are to actively participate in the generation of knowledge'. They also suggested Experimentarium managed to avoid the disfavoured 'positivist learning paradigm' more effectively than many other centres. However, PULSE's move beyond the 'choice and behaviour' model doesn't seem to extend to encouraging participant critique of broader social structural factors. The Mid Point probes may have moved beyond presenting health as the responsibility of the isolated individual who should be told what to do. But visitors were only asked to consider tweaking their own family practices, not for example to envisage engaging in collective action with non-family members to improve the impact of workplace and urban design on people's health.

In offering an overall evaluation of *Have Fun*, I find the ethnography potentially more interesting than the assorted literature reviews and theory presentations. But it's not without its problems. I would have liked, for example, to learn more about how relations between the museum's design team and the other project members functioned. What were the designers' aesthetic principles? Who had the greatest impact on the final form of the exhibition? But a greater weakness, given Bønnelycke's mission to understand how the needs of 'underserved categories could be better met', is the thinness of the information she actually provides about the views and practices of the Husum sample, which, as we have seen, she had some difficulty interviewing. Rather surprisingly we learn nothing about whether their material circumstances affected their willingness or ability to visit Experimentarium, whose website currently shows its entry fees as 115 DKK for children 3–11 and 195 DKK for adults. Having been told that 'understanding the performances of the good life is pivotal for any efforts to facilitate change' we hear little about what a good life would look like to the Husum families. We are told that they tended to see health problems as the sphere of the professional, but not, for example, how they viewed the relationship between exercise and health. What levels of exercise did they feel appropriate for different family members and how did they distribute responsibility for family health within the household – all relevant issues for health promotion initiatives. What were their intra-familial power relations like? Individuals-in-households are constrained and enabled by 'practicalities' [including museum entry costs] but also by culturally-derived norms and dispositions. Were the age and gender roles of Husumites of non-European background different from those typical of middle-class Danes? Though Bønnelycke notes women separating themselves out to perform 'domestic' activities at the Xbus events, she doesn't seem to query whether segregation of activity by gender was more widespread. Were some of the female subjects from migrant backgrounds constrained by norms defining appropriate behaviour in front of males or strangers – norms which might have affected how they responded to being interviewed alongside their husbands by someone they didn't know and which could also have influenced what they would be happy doing in the exhibition's public spaces? [Is it only 'lack of confidence' that can make people unwilling to 'jump, dance, sweat and risk falling' in front of others?] Bønnelycke was self-confessedly disconcerted by the Husum families, but I'd have liked her to have explored means by which they might have been presented much more subtly and in detail on their own terms, rather than as chaotically deviant from 'normal' Danes or from what she had expected.

My second 'difficulty' with *Have Fun* is its complicated structure. Perhaps because produced as an Industrial PhD, it doesn't provide the straight [and entirely single authored] read-through of a 'standard' doctorate. Instead, an Introduction and main chapters authored by Bønnelycke, are followed by four separate articles, already published elsewhere or seeking publication – three co-authored, Bønnelycke's 'Concluding Discussions', and then, a further jointly authored article and two sets of appended material and tables. Each of the articles has its own particular focus, partly duplicating, partly expanding on the material presented in the main body of the text, which often cross-references forwards to them. Other publications linked to the PULSE project, are also briefly mentioned, some dealing with general visitor reception of the final exhibition – something largely ignored in this volume. Doubtless the PULSE team wanted to publicise its efforts through multiplying its publications, but as a product in itself, *Have Fun* would have offered a much reader-friendlier [and shorter] experience in a unified format. Poor production values are also some-

times disconcertingly intrusive, as when the reader has to confront diagrams and tables in near unreadable font sizes or requests to, for example, 'please insert Figure I Flow chart of search strategy around here'. Nonetheless, as an insight into the complexities of, and ambitions involved in, a many-layered project of this type, *Have Fun* is a worthwhile effort. It provides a cautionary tale for those who think interdisciplinary co-operation is an easy option, or that there is necessarily a straightforward, one-size-fits-all method that museum-based health promotions can mobilise to secure meaningful participation by all sections of a class stratified and culturally diverse general public.

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History and Collective Memory in Football Narratives

Katarzyna Herd, "We Can Make New History Here". Rituals of Producing History in Swedish Football Clubs. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 19, Lund University 2018. 304 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-88899-02-6.

■ I first met Katarzyna Herd on a cold and windy autumn evening watching a match at Olympia in Helsingborg, and I met her doctoral dissertation in the same situation. When her thesis starts, however, she is in the standing section in the Malmö FF stadium and the year is 2013 and she is about to get a feel for her topic, just before starting her fieldwork. A banner with the name of Pichi Alonso was explained to her as an important part of Malmö FF's history. Displaying Pichi's name like that was a way to remind players and supporters from IFK Göteborg that they were not good enough. Pichi was a symbol of defeat for Göteborg since he had made them lose a very important match in the 1980s. And for Herd this is a way to say that her dissertation will show how history is produced, performed and played within the creative, innovative and unpredictable environment of football stadiums.

The title of the thesis refers to a saying of an MFF player and is supposed to show the importance of history. History in elite male football is the theme of this thesis, she states, as the tool, the process and the end product both for her theoretical toolbox and for the clubs in their rhetoric. She sees football as influential in shaping values and attitudes in Western cultures and believes that analysing history production in this context may reveal something about how collective memory, emotions and performance can influence individuals.

In the intersection of the research fields of history, ethnology and sport studies she guides us through perspectives of change, fluidity and flexibility in the production of history by describing how she will analyse the meaning of memory, myth, ritual, magic, materiality and performance. The focus is on narratives from four Swedish football clubs: AIK established in 1891 and Djurgårdens IF established a few months later, Helsingborgs IF established in 1907 and Malmö FF in 1910. The main aim is to show what the production of history means for the understanding of history. Questions about historical narratives in the football context are asked in relation to how history is performed.

The theoretical frame around collective memory, as understood by Jan and Aleida Assman, using the terms cultural memory and communicative memory, is crucial. The concepts of collective, communicative, social and cultural memory are used throughout the thesis to trace approaches to the past. Using rites and rituals to transform communicative memory into cultural memory is important, and since Herd sees many magical qualities involved in the rituals and rites of football, this has come to play an important part in her analysis. A ritual consists of both emotions and cultural performance, and therefore she uses Sara Ahmed's approach to how feelings are framed and embodied in symbols. Magic needs rites and rituals to be performed, and not only does magic depend on performance, even a story needs performance as a contextual meaning to become a narrative and it needs a specific spatio-temporal setting. Materiality is of special importance in this study, since it connects the historical narratives, with the help of things like scarves and banners, to the performative history production. History can be found in objects and through the human usage of objects.

The narratives that Herd collected in her fieldwork are not just stories but are used analytically as composed of different stories with different functions, and they can also include materiality. She argues that narratives have to be discussed together with terms like texts and intertextuality, as coined by the philosopher of language Julia Kristeva. Like Roland Barthes, Kristeva sees the meaning of the

text not as something that actually resides in the text, but as something that is produced by the reader in relation to many other texts. Narrative elements make a story into a story and a myth into a myth. The concept of myth is very important in this study. It is a special form of narrative used in rituals. Barthes calls it a type of speech chosen by history. Herd's fieldwork involved shadowing, observing and becoming a witness to all the ceremonies, rites and activities performed in the 26 matches that she attended between 2014 and 2018. She has also done individual interviews with 43 persons and two focus groups among supporters, people working for the clubs, players, former players, security and police. She has also done shorter spontaneous interviews which she calls football chats. The thesis also rests on a vast amount of material from Internet ethnography, photos, printed publications such as newspapers, albums, club histories and novels.

We learn about historical recycling, when the focus is on the meaning of age, memorabilia, materials from the past and collective memory. In the football genealogy narratives always start with the date of the establishment of the club, like founding myths. Herd argues that cultural capital based on old age allows clubs to contest each other and even mock rivals. Being older means more traditions, history and prestige. History produces social value, as the fans say, the team is forever, meaning that the protagonists are replaceable, and the club will continue regardless. There is a genealogical discussion about birth points, days of creation, founding fathers, the establishment of mythical time anchored in the past, showing that history is recyclable through the way it is expressed and performed in narratives that consist of stories, scarves, shirts, printed publications. Nietzsche's concept of monumental history and Foucault's genealogy help her to show that football can be useful either in explaining why they need financial support or why they need to be in the highest league. Memorabilia, trophies like medals, old shoes, balls and other artefacts strengthen the narratives. Massive jubilee books also support the collective memory of feelings and acquire what Herd calls museum-like qualities. She uses Baudrillard's analysis of the values of signs to show how football memorabilia can be converted into collective memory and emotions for sale.

Analytically she sees strong history used to show off a club's position as a mix of what Assman calls communicative and cultural memory. Or as the cultural historian Henry Glassie puts it, history is an artful assembly of materials from the past designed for the usefulness in the future. Different time frames change how the past is produced as history. One kind of time used in football is *cosmogonic time*, as presented by the geographer Tuan. This is a kind of time that leaves its mark on space, thereby sanctioning it. By emphasizing their belonging to football rites, with strong involvement and repetitiveness, interpretations are constructed that sustain a *time outside time*. *Pockets of time* are additionally created around special places like stadiums to show how sustainable memory is created alongside history. To become a monument in the collective memory, however, it has to be *communicatively situated* with all the contents of a *narrative: discourse, story and use*.

Herd has an important discussion of intertextual reading and the ritualistic way that memory is structured, which shows how arenas and matches are filled with intertextual messages and every group is constituted in tracing memories around intertextual interpretations. Texts and textual elements are performed through rituals that employ materiality like flags and produce history. Performative engagement such as drumming, chants, and so on are crucial for the rituals to be fulfilled. Football changes but there is a collective memory that creates structures for remembering.

Putting stickers around town takes the protected football museum to the street, Herd says, and there is background information needed to interpret the narratives that the stickers feed on local mythology and historical references. There are narratives of origin, narratives of conflicts, hooligan encounters etc. exposed in places like toilets and lampposts. We learn that the stickers are small materialized narratives than can be reused. With the help of Sara Ahmed, Herd has found that stickers form a materiality that brings the past into the present in the images and ties emotions of the past to them. This is to show that history is produced even in such a humble activity as putting up stickers around town.

In a chapter about history versus money and about class markers, we meet a consumer-oriented approach, where history acts as a specific form of cultural capital. A young, new, financially strong club is mocked by Djurgården for having bought its

success. Interviewed fans and club officials remark that money has come at the cost of identity. There is too much money and commercial pressure in modern football. Becoming commercialized means losing the soul of football, says a fan. However, history can be used to counterbalance foreign investments. That historical narratives downplay the role of money is what Herd has found describing MFF's struggle between tradition and new money, when entering the Champions League in 2014. MFF's history and traditions counterbalance financial investments and it is not just about the club's history; it also involves a construction where a working-class connection is important. Working-class myths are told in relation to working-class cities which the newer clubs cannot relate to, e.g. all interviews with MFF referred to the club's roots in the working-class movement, the social democrats and Eric Persson – a former MFF chairman. The working-class connection stresses continuity and stability.

Even a shirt can acquire historical meaning, as when it is produced as grey like AIK's retro shirt. This bows to AIK's mythology: both to the club nickname *Gnaget*, the gnawing rat being the symbol of the club, and to the history of the club in the 1920s when it is said that their black shirts became grey because they had to be washed so much since AIK then was poor and did not have money to buy new black shirts. This, however, requires quite a bit of intertextual interpretation to be understood. Another interesting way for a shirt to become history of its own is when angry masked fans approached Jordan Larsson to try to take off his red and blue shirt after the match when HIF had been relegated from *Allsvenskan*. Taking back the colours from an important player was a symbolic act, what Herd calls a reverse rite to mark him as "other".

Shirts and colours are also materialities needed for the clubs to produce history, but stadiums and pitches are even stronger holders of emotions and memories.

Geographical elements such as regions, stadiums and even grass can be used to show how memories have spatial relations rather than temporal ones. Memories are arranged by place and space rather than by time. What elements of spatial historical narratives are useful? Territoriality is an important part of how football clubs produce history. Their names, for instance, relate to the place where they belong. Regional belonging is used both as pride and as insult. Intertextual reading forms an important part in the analysis here. One text is related to others in complex meanings. The past is understood as a form of *cultural inventory,* but only for those who have access to it. Texts on banners, flags etc. depend on complex knowledge and on a broader understanding of the history of clubs, relating to their belonging.

Stadiums are mythologized as homes. Herd describes them as liminal, heterotopic constructions that allow people to participate in rituals not appropriate elsewhere. Using Aleida Assman's statement that places own a *mnemonic power* through their ability to bear memories, she shows how this agency makes football homes enter into different narrative contexts and stir emotions. In a dramatic narrative of a lost home, the demolished stadium of Råsunda, Herd delivers a thick analysis that brings up many questions about place, space, topophilia, heterotopia, cosmogonic time as well as answers concerning historical production, memory storage, places for rituals and sacrifices, identity-building narratives, textualizing, de- and retextualizing and intertexts, showing how communicative and cultural memory work as monuments of collective memory.

An interesting discussion of how the very materiality of grass on the pitch can be described as an *actant* in a narrative that produces history shows that, since artificial grass has come into use, natural grass has become an ideal from the past, strongly connected with spirituality, the good old days and mythical time. It is even grown locally. A pitch can play a special role in constructing failure or success; the grass can enhance both victory and failure.

The focus throughout the thesis is on collective identities produced through references to the past, group identities seen through the lens of spectators, supporters who build identities through collective involvement. A narrative analysis based on Sara Ahmed's theories shows how AIK has nurtured its strength on dark narratives, such as being hated, dangerous and disliked. Herd finds it an affective investment that ties together love and hate. It is a possible way to have an identity. Using the symbols of an established narrative like the dark memories of the Black Army from the 1990s became a way, on an intertextual level, to relate to supporters. She identifies the hatred against AIK as a traditional

thread in a narrative that builds and affirms, "*let them hate us as long as they fear us*", as officials and players of AIK say. Past conflicts are used to strengthen a myth. The angry rat used as a symbol for the Black Army supporters club is also narrated as a way to refer to the olden days. She sees the rat saga as metafiction.

Performing group identity can happen in opposition, and even if the group is small, with the right rituals, chants, banners, flags, smoke bombs, drums and stories it may attract supporters, clubs and media, as is the case with ultras. There is also a narrative among supporters of "old versus young" meaning "us versus them". What they have in common, however, is the meaning of doing something together, sharing memories as a collective.

It is underlined throughout the thesis that players themselves are not important, they are just tools in the game. They have limited possibilities to enter the collective memory. The players are just *actants* in the narratives, simply filling roles in producing history. However, the construction of the temporary hero of HIF, Henrik Larsson, can be useful, when needed. He came back as a coach at the same time as the club was going down. He was a gleam of hope. He expressed feelings for the club, he was both a football hero and a local hero in Helsingborg. He was talked into his own narrative by the fans, making him a legend, a strong symbol as the biggest player ever. His story agreed very well with the club's long and rich history.

At the same time villains are needed as a contrast to heroes, and Herd explains how a dark narrative of a bad player can be used to produce the history of Malmö FF as a mocking history. It is a story about sexual abuse that one player was convicted of. Players like these become contagious as their demeanour permeates their club's supporters and team mates. They become a magic tool in a magic rite. An insult like this can last for years.

In investigating rituals, collective memory, narrative, myth, performance and materiality Herd has found possible structures of historical production in football in special secluded spaces. She has found that histories are flexible narratives and she sees the clubs as a certain form of institutions and myths as results of producing history, not only side effects. There are different types of time in football, and players' stories exemplify different time flows. There is ongoing history-making in the heterotopia of football that constitutes the engagement to mix collective memories, emotions, materiality and performances in creating collective identity.

In using her strong toolbox throughout the presentation, she has managed to show how the production of history in these four football clubs has provided a deeper understanding of such collective environments and how they are established, maintained and contested by historical narration. Adequate material is used, with a clear methodological account. The findings are new and unexpected, in a good sense, since she is using unusual ways to combine concepts and ideas. It can be said that this thesis relies on many old male giants, but there are also younger female giants like Aleida Assman, Sara Ahmed and Susan Stewart that make important contributions to Herd's analysis.

Before this dissertation there was no investigation of how football or football narratives are anchored in the past. Now there is and it is well done. If football is the biggest sport in the world, the findings here are certainly relevant for how values and attitudes are shaped in Western cultures.

However, there are also things that can be discussed, such as materialized objects or illustrations and unnecessary namedropping, and the unused analytical possibilities about differences between time, the past and history or what it really means that something is communicatively situated. References to Lefebvre about symbolic space could have been elaborated, and there is a strong emphasis on HIF. Obviously, this has become her favourite club, although she does not state why. As presented, HIF has everything needed to produce the best history, the same stadium over time, a solid collective memory to build collective identities from, routines for the magical use of myths of a true hero etc. There could have been more comparisons.

Herd says that she wants to use photos as method, not material and treat them as texts. But photos are still mainly used as illustrations and not really either analytically or methodologically, as for instance a photo of the Mush shirt.

Every now and then the text suffers from some namedropping, as with Beverly Skeggs' critique of cultural capital in favour of symbolic capital. It is just stated, never really used, though it could have been useful in the parts where working-class symbolism is discussed. There certainly is no need for

more theorists in this thesis, but I can still see that instead of just commenting on Reinhardt Kosselleck's future past from another theorist I would have preferred a discussion of Koselleck's comprehensive approach to time.

To engage with the past is the same as to produce it Herd writes. But can we produce the past? Isn't it just history we can produce? This is also Tuan's sense of cosmogonic time. It has implications for how the past is made into history. There is also a problem with the use of topophilia, which is the affective bond between people and place. This is a primary theme of both Tuan's book on place and space and of Herd's analysis. But it is not Tuan himself that presents the term, but a sport sociologist. Using Tuan more explicitly could have put a stronger emphasis on how power works, not least the relationship between collective memory, mnemonic power and how it is used in the construction of collective identities.

This is a methodology-driven thesis, strong and tight in its analysis at the same time as it vividly presents the scene where football is performed. Many well-informed observations, chats, shadowings, along with several supporters, players, former players, policemen, safety guards, and others have contributed to a rich presentation. There are constant explanatory digressions which themselves create new knowledge. Place and space could have been clarified, time and history problematized more. Using Kristeva on intertextuality could have made a good analysis even better, but there is always more to do and what has been done is good enough. Besides the well accomplished, stringent analysis, there are many small but important things that contribute to the good structure, such as the well formulated chapter titles, which fittingly encapsulate what can be expected under them. Fine summarizing expressions – human museums, shirts as wearable history, flaming scarves as symbolic destruction of enemies before battles, or memory that culturally mutates into a tradition – are short expressions filled with analytical meaning.

Katarzyna Herd's dissertation should serve as a role model in ethnology. It has a lot to teach us about both material and theoretical analysis in our subject.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

Using Estate Inventories as Evidence

Niklas Huldén, Kustbor och det materiella arvet. Upptecknad egendom som indikator för kulturell anpassning i sydvästra Finlands skärgård 1700–1900. Åbo Akademis förlag – Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo 2018. 498 (+ 4) pp. Ill. Diss. English Summary. ISBN 978-951-765-899-7.

■ In the Faculty of Humanities, Psychology and Theology at Åbo Akademi University, Niklas Huldén has now gained his doctorate in Nordic ethnology. As the title and the number of pages indicate, he has examined in detail the artefact culture of the Åboland archipelago during two centuries. The foundation is a kind of source material that is familiar to ethnologists but nowadays tends to be forgotten: estate inventories.

In the dissertation he investigates the inheritance flows of artefact populations, leading to an all-round picture of what the situation was supposed to be like, based both on legislation and on local perceptions of what was significant, and how this changed over time. People's lives are reflected through the material world, but *not* the ideas it contained or factors such as agency. The objects are instead regarded as indicators of adapted survival strategies. It is presupposed that the artefacts really were used. Their number and evaluation, or special categorization under separate headings, is assumed to correspond to their relative importance to the owner, and these premises lead to the two main questions posed by the dissertation: (1) Can a person's main livelihood be distinguished from sideline forms of subsistence through the material culture in different parts of the archipelago, and (2) How did this change between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century? The theory of cultural ecology is employed to explain why certain objects were documented and others were not, which leads on to further questions or subsidiary aims: (3) Estate inventories as a source and their potential to shed light on the main questions, and to some extent (4) How the estate inventories reflect the general organizational development of society.

The author's starting point has been the project "Change in Environment – Change in Society", initiated at the start of the 1990s, and this has steered the choice of both period and geography. Circumstances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are studied through a straight line from Virmoviken

in the north out to Kökar in the Åland Islands. The corpus includes 315 probate inventories from 15 present-day municipalities in the "longitudinal zones" of the archipelago, which are at once popularly based and scientifically established, but with the addition of a "coastal zone". The whole area may be said to have been relatively homogeneous in social terms, with few heirs (i.e. with lower nativity than on the mainland) and with relatively few outright poor people. The main sources of livelihood here were animal husbandry and fishing. Until some years into the nineteenth century the population grew as a result of in-migration into formerly uninhabited areas, and this resulted in greater importance for fishing. An investigation area that is in some respects homogeneous appears to be essential for being able to distinguish features to do with people's cultural-ecological adaptation to natural conditions, in order to distinguish these from economic, demographic, or other factors to do with social class and so on. There are of course advantages and disadvantages in being steered by a project. Among the disadvantages is, it seems, the long period covered and the geography where the estate inventories are not optimally preserved. The advantages include the project's contributions to the state of research, the shared attitude to theoretical literature, and so on. The protracted character of the work on the project is noticeable in the dissertation in that it was started and took shape before modern technical facilities were accessible in the form of computer support and software or the digitization of relevant sources. This is not the author's fault, and in fact the large amount of work expended turns out to have led to greater reflection and deeper insights.

The state of research is summed up by the author mainly in connection with the formulation of the methodological goal of the dissertation, that is to say, chiefly covering previous studies based essentially on estate inventories. The account is systematic, with studies from different countries, with a certain bias towards Finland, followed by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Britain/USA/Canada. The aim is to emphasize certain studies in order to follow their presentation principles and make comparisons with the author's own study. On the other hand, the first two aims of the dissertation, to say something about sources of livelihood and their changes over time, are not primarily covered in the account of the state of research; instead this is done in the separate chapters. A survey of previous research on artefacts might have been warranted, although the cited works do of course concern various kinds of artefact studies. There is some polemic in the dissertation against earlier artefact studies in that the terminology has become far too abstract and simplified in comparison with the diversity in reality. The author tries to counteract this through a "close reading" of the estate inventories with the necessary source criticism. Though the degree of source criticism varies in the dissertation, it achieves congruence through the iterative treatment of how the sources record objects, which involves complexity in order to avoid gross simplifications of causality and geographical or chronological differences. Here the author provides several good example with well-founded arguments.

The theme of the dissertation is ecological anthropology (Hardesty 1977; Moran 2000). The environment as an explanatory factor occurs in three different forms, evaluated along a falling scale: (1) Environmental determinism, (2) Possibilism, (3) Interactionism. But when we come to the results of the dissertation, it seems to be the case that nature is considered to provide the conditions for different livelihoods, but it does not explain the processes of change over time because the physical environment does not change in such a short time as the period covered by the study. It is instead "societal linkages", such as organizational adaptation with shares in cooperative fishing, windmills and the like that are more decisive. Actually, the author talks more about the emergence of institutions (regulations at different levels) and of markets, but this is not pursued theoretically. This appears somewhat contradictory in relation to the introduction to the dissertation, where we read that Julian Steward's controversial ideas about cultural change (1955) will be applied here in a form of cultural-ecological theory which avoids a determinist outlook by searching for the "cultural core", or the interaction between tools and technology and the environment for people's ability to survive, and which explains cultural change in terms of culture affecting the environment, which means, in other words, bringing anthropology and biology closer together. For a Swedish ethnologist this leads one's thoughts to Ake Daun's *Det allmänmänskliga och det kulturbundna* (1999) and *Arv och miljö* (2009), as he spent his last years publishing works about culture as an extension of

biology, or the cultural sciences as a part of the natural sciences, based on the increasingly rich literature on the subject after 1955.

Another central goal of the dissertation is to contribute to methodological development. Bearing elements here are comparison – time and space – and whether the picture obtained agrees with previous studies and, not least of all, can withstand rigorous source criticism. Of course it is perfectly all right to investigate matters concerning the directly quoted empirical data in the estate inventories, that is, the inheritance flows, in this case as regards the artefacts. Yet I would say that we are witnessing a kind of paradigm shift in the way scholars use the information in estate inventories, especially in the research field of financial history, by instead creating estimates of the circumstances of the living population and then performing the analyses on an abstract level above that of the empirical evidence. In these studies the relative proportions of the living and the deceased population, the mortality rate, is used as a factor to calculate the values stated in the estate inventories by inverting the mortality figures for men and women in different age groups. The author knows about this approach but gives his reason for not using it, namely, that the same object is inherited and reused over generations. This is no doubt a reasonable assumption for the entire period when the second-hand market (auctions) was crucial for consumption, at least in rural areas. But the point of the technique of inverted mortality is that the *proportions* between different artefact groups end up different, and thus the "value percentage" calculated by the author – that is, the share of the estate's gross property constituted by the different artefact groups – would probably turn out different among the living population in comparison with the deceased. This would paint a different picture of the ownership of silver objects or of livestock. The results would quite simply have a greater scope. But – and this deserves to be repeated in every context – research is of course free, and the choice and benefit of methods is determined by the research questions.

The methodological sections of the dissertation also consider how the estate inventories reflect changes which were a part of modernization and the emergence of a society with more efficient administration, with estate inventories as a form of ritual in this connection, and how this changed over time. The overall context here I perceive as a transition from the prevailing view of "the limited good" (Foster 1965) in a traditional society, which stresses the demand for fairness within the framework of peasant rationality but which does not oppose innovation in itself. This is in contrast to the efforts during the Enlightenment, when tried and tested methods were confronted with new technology (and the risk it entails). In other words, there is an understandable continuity in the discontinuity. The author nevertheless arrives at the conclusion that "the limited good" is not so clearly reflected in the estate inventories.

As regards the main findings of the dissertation, these may appear somewhat obvious, or not so terribly surprising: that there was a diversification of different livelihoods as a way to cope with natural variations in harvests, fishing catches, and so on, with a clearer focus on agriculture that became weaker the further out from the mainland one comes, whereas fishing became more important the further out in the archipelago people lived. This is based on 151 estate inventories which are not considered to suffer from any age bias but primarily represent "active" peasant households, and on literature that supports the picture of agriculture becoming more important where agriculture was possible.

The dissertation is none the less a highly praiseworthy and well-performed work that deserves attention both among those who are interested in the living conditions of the archipelago population in the past, and among those who are working today with estate inventories in whatever research field. Some of my main criticisms have to do with: (1) The problem of selection and the frequency of estate inventories, (2) Cases when the age of the deceased is not stated, (3) The fact that reporting principles in estate inventories changed over time, and (4) The way gender aspects are toned down.

The selection problem in the dissertation is due to an uneven distribution of sources from the different geographical areas and periods, which is a recurrent worry for the author. But in addition to that there is some unsystematic dropout on account of transcription difficulties, "defective" estate inventories, Finnish-language inventories that have not been selected, and so forth. This becomes particularly sensitive through the application of an emic perspective, where folk terminology is regarded as a reflection of the way people adapted to the environment. Nor is the frequency of estate inventories stated, that is, the relation between the number of people who died and

the number for whom estate inventories were compiled, which is significant for assessing the strength of the evidence. In one figure we are informed that Virmo Hundred has 750 extant estate inventories, some of which are included in the study, but other hundreds are represented in the dissertation. The author considers that the selection was greater in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth, which means that the significance stands out even more strongly. But it is uncertain whether the selection really is larger also in proportion to the increased population.

This has to do with difficulties in obtaining data from the population register, and this has also led the author to refrain from estimating the age of the deceased. Yet this would have given better possibilities to judge the quality of the material that is actually used. A few instances of very old people, and thus scarcely "active", have been identified with the aid of now digitized parish registers. It seems risky to do what the author has instead done, to proceed from the title of the deceased, that there were underage children, and that the person owned certain agricultural implements or draught animals, although this has been a tested technique ever since the (Swedish) scholarly studies of estate inventories in the 1970s and 1980s, and even as recently as those by the historian Pablo Wiking-Faria (2009) or the economic historian Marja Erikson (2018).

Although it is arithmetic mean values of artefact stocks per household that are analysed, it is also problematic that the presentation of artefacts in the estate inventories becomes increasingly detailed when we enter the nineteenth century. More objects are recorded then than in the eighteenth century. The author is also fully aware of the weakness of the eighteenth-century analyses. The centre of gravity in the material, moreover, is towards the end of the eighteenth century, which makes me wonder about the point of the chronological analysis. In research about the Industrial Revolution there is talk of "the long nineteenth century", referring to the fact that changes in society have longer causal connections than we might think. This expression seems even more relevant when it comes to studies of cultural changes that take place slowly.

Because of the officiators' or the appraisers' heavy influence on the content of the estate inventories and the value of the objects, the author has also chosen to tone down the gender perspective, with the justification that it is the entire household's objects that are listed. Nor are gender aspects considered to affect what is *not* recorded in the estate inventories. Yet there are references in the dissertation to certain differences between female and male estate inventories, for example, in the recording of clothing and in the fact that there was less cash in households where a woman's estate inventory was compiled. Likewise, there are obviously gendered differences in the recording of shoe buckles and tools for textile making. Gender-specific influences ought to be expected in source material created exclusively by men. Wendy Lucas and Noel Campbell, in the article "Unwritten Rules and Gendered Frames amongst Probate Appraisers? Evidence from Eighteenth-century York County, Virginia" *(Essays in Economic & Business History,* vol. 36, 2018, 47–94), have claimed that the probate inventories compiled for deceased women in eighteenth-century America differ from those for men: "Although attractive as data sources, researchers have long known that probate materials can be difficult to use. Researchers have rarely written about gender as a source of difficulty, but our results suggest that localized, gender-related behavior by appraisers could further complicate using probate materials to study phenomena ranging from the diffusion of consumer goods or of technology, to the integration of markets, and the growth and distribution of wealth. [...] We should think critically, carefully, and locally about what sorts of possessions might be included or excluded." Although the authors of the article do not yet appear to have come so far in their consequence analysis, they find that in women's probate inventories the male appraisers choose to lump groups of objects together more roughly, applying an inferior, more generic recording of details than for male inventories. The following objects have a tendency to disappear from the record, alongside "the widow's bed": chickens, laundry equipment, spinning wheels, pottery used for food, sewing equipment, and certain textiles. Huldén has been able to make interesting comparable observations about the Åboland archipelago in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but without making much of them, despite the express methodological ambitions of the dissertation. But one can nevertheless say that the dissertation is well timed when it comes to the international research interest.

Readers of Niklas Huldén's doctoral dissertation will find many valuable discussions, for example about the concrete setup of a study, which will be useful for others wondering about comparable problems, such as the principle of saturation (falling marginal yield) which governs the required amount of empirical data. The handling of the data is described in detail, reflecting in its own way the technological development that took place in the course of the work. Retaining the "scaffolding" through the author's transparent analyses sheds light on the difficulties of interpreting the content of the estate inventories and helps to nuance the quantitative results obtained. This seems both methodologically justified and valuable. Reflections on quality versus quantity are interesting, explaining the innovative and instructive presentation of the mean values in the dissertation.

A great deal of life in the archipelago is *not* described in the estate inventories, the author observes. This illustrates his deliberate limitation to a single type of source material, the "monolithic" character of the work, as opposed to its methodological pluralism with a consistent research attitude. The author ends by reasoning about the concept of ecology, but he prefers "economic foresight" or "rationality" – or why not "sustainable development", to link up with today's political problems, although it is a tautology, for if a development is not sustainable it is scarcely development?

As so often, a researcher in the humanities faces two crucial choices: between access to copious data and the possibility to generalize. The author of this dissertation has been there too. The exceedingly detailed discussion of method all through the text contains observations and reflections of unusual strength, which deserve attention from anyone doing any kind of research based on estate inventories (if they can read Swedish). The author has had numerous opportunities for reflection, he has received well-informed comments in the course of the work, and in addition he has formulated everything in elegant language.

With his dissertation Niklas Huldén has presented solid new knowledge with some approaches that are innovative, and we may hope that this will provide a foundation for a renewed academic interest in research on artefacts based on estate inventories in the discipline of ethnology as well. The terminology and theoretical reasoning are good, although not fully visible throughout the dissertation. The consistent research attitude must be reckoned as one of the chief merits of the study. The author's knowledge of the material and the constant application of source criticism of the evidence leaves little to be desired. The author displays a coherent whole, albeit a complicated one, using lucid argumentation. Niklas Huldén demonstrates critical thinking, originality, and independence, not least by refraining from the currently prevalent approaches to artefact research, because the chosen source material does not lend itself well to these. He has thereby shown that all the classical research questions still have not been exhausted. There is hope for future researchers.

Anders Perlinge, Stockholm

Post Socialist Experience

Jenny Ingridsdotter, The Promises of the Free World: Post Socialist Experience in Argentina and the Making of Migrants, Race and Coloniality. Södertörns Högskola, Huddinge 2017. 300 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87843-87-7.

■Many studies of migration document the experiences of third-world, 'non-white', ex-colonial subjects seeking asylum or better living conditions in the advanced economies of the Northern hemisphere. In interesting contrast, Ingridsdotter's *The Promises of the Free World: Post Socialist Experience in Argentina and the Making of Migrants, Race and Coloniality,* deals with 'white', Eastern Europeans who, in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, left Russia and the Ukraine, travelling South to a not entirely freely-chosen new life in Argentina. The latter has its own complex colonial history and, despite often claiming to be the most 'European' country on its continent, enjoys peripheral rather than secure first world status. The 'relocationary trajectories' of Ingridsdotter's subjects, moreover, were complicated by major financial and economic breakdown in Argentina in 2001, meaning that, unexpectedly, their move was from one crisis or 'dislocatory' situation to another.

The work provides variously sourced background information on Argentinean history, viewed largely through the prism of migration, thereby contextualising the Menem government's readiness to accept what turned out to be about 10,000 ex-Soviet migrants, under Resolution MI 4632/94. We learn that

the Spanish first arrived in what was to become Argentina in 1516, with settlers gaining independence three hundred years later, after which successive national governments strongly fostered immigration. Their goals were largely economic, although frequently intertwined with the desire to create a population as 'white' and 'European' as possible. Perhaps surprisingly, although in line with Argentineans' own tendency to forget them, Ingridsdotter doesn't mention the pre-independence importation of Africans, [often via Brazil]. At the beginning of the 19th century [when slavery began to be abolished] they comprised around 30% of Buenos Aires' population – suggesting that in some circumstances economic profitability could over-ride other preferences. But, as Ingridsdotter does report, from the mid 19th century at least, economic growth, initially in the agricultural and then in the industrial sectors, was seen as highly congruent with specifically western European immigration, the fostering of which was even demanded by the1853 constitution. Europeans were understood as the key bearers of modernity, whilst migrants with indigenous backgrounds from neighbouring states represented backwardness. So too had the country's own indigenous population which was 'virtually annihilated by the Argentinean state at the end of the 19th century', its land often militarily appropriated in what Ingridsdotter refers to as a period of 'settler colonialism'. The positive encouragement of migrants from Europe reduced somewhat during the twentieth century – subsidy and land provision schemes were curtailed and visa requirements introduced and sharpened to discourage the wrong kind of newcomers [anarchists for example, and East European Jews]. The percentage of those born overseas has now greatly decreased from its early twentieth century high. Nonetheless, Resolution MI 4632/94, passed before the 2001 economic crisis [and possibly in the expectation of compensatory financial reward from first world states unwilling to absorb an ex-Soviet exodus] appears largely congruent with a long established positive evaluation of at least some types of immigrant.

Although apparently connected to both its patterns of immigration and global economic trends, the nature of Argentina's own economic development is less firmly sketched. Just how did a country which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, enjoyed booming export markets and higher per capita incomes than France or Germany, become characterised by recurrent economic [and political] crises, including that of 2001? Despite the author's interest in 'coloniality,' and assorted references to a globally widespread shift to neo-liberalism, this reader was not entirely clear how far the crises were caused by endogenous factors and how far by external relations to other more powerful economies, and institutions like the IMF.

Against the background of the general historical material, Ingridsdotter's research centres on her small sample of eight male and six female respondents, all but one Buenos Aires based, who arrived, mostly with other family members, between 1996 and 2001. They were internally differentiated by age and thus by whether their educational experience was entirely Soviet-based or not, and by the kind of jobs they held before migration and at their time of interview. Ingridsdotter does mention taking Russian lessons with one respondent 'to get a better understanding of her working life' and attending some events at 'the Russian embassy and other Russian and Ukrainian cultural associations and restaurants in Buenos Aires'. But the bulk of the original data she presents is drawn from her sample's interview-stimulated 'narrations' of their experiences. This is occasionally supplemented with 'auto-ethnographic' reference to the emotions the respondents evoked in her. And by comparison of their situation with her own as a privileged 'white' Swede who has, for reasons and in circumstances not fully explained, apparently lived in Argentina for quite some years. Most subjects appear to have been interviewed [in Spanish] only once, and often in public spaces – parks and cafés, rather than their own homes [which even when visited are not described – did their interior decoration, I wonder, 'speak of' a nostalgia for homeland or not?]. So, *Promises of the Free World* is not principally a field-study in which the researcher independently observes and participates in multi-faceted aspects of their subjects' lives over time. Nor does it systematically attempt to directly observe how the local population, officialdom or the media views or interacts with them.

It may be that the central focus on a limited number of interviews was influenced by practicalities. Ingridsdotter suggests she originally looked for Russian and Ukrainian subjects because they were easy to identify, but then found they frequently suspected her motives and were hard to get to talk to her. The snowballing approach she had hoped to use largely

failed, partly because the migrants lacked suitable contacts they could refer her to. She does mention people who got jobs through relatives and acquaintances or who worked for members of the earlier, already established, Ukrainian and Russian diaspora. One eventually became friends with other migrants whom she then found had had similar experiences to her own. But Ingridsdotter generally suggests 'the interviewees did not have much of a relationship with peers who had arrived at the same time as they had from Russia or Ukraine', and that connections with the earlier-established migrants and their collective institutions were sparse and often mutually suspicious. So, perhaps we don't get a 'community study' partly because there wasn't really a *community* of recent settlers to study. But more 'positively' Ingridsdotter feels she can relate her work to the Swedish ethnographic tradition of concentration on oral narratives. Moreover she sees the latter as relatable to the main theoretical orientation driving her work. This is discourse theory and particularly the [post-structuralist, post-Marxist] Political Discourse Theory [PDT] originally associated with Laclau and Mouffe.

Discourse perspectives suggest we access the world through discourses which, by influencing action, substantially shape the character of the social and material world as well as depict it. Discourses can exert power; not least through their potential to make what is socially constructed and potentially changeable appear as 'essential', given, unalterable. Of particular interest in the context of this study, PD theorists hold that identities, which subjects may feel to be 'natural', are actually contingent and discourse-dependent. For example, different 'racial' discourses may make the person who is 'self- evidently' 'black' in one society count as 'mixed- race' in another – raising the question of whether there is anything outside of the field of discourses themselves that contributes to accounting for why one interpretation should be dominant in one context and a different one in another. Why, to cite another relevant example, did 'the language and symbolism of state socialism [change] for that of a free market economy' and what 'dislocatory events' led to the replacement of discourses of cold war competition by those of inevitable neo-liberal victory? Ingridsdotter's own work sometimes explicitly refuses to 'go behind' the version of reality her respondents present her with. Speaking of their accounts of their Soviet lives she says 'this does not mean that I take either their words or the factual circumstances to be the truth of what happened. Rather I am interested in how discourse interacts with our personal narratives and construction of meaning.' Elsewhere, however, she provides 'external' data to substantiate or help explain their accounts. So, what kind of narratives did Ingridsdotter's respondents mobilise to understand the unanticipated circumstances in which they found themselves and frame the ways they chose to respond to them?

Ingridsdotter's older respondents mostly report, with some nostalgia, their rather privileged lives as valued higher-educated professionals in the old Soviet Union. They tell how, as the latter fragmented, the old economic system failed, and once secure jobs disappeared, they suffered hardship, uncertainty, violence and disorder – providing the motivation to move. They had wanted better opportunities for themselves and particularly their children whom they sometimes hoped to save from compulsory military service or the detrimental health effects of Chernobyl. Several mentioned their own spirit of adventure. But though their flight was freely chosen, they shared some characteristics with refugees as well as economic migrants; they would have remained in their homeland had it not been subject to major political and societal upheaval. As ex-Soviet era citizens they also lacked the freedom of movement of the international business professional. They would have preferred Canada, the USA or other parts of Europe as their destination but these were closed to them. So they arrived in an Argentina about which they knew very little, but which was prepared to accept them without expensive visas or prior employment contracts. They made decisions as to how to act, but only within the constraints of what was, and what they perceived to be, available to them. Nonetheless most arrived with hope – which was soon to be dashed.

All of those migrating as adults report hard and disappointing early experiences engendering many negative emotions. They seem to have arrived with little economic capital, to find the state help they had been led to expect by, for example, the somewhat mysterious 'migration agencies', failed to materialise. Did Argentina's own economic difficulties play a role, or as some respondents suspected, had money given by the international community been misappropriated by the government or the diasporic

organisations? On arrival they struggled with accommodation, not least because 'to find a place to rent in Buenos Aires…one had to present a guarantee from someone who owned properties, preferably in the capital.' Lacking such contacts, they mainly stayed in the very poor quality 'Family Hotels' or boarding houses with their shared facilities. A couple camped out at their place of work. Even more unexpected and resented were their employment difficulties. Despite what they saw as Argentina's need for their skills, the new arrivals' Soviet qualifications were not recognised. Hoped for support to help them retrain, re-qualify and regain professional status also failed to materialise. Initially hampered by their lack of Spanish, they thus mostly found gender-specific lowly manual, service and domestic sector work, where they often reported themselves as being poorly treated. As the economic crisis kicked in, competition with locals, including those who previously would have shunned these kinds of work, increased, though the migrants apparent reputation for honesty and hard work may have continued to help them here.

Ingridsdotter reports that the majority had gradually improved their housing and also their occupational status, by the time of their post crisis interviews [between 2012 and 2014]. However, only one of the older respondents [remarried to an Argentinean] had regained the kind of position they had originally enjoyed in the Soviet Union. The younger migrants who had moved with family and completed their education in their new homeland did better, as is reflected in their current white-collar occupations. We are told that they were generally 'more connected with their life in Argentina, reflecting a more positive view of the country and its future'. However, the citations from their interviews principally concern memories of early hardships and one declares his desire to leave.

Some of the most interesting parts of Ingridsdotter's analysis depict how her subjects coped with their initial and for many, continuing disappointment. Though substantial numbers of the ex-Soviets who had migrated to Argentina at the same time as her respondents did move on elsewhere, the latter, in general, did not now think that they would do so. They thus often consoled themselves by recognising that things could have been even worse – they hadn't become shanty-town dwellers for example, whose levels of deprivation had surprised and shocked them on arrival. Some argued that even during the 2001 crisis things were still better for them in Argentina than they had been after the Soviet collapse. The analysis also unpicks ways in which, despite feeling hard done by, respondents managed to maintain a positive – even superior – self-identity as morally dignified subjects. Whilst migrant groups often gain practical support and a sense of communal and individual self-worth via their religious affiliation, Ingridsdotter reports only two attempts – one successful the other not – to obtain help via a Ukrainian-related church. Self-affirmation strategies seem to be entirely secular. Gender divides could become accentuated with masculine strength and feminine charm underlined – Slavic women were praised for having better taste, dress sense and posture than other Buenos Aireans. Those who had been professionals still positively identified as such ['I still feel like a doctor on the inside'] even when others failed to acknowledge their cultural capital. They, and most especially two respondents 'who did not have a background in highly professional careers', also asserted their resilience, and their previously mentioned honesty and capacity for hard work, contrasting it with the 'very relaxed' attitude of the locals. One had seen 'large families' begging and says 'you just want to kill them, because they are not handicapped, they have their bodies, they are young and they do not want to work… The only thing they know is how to make babies'. In these narratives ex-Soviet migrants were poor because of circumstances beyond their control. Those they condemned, because of their moral failings. Ingridsdotter's subjects were indignant that they had not received more help, but also proud to have survived on their own, often linking their ability to do so to their homeland experiences. They claimed their Soviet past admirably adapted them to the rigours of what Ingridsdotter terms Argentina's competitive, individualising, neo-liberal economic order. Sometimes, however, their socio-historical understanding seems to have slipped into something more deterministic. One argues that 'all Russian people, they already have that [strength to go on fighting] in their blood, they have it in their DNA', another suggests that those from the Nordic and Soviet countries are 'a strong race'.

In fact issues of European status, ethnicity, 'race' and colour are variously woven into the respondents' understanding of their situation and, particular-

ly for those who had done least well economically, into their personal feelings of self-worth. One suggests her own European birth trumps many Argentineans' pride in their European ancestry. For others the 'whiteness' they had not thought about, or had taken for granted in their homeland, they now found favourably, if potentially precariously, assigned to them in their new society. In a complex system of 'racial' structuring where 'race' can affect economic opportunities, whilst economic standing [and sometimes political affiliation] can influence 'racial' or colour categorisation, they learned that life would have been much more difficult had their skin or their hair ['non-removable asset[s]'] been darker. But with, for example, shanty dwellers routinely called 'black' regardless of phenotype, they may have worried about the effect of any further lowering of their economic position on their 'racial' status. Ingridsdotter suggests that her subjects' stress on commitment to hard work might be viewed in this context, arguing that 'to present oneself as a trustworthy worker can be understood as a strategic positioning of whiteness and the entitlements and trajectories a white position brings about in an unequal society'. She further explains that earlier settlers had legitimated their appropriation of natives' land by suggesting the latter lacked a suitable work ethic, thereby associating the non-white with the lazy. This association more recently played out in tendencies to scapegoat 'welfare scrounging' migrants of indigenous background from neighbouring countries for Argentina's economic difficulties. Some of Ingridsdotter's own respondents themselves use derogatory racial terms such as '*cabecitas negras'* [little black headed ones] to condemn welfare recipients. Colour or 'racial' designations can become metaphors for moral worth.

'Race' is a subject particularly suited to a discourse perspective and overall, Ingridsdotter's treatment of its role in Argentinean national discourse and her respondents' lives is interesting. However, maybe she rather underplays the complexity of the range of phenotypical classifications which other commentators suggest Argentineans use. I'm also uneasy about the way she herself tends to elide the concept of nationality with 'race' and almost never refers to ethnicity. Should one speak of a Peruvian or Bolivian 'race'? Is the employer who says Russians are hard-working necessarily 'racialising' them or simply identifying them in terms of their place of national origin? When first world Northern states worried about accepting large numbers of ex-Soviet citizens to their countries was it, as Ingridsdotter claims, because they saw them as 'off white' or rather because they were viewed as ethnically, i.e. culturally different? Even should Argentinean discourses tend to elide their use, I favour the ethnologist holding on to distinctions between 'race', nationality and ethnicity so that they can point out this particular intersectional configuration.

Of further possible concern is the wide range of circumstances claimed to exhibit 'a logic of coloniality'. For Ingridsdotter this logic, or maybe we could say ideology, seems to centre on purported, sometimes 'racially' linked, distinctions between those deemed to be 'modern' or 'western' and the [less valued] 'rest' who 'lag' behind. In this usage 'modernity' could happily replace 'coloniality'. 'Coloniality' could then be reserved for ideologies *legitimating the relations of exploitation* which causally contribute to initiating or maintaining the differences between those defined as modern and superior, and those seen as backward and inferior. Thus it does seem appropriate to see a 'logic of coloniality' when the state-backed settlers justified their advantageous appropriation of the indigenous population's land, in terms of the latter's supposed lack of a proper work ethic. But I'm more doubtful about claiming this 'logic' operates, as Ingridsdotter suggests, between the EU and Ukraine, given the latter's relative underdevelopment is generally viewed as an outcome of historical incorporation within the Soviet economic and political system and not its exploitation by the west. When migrants stress their educated status, are they necessarily mobilising discourses of 'coloniality' or rather referring to a core identity acquired in Soviet society? And when some complain that Argentinians are 'twenty years behind the times', this seems less designed to legitimate relations of exploitation than account for their own lack of success. If it is, as Ingridsdotter claims, a mobilisation of a colonialist ideology, then it's an example of its adoption by a rather powerless category to boost its self esteem.

I conclude that the major virtue of this dissertation is that it begins to open a window onto a distinctive migrant situation probably unknown to many readers, also clearly showing [though who would have thought otherwise] that 'global economies affect locally lived lives'. As with much doc-

toral research, the sample size is small, and its representativeness unknown. So one particularly looks for depth and subtlety of analysis. And indeed Ingridsdotter struggles valiantly with her theoretical tools to make the most of her original data, although the latter, as I have already hinted, is somewhat limited by its almost total focus on her respondent's own volunteered accounts of themselves. Such a constraint makes the book's use of other, secondary material to offer comparative data on migrants' experiences in Argentina and elsewhere, helpful. Even more important is the variously derived background information on the Argentina context – important at least to anyone who holds that one has in part certainly to stand outside a discourse to understand why it has the character it does.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea University

Beyond the Folk and Fashion Dichotomy

Seija Johnson, I den folkliga modedräktens fotspår. Bondekvinnors välstånd, ställning och modemedvetenhet i Gamlakarleby socken 1740–1800. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 339. Jyväskylä 2018. 269 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-39-7368-1.

■ This is Seija Johnson's dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. in ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä. As the title – translated in the English summary as "In the footsteps of a common folk fashionable dress" – accurately indicates, it is about the wealth of farmers' wives, their social and legal position, and their expression of fashion consciousness in the chosen parish of Gamlakarleby on the Gulf of Bothnia in the second half of the eighteenth century. The three aspects combine to make up the overall picture, which is examined in detail in a historical framework: economy, social-legal position, and consumption, especially of elements from fashion clothing in the strict sense.

The choice of this parish as a study area is closely linked to the microhistorical approach of the dissertation, which is explained in appropriate detail in the introductory chapters, particularly leaning on the Hungarian social historian Istvan Szjárto and his understanding of the field. However, it is confined not just to one place, but also mostly to one person, namely, Maria Laiberg, wife of the church painter Johan Backman. Her exhaustive list of garments is the main source, which is linked to a wide range of other contextual sources, from both rural and urban contexts, as there is also a market town in the parish. This methodology also follows established method in microhistory – and ethnology, for that matter. It is therefore surprising that the dissertation does not refer more to the long tradition of this combination in ethnology and the mutual influence of cultural history and ethnology. Instead it almost exclusively treats the method as being a historical one – especially since the author repeatedly considers it important to point out the actual ethnological character of the study. This sometimes takes the form of a statement, other times as an odd argument along the lines of "as an ethnologist I do this or that..." What this entails, and where it may differ from the choices and pathways in (new) cultural history, to which microhistory must be reckoned, is not always clear.

The dissertation has a rather lengthy introduction; in fact, we have to wait until page 71 before garments and clothing appear to any extent. This may be due to the origin of the book as a dissertation in defence of a degree with almost scientistic genre requirements, a convention that very few in that situation dare to break. Some do, however, which in this reviewer's eyes is meritorious and also often a sign of a researcher inspired by cultural history or microhistory, who emphasizes, as an obvious part of the work, the scholarly humanistic tradition of writing not just as part of the presentation, but also of the analysis itself. That is not the case here. Sticking closely to the customary dissertation genre, the introductory chapters are followed by chapters analysing the three main aspects: the legal-social position, economic possibilities, and dress and other consumption in the countryside and the town.

There is no reason here to summarize these analyses – despite what I have just said, the book is easy to read and immediately accessible, which is and remains a quality in itself. It may be emphasized, however, that the methodological approach as regards the aspect of consumption, namely, to search for fashion elements in the dress of peasant women, also involves breaching the otherwise firmly established division between folk and fashion dress. This is important for the author, but although there are references to others who have made this breach, especially among ethnologists in Norway, it is, however, old wine on new bottles. Already in 1975, Erna Lorenzen published her dissertation on

how people dressed in and around Aarhus in East Jutland, which rammed a stake through this perception of fashion versus folk costume, and she followed this in 1987 with her book on the construction of the concept of folk costume.

Erna Lorenzen was a Danish museum curator, and perhaps that is one reason for the lack of attention paid to this early breakaway, which, incidentally, also has a contemporary German counterpart in the ethnologist Martha Bringemeier. While the analysis and treatment of the sources is solid in the dissertation, and there are contextual references to Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian ethnology, there is a lack of a European perspective, and this includes Denmark. In addition to the ethnologists and museum people that are mentioned, in the microhistorical and historical-anthropological tradition there are also a solid European studies to consult in this empirical field, for instance those by famous historians such as Hans Medick and David Sabean, whose micro-places are located in the decidedly textile-producing areas along the Rhine and in Württemberg. There are also Danish examples in the microhistorical/ethnological tradition, even studying the eighteenth century, for example. Nina Javette Kofoed's studies of peasant women or Palle Ove Christiansen's more general studies of estates, which could, I think, have given a deeper understanding of women's life in the parish of Gamlakarleby. The analyses in the dissertation can certainly stand alone as they do, but a European perspective would have given more depth and colour to the microstudy.

After the main topic of the dissertation has been covered, the life of peasant women (and urban women) in Gamlakarleby, especially their clothing but also other forms of consumption and their legal-social actions, chapter 6 presents a thorough examination of the reconstructed eighteenth-century dress in today's practice in museums, in associations, and as identity-creating activity for individuals, which, according to the dissertation, is on the increase in Finland. As elsewhere in the dissertation, we notice Seija Johnson's background as a handwork teacher, ethnologist, and curator, and the chapter could well be included as an important part of the compulsory reading for university students or museum staff people who handle and use dress reconstructions in their mediation of history. The chapter is, quite simply, very good.

The dissertation is illustrated with a series of drawings and, in chapter 6, a number of photographs of reconstructed Finnish regional costumes. In the latter one has the pleasure of recognizing Finnish ethnological colleagues, but the pictures generally have a very significant and supportive function in the chapter, along with the detailed information on where and how far the sources confirm the reconstruction. On the other hand, the drawings in the other parts of the dissertation would have been worth some discussion, because they too are and remain an interpretative reconstruction – this time on paper. And it is not easy, as Seija Johnson actually knows better than most, to reconstruct dress from the descriptions in the sources, and the drawer's choice of facial expressions, etc. does not seem to be wholly in keeping with the point of the dissertation. For the more general reader, however, I have no doubt that the drawings provide good support in understanding.

In her dissertation, Seija Johnson has re-examined a classical ethnological subject and transgressed the old dichotomy between folk and fashion dress, which today still seems to dominate tenaciously in research, and also in exhibition contexts especially. Johnson's analyses of her topic are elegant and valid in relation to the sources, and with her chapter on the past in the present she has made a practical contribution to the place of the topic in museum mediation, based on years of practical insight and on studies in the women's history of Gamlakarleby parish.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

Religion as an Equivocal Praxis in the European Union

Helene Rasmussen Kirstein, Distinktionens tilsyneladende modsætning. En etnologisk undersøgelse af religionsbegrebets flertydighed som mulighedsbetingelse for europæiske kirkers position i EU's demokrati. Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet 2016. 147 pp. Diss.

■ There is an interesting premise to this ethnological analysis of how the conceptual complexity of "religion" is played out in what the thesis writer Helene Rasmussen Kirstein calls the European churches performing an equivocal praxis within the

democracy of the European Union. The keyword in the title of the thesis, distinction, is applied in a surprising way and it has nothing to do with its use in another adjacent field of cultural analysis, the more well-known one associated with the sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Pascal Daloz, among others, concerning social distinction among various players and how that kind of distinction is marked by an internal hierarchy in the social field.

This thesis forms a variation and adaptation of the system-building of the Danish ethnographer Thomas Højrup called life-form analysis, a formalism with a strong structural bent, which in the field of cultural analysis in this millennium must be seen as something of an oddity. Højrup, and those who follow his theory – who form quite an impressive group of researchers in Danish ethnology and cultural analysis – view culture from a strictly structural point of view. Culture according to Højrup (in *State, Culture and Life-Modes* (2003) is seen in the following way: "The solution offered by life-mode analysis to the paradox of the culture concept demands an unusual mode of thinking. This solution, although building upon the 'mode of production-social formation' concepts of historical materialism, also transcends it. Life-mode analysis combines ethnological fieldwork with concepts from the theory of science to elaborate a new concept of class. From being a classificatory concept, 'class' is transformed into what philosophers call an intentional terminal concept."

The "trick" consists of a move which transforms group, sub-culture or class analysis into a dialectical life-mode analysis. As I wrote in an earlier review in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (2013) of another proponent of this theory, Jesper Graubæk Andresen, *Formbegreber i spil: En vidareutvikling af livsformsanalytiske tanker*, instead of classifying empirical data, the analysis elaborates structures of theoretical relations and their conceptional end-points or "intentional terminals", a term derived from the theory of science. So, as the theory goes, for each mode of production, life-mode analysis develops distinct life-modes, each containing a conceptual world and praxis. Although, as Højrup notes, these life-modes contrast with each other culturally, taken together they constitute each other's conditions of possibility in a self-reproducing social mode of existence.

So, how does Rasmussen Kirstein handle this grand theory of life-modes as constituting a distinct life-mode in the field of churches, transcendental belief and religion and together with other identifiable life forms a whole system or a social mode of existence? A clue to a possible answer might lie in the fact pointed out by Andresen that life-mode analysis also has its shortcomings. It has not hitherto, for instance, been able to capture the general rules which could be applied to specific and rather permanent constructions such as a city or a religious sect.

Following Højrup et al., Rasmussen Kirstein understands praxis as a key concept in her analysis, describing a subject-object relationship wherein the ends and means of the subject are enabled by the subject's specific position in the larger context or system. The concepts discussed are understood as complex. This means that they cannot be defined unambiguously. Instead they are characterized by having different, historically specific connotations. This view might seem to come close to a more postmodern or post-structuralist idea about fleeting signs and endless chains of signification, but the overarching idea here does not lead in that direction at all.

From a classic life-mode analysis point of view, the pivotal phase of reasoning is the concept-laboratory in which the main concepts of the theory are set up to be cleansed from any historicist or relativist background into one in which the concepts are tested as to their potential value to the theory. This phase is here performed in a way which must be understood as an aberration from the general theory in question. It is true that there is a certain digression of concepts going on in the thesis. But when we move further into the text there is an emerging sense of redundancy coming into focus, concerning an analysis of certain dichotomies affecting these "European churches", dichotomies such as religious–secular, private–public, inclusive–exclusive, ends and means and so on.

What is most noticeable is that Rasmussen Kirstein's analysis builds up to quite a formulaic resolution which is echoed throughout the thesis, namely that this play of concepts, or rather dichotomies, is indeed to be seen as two sides of the same thing, a two-way street in which what from the outside might look like something ambiguous is really a condition of possibility for the praxis in question.

Thus, what is arrived at is a notion of a subject, the European churches, as being positioned in an intersection between faith and action, the individual and the common, the symbolic and the social, and in the end, the specific and the general.

Rasmussen Kirstein prefers the Danish word *greb* (grip, grasp) instead of *begreb* (concept), which can be seen as another move away from the Højrupian life-mode formalism towards a softer, more historicized form of cultural analysis. But at the same time this historicizing does not go very deep. An important notion used in the thesis is the characterization of Christianity in the Middle Ages as revolving around a dichotomy of religious–secular in which monks and nuns represent the religious side whereas the parish priests' world is one seen in its own time as profane. This view of course is in contrast to the same dichotomy as it is used today, in which priests are also included in the religious field. But such a historicization is in itself, although interesting, not enough, at least in my view, to ground and explain the concepts in play from a historical point of view. More concepts would have been necessary to add to the analysis on this point in order to give a more comprehensive outlook on the world view of the Middle Ages as a contrast to today's more secularist world (as is argued in the thesis).

An odd technical feature of the thesis is the researcher's habit of writing herself into the discourse, noting how she makes her different steps in the analysis, and also referring both in advance to later chapters and retrospectively to those discussed earlier on, in a way which adds a meta-level to the thesis which seems unnecessary and only increases the strong sense of redundancy of the text.

As to the ethnographic content of the thesis, an important part consists of a couple of short, but quite engaging reports of a visit to a church in Brussels, the so-called *Chapel for Europe*, which is situated close to the EU headquarters. The description focuses on the cacophony of the group of people praying to Our Lord in different languages in the church services.

Of the ten chapters of the thesis the central one thematically is the fourth. It deals with something called particular universalism and is a competent analysis of how the dialogue between the European Union and the churches in Europe is organized and played out in conjunction with a general idea of a secular, democratic society in which the churches have accepted this special position of being both inside and outside, both exclusive and excluded, as Rasmussen Kirstein calls them in the discussions of e.g. social policy and environmental issues. These latter issues, one might add, are today some of the forces which are driving this whole "package" of politics, the social and the religious as separate but at the same time connected fields into quite new territories in the form of climate change which, as we know, has taken a more ominous turn in recent years.

To play a little with a concept also central to this thesis, the new ultimate signifier of the world we are inhabiting is more and more formulated as a question of CO_2, the greenhouse gases the globe is letting loose at this moment. This concern of rising CO_2 levels must then be addressed in quite new ways, when it comes to science, common sense, praxis and religion. This is something which this thesis discusses from an odd angle which nonetheless is an important contribution. The thesis speaks of the belief in God's creation and people being the children of God and so on. But what about the rest of the creation, the whole flora and fauna, the ecosystem, the rivers and glaciers? Here the Christian and the non-Christian are faced with the same task of trying to understand and find solutions to problems which are mounting. The "Praise God for the turtle" prayer described in the text as a way forward might at first seem a little too sentimental in relation to the consciousness that is required now. But that could be because one is too accustomed to a more rationalistic discourse in these matters for this kind of approach to really start to sink in.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Fieldwork into Fandom

Jakob Löfgren, …And Death proclaimed 'Happy Hogswatch to all and to all a Good Night.' Intertext and Folklore in Discworld-Fandom. Åbo Akademi University 2018. 96 pp + 67 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-952-12-3638-9.

■Although fandom studies have become more popular in recent years within folkloristics and ethnology, there have not been many ethnographic studies on fandom as such. Jakob Löfgren's thesis is a well needed and important work.

Jakob Löfgren's thesis concerns the folklore of Discworld fandom as expressed in the annual celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton, England. The book is based on extensive fieldwork and Löfgren approaches his material and research subject mainly through intertextuality. The celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton is based on the Discworld novels written by Terry Pratchett. Hogswatch is a Christmas-like holiday and celebration and the details of this celebration are described in many of Pratchett's Discworld books. These descriptions in turn form the basis of the Hogswatch celebrations in Wincanton, which is the main research subject of Löfgren's book. Terry Pratchett uses a lot of intertextual reference in his books, for example, Hogswatch has different intertextual connections to folklore and to different Christmas traditions. The Hogswatch celebrations in Wincanton also have several intertextual connections with Pratchett's books. It is these different levels of intertextuality that form the basic research questions in Löfgren's book which are "How is intertext used within fandom?" and "In which manner can the field of fandom be studied within folkloristics?". In addition to these main research questions, Löfgren mentions that his thesis could also be partly read as an investigation of ethnographic field methodology.

Jakob Löfgren's book is an article thesis and it consists of introductory or summary chapters and four articles concerning various aspects of intertext, intertextual practice, and various 'goings-on' of fandom. In the introductory chapters, Löfgren introduces his research subject and his research questions. He also writes a short introduction about Terry Pratchett and the Discworld and the different places and races of Discworld. Löfgren then introduces his five fieldwork trips, methodological and theoretical contextualization, previous studies in fandom and intertextual studies as well as his preferred fieldwork method participant observation and the three main theoretical notions folklore, fandom and intertextuality. After this Löfgren presents his articles before presenting the conclusions of his research. The four articles are compiled at the end after the bibliography.

Because Löfgren mentions that his book could partly be read as an investigation of ethnographic field methodology and because the articles are based on the fieldwork, the fieldwork should be examined a little closer. The five fieldwork trips to Wincanton were made between 2010 and 2014. The fieldwork was done by approaching the field with a key concept. Most of these key concepts were also utilized in the articles. The key concepts were intertextuality, trade, costuming, carnivalism and gender and change. Out of these themes or key concepts, gender is not researched in the articles. This is explained in the book by the author's lack of expertise in the field of gender studies and I applaud the author for acknowledging his own shortcomings. Then again, one theme or key concept that is not mentioned as such in the fieldwork is used in one of the articles and that is narratives and the use of staged narratives. This is of course understandable and a part of doing fieldwork, what the researcher thought beforehand to be of interest was replaced by something he came upon during the fieldtrip.

The main tool for Löfgren's fieldwork was participatory observation, by taking notes and by conducting a set of informal talks as well as by recording performances and by taking pictures. One traditional way of doing ethnographic fieldwork is missing from Löfgren's work and that is proper interviews with key informants and/or active members. Löfgren acknowledges this and explains it to be a "…conscious choice due to the situation studied being a celebration". While this is understandable, the interviews could have been made before or after the celebration. Whether or not this would have brought any new or important information is however debatable, so Löfgren's choice is understandable and justified. In addition, Löfgren writes that his fieldwork has "…yielded a lot of material in the form of field reports, photos, printworks (such as tickets and program sheets) and audio recordings". As to the actual amount and content of this material, it could have been described in more detail. The source material is critically reviewed and credited reliably through correct quotes and references and Löfgren discusses with the source material especially when contemplating his own research viewpoint and positioning with the two dominant yet opposing schools of thought within fandom studies (the sociopsychologist school and the social constructivist school). Löfgren also used netnography as a research tool although not very extensively. The pages concerning the fieldwork are where the thesis is at its strongest. Unfortunately, it is also here that the major point of critique is to be found. Löfgren describes

his own position to the field and his immersion into the field.

Löfgren chose to participate in the celebrations as much as possible and saw his role as being both a fan and a researcher and thus abandoning the more traditional view of a researcher being a more detached observer. Löfgren describes his immersion to the field by utilizing terms from game studies, namely different levels of immersion. Löfgren quotes an article called "Measuring Player Immersion in the Computer Game Narrative" where the levels of immersion are described through six terms: curiosity, concentration, comprehension, control, challenge and empathy. Löfgren uses these six terms in describing his fieldwork and immersion into the field that he is researching. He also states that these terms could be made into a set of questions aiding in the description of ethnographic fieldwork, but unfortunately, he does not develop this idea further in his thesis. A chart of "Levels of immersion within ethnographic fieldwork" would have been a tremendous help for other researchers to use in their work. As such, Löfgren's thesis can be used in this way already, but a separate chart would have been great. I am hopeful that he will do that in the future in an article or a book.

Although the immersion into the field and Löfgren's own position towards it are one of the best and strongest parts of the book scholarly, they are unfortunately also the point of the biggest critique. Although Löfgren describes the positive sides of immersing oneself into the field one is researching, he overlooks the negative sides quite casually. It has been argued that immersing oneself too deep in to the field can cause the researcher to become blind to some negative aspects of the research subject. If the researcher gets too close, it can be hard to criticize or even see any negative aspects of the research subject, in other words it can be hard to criticize your own tribe. This is specially the case within fandom studies where the researcher usually is a fan also, like in this case for example. Such things as gender issues, racism, bigotry, homophobia and misogyny for example can become hard to notice or bring forward if the researcher is too immersed with a group he or she is researching. There is also the danger of the researcher to misuse his or her position as an insider. I am by no means suggesting that this is the case with Löfgren's work, in fact I truly believe that it is not the case, but the challenges that Löfgren describes concerning the immersion into the field seem quite superficial. Also, because Löfgren writes that his thesis could partly be read as an investigation of ethnographic field methodology and even offering "new set of theoretical and methodological approaches" (p. 86) for fandom studies, this critique and the possible negative sides to immersing oneself into the field, should have been more thoroughly investigated and handled in the book.

In an article thesis, it is very hard to avoid repetition. Although there is some overlapping ideas and repetition in the articles in this book, they do approach the subject, namely the intertextuality in the Hogswatch celebration in Wincanton, in different ways. The first article *Death and a Pickled Onion – The construction of fan culture and fan identity in the Hogswatch celebration of Wincanton* (Gramarye 3 2013) is an analysis of the intertextual and contextual construction of fandom in the celebration in Wincanton. The article shows how by using the idea of re-situation process by Robert de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan, folklore can be re-situated not only from socio-cultural context to a literary one, but also from a literary context to a socio-cultural context. The second article, *"Thank you so much for keeping all of us in the Emporium gainfully employed" – The Relationship between Fan and Merchant in the Wincanton Hogswatch Celebration* (Fafnir 2:3 2015) deals with intertextually linked trade where intertext is used to sell merchandise. Löfgren argues that because the merchants and the visiting fans share a mutual understanding of the fandom in question, the economic interaction can be seen as a form of gift exchange based on loyalty. While this might indeed be true, one could also argue that all small businesses that want to hold on to their clientele might operate in a similar way and thus this would not be exclusive to fandom-based business like in Wincanton. Nevertheless, the article offers a good example of both how intertextuality is used in trade and how fandom based trade can be studied through intertextuality. The third article, *'It's a Good Job Nobody Mentioned Hedgehogs': The Use of Narratives in Discworld Fandom* (Folklore 128 March 2017) deals with the use of narratives, especially staged narratives in the celebration. Löfgren uses the notion of "qualia" to show how the feel or feeling of Discworld is re-situated from the novel to the celebrations using staged narratives. The fourth article "*The scythe is the bit that I actually made" – Folk*

art as expressions of fandom is published in this book and it deals with material expressions of fandom. Löfgren analyses the material manifestations of fandom culture (cosplay, needlework, graffiti) through the concept of folk art.

Löfgren concludes that the celebration of Hogswatch in Wincanton is intertextual through and through. The celebration is based in and draws upon intertextual common sense and contextual knowledge, the trade is based in and the staged narratives draw upon intertextual common sense, and the folk art of fandom follows intertextual common sense. Löfgren argues that intertext permeates fandom culture and by using intertext, the researcher can explore and investigate fandom expressions. Although Löfgren's thesis is about Hogswatch in Wincanton and specifically about fandom connected to Terry Pratchett's books, the results can be used in other fandom studies. Overall, Löfgren's work is an excellent ethnographic and folkloric research in to fandom and fandom studies as well as folklore studies will surely benefit from this work tremendously. The thesis works as a good example on how to do fieldwork within fandom and anyone who has an interest in fandom studies should definitely read this book.

Tuomas Hovi, Turku

Fleeting Encounters with Birds and Birdwatchers

Elin Lundquist, Flyktiga möten. Fågelskådning, epistemisk gemenskap och icke-mänsklig karisma. Department of Ethnology, History of Religion and Gender Studies, Stockholm University 2018. 219 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7797-408-6.

■ Elin Lundquist defended her dissertation at the end of October 2018, just when some of the autumn's most intensive birdwatching weeks were coming to an end. It is a period in the year when the days grow shorter and many people take time off work and use as much of their weekends as possible to go to places like Hornborgasjön, Öland, and Falsterbonäset to see as many and as unusual birds as they can. There is a corresponding period in May when the spring days are getting longer. Why do they do this? What motivates people to get up early in the morning to head out in all weathers to stand, sometimes for hours, waiting to see a particular bird? What different ways of looking at birds are there? How are practices like this shaped? How do you learn to watch birds and what is it you look at and search for? What does it mean to be a birdwatcher, past and present? Questions like these are asked by Lundquist in her doctoral dissertation, the title of which means "Fleeting Encounters: Birdwatching, Epistemic Community, and Non-human Charisma".

It is an exciting world that Lundquist lets the reader visit – or rather worlds, for it becomes obvious that there are many different ways of being a birdwatcher, as is often the case when a phenomenon is scrutinized in depth. The dissertation is tightly packed, well planned, and furnished with subheadings that illustrate the content well. It is arranged so that a couple of central theoretical concepts are presented in the introduction, along with the method, the material, and the research context. Other concepts are presented as and when they are employed.

Early in the dissertation it becomes clear that Lundquist's wish is to investigate the knowledge, skills, and conceptions that are acquired and acknowledged among birdwatchers. It is birdwatching as social community that is the foundation for the study. Lundquist investigates how the practice-based communities function as a way both to unite people and to distinguish oneself from others. She shows how birdwatchers make and create knowledge together and how this serves to establish a sense of community, but also to form different epistemic communities.

To get at the practice of birdwatching, as well as to understand how the birdwatchers relate to birds, Lundquist has interviewed birdwatchers and above all observed what she calls "birdwatcher-related contexts", for example, birdwatching in the field, birdwatching exhibitions, and digital spaces for birdwatching. All this is done in an attempt to ascertain how birds are observed by birdwatchers. She has also analysed different kinds of handbooks, instructions, and various forums for birdwatchers in social media. "More concretely, this means that I investigate how birdwatchers look at and listen to birds, the aids they use to do so, and how the use of these aids affects the perspectives on birds and surroundings" (p. 8).

The method was to follow the birdwatchers' practice and also to examine how the interest in birds has moved and changed in time and place. This way of following objects becomes a way for Lundquist to reveal complex, and sometimes ambivalent, connections between humans and birds. For Lundquist is interested in encounters between the species, and she uses birdwatching to explore people's relations to nature (that is, "other animals and their living environments"). As regards theory, Lundquist says that she is influenced by researchers such as Donna Haraway and John Law with their material-semiotic perspective. Actor-network theory (ANT), as practised by Callon, Law, and Latour, has functioned as a source of inspiration to see and emphasize the processual character of life, and the fact that life consists of both human and non-human actors, and that both have the ability to affect events. The ANT perspective is there as an undercurrent throughout the dissertation. In accordance with this perspective, for Lundquist it has been crucial not just to investigate people's statements and texts, but above all to bring different materialities into the analysis, which in this case has been, for example, different technical supports such as binoculars, cameras, smartphones, and handbooks used in birdwatching. It has also been crucial to show how the birds play an active part in shaping the way humans interact with them. Two theoretical tools have been especially important for analysing the material: "epistemic community", and "non-human charisma", as reflected in the title.

What is meant here by "epistemic community" is the community that birdwatchers share through their attitudes and knowledge. In concrete terms this can be expressed in the way birdwatchers use, say, field handbooks and keep lists of the birds they see on an outing, and how they thereby create shared ways of analysing, using, and evaluating visual impressions and knowledge. These practices have a social organizing function. Lundquist provides lucid descriptions of different birdwatching practices and analyses how different kinds of knowledge are created and acknowledged in the epistemic community that birdwatchers constitute. We follow some birdwatchers who recur in different chapters, and the dissertation takes wings when theory and empirical data meet in this way. To give examples of excellent close readings one could cite the descriptions of the rhythms and routines of certain birdwatchers.

In the discussion of "non-human charisma" Lundquist borrows a concept from the geographer Jamie Lorimer in order to see what resonance the inherent properties of the birds have in the encounter with birdwatchers (p. 13). With this concept Lundquist also examines what kind of encounters with birds the birdwatchers are aiming to experience and why certain birds, in a kind of ornithological hierarchy, are perceived as being more desirable to see than others.

Watching birds sometimes leads to mighty and multisensory experiences. Lundquist writes about "affective work" and uses the concept to analyse different ways of emotionally relating to birds and sought-after birdwatching experiences. Many birdwatchers collect experiences. Affective aspects are lacking in a great deal of ANT research, and here Lundquist's study contributes new material. But many other concepts are used. "Epiphany", the kind of overwhelming event that is described by birdwatchers as a reason for subjecting oneself to all that birdwatching entails, is an example of a term that is perhaps not entirely necessary to describe exceptionally rich moments.

Besides the theoretical apparatus, we also learn from this dissertation some specific terms employed by birdwatchers, that is, in this particular epistemic community. "Jizz", for example, means identifying a bird by recognizing not just a specific feature but the overall impression of shape and movement. Sometimes it is details in patterns of movement, for instance, that distinguish a common bird from an uncommon one. Examples of this kind reveal a great many different hierarchies in the world of birdwatchers, showing how familiar one is with bird species, but also different skills such as knowing how to identify species. Through the linkage to ANT, the power perspective becomes obvious, along with questions of who is able to define the right kind of knowledge, the right kind of skills, and also who has the right to classify.

It is thus the relationship between birds, things, and humans that Lundquist is interested in throughout. In this way it is a fascinating and well-conducted dissertation. The significance of the historical retrospect is possibly a little uncertain, apart from the way it reveals what is specific for our time. This is a classical use of a historical perspective, and Lundquist shows clearly how the coming of smartphones, for example, has changed some of the prac-

tice of birdwatching. There she touches on a discussion of the potential of technology which could have been linked to the historical comparison. We see very clearly the significance of new technology for making it possible to get close to birds in a new way, but perhaps it also creates a different kind of distance? But the technology also enables a new kind of knowledge creation, both through quick and concise species identification and through social media. Another thread that is laid out but not followed up very much is the gender aspect.

A finished dissertation often looks like the result of a smooth and carefully prepared process from A to Z. Lundquist gives an exemplary description of her approach; the kind of interviews she conducted, how she gained access to the birdwatchers, the questions she asked, reflections on the interplay between interviewer and interviewee. Yet I sometimes feel a lack of information about how she actually went about processing and analysing the interview material. Were the interviews transcribed? Were they thematized? Were themes decided in advance? What kind of steering did the research questions entail? How much was Lundquist steered by using a theoretical apparatus with which she has been familiar since writing her master's thesis? Was anything new discovered in the process of analysis? Did some interviews, insights, or other material gradually take over?

I have also occasionally asked myself what may be concealed behind the different terms. And are all the theories and concepts absolutely necessary? It is not always clear what function they have in relation to each other. The link between empirical data and theory is clear, but sometimes the many terms and concepts obscure the view. What are the limitations of the selected perspectives? What was omitted during the process of analysis? What did not fit in? These questions are quite simply about the necessary critical distance to one's own work which can only really come in the closing phase, and which could perhaps have been reinforced by means of yet another rewrite. Writing a dissertation takes time, but there is not always enough time, and unfortunately it is things like this that there is not always time for. That is why I would stress that I really hope that Lundquist will carry on with her study, for example, in future articles, because there is a great deal of fascinating matter which can be taken further and clarified by focusing on specific topics.

There are many mistakes in the book (omitted letters, unfinished sentences, missing dates, occasional repetitions) which could have been removed by yet another proofreading. It is a compact text, not always easy reading, and for that reason an additional rewrite, not just proofing, might have made it more accessible. However, the dissertation has not been issued by a commercial publisher but in the university's publication series, which is often a signal that further articles will be published. There is no doubt that it is a well-conducted study. Elin Lundquist has assembled a fine body of material and has a profound knowledge of the world in which different kinds of birdwatchers move, and she succeeds in putting this across to the reader. I have greatly enjoyed reading it – besides which I have learned a lot about birdwatching!

Carina Sjöholm, Lund

Finnish War Children in Sweden

Barbara Mattsson, A Lifetime in Exile. Finnish War Children in Sweden after the War. An Interview Study with a Psychological and Psychodynamic Approach. JYU Dissertations 22. University of Jyväskylä, 2018. 61 pp. (+ article 1, 10 pp.; article 2, 13 pp.; article 3, 12 pp.; article 4, 9 pp.). ISBN 978-951-39-7565-4.

■ Barbara Mattson's dissertation addresses the psychological after-effects of the evacuation of Finnish war children to Sweden during World War II. The analysis is based on ten in-depth personal interviews of former Finnish war children, members of the Stockholm branch of the Finnish War Child Association who were under seven years old at the time of the evacuation and who stayed in Sweden after the war. With a grounded theory methodological approach, Barbara explores how the experience of evacuation could be perceived by a little child who was separated from its family of birth, surroundings and language to be placed into a new surrounding with strangers speaking a new language. The psychodynamic approach offered her a framework to go beyond what is said during the interviews and to interpret what was unsaid and the defence mechanisms used by these children to cope with the overwhelming experience of evacuation, which was found to be traumatic. The dissertation is a compilation thesis beginning with an in-

troductory chapter presenting the overall design and result of the study, and followed by four published articles, based on the same sample, but with different focus.

The first study, entitled "An interview study with a Finnish war child" was published in *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 34 (2011), focused on the reconstruction of the past by one former war child from the present and explored what is remembered, how the experience is remembered and what is omitted. The interviewee, though knowing very little about what happened in her childhood, gave a vivid description, which proved that her knowledge could not possibly have come to her until later. While this first article thus describes a war child with a compulsive need to be the one who knew, although this was an illusion, the second article addresses the other interviewees' determined efforts to bury the painful experience.

The second study "Thinking about the unknown: An interview study of Finnish war children" published in *Trauma and Memory* 1 (2013), relying on Bion's psychodynamic concept of knowing and not knowing, K and –K, revealed that the interviewees as children did not know why they were evacuated and had few or no memories of the trip or of earlier life in Finland. Their lack of knowledge and curiosity about their childhood experiences is seen as a defence strategy to obliterate their own loss and proves that their experiences have not been processed. This denial of reality makes it impossible to come to terms with their experiences of loneliness, absence and loss. The incomprehensible character of the events turned out to be incoherent in the collected narratives as well. As a compensation for their difficulty to give a coherent reconstruction of the events, the interviewees present themselves as problem-free adults. Through this attempt to appear normal, a process called *normopathy*, they reveal their strategy to silence their inner life in order to avoid mental pain.

Since the analysis in the second article revealed that the former war children had no clear memories of the evacuation, the third article "The lost mother tongue: An interview study with Finnish war children" published in *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 38 (2015), investigated more deeply how the ordeal was dealt with during the interviews. The focus here was not on what they said but rather on how they said it. The language was found to have a special style that was not characteristic of the rest of the interview. While narrating their experience of evacuation, their language often became fragmented, the language structure collapsed and the change to the present tense in the middle of recounting something from the past made the narrative difficult to follow. This manner of narrating indicates emotional reactions in the present and reveals that the war children who had no adult close to them to interpret what was going on, had difficulties reflecting on the significance of this turning point in their lives and subsequently remembering it. Furthermore, the loss of the mother tongue also impacted their inner communicative capacity. The language revealed the chaos and conveyed something of their perception of the event though their lack of memories.

The fourth study, "Traces of the past: An interview study with Finnish war children who did not return to Finland after the second world war", published in *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 40 (2017), explores whether there are some signs of the biological Finnish mother in the narratives. The Finnish mother turned out to be present in most of the interviewees but as a negation. The interviewees did not talk about their Finnish parents or wonder what they were like or how it would have been to grow up with them. The author shows that this inability to remember their parents is a defensive strategy to avoid the emotional impact of the loss and reveal their lack of mourning.

The thesis is a prominent contribution to historical knowledge and sheds light on some phenomena that are generally left out of war descriptions. The present thesis proves very well that World War II did not end when the fighting stopped. It continued to affect the people who had been engaged directly or indirectly in it. The evacuation of very young Finnish war children during World War II has forever impacted the children's social relationships and identity.

Although the design of the thesis with an introductory chapter and four published articles entails a great deal of repetition that could be regrettable, it has also a pedagogical value, showing layer by layer how analysis based on the same sample can be deepened and approached from different angles. The study offers a valuable methodological contribution and source of inspiration for ethnologists. Through

these four studies, Barbara Mattsson shows thoroughly how to analyse and interpret narratives of painful experiences, traumatic or not. She shows, for instance, how the overwhelming impact of the evacuation was evidenced in the narratives through the way interviewees attempted to keep their emotions at a distance. One of the psychological defence patterns was dissociation, which was detected for instance when interviewees described individual elements of a difficult event in a manner not connected to emotions. This strategy, called "empty memories", could also be achieve through the presentation of "ready-made" or "rehearsed" narrative, something that they had presented in some earlier context. Here, however, Mattsson could have reflected on whether the Finnish War Child Association's might have had an impact on the structure and content of the narratives delivered.

The interviewees' inability to recall the events was also interpreted as a traumatic symptom since trauma affects memory function. Mattsson shows consistently that the signs of trauma are not to be found in what the interviewees said but rather in their way of saying it. The unprocessed trauma was mirrored in the fragmented language, broken and incomplete sentences, peculiar choices of adjective or modification of the tenses in the narratives. According to Mattsson, one of the clearest indicators that the trauma was still active could be detected when the interviewees narrated their experiences of evacuation in the present tense, indicating that the experiences had not been worked through mentally and were present at the moment of the interviews. Other somatic reactions during the interviews, such as recurrent coughing and throat clearing, stuttering, crying or laughing, confirmed that the frightening experiences came to the surface and were relived in the moment.

The presence of the trauma during the interview situation was observed and interpreted with a psychoanalytic approach. Mattsson shows clearly how the interviewer inevitably become part of the narrative during the interviews, notably by taking into account the transference and countertransference feelings. The dynamic between the interviewer and the interview thus became a key to understanding each individual way of reacting and of putting up defence mechanisms. The interviewer was given different roles during the interviews: the one who just does not get it, the one who has to be corrected, and the one whom it is permissible to tease or intimate. The analysis of the ongoing process during the interview thus gives insight into the inner psychological dynamic and the unconscious transference of an emotional atmosphere at work during the interview. For instance, the interviewer felt she was the target of projected shame during one interview, revealing the war child's feeling of shame at having been abandoned by his/her mother. The analysis of the interviews also took into account the countertransference effects in order to obtain a more complete picture of what the war experience signified. The exploration of the countertransference emotions helped her to track suppressed emotions, such as anger, that the interviewees were not able to express. If the use of transference and countertransference feelings at work during the interview gave very interesting input for analysing the ongoing dynamic during the interview, the researcher's own position and impact on the collected data was not taken into consideration. The author named only in passing that she was herself a former Finnish war child who returned to Finland after the war but did not reflect on how she was perceived by the interviewees and how her background could have affected the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and the interpretation of the material.

This study offers some important insight into how cultural and social factors facilitate or inhibit memory, e.g. the ability to remember. Personal memories are nevertheless never purely individual since memories are always inherently shaped by sociocultural contexts. Therefore, the present study could have gained from discussing the broader historical contexts that informed the Finnish war children's experiences. Hence the new cultural understanding of trauma in the 1960s–1970s provided a new frame of reference and a basis for a psychological identification not available before. The constitution of the Finnish War Child Association in the 1990s in Finland and Sweden, leading to the formation of families of remembrance can be seen in this light. And if the moral contexts and socio-structural forces enabled the representation of this event, we might wonder whether the shape of the narrated experience in the lens of trauma can be seen as "symptomatic" of our time?

Florence Fröhlig, Stockholm

Work-Life Orientations for Ethnologists

Elias Mellander, Etnologiska Kompositioner. Orienteringar i yrkeslivet. Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper, Göteborgs Universitet 2018. 281 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-975353-9-7.

■ What do ethnologists do? Or what is the use of an ethnological education? These are questions that many of us have faced during our time as students and as "grown up" ethnologists. Even if we consider ourselves to be a strong and very relevant discipline, we are not a recognizable profession like lawyers, engineers, or dentists. There are few clear-cut career paths associated with a degree in ethnology, and students have to find their own way upon entering the labour market outside universities. Furthermore, ethnology is part of the humanities and thus a target for the bashing of what is considered to be "useless" educational programmes and disciplines that have failed to articulate or specify their purposes and contributions on a societal level. Even if the vast majority find employment after some time, the process is considered troublesome and fraught with friction. It is in no way evident for candidates from ethnology which specific skills and competences they bring to the labour market besides a general aptitude for information management, cultural analysis and critical thinking.

What happens when a new candidate enters the labour market? How do they experience, manage, and orient their skills towards professional life when moving outside academia? These are the questions Elias Mellander have focused on in his dissertation. The empirical material for his investigation primarily consists of interviews with 24 ethnologists born in the period from 1960 to 1985. They are employed outside academia, divided between three rough categories: in organizations working with cultural heritage (museums, archives etc.), public administration on local or state level (communication, project management, diversity and equality etc.), and consultancy with projects of qualitative research and applied cultural analysis. The analysis of these interviews draws on concepts and strategies from the field of performative actor-network-theory (ANT) and queer phenomenology in the specific form of Annemarie Mol's concept of enactment, and Sara Ahmed's concept of orientation. Enactment – according to Mellander –denotes how an object of knowledge emerges within practices, and orientation is about knowing how one is directed in relation to the world and how to move from one place to another. Finally, there is the concept of components (cf. the title) which describes non-human entities that take part in the enactment of knowledge, as well as objects towards which orientation is established. Components are dependent on their relationships, and change as they move between networks and enactments.

In chapter three the concept of components is used to describe elements and approaches that are typical for the enactment of contemporary Ethnology, especially as it is performed within the Swedish tradition of cultural analysis. Here a theoretically eclectic approach, comparative and contrasting methods, and a special interest in the overlooked or taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life are underlined as pivotal components. Mellander argues that even if the discipline is often described as vague, there is no shortage of descriptive and normative statements about its identity. On this background the interviewees are introduced in chapter four through their stories *with* Ethnology; how they met the discipline, were moved by the discipline, came to invest themselves in the discipline, and finally by falling in line with its conventions came to feel "at home" in Ethnology. In these biographies certain components encountered during the studies structure the narrative and the relationship with Ethnology. In chapter five we follow the ambivalence and frustration that surfaced in the period after graduation. A recurring theme, Mellander demonstrates, is the vagueness that seems to "stick" to Ethnology and its associated skills. This vagueness that can be traced in the biographies seems to stem from the openness and the experimenting approach that is part of the discipline at universities, associating the "doing" of investigations and analysis with personal intuition and with seeing the world through "ethnological lenses". When facing such an understanding with a labour market expecting an unequivocal list of professional skills and competences, many ethnologists experience that it is hard to separate and objectify such skills as they have become entangled with their personal disposition. The reverse side of feeling at home within Ethnology is not being able to separate the discipline from oneself. Thus, Mellander in the following chapter proposes the concept of *affinity* to describe the links between occupation and the educational background, and develops this further by

describing affinities of place, practice and problems that can overlap and as such make up a multiple relationship. In chapter six the entries into the labour market are scrutinized and three primary sources of *friction* are identified: a circular problem of orientation, competing logics of the labour market and among them serendipity, and the precarious conditions of employment. In chapter seven three concrete cases are investigated, and Mellander describes how various affinities are put to work, and the skills that were formerly perceived as vague take on a more tangible form. However, in chapter eight cases where skills cannot become aligned with work are described, and instead flexibility and ability to adapt are called for. In the ninth chapter, the long lines of orientation between education and work in everyday life are explored. In a final chapter, the analytical points are summarized and developed, and the diverse affinities and enactments of Ethnology are related to prevalent tendencies in modern working life. Finally, Mellander wraps up the dissertation by listing and discussing five dilemmas worthy of consideration when debating the role and "use" of humanities in relation to society at large and the labour market outside academia.

These five dilemmas – together with many of the themes Mellander is dealing with – are recognizable also to ethnologists outside Sweden. Thus, the relevance of the dissertation far exceeds the Swedish framework that it discusses. This speaks in favour of the dissertation, however a broader and international contextualization of its topic and results is lacking. Debating and problematizing the role and "use" of the humanities in relation to society at large and to the labour market outside academia is in no sense an exclusively Swedish endeavour. On the contrary, neoliberal discourses haunt public debates all over Europe (and beyond). If there are specific Swedish versions and enactments of this discourse of "humanity-bashing" it would certainly have been much clearer to the international reader if Mellander had put his findings in a broader or even comparative perspective. Instead, it is up to the reader to make such comparisons.

That said, it is a well-written and well-structured dissertation with many useful insights. The theoretical terms and resources from STS and phenomenology are smoothly turned into an efficient vocabulary, that is convincingly applied to the empirical material. One may feel that too many concepts and perspectives are tested, and that their mutual relationships are not explained in detail. Also, some themes are introduced rather late in the dissertation, which seem to have developed and grown somewhat organically along the way. Nevertheless, choices are situated consequences of complex relations more than matters of an autonomous and privileged individual's intentions – as Mellander argues. This is an important contribution, and this understanding probably also goes for dissertations. Some of the stated intentions of the author are not quite fulfilled. The perspective of materiality could be mentioned as an example of a perspective that is announced but almost shabbily treated.

Other themes receive more care, yet, they could have and should have been elaborated on more. A missing perspective is that of gender – how does gender inform the way ethnologists enact the discipline and navigate their competences on the labour market? Several differences between the interviewees are described, but as they rely on the individual narratives or cases of the informants, one may argue that such differences become personalized, just as ethnologists personalize their competences. However, the analytical consequence is that patterns of difference among or across the interviewees in their way of enacting Ethnology and navigating on the labour market disappear. What are the different logics, versions or modes of ordering that surface?

Despite this criticism, there is no doubt that this is a highly relevant and well-crafted dissertation, which contributes to our understanding of our discipline, how it is enacted, navigated and negotiated, and how it becomes a part of oneself – also when finding a place on the labour market takes some time and creates friction and frustration. One way or another, having invested themselves in the discipline, most ethnologists end up feeling "at home" in Ethnology.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Team Spirit in an Arms Factory

Niina Naarminen, Naurun voima. Muistitietotutkimus huumorin merkityksistä Tikkakosken tehtaan paikallisyhteisössä. Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura. Helsinki 2018. 427 pp. (English abstract: The power of laughter. An oral history

study of collective meanings of humour at the former industrial community of Tikkakoski arms factory). Diss. ISBN 978-952-5976-63-2.

■ On Independence Day in Finland, the Finnish Broadcasting Company shows the film *Unknown Soldier*, based on Väino Lynna's novel *Tuntematon sotilas*. One of the main characters comments on the soldiers who are fighting the continuation war against the Soviets, that the Finnish soldiers are "the puppets of Tikkakoski". The Tikkakoski mill manufactured submachine guns, patented in 1930 worldwide, known as the Suomi submachine gun. The reason I started this review by talking of a pacifist novel of war, published in 1954, is that this dissertation, *The Power of Laughter* is about the same Tikkakoski factory referred to in Väinö Linna's novel. It was a proud boast of the factory workers; everybody knew where the machine guns were made, in Central Finland, nowadays a part of Jyväskylä municipality.

In this doctoral dissertation, the folklorist Niina Naarminen shows the reader how important the laughter and jokes were for the factory workers' identity. Nevertheless, she concludes that the jokes and the joking tradition come from the agrarian background of the factory workers. The factory was closed in 1991, having operated since 1893. It was known as an arms mill, as guns were manufactured between 1918 and 1989. First guns were made for the Whites during the Finnish civil war. It was a rather confusing situation, for most of the workers in the manufacturing process were politically reds, socialists, and still they made arms for their enemies. Some of the workers were put in prison camps, but if you kept your mouth shut, you could still work in the factory.

After World War II, guns were made for hunting and other leisure activities. Like all industry in Finland, the Tikkakoski factory started to manufacture products for the Soviet Union as war reparations, and the factory started to make the Tikka sewing machine, mainly for the Soviet market. That manufacture ended when Russia did not have sufficient money to pay for the products.

There are three main questions in this study. The first question is how the humour tradition functioned as the culture of denial in the oral history of the Tikkakoski factory. Secondly, there is the question of how the mill workers' oral tradition of humour changed when the working community and its communality underwent change. Finally, the author asks how unemployment is reflected in the communal oral tradition and the social relations, and whether it is different from the oral tradition of those who retired before the closure.

The methodology she uses consists of the tools of oral history and social history, with terms such as popular memory and shared histories. In addition, she speaks of deindustrialization in Tikkakoski municipality. She also mentions that there was a Finnish army garrison, the air force, but only to say that the children of the military regulars belonged to a different caste, and the mill workers' kids felt inferior to them. However, Naarminen does not consider whether the geographical location of the garrison was dependent on the Tikkakoski arms factory. In my opinion, it would have been very interesting if there were a correspondence.

The book has seven chapters. The introduction is quite long, containing the theoretical framework of the study and the concepts and the methods used, to which Naarminen devotes 143 pages, undeniably giving a thorough analysis of the matter. The material of the study consists of 31 interviews and 27 filmed recordings. There is one man at the centre of this study; he is said to be a good speaker and has many humorous details of everyday life in the Tikkakoski mill. Naarminen spent her early life in Tikkakoski municipality, and as it was a small community she knew almost everyone she interviewed. Her informants include her mother and grandmother as well. She thus had a thorough pre-understanding of the field in which she was working. As an insider, this study is without question an example of autoethnographic research.

The author finds that the humour and laughter are very important in the routine of tedious factory work. Niina Naarminen is writing about oral history in a metalwork plant in the Tikkakoski factory. Oral history in this case is mainly the different kinds of jokes and amusing stories. She writes that these jokes and humorous stories have carnivalistic features. In chapters V and VI, Naarminen analyses the material, examining how the humour functions as contextualized communality and how deindustrialization influenced the humour and the humorous tradition. She is interested in the major changes in so-

ciety and how the people came to terms with the changes in their lives, and what the oral history and the tradition of humour give to people who are processing these changes in a life with an uncertain future.

Naarminen has worked with this topic in all her academic research; she has written all her theses about the Tikkakoski factory, starting with her bachelor thesis. The research material is detailed. Self- reflection is needed, and she manages this very well. She uses Alessandro Portelli's concept of radical oral history, where the researcher is a resource of the analysis, the researcher is a part of the study and her reading influences the study material. Portelli is very popular in current Finnish folkloristic research.

What kind of humorous tales did the workers tell on the shop floor, and what did they laugh at? Naarminen finds it very similar to the humorous stories of old peasant folktales, trickster stories. There are also carnivalistic traditions, and traditional folktales like the haughty employer who is taught a lesson or the arrogant worker who gets his comeuppance. The most popular jokes on the shop floor were of a sexual nature. Women were a small minority at the Tikkakoski factory, working in the downstairs halls. So all the women were at the centre of attention in jokes as well; they had to tolerate a certain amount of sexual harassment, but they could not be offended by it.

The final conclusion is that the laughter and joking ended when the factory was closed. Those who had already retired still told jokes about their work and of their workmates. Unemployment was an occasion for shame; the sight of former colleagues was painful, reawakening the sorrow of losing a job, and if there was any humour it was somewhat bitter. The humour was after all a way to get through the boring working shifts.

This dissertation can be placed among studies of the oral history of a community. The researcher has found similarities to the old trickster stories and shows that jokes and humour are important as everyday practice in a community, bringing out the team spirit and strengthening the feeling of the togetherness. The team spirit shows in the humour with the community.

Marja-Liisa Räisänen, Turku

RCT Ethnography

Jonas Winther, Making It Work: Trial Work between Scientific Elegance and Everyday Life Workability. Københavns Universitet, Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Copenhagen 2017. 240 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ Ethnology has evolved into a science that can supply important knowledge to various forms of medical research and development projects. This know-how largely consists in the adaptation of the methods and analytical tools used in ethnology so that they can be applied to the development of new medical fields. Through ethnographic work – mainly observations and interviews – ethnologists can bring out perspectives that reveal different dimensions than those found by medical methods. But it is also a matter of a great many other skills, such as the ability to perform a cultural analysis or the way of presenting the ethnological results. There are also some skills that are important but not always highlighted in academic contexts, such as the social abilities of many ethnologists to participate in challenging fields. Jonas Winther's compilation thesis is a good example of how ethnology can be embedded in a health intervention trial and incorporate ethnological knowledge in such a project. It is a study that not only adds theoretical and methodological perspectives, but also demonstrates how ethnologists can occupy a position in a medical setting and contribute crucial knowledge.

The health intervention trial project in which Winther has taken part has gone under the name GO-ACTIWE (an acronym for Governing Obesity-Active Commuting To Improve health and Wellbeing in Everyday life). The overall aim of the project was to produce scientific knowledge that can be used to implement meaningful lifestyle changes in people's everyday lives in order to generate weight loss. To produce such knowledge, the overall study is based on a randomized controlled trial (RCT) where participants were allocated to different groups which had to take part in various interventions in the form of daily cycling. There was also a control group that did not receive any intervention and which the other groups could thus be compared with. Through this set-up the project sought to generate evidence-based knowledge – which can be seen as a growing movement in medicine, under the abbreviation EBM (evidence-based medicine). Central to this RCT – and all other RCTs carried out in

EBM – is the establishment of protocols that determine how the study is to be carried out, what interventions the participants will receive, what empirical data to collect, and so on. For this protocol it is essential to make clear that what the study measures is relevant in the context – what is called validity – and that the measurement ensures reliability. If the protocol, as in GO-ACTIWE, is to be implemented outside a laboratory, there are many and complex parameters that can hamper the implementation of the intervention and the measurement of the results. So although EBM is a research method that may seem very far from ethnology, it is precisely ethnological methods and theories that can be used to clarify this complexity and thereby enable the researchers involved to succeed better with the different interventions and with the measurements.

The title of this thesis – *Making It Work* – therefore sums up a central part of the purpose of Winther's project, namely, to use ethnological methods and theories to lubricate the medical machinery and get an intervention trial project to work in practice. This is done by examining the everyday practices found in such a project between, on the one hand, the trial protocol to be followed, and on the other hand, the reality in which these protocols are to be converted into an everyday practice by the participants. Winther summarizes the aim as follows: "With this dissertation, I thus aim to contribute to this literature with a set of analyses that focuses on the actual trial protocol and the work involved in realising it. In doing so, my overall goal is to introduce 'the everyday life of trialling' as an alternative to familiar routes, such as politics, ethics, bio-economy, and bio-socialities, as analytical entrances in the ethnographic study of trial research" (p. 26). Ethnographic RCT studies are a crucial development of the methods and cultural-analytical perspectives that can facilitate the role ethnology can play in this type of intervention, but can also help us to understand what Winther calls "the everyday life of trialling" . He thus continues the development of applied cultural analysis and applied ethnography that we have seen in recent years.

The thesis consists of four parts. In the "Introduction" the author presents, among other things, the background to the study, a brief presentation of RCT ethnography and the theoretical starting point of the study in the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS). Part 1 consists of two chapters that discuss how "everyday life" relates to the protocol in the studied intervention, and presents the actual fieldwork performed for the specific study. The first chapter also poses an ethnological question that is crucial for this type of intervention project: "In other words, how is everyday life configured in the intersection between ambitions to meet standard methodological requirements and ambitions to produce knowledge that is valid beyond the laboratory?" (p. 36). The question justifies the role and participation of ethnology in this type of intervention project. Part 2 then contains the four original articles which will be summarized here briefly.

The first article, "Recruitment Tests: Participant Recruitment in an Exercise Intervention Trial in Denmark", was written together with Line Hillersdal and Astrid Pernille Jespersen. The article focuses on participant recruitment and examines the relationships that are created between participants and researchers. A key result of the article is that the participants are not "singular pre-existing subjects, but subjects who are enacted in concert with the specific practices and researchers involved in a trial" (p. 196). In other words, we see how the researchers construct their participants through the research design and the questions they choose, and thus also affect the knowledge that is produced.

In article 2, "Proper Vision: Compliance Work at a Distance in a Randomised Controlled Trial in Denmark", the focus is still on the researchers in the intervention and how they monitor the participants and get them to follow the protocol – what in medical language is called compliance. Winther discusses in the article different ways in which researchers can visualize the participants at a distance when they are not in the laboratory, and can also check their compliance with the protocol. This becomes a key problem when the RCT develops in the "real world", which Winther summarizes as follows: "I have presented the RCT as a fragile 'apparatus of visual production', whose ability to control relied on the researchers' engaged work of adjusting their apparatuses to each participant and their ability to position themselves in relation to the participants and their compliance in various ways" (pp. 146–147).

In article 3, "Routines on Trial: The Roadwork of Expanding the Lab into Everyday Life", the focus is switched to the work that participants do in the trial. A key finding of the article is the importance of everyday life for how an intervention is implement-

ed in practice, where the RCT ethnography can enable the participants' practices to be made visible. Winther concludes the article by highlighting the role of ethnology and RCT ethnography in these projects: "Ethnology can contribute to health intervention projects by showing how they favour certain everyday lives and not others. Taking up this agenda might create possibilities for health intervention research projects to take into account the inevitable productivity and variability of intervention into people's lives to promote health" (p. 168).

The last article, "Self-Care in the Harness: Trialling Active Selves in Public Health Research in Denmark", applies a somewhat more theoretical focus on the participants by discussing and developing the term self-care. Through this term Winther seeks to highlight the social and cultural processes that bind the participants to the trial, thus creating a form of togetherness. But it is also an article that explores in a fascinating way the term self-care and reveals people's creativity when it comes to following, and also developing, different forms of health practices. This is clarified in the summary of the article: "this article has shown how the rigorous scheme of the trial protocol also enabled and fostered a multiplicity of self-care practices in which the participants drew on and organised different components of the trial" (p. 189).

The thesis ends with a conclusion where the results of the four articles are presented again, but with some elaboration. The term RCT ethnography is discussed in greater depth. With his dissertation Winther succeeds in highlighting the integrative claims of ethnology and how the discipline can be renewed by developing and incorporating new areas of interest. Of course, this raises some problematic issues that could have been discussed in more detail in the dissertation. At the same time, Winther opens up new opportunities for ethnology, where future RCT projects can benefit from integrating ethnologists as part of the protocol, thereby hopefully increasing the validity and reliability of the project.

Kristofer Hansson, Lund

Book Reviews

Aspects of Collapse

Kollaps. På randen av fremtiden. Peter Bjerregaard & Kyrre Kverndokk (eds.). Dreyers forlag, Oslo 2018. 271 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-8265-423-4.

■ This highly topical and thought-provoking volume consists of seventeen relatively short articles, or more correctly essays, by a total of eighteen authors, of whom only three are women. Applying different perspectives and representing a variety of academic disciplines, the authors, who are mainly working at Norwegian institutions, discuss *collapse* as an idea and as a possible future reality. However, the Norwegian basis of the book does not mean that the analyses only concern Norwegian matters. In fact, the empirical data and the analyses are global in scope. The volume is edited by the social anthropologist Peter Bjerregaard and the folklorist Kyrre Kverndokk. Other authors' contributions cover a spectrum of disciplines ranging from social anthropology, cultural history, comparative literature, gender studies, and folkloristics to botany, geology, and psychology.

Our natural environment is in a state of rapid and dramatic change, not least because of human intervention. Human influence on the earth's geology, biodiversity, and climate has created a new global uncertainty. Concepts such as climate crisis and climate catastrophes form part of the narrative of a dystopian future in the media and the political discourse. The desire for sustainable development and a future that can build on today's society, without causing any friction, goes hand in hand with the unpleasant question of whether the world as we know it will collapse and the radical steps that humankind must take to avoid such a collapse. That is the basis of this volume.

The term *collapse*, which has been used frequently for political purposes in recent times, is often associated with something frightening and irreversible. However, as the authors of the volume seem to think, past collapses and contemporary taking place around us show that a collapse can also offer opportunities to see the world in a new light. Paradoxically, *collapse* is not just a destructive event, but can also be a creative force. The climate crisis has shown, for example, how an expected collapse gives rise not only to the development of new technology, new forms of housing, and new jobs, but also new forms of interaction.

The short introduction presents the learning goal of the book: to offer a kaleidoscopic perspective on collapses that includes everything from extinction of species to personal and psychological collapses. It also provides a brief overview of the concept of Anthropocene, the meaning of which is described as an understanding of the world where history and evolution, culture and nature can no longer be kept separate from each other.

The chapters in the book are relatively short, around 10–15 pages with a few exceptions. This means that some basic premises for academic articles have been skipped, such as descriptions of methodology and the material on which the articles are based. The structure consisting of many short essays based on widely differing disciplines may initially cause problems for the reader in understanding how to read each individual text, especially when it is not clear how the articles are arranged in relation to each other. This means that it sometimes takes energy to jump between articles, for instance when a text about the extinction of the great auk in relation to loss, melancholy, and meanings of extinction narratives in the Anthropocene is followed by a discussion of what a synthetic material like plastics can tell us about temporality, the Anthropocene, and capitalist values.

Each essay is illustrated with a picture, or rather an art photograph by Kirsten Jensen Helgeland. Unfortunately, the quality of the paper is such that it does not do justice to the poetic photographs. The relationship between the image and the respective essay therefore seems somewhat vague. Since there are so many essays it is impossible for a review to consider them all. What follows is therefore a summary of some of the seventeen contributions, with no claim that the selection reflects the representation of the different disciplines.

The anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen begins the volume by writing, with reference to Joseph Tainter's *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (1988), that we have a lot to learn from the rise and fall of previous civilizations. For example: The bigger a system becomes, the more expensive it will be to administer, and also, the larger the population becomes, the more everyone needs to work to support

themselves and their families. Eriksen takes the same optimistic stance as Tainter as regards the idea that the collapse of a civilization does not necessarily mean a regression or a worse life. Rather, the impending collapse can be seen as a blessing in disguise, because a down-turn in economic growth and consumption can instead prove to have a positive impact on the quality of life.

The geologist Henrik H. Svensen argues the thesis that if we are to understand the Anthropocene, we need more knowledge about previous geological periods and variations in climate. A period that began about 11,700 years ago, which was officially given the name of the Holocene at the end of the nineteenth century, and which some say ended when the great acceleration in population growth, and the consequent increase in carbon dioxide emissions, took off during industrialization and especially in the decades following the Second World War. With the Holocene as a backdrop, Svensen says that we can better understand the climate changes that occurred during the twentieth century and are now continuing in the twenty-first century. The Holocene was not a paradise, but an epoch of great natural variations such as hot and cold periods, floods, volcanic eruptions, and famines which influenced mankind in various ways. The difference between the Holocene and the Anthropocene is that the latter is dominated by mankind and by human interventions in nature. What the consequences will be and whether these can be likened to, say, major volcanic eruptions in the past, are issues that deserve attention.

The psychologist Ole Jacob Madsen's contribution proceeds from collapse as a psychological phenomenon and discusses how climate change affects the human psyche. A common explanation, says Madsen, why people do not react more to the climate threat is that people's fears are mainly directed at immediate threats here and now instead of towards abstract future scenarios. In this way, spiders and terrorism provoke more fear than climate change, even though the latter is in fact a much greater threat. In recent years, however, awareness and anxiety about the climate threat have increased in populations worldwide and, as history has shown, human flexibility and adaptability are significantly greater than is often assumed. Past collapses of societal and value systems which once seemed unshakable have shown that humans have nevertheless been able to adapt to other ways of life under new conditions.

The folklorist Kyrre Kverndokk shows how depictions of states of disaster, such as what happened in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, are similar to depictions of war and apocalyptic future scenarios taken from the world of film and fiction. The dramaturgy by which catastrophes are depicted follows a certain pattern that we can recognize from previously established notions of how a catastrophe will play out, with chaos, looting, and violence as taken-for-granted highlights of the narrative. However, these cultural schemas not only affect how disasters are interpreted and presented; according to Kverndokk, who quotes the hazard researcher Kathleen Tierney, they also contribute to the actual course of the disaster and how it is managed by the authorities with the aid of soldiers, police, and relief workers. This was seen, for example, in the way thousands of soldiers patrolled New Orleans after the devastation caused by Katrina. In the media depictions of Katrina, there was no room for *communitas*, to use Victor and Edith Turner's terminology, no mention of all the displays of care and compassion. A disaster does not automatically mean a collapse of civilization or morals, but can, on the contrary, give rise to new forms of interaction between people.

In order to understand today's concerns about an uncertain future and the new conditions that climate change will most likely entail, research is needed from different perspectives, not only in the natural sciences, biology, meteorology, and geology, but also psychology, cultural history, anthropology, and archaeology. As we read in the article "The Doomsday Document" by Kristian Bjørkdahl, postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Development and Environment in Oslo, knowledge about the environment and climate change has to a large extent been presented with the aid of technical-scientific graphs – a legacy, says Bjørkdahl, from the first major report, *Limits to Growth*, published by the modern environmental movement in 1972. Computer-based systems analyses create an abstract picture of the state of the world, a picture that few people can comprehend, which means that knowledge about the climate does not reach out and does not help us to understand either our own motives or ourselves. Bjørkdahl argues for a model of knowledge that includes rather than excludes, and that does not require a university degree in statistics.

In addition to these readable contributions, it is also worth mentioning an interesting article about the extinct but mythical great auk by the social anthropologists Gro Ween and Arnar Árnason, and the archaeologist Tim Flohr Sørensen's captivating and thought-provoking essay about the prospect of how long atomic waste must be managed. I was also fascinated by the art historian Ingrid Halland's article discussing how plastics as materiality are connected with the Anthropocene and constitute a plastic turning point with catastrophic existential implications. Finally, I would also like to single out the social anthropologist Arne Alexej Perminow, who writes about people's local responses to and understandings of change and impending collapse, which cannot automatically be interpreted in the context of climate discourses but should also be understood in the light of the forces that people themselves believe they are surrounded by.

It is not easy to summarize a book that moves between so many different disciplines and topics of knowledge. Having read the volume in its entirety, I have definitely gained a broader knowledge of contemporary and historical perspectives on collapses and crises. In addition, I have enjoyed reading it. At the same time, it leaves me somewhat perplexed. Although the editors begin by stating clearly that they have not sought to coordinate the perspectives of the different articles, if they had been arranged thematically they would have given a deeper and more systematic understanding of the climatic and ecological crises and collapses that we are said to be facing. I understand both the idea of keeping the gaps between the disciplines open and the problem of a thematic arrangement. This would not necessarily require grouping the articles according to the different scientific disciplines but could be done in other ways. When a book is multidisciplinary like this, in a positive sense, some aspects necessarily end up being neglected. The broad and boundary-crossing approach is thus both beneficial and detrimental to readers who expect an in-depth analysis of collapse as a historical and contemporary phenomenon. The book should thus be regarded as a scientifically based collection of essays to be read with an open and inquisitive mind. With that kind of attitude, any reader is assured of a rich and rewarding experience.

Helena Hörnfeldt, Stockholm

Integrating Research and Teaching

Tine Damsholt & Marie Sandberg, *Af lyst eller nød. En etnologisk undersøgelse af integration mellem forskning og undervisning i praksis*. København universitet, København 2018. 184 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-93510-26-5.

■ The Danish ethnologists Tine Damsholt and Marie Sandberg, together with students in ethnology as their research assistants, have conducted a study of the various practices of research–teaching integration (in Danish defined as "FUI"). This was financed by the University of Copenhagen. The purpose of the study is to document the various ways in which research is integrated in education or, in other words, how evidence-based research in university education happens. In addition, the different attitudes that students and university teachers ("experts") have to this ideological claim in university education, and how ideology is operated in everyday life practice, is also discussed.

The wider societal context of the research scope is that university education differs and should differ from other types of educations, e.g. college education. Roughly speaking, university education should present and function as the direct output of the latest research frontiers created by accredited scientists and scholars.

University education is especially supposed to contribute to and set the tone in all other sectors of society. The consequences of a university education not presenting the latest research can result in a society losing out: imagine a future workforce not being updated in the latest methods, tools, worldviews or theories. Think about the last time you saw an outdated practice or heard an obsolete line of thinking being used. This downfall of a society should of course be avoided.

The authors collaborate with students in analysing how actual educational situations incorporate research. The methods used are participant observation during teaching in lecture halls, laboratories and seminar rooms. Qualitative interviews are conducted through so-called ethnoraids: An ethnoraid is an ethnographic method which the authors define (p. 143) as an intense, communal and fast way to collect large quantities of qualitative empirical material. To the reader the method could, depending on the use, resemble data collection in consumer studies or in activist studies. It applies well to situa-

tions where many people with different viewpoints participate at the same time.

Hence, during 2014, 2015 and 2017 over 50 students were sent out to engage in the field in order to collect ethnographic material. The goal of the method was, as the authors explain, to create an overview of as many aspects of a situation as quickly as possible. Both peer-students and university-teachers from two different faculties, the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Science at the University of Copenhagen, were observed and interviewed.

The material consists of 23 situations of participant observation documented through fieldwork notes. In addition the material consists of interview transcripts based on short interviews with 127 students and in-depth interviews with 33 teachers and 48 students. The students collected the material with assistance from an interview guide which can also be found in the report.

The empirical material is very rich and the three different types of material, the authors explain, is systematized, selected and presented through an analytical strategy, namely to perceive evidence-based education as a performative practice where different arenas – e.g. the science lab, the lecture hall, the seminar room – already are discursively defined through their materiality. The empirical material is also presented as block quotes in the text. This is a hermeneutical, and scholarly, way of presenting large quantities of quality data which makes it possible for the reader to co-analyse the material.

The phrase "an ethnological investigation" in the report's subtitle probably covers the practice in the qualitative data collection and the ethnologists' theoretical interest in the agency of materiality. Thus, the authors explain (p. 145–150) that science and technology studies (STS) has helped them analyse how the different university arenas, their rules, materiality and practices, influence the ideals for how research and teaching should be integrated. In this sense the material surroundings contribute tacit knowledge, presuppositions and certain rationalities about what research is, how it is defined, performed and taught.

When students are in doubt as to whether research is integrated in their university education (sic) it can be because students are preconditioned with an imagination that research "looks" a certain way. Most often, the authors explain, students think that research is a natural-science practice which involves a laboratory where scientists wear white coats and safety glasses. "The laboratory" as the symbol for research can hinder many students from understanding that research practices are very different depending on the field.

In a university staff perspective, on the other hand, completely different occupations are happening. There is, for example, a presupposition that the experts' own office is a place where research is accumulated in a slow, introvert and maybe even esoteric, way. The lecture hall, on the other hand, is a place where research is presented in a fast, overstructured and sometimes simplistic way. These two work-practices, performed by the same university teacher, require very different abilities.

On a completely different level, students have different attitudes towards the research that is presented to them during their education. In the exact same class room they are governed by different motives and perceptions. As a director of studies (in ethnology) I would say that the report fulfils the need for university staff to understand the students through what the authors define (pp. 22–45) as the four student rationales:

One "development-orientated rationale" indicates a student whose main educational rationale revolves around the development of personhood, the specific discipline and the research which develops this field. Here, the student is very likely to engage in solving problems and is interested in participating in research. The student finds the investigation process interesting and accepts that some problems are demanding.

In the "job-orientated rationale" the student is interested in research when it brings the student ahead in the job market. Research in education is more accepted if it presents updated knowledge which can be applied in a future career. Research dealing with "career-irrelevant" topics are in this rationale less likely to be approved of and found important. Here, students complained about the kind of research integration which was not perceived as relevant to the examination.

In the "transformation-orientated rationale" the student is also governed by work-orientation but is more interested in the kind of research where the expert embodies a research practice the student eventually will master. Relevant hands-on experience and the use of method and process tools which are

tested in real life is important to this type of student. The processual research experience is hence valued in regard to the expected relevance in the student's own future job situation, and if research presentations are considered too "far off" in regard to "the real world" (p. 90) research integration is considered irrelevant.

The fourth student rationale is governed by the "profession-orientated rationale". Here the student is motivated by becoming a part of the profession itself. This means that the student will be interested in all forms of research integration because the student then is able to participate to the development of the profession. If research in this rationale is considered too particular and not representative of the (idea of the) profession, the student will find research integration demotivating.

Now, one might argue: should students' imagination and speculation about the relevance or irrelevance of research decide research integration in education? Should it not be "the discipline" itself which "decides"? All university education is by definition evidence-based and research is the reason why there is student education. Therefore the four rationales must be understood as a way to recognize how students evaluate the embodied performance (style and relevance) and presentation (selection and applicability) of research. Could it be suggested that students' taste and possible (dis)identification towards an expert's performance, more than research itself representing a field, is at stake here?

Nevertheless, the four rationales can systematize university staff's understanding of the students. The rationales can clarify that university research today is instrumentalized into various (commercial) outputs; in addition, the rationales can make staff aware that education is being evaluated and ranked by its end-users. Mixing an educational style catering for all four rationales might be the recipe for success?

Perceived from mainly two perspectives, the students' and the teachers', the report gives examples of how experts can test, collect data and even co-research with their students. The challenges regarding the students' level and progression, their training in understanding quality and their productivity are discussed when evaluating how students can become integrated in research practices. Being "a peer, apprentice, member of workforce or a (quasi)-colleague" (p. 135) and in this sense embodying research and teaching integration in practice, one expert (p. 139) describes the kind of problems that can occur when 70 co-authors (students and experts) submit a joint scientific paper. An international peer-reviewed journal often cannot cope with this type of author structure where not everyone is accredited. This is just one example of how research is also part of an 'output system' which is not rigged for the ideals of research–teaching integration. Hence, the university and research system in themselves create tacit knowledge, barriers and hinders, even though experts make an effort to produce research together with their students.

The overall impression of the report is that it is a report. Large sections of the texts have been published in previous scholarly articles and reworked in this text. There are many summaries and recommendations which make it easy for everyone to read. People with the task of developing education – and even lost university-teachers and directors of studies – could find it useful.

Sarah Holst Kjær, Stockholm

The Art of Listening

Kompetensen att lyssna. Georg Drakos & Helena Bani-Shoraka (eds.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2018. 224 pp. ISBN 978 91 7331 9317.

■*Kompetensen att lyssna* owes its inception to a two-year project, between 2014 and 2015, led by Georg Drakos, an ethnologist from Stockholm University. The project that was carried out within the framework of the Swedish Cultural Council with focus on "Culture for the Elderly" focused on the application of narrative praxis as a model to create forms of mutual knowledge exchange between professional practitioners from different areas within health and social care, art and science. The aim was to contribute to the development of an effective communication between health and social care practitioners and different groups of care receivers, including elderly and those affected by inherited or acquired disabilities to surpass the quality of life among them.

The overarching theme of this volume is listening as a resource, and the ways in which health and social care practitioners can communicate more effectively with care receivers through becoming better listeners. The central focus is on the importance of using narrative praxis as a model to facilitate com-

munication with, especially, those who have lost their ability to narrate due to old age or ill health, with the aim of providing them with an opportunity to be heard even when words are missing.

The volume consists of three parts. Part one, including the first three chapters, presents the reader with an overall perspective on narrative praxis as a model, a brief background on the theoretical and methodological perspectives on narrative praxis in health and social care, and narrative development in a multilingual context, respectively. Part two, including six chapters written by different authors, provides the reader with empirical examples of how health and social care practitioners use narrative praxis methods when interacting with elderly and patients affected by disabilities of different types. The third and last part, consisting of two chapters, is based on the foregoing statement on narrative praxis as a model and the outline of its methods which presents the reader with a further developed description into the model and provides the reader with important insights into how health and social care practitioners can further develop their communication skills and become better listeners.

In the first chapter, the reader is introduced to the idea of narrative praxis as a model and how it can facilitate communication between health and social care practitioners and different groups of care receivers. In this introductory chapter, the ethnologist Georg Drakos and the sociolinguist Helena Bani-Shoraka present a short background to what narrative praxis is and how its application as a method in health and social care can ensure that elderly have a voice. Narrative praxis is defined as "the way staff listen and relate to narrative in their professional practice" (p. 13, my translation). Narrative is introduced as the most prominent means to communicate "who we are and we want to be", however, despite its importance, it is all too often that care receivers' narratives within health and social care remain unheard and untold (p. 14, my translation). It leads to the argument that although sufficient resources and staff with high competence is a requirement to ensure high quality of care, focusing on care receivers' personal narratives is a way to ensure care receivers' "well-being, security and dignity", the core values of health and social care (p. 17, my translation).

In the same line of thought, in chapter two, Drakos further elaborates on the question of how to become a good listener when the narrator has lost the ability to narrate, and when one's historical identity is seemingly lost in the midst of illness. Drakos presents, among others, a brief history of "narrative turn" and "performative turn" and points out the ways in which a performance-oriented approach to narrative and listening invites us to shift our attention to *how* people appear in their own narrative rather than focusing, only, on *what* they narrate. Narrative is the primary component of social interaction, and those who fail to meet the standards of a "real narrative", inevitably, are deprived of a voice and experience different degrees of exclusion. Narrative is a selective act of presenting the parts of our life experiences that are the most meaningful to us. Sometimes, however, it is the untold parts of the story that are the most meaningful parts. In this chapter, Drakos reminds the reader of the importance of defining the meaning of narrative and narration and what forces in care receivers' environment can enable or disable their narratives from being told and heard.

In chapter three, Bani-Shoraka deals with multilingualism in health and social care. The crux is that multilingualism in health and social care is an asset rather than a hindrance although multilingualism is not a well-defined concept within the health and social care field. This is due to a vague understanding of what multilingualism is and how it functions in different fields, contexts and situations. With the help of referring to a real-life example within a retirement home, Bani-Shoraka illustrates the ways in which multilingualism as a resource enables caregivers and care receivers to communicate effectively through speaking the same language, sharing common imagination, and experiencing a feeling of familiarity. Multilingualism is introduced as a resource in health and social care as it provides care receivers with an opportunity to be actively engaged and recreate and relive their experiences from the past to the present.

Part two, consisting of chapter four to nine written by Ninni Svensson, Gunilla Ryden, Karin Renberg, Anne-Charlotte Keiller Wijk, Katrin Rosemaysdotter, and Stanislaw Przybylski Linder, respectively, provides the reader with practical examples of how using patients' own "resources" contribute to the engagement and well-being of elderlies and those affected by different types of disabilities. One thing that these chapters have in common is to show how health and social care prac-

titioners use narrative praxis methods to communicate effectively and interact with elderly and those affected by disabilities of different types. The chapters visualize application of the different methods of narrative praxis model in their different lines of work within health and social care sector while they presents an individual take on the importance of narrative praxis. Within the description of their professional practices, the writers intentionally do not refer to the narrative praxis model itself. Instead, they illustrate the application of the model's various tools in their daily practices, providing the reader with a good overview of how narrative praxis is applied in real life practices. The six chapters also have in common their reflection on the importance of facilitating the care receivers, based on their conditions and needs, with different tools to regain their "voice".

In chapter ten, Georg Drakos reviews the narrative praxis model and the importance of its application in different occupational practices within health and social care. By referring to the four types of tools that this model offers – listening and interaction, participation and observation, free expression of the self, and presence and performance – Drakos analyses the examples provided in the previous chapters and portrays how they initially correspond to the study of narrative in different contexts.

In the last chapter, Drakos and Bani-Shoraka summarize the previous chapters by concretizing what being a good listener in health and social care means. In order to become a good listener in health and social care sector, one needs to move beyond the standard means of communication through using different means of interaction instead of solely focusing on standardized communication methods. Although the writers recall the limitations within health and social care sector and discuss how lack of time is often an objection that is difficult to ignore, they argue that time is not just a scarce commodity. Time can be a resource if caregivers consider it as a tool rather than a barrier. The question then is not just about having time but also about taking time.

This volume stays faithful to its title and the research questions that are posed throughout the book. Through a combination of theoretical and methodological approach, this book oscillates between the theoretical perspectives on narrative praxis in health and social care, and the practical examples of how to apply the model in real life situations. The reader is introduced to a combination of methodological and practical perspectives on narrative praxis and its application in health and social care. It can be seen as a brief yet hands-on toolbox where both instructions into how to apply narrative praxis in daily activities and reasoning behind it is presented. It is a very interesting read as one can reflect on or even relate to the information and examples presented from personal experiences.

One may critique the lack of opposite opinions and potential challenges of the application of this model in different real-life situations, and argue that it is unlikely that *every* approach to narrative praxis and listening is a successful practice. Georg Drakos addresses this shortage in the last chapter by clarifying that presentation of the successful examples is more inspiriting than recalling the unsuccessful results. It will, however, be as inspiring and educational to share the failure and reflect on how to avoid such outcomes in the future. The book presents the reader with a handful of references which may put it at risk of being less sought after in academia.

Despite the occasional repetition, the information presented in this volume can easily capture the reader's interest. It is a practical tool box which can be used by different groups of audiences who are interested in bringing theory to practice.

Talieh Mirsalehi, Lund

A Nineteenth-century Norwegian Photographer

Torild Gjesvik, Fotograf Knud Knudsen. Veien, reisen, landskapet. Pax Forlag, Oslo 2018. 268 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-530-4018-9.

■ The art historian and cultural historian Torild Gjesvik has presented and analysed photographs taken by Knud Knudsen (1832–1915) in Bergen. He had grown up on two farms, Kremargården and Tokheim, outside Bergen and knew both the peasant culture and the urban culture in Bergen. For much of his life he alternated between his parents' last farm, Tokheim, and his residence and photo business in Bergen, which he owned and managed 1864–1899. Before establishing the photo firm he travelled extensively in 1862–1863 to Holland, Germany, and

Denmark, where he learned the techniques of photography.

Gjesvik's study was conducted as part of the research project *Routes, Roads and Landscapes: Aesthetic Practices En Route, 1750–2015*. The author therefore focuses on photographs of roads, travels, and landscapes. With the aid of Knudsen's sales catalogue she is able to trace his various journeys. Many new roads were built in the latter part of the nineteenth century, representing the modern engineering of the time. Knudsen photographed both winding new roads and the almost impassable older roads that had existed in the same places. The natural landscape was one of steep cliff faces and huge boulders. Knudsen also took pictures of viewpoints adjacent to the roads. A reason for this is that tourists were among his most important customers and they were interested in impressive natural formations. Orders for photographs also came to Knudsen from several countries outside Norway.

Knudsen travelled around much of Norway with his bulky camera equipment. In the early days in the 1860s and 1870s he took his photographs using a stereoscope camera to obtain three-dimensional motifs. When developing pictures in those first years he used the wet-plate technique where the material consisted of glass plates to which light-sensitive chemicals were applied. The photographs had to be developed immediately in a mobile darkroom tent with the aid of further chemicals. An unlimited number of positive images could then be processed. In the 1880s Knudsen switched to the use of dry plates which did not need to be developed immediately. This meant that he no longer needed a mobile darkroom tent in the field.

Knudsen received medals and honourable mentions at several exhibitions both inside and outside Norway, including the world's fairs in Philadelphia in 1876 and in Paris in 1878 and 1889.

Since 2013 Knudsen's photographs and negatives have belonged to Norway's Documentary Heritage, the Norwegian part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. Besides pictures of roads and natural landscapes there are several illustrations of folklife in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The pictures are available digitally at www.marcus.uib.no/home.

Gjesvik's book is richly illustrated with nicely reproduced pictures from Knudsen's collection of glass plates in Bergen. It can be warmly recommended to anyone interested in photographic history, natural landscapes, and transport and its changes in bygone days.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Own Garden

Allan Gunnarsson, Katarina Saltzman & Carina Sjöholm, Ett eget utomhus. Perspektiv på livet i villaträdgården. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2017. 326 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-231-2.

The garden as an extension of home

This book about gardens and garden life is a joy to explore. At first sight it lacks nothing, or perhaps rather contains everything, somewhat like the ethnological discipline itself: physical surroundings with people involved, interacting with the investigators. In this case the objects are gardens, from the 1930s and 1960s respectively, in two suburban residential areas in southern Sweden.

The informants are alphabetically listed with their (anonymised) first names and age, their garden type, their preferences and family situation, an overweight of females (28 females and 13 males respectively) with the kind of garden they represent.

Field notes are supplemented with excerpts and references to questionnaires of LUF, DAG and DFU, the folklore-, dialect-, and placename archives in Lund, Gothenburg and Uppsala. Additionally there are excerpts and references from a rich bibliography.

To be a garden owner is likened to a pregnancy, a fitting metaphor for getting a garden, observing the result – the garden/child – to be dressed and watched as it grows, whether unruly or compliant, wildly or receptive to discipline.

Illustrations are plentiful, and so are quotations from interviews and questionnaires. There are photographs by the authors to please the eye and inform the mind, snap shots rather than studied arrangements. They lead the reader into garden views, play areas, an occasional pet, outside dining tables, sheds for tools and handling of waste. The area plans especially suggest a professional and artistic garden architect, the male member of this trio, who have worked, or anyway written, this book seamlessly together. The bibliography is impressive and may lead the reader further into great heights of exploration.

Phenomenology and cultural analysis

This book is presented as a cultural analysis, a concept still a little hazy as a comprehensive scholarly entity since Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren published their seminal *Culture builders* (*Den kultiverade människan*) of 1979 and since then a hallmark of the University of Lund in particular. It is tempting to draw a line back to Husserl's phenomenology through the pioneering Norwegian architect Professor Christian Norberg-Schultz's work. Incorporated and instrumentalized in architectural theory, phenomenology appears to have become a more or less integral part of cultural studies and analysis, and the book reviewed draws special attention to it.

Sweden has great forerunners, as in Gregor Paulsson who – with fifteen collaborators – produced *Svensk stad* I–III (1950–53) – "The Swedish town" – as a classficatory and descriptive presentation of urban buildings and home life. That work has had a great impact. For urban planning and site descriptions, Jane Jacobs' *Death and life of great American cities* comes to mind as basic for the urban studies that dominated the 1970s and 80s onward. Regarding the urban cultural analytical path, one should also keep in mind Richard Hoggart, the founder of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham which brings the working class into the perspective as "a culture" rather than as a problematic case for social workers. His book *The uses of literacy* (1957) was a forerunner. Reflection on the meaning of traditional folk-life research, ethnology and cultural analysis/studies can take us back to the playwright Henrik Ibsen's drama *Hedda Gabler* with the fictional Eilert Löfborg as a culture analyst compared to the cultural historian Jørgen Tesman's allegedly rather dry thesis on "Crafts of Brabant in the Middle Ages", perhaps an example of what August Strindberg termed button counting – *knappologi* – a derogatory term for the former measuring-rod ethnology dominated by artifacts with no people added.

Secrets revealed

It may seem hairsplitting after having had the pleasure of dealing with this book to ask for more. More might nevertheless be wished for. Many years ago I read the Hungarian ethnologist Tamás Hofer commenting on the differing approaches of American and European anthropological presentations. They – the Americans – favored fancy titles and an explicit theory. We – the Europeans – have descriptive titles while hiding theory throughout the text. In that respect this book is European, even, I would say, Nordic.

There is another rather annoying lack. Long ago I promised myself never to buy a scholarly book without an index. Having received this otherwise excellent book for review, I had no need here to break my promise. Yet the lack of an index reduces the utility value of an otherwise pleasant companion for passionate and not so passionate garden owners.

It is hard not to let thoughts go back to the Gothic children's *Bildungsroman*, Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The secret garden* (1911) about defiant orphaned Mary Lennox of nine, who finds the key to a garden that has been locked up for ten years. In budding spring she learns gardening from her uncle's sulky gardener. Ronny Ambjörnsson's title *Den hemliga trädgården* – The secret garden (2015) is hardly coincidental.

At the prospect of a garden of one's own, the garden owner will delight in a flashback to the investigative child, now as an adult being led on the ethnological garden trail through many gardens and garden owners' minds in this delightful book.

Brit Berggreen, University of Bergen

Cross-Border Alcohol Contacts

Anders Gustavsson, Historical Changes in Alcohol Contacts across the Swedish-Norwegian Border. Novus Press, Oslo, 2019. 61 pp. Ill. 978-82-8390-010-1.

■ As a cultural scientist with an interest in alcohol and drugs, I was very keen to accept the task of reviewing this book by the ethnologist Anders Gustavsson about cross-border trade between Norway and Sweden, with special focus on alcohol. When I finally held the book in my hand, it aroused a great many memories of my time as a student. The book is about sixty pages long, and although it is a hardcover, it is similar in many ways to the unbound literature that was used on courses in ethnology in Gothenburg in the 1990s, which dealt with various phenomena in cultural history and folklore. In other words, Gustavsson is continuing a fine old ethnological tradition.

The study is descriptive, with a classical ethnological narrative approach, and takes its starting point in traditional ethnological sources where you get close to people and their experiences. There is no theory, but the book can manage without it. I read it as a culture-historical study of encounters over time between people separated by a national border which affects everyday life as a result of political decisions taken in the two countries. The study therefore has a relevance that goes beyond the studied topic. The device of following an actor or a phenomenon and keeping the focus on movements of alcohol across over the border is both brilliant and illuminating despite its simplicity, or perhaps because of it.

Norway and Sweden are in many ways similar, but Gustavsson effectively shows how great the differences are and how movements of alcohol and other goods have changed over time, depending on exchange rates, legislative changes, strikes and subsidies in each country. That is why the book is not just about alcohol, or about trade in a border region, national culture, or any other delimited phenomenon. I read it as a study of cultural complexity.

The book is not divided into chapters, instead examining a number of themes that are tackled one by one in chronological order. Gustavsson begins by discussing the project as such and its focus on life in border regions and on alcohol. He then considers movements across the border, based on memories and narratives: labour migration from Sweden to Norway during the late nineteenth century, especially stonemasons, as well as movements of goods (meat and other agricultural produce). Between 1916 and 1927 Norway had a prohibition on the sale of alcohol, which led to smuggling from Sweden. This section contains many graphic descriptions from folklife archives as well as some pictures that nicely convey the atmosphere. During the Second World War the border between the countries was closed, but there was still some movement, such as the smuggling of food and alcohol. Before the war it was mainly Swedes who came to Norway with their goods and their labour, but after the war the direction of the movement was reversed and smuggling increased in scope. During the 1950s and 1960s Swedes bought sugar and margarine in Norway, where these goods were subsidized at the time. In recent years, which the study focuses mostly on, the movement has mainly involved Norwegians coming to Sweden to buy alcohol and to party. Recently, Swedes have once again gone to Norway to work.

I really have only one objection, or actually just a reflection. Why is the book in English? Since there are no ambitions to make the findings generalizable (and I do not see any need for that), more people would probably have been able to read and enjoy the narratives if the results had been presented in Swedish.

Eddy Nehls, Lerum/Trollhättan

Private Archives

Enskilda arkiv. Charlotte Hagström & Anna Ketola (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2018. 187 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-44-12244-1.

■ *Enskilda arkiv*, or "Private Archives", published by Folkrörelsernas Förbund and edited by Charlotte Hagström of Lund University and Anna Ketola of the Scanian Archive Association, is an elegantly constructed book. It follows a well thought out chronology in two directions: one from historical time through the present day towards the future, and one from the delivery of material via the processing of the material to the point where it is made accessible to the public. The structure leads one's thoughts to a coordinate system of archival work over time. An updated archive manual of this kind is particularly welcome in view of the fact that thirty years have passed since the publication of *Folkrörelsernas arkivhandbok – arkiv och framtid i förening* in 1988; changes have taken place in practically everything in this sector, from the public assignment of the archives and their target groups to practical archival management and the day-to-day work of the archivist. The job I myself began at the end of the 1990s shows very little similarity to the job I am doing today, and I can scarcely imagine what it was like in the 1980s.

The less positive sides of the book include the colourless look, even slightly dusty, adjectives that an archivist does not like to see in this context today. Associating archives with something colourless feels unfair and outdated; a visually attractive appearance would have been more than welcome, in order to achieve a fresh renewal in this respect too. Despite the appearance of the book, *Enskilda arkiv* contains nine good articles by eleven knowledgeable writers.

In the foreword, the editors say that the book is intended as a handbook "for and about private archives" (p. 7). There are three primary target groups for the book: students in archive studies, creators of private archives, and archive employees. Hagström and Ketola have succeeded well in their mission of finding writers who can shed light on the field from different angles. As an archivist, I can say that, in practical terms, the book does not bring very many surprises. The various phases and processes of the work described here are familiar to me. What is new for me, coming from Finland, was the introductory chapter on the history of the individual archives in Sweden, and the concluding chapter on visions of the future, which offered an opportunity for personal reflection. However, an archival employee with less or no experience can certainly benefit from this handbook, and I can also imagine that it is useful for students and people building up archives.

Samuel Edquist gets us off to a good beginning with the history of how private archives (established by companies, social movements, and private individuals) arose in Sweden. He demonstrates that it has been a flexible module where different factors have affected each other. Among other things, increased historical consciousness, an ever-stronger democracy and a society in change have staked out the path that enabled the emergence and existence of private archives. Edquist also reveals an important power perspective, namely, that the archives are by no means impartial, that they are often founded for political or ideological reasons, and that it has always been a matter of choosing, of selecting. This is an important aspect in view of all the voices that do not make themselves heard in the archives – the documents which, for political or ideological reasons, have not been considered worthy of preservation, and either have been explicitly destroyed or were never collected. "Private archives are no less problematic than public archives as sources for the real conditions that the archives are envisaged as reflecting," writes Edquist (p. 26).

In the following chapter Karin Englund and Anders Gidlöf describe how organizations in Sweden took shape during the twentieth century. From temperance movements and women's unions, Sweden moved towards organized trade unions and sector associations in business and state and municipal administration. There are a number of concrete examples of how private archives arose in local and regional social movements and businesses. The chapter also addresses the position of private archives in relation to the National Archives.

In chapter four Gidlöf and Maria Boman describe the importance of planning and management, for instance by drawing up a document management plan. With the help of process descriptions, one can map the flow of information and see when in a work process different types of documents arise, and in connection with this plan preservation and discarding. Involving the entire organization and getting people to describe their work operations seems to be an almost Quixotic tilting at windmills; it is important here for the document manager to be prepared to encounter displeasure and incomprehension from the employees. There are many cases of "if not": "If the staff of the archive founder does not understand how to use the document management plan, it will not be followed. If the archivist in the final archiving does not use the plan in the cataloguing, the work will be more difficult" (p. 63). Several years ago, when my own employer introduced an electronic document management system, a lot of people rolled their eyes. No one does that any longer, and the digital official archive, to which we employees contribute, is formed as a natural part of our daily activities. We create our documents in a common system and save them under different process names. It is neither difficult nor particularly time-consuming, but it took time to make it work.

In chapter five, Boman continues with what should be borne in mind when deliveries and donations take place. Contact with the donor or archive founder is an elementary measure in order to get an all-round view and retrieve all the metadata. The legal aspects (ownership, possible reservations, etc.) must be investigated and contracts and agreements signed. She also surveys the optimal storage for different types of material – paper, sound, photographs, digital files, etc. "Preserving something means that it is supposed to remain in a legible and understandable condition for a very long time, a thousand years or more. For digital material the life expectancy is estimate to be only 3–7 years if no action is taken" (p. 80). Boman refers to the National Archives' recommendations for more information on the best storage format for electronic data. Chapter five concludes with a few words about keeping a rough inventory and the importance of separating damaged archival material from healthy material. Digital ma-

terial, for example, should always be opened via a quarantine computer to avoid the transfer of any viruses.

In chapter six, Boman describes the work of cataloguing: discarding, cleaning and various archival schemes. It is perhaps the most manual-like chapter in the book and can be very useful for all those who need guidance in cataloguing archives.

In chapter seven, Örjan Simonson and Christina Sirtoft Breitholtz reflect on different materials and their life span, optimal storage methods and threats to them. This chapter touches on the same areas as chapter five, but chapter seven has a more historical touch – although one may wonder if we need to know that "ink was already in existence 4500 years ago in China and Egypt and is a mixture of soot or carbon black (pulverized carbon) dissolved in water or oil and with the addition of an adhesive as a binder". It might have been enough to say that it is soluble in water and therefore sensitive to moisture. Other writing materials are also presented in detail, as well as the best conditions for long-term preservation. Paper is and remains the form that draws the longest straw as regards durability in historical retrospect. Paper lasts for centuries. Optical and magnetic storage units last about ten years, it says here (Boman's estimate was 3–7 years). We are given concrete knowledge about migration, emulation, and conversion of digital data, as well as an explanation of the OAIS model. This chapter is clearly the most informative regarding IT; archiving digital material requires foresight, surveillance, and action – it is not a question of stowing the material on a shelf in a magazine forever; it has to be regularly transferred to newer storage media and formats with a view to long-term storage.

In chapter eight Eva Tegnhed elucidates how archives can be made accessible from every conceivable aspect. She considers the changing self-image of archives; instead of being a passive supplier of archival material, archives today want to be active, relevant to society, communicating their contents to ever wider target groups, often on their own initiative, for instance through educational activities. It is clear that Tegnhed has worked extensively in public contexts and in direct contact with visitors to archives. She knows what a visitor can find difficult: everything from illegible handwriting to thinking source-critically, or assimilating content without images, or simply understanding that it is about real events and people. The archives also have – nowadays, one might add – a social function, as a place for socializing or meaningful leisure, where the archive material itself is not the most important thing.

The author also addresses the problem of the archivist's so-called objectivity – aspects which, at least in Finland, are highly topical in the field. From saying as little as possible about the content of the various archives, in the name of objectivity ("If something was highlighted, it meant that everything else was hidden", p. 153), there has been a switch to giving a detailed description of the contents – today it is even believed that this is one of the archivist's most important tasks. "It is important to consider, and to state openly, that the archivist is never entirely objective in his or her role, although neutrality of course is sought as far as possible," writes Tegnhed (p. 153). Making specific material accessible, via an exhibition, online or through a presentation, is of course also a choice. With such choices one can influence the general perception of what is interesting, and this is also a power position to keep in mind.

In the concluding chapter, Maths Isacson and Peter Olausson reflect on the future of the archives in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. Some of the threats mentioned are the ever-decreasing membership of non-profit organizations, the restructuring of government authorities, companies, and associations and, not least, "analog memory loss". "The difficulties in reading and interpreting older handwritten archival material can be a major obstacle to an interest of asking for older documents, which in turn is detrimental to the function of archives in society" (p. 177). It is worth thinking about this threat. Other threats mentioned are the effects of immigration (e.g. increased multilingualism requires increased resources) and – very fleetingly – GDPR. While private archives are not subject to the principle of public access, as state archives are, membership lists and other documents with personal data require special caution.

Of course, Isacson and Olausson also see a great deal of future opportunities, including high levels of education, increased life expectancy, improved public health, internationalization, digitization, etc. Many of the threats and possibilities prove to be two sides of the same coin. To make the threats into possibilities, the archives must monitor the surrounding world closely. "The archives can do so, for example, by initiating campaigns to encourage people to

document their own lives, by offering the storage of both digital and analog material and by presenting individual people's experiences as important to society at large" (p. 184).

The last chapter, as I said, gave me pause for personal reflection. My first reflection is about the archive visitor of the future. Although the level of education is certainly higher than ever before, literacy has, at least in Finland, fallen drastically, particularly among boys. Without going into detail about the causes, it is relevant in this context that there are growing numbers of young people who cannot assimilate long texts. I see this as a threat not only when it comes to handwritten archival material, but reading in general. No one reads the classics any more, they watch Netflix. Increasingly, it is images that surround us, both as impressions and expressions. Words seem to be an endangered phenomenon. Another threat connected to this is that the interest in humanistic subjects is being undermined by strange prioritization, with mathematics and entrepreneurship ranking higher in society than, for example, knowledge of history or foreign languages. In the archives, on the other hand, the history and language skills are of indisputable benefit, and in life as a whole. When young people are rewarded for studying mathematics instead of reading, there are of course effects in the long run – youngsters are smart and choose what benefits them in society. But will they be future archive visitors?

In pace with growing demands for accessibility, the archivist is increasingly pushed into a corner where various categorizations and registries are prohibited; the data protection act says that religion, sexual orientation, political beliefs, ethnic origin, etc. are sensitive personal data. At the same time, there may be explicit pressure from researchers, for example studying the history of LGBT people in the archives. How do you work properly with people – some of whom may be alive – within these rather uncomfortable frames?

Of course, there are many possibilities. I see the archives as a future resource for schools, for research, for business, and for social interaction. I hope that the archives have a bright future. One observation with which I will conclude is that the field is increasingly being managed by a wide range of specialists, who create the archiving process in cooperation. You do not need to have a guilty conscience because you are not an expert in IT when you have a master's in Nordic literature, just as an IT support person does not need to feel ashamed of not knowing the entire history of Christmas traditions. At archives today there are often departments where different stages of the process are handled: collecting, work with the collections, customer service and outreach activities, IT, communication. Perhaps that is the direction we are taking? We are moving away from the image of a lone archivist who, in the 1980s, handled the entire archiving process from start to finish in his or her office. Today we are cooperating across knowledge boundaries in order to create the best possible cultural heritage for the future. I would like to think that the word *together* is the keyword of the future.

Nelly Laitinen, Helsinki

The Culture of Neuroscience

Interpreting the Brain in Society. Cultural Reflections on Neuroscientific Practices. Kristofer Hansson & Marcus Idvall (eds.). Arkiv förlag, Lund 2017. 167 pp. Ill. 978-91-7924-293-0.

■ A few years ago I wrote an appreciative review of the book *The Atomized Body: The Cultural Life of Stem Cells, Genes and Neurons* (ed. Max Liljefors, Susanne Lundin & Andréa Wiszmeg). The book reviewed here was written by the same research group from Lund, and I appreciate this book at least as much as I did the former. After a presentation of the contents of the book, I shall explain why.

The volume is a collection of articles written by researchers associated with the research group The Cultural Studies Group of Neuroscience, which consists of researchers from the disciplines of ethnology, art history, and visual studies. The argument for writing this work in cultural studies is easy to understand and sympathize with. Culturally related existential issues of consciousness and life and death are far too important to leave entirely in the hands of neuroscientists. Like *The Atomized Body*, this is a book where experiences gathered from interdisciplinary collaboration are analysed. The book consists of seven chapters and two afterwords, with the following contents:

The first chapter, "A Different Kind of Engagement: P. C. Jersild's Novel *A Living Soul* (by Kristofer Hansson), is partly a continuation of the rather short, but pithy and informative introduction. The

starting point for the analysis here is Jersild's novel from 1988, which is about a brain that has been surgically removed from the body and is living in a bowl, connected to a series of instruments. The narrator in the book is the brain, which makes it perfect as a basis for analysing the location and role of the brain in today's society. In this chapter, Hansson introduces many of the concepts and dilemmas that are discussed in the other chapters, which shows that this is a well-integrated and thematically coherent volume, not just a collection of texts on similar topics pieced together into a more or less well-functioning whole. The main thrust of the chapter is that new technologies give rise to new knowledge, here in the form of new representations of the brain, and completely new ways of looking at life and death. With technological advances in medicine, the concept of death has become a matter of debate, so that not only science, but also life itself, has been politicized, resulting in completely new ethical dilemmas to be tackled. Neuroscience cannot manage this on its own. That is why interdisciplinary scholarship is so important.

The next chapter, "Pathological Creativity: How Popular Media Connect Neurological Disease and Creative Practices" (Peter Bengtsson & Ellen Suneson), is about how the brain is represented in popular culture, which often uses and spreads outdated notions of scientific knowledge, in this case about creativity, which in many television series (both fictional and documentary) is associated with mental illness. The article focuses on how the transmission of these inaccuracies affects the public perception of what is healthy and sick as well as normal and abnormal about cognitive properties. Scientific knowledge about complex phenomena and relationships is often simplified in artistic works, which is understandable and therefore important to discuss. This chapter nicely illustrates the usefulness of the humanities. The authors demonstrate the importance of a well-developed critical, analytical ability among the general public to prevent delusions from spreading and influencing the conditions for communicating knowledge between science and the surrounding society.

The discussion in the chapter "'Biospace': Metaphors of Space in Microbiological Images" (Max Liljefors) is based on detailed analyses of various aspects of images of neurons and other things, which are presented in much the same way as celestial bodies. Here too the author warns against oversimplification. That pictures say more than words is a cliché, but the author shows how important it is to be aware of the power of visualizations of scientific results. The images of fragments of the brain help to spread and keep alive the notion that consciousness (and also knowledge) can be located in a specific place, which research on the brain shows is not true. Using the concept of biospace (which can be simply described as being about how, in this case, the brain is represented aesthetically and disconnected from the rest of the body) the chapter discusses how the images are created and presented to the public as well as how the composition of the images influences people's knowledge and understanding of life and reality. The author focuses on how the images are created and what is absent in them, and on how the images convey a notion that the knowledge of reality comes to us in pure form, when in fact there is a great deal to suggest that all images both illustrate and construct our perceptions of reality.

The next chapter, "Diffractions of the Foetal Cell Suspension: Scientific Knowledge and Value in Laboratory Work" (Andréa Wiszmeg), is based on ethnographic fieldwork in a biomedical laboratory, analysing different researchers' ways of working with the biomaterial they are investigating. The purpose of the analysis is to create a better understanding of how scientific knowledge arises in the context of a laboratory. The author tests an alternative perspective that is diffractive instead of reflexive and is about not taking differences for granted, but examining which differences are considered and how, and which are ignored in scientific practice. This perspective has been developed to highlight the influence of tacit and taken-for-granted knowledge, which is an important contribution of the human sciences to the natural sciences. The point is that, with this perspective, the researcher is involved as a subject in the knowledge process in a completely different way than if knowledge is viewed as something that is passively discovered. This perspective can enable a better understanding of where and how misunderstandings in the communication of scientific knowledge arise and of how better to solve the problems that often arise in interdisciplinary projects.

Chapter 5, "Mixed Emotions in the Laboratory: When Scientific Knowledge Confronts Everyday Knowledge" (Kristofer Hansson), analyses re-

searchers' experiences of communicating research findings to relatives and patients with Parkinson's disease. The focus is on what happens to the knowledge in the encounter between researchers and the public. The starting point for the analysis is that nobody's knowledge can be said to be worth more than anyone else's. It is not the scientists who decide what can pass for and therefore should be considered relevant knowledge. The concept of bio-objects (which is an object of knowledge open to different interpretations in different contexts), is used to visualize the variability and instability of knowledge. Our knowledge of the brain is not permanently fixed. The scientific knowledge of the objects analysed in the lab is different from the public's knowledge and view of the same object. These different forms of knowledge interact, and how this happens is well illustrated through the author's analysis of the researchers' narratives of how they handle the emotions that are often provoked by meeting patients and their relatives, when promising new findings often arouse hopes that scientists realize are difficult to fulfil. Hansson demonstrates how the body and emotions can often be just as important actors in the creation of knowledge as research competence and scientific instruments. Perceptions of knowledge about Parkinson's disease differ depending on whether you are a patient, a relative, or a researcher. And this is of course important to understand in order to improve the communication of scientific knowledge to the public.

The next chapter, "Meetings with Complexity: Dementia and Participation in Art Educational Situations" (Åsa Alftberg & Johanna Rosenqvist), is also about patients and their experiences. The starting point for the analysis is ethnographic observations of a museum art project where dementia patients are guided around an art exhibition. The authors examine what happens in the meeting between the researchers, the museum staff, and the patients, and how meaning is created in this meeting. The focus is on the perception and experience of individuality, because dementia is considered a kind of social death where the sufferer is deprived of his or her subjectivity. The point is that participation and interaction are based on social inclusion, and the knowledge provided by the analysis of the encounters leads to a deeper understanding of how personality is created and how it is connected with and anchored in the body.

The final analytical chapter of the book, "Taking Part in Clinical Trials: The Therapeutic Ethos of Patients and Public towards Experimental Cell Transplantation" (Marcus Idvall), is about identifying various ethical dilemmas that may arise when people participate in medical experiments. The chapter explores the therapeutic ethos that arises when there is a hope among the participants in the experiment that the treatment will lead to success in the development of cures. The survey deals with how this ethos is developed and expressed by participants, and the analysis shows that it represents a complex mix of thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and arguments that shape other ways of relating to biomedical research in general and to clinical experiments in particular. This makes it especially clear that natural science lacks methods to understand people's thoughts and emotions. Neither the humanities nor the natural sciences are in possession of any definite answers, which is why interdisciplinary research is so important.

The afterwords are written by Malin Parmar, professor of cellular neuroscience, and Aud Sharon Hoel, professor of media studies and visual culture. Both work together with or close to the researchers who wrote the other articles, and their thoughts and perspectives on the content tie the unusually cohesive volume together nicely, showing how important it is to meet across subject boundaries both to develop knowledge and to analyse interpretations of scientific evidence from different perspectives. Parmar concludes her afterword with the following words: "And together, we will steer away from alternative scenarios where the findings are used inappropriately and without benefit for society and patients." I think these words illustrate the feeling that the content of the book as a whole conveys. As a common thread through all the articles, there is a focus on dialogue and exhortations to mutual listening.

The volume is based on research in the human sciences that is hermeneutical, geared to interpretation, but what is studied is scientific practices and images of neuroscience researchers and their research findings. The knowledge that is conveyed arises in different types of encounters and practices, in the intermediate spaces that are always more or less open. I myself am very interested in every possible and impossible intermediate space, and in this volume the focus certainly is on the spaces in-be-

tween. That is where knowledge arises and changes. No one owns these spaces but everyone affects them, which is why it is so important to study them, and why I appreciate the book so much.

The authors show how much knowledge risks being lost if we do not meet across subject boundaries with an open and critical mind and with a concern for knowledge and what is best for society. All the authors show, in their own way and with different examples, how important it is to listen to the public and the patients, which I see as the strength of the humanities, the most important contribution we can make to the scientific community. Anyone participating in research or engaging in the issues under investigation is a co-creator of knowledge that is never pure or free of perspectives. The media and popular culture also contribute to the image of the scientist and what we know, and therefore analyses of popular culture are neither trivial nor meaningless. They are as important as scientific studies of the brain.

The greatest value of the book, besides the knowledge that is conveyed in the various chapters and the reminder of the importance of interdisciplinary research, is that it shows the strength and value of cultural studies, a subject that is often unfairly treated today.

Eddy Nehls, Lerum/Trollhättan

The Housemaid in Pre-War Swedish Film

Ulrika Holgersson, Hembiträdet och spelfilmen. Stjärnor i det svenska folkhemmet 1930- och 40-tal. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2017. 407 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-221-3.

■ In the book *Hembiträdet och spelfilmen*, the media historian Ulrika Holgersson deals with a less well-known part of Swedish film history. In this 408-page book, Holgersson analyses twelve movies from the 1930s and 1940s, in all of which the housemaid plays a major role. The housemaid became an important character in Swedish film during these two decades. Sometimes the housemaid was a middle-class girl, disguised in a maid's uniform, who was challenged to learn about the real and hard-working life of the working class. In other films, she was a young, rural – and natural – housemaid who fell in love with the handsome upper-class son of the house.

According to Holgersson, Swedish film from the 1930s and 1940s has had an undeserved bad reputation. Many films from the era, including the housemaid films, have been seen as shallow and superficial. The author opposes this perception, and stresses the importance of understanding these films in relation to the era in which they were made.

In *Hembiträdet och spelfilmen,* Holgersson's aim is to show how these historic films can give insight into several aspects of Swedish society in the 1930s and 1940s. This was an era with social and cultural change, and the way the housemaids' roles are played out on the screen may give an insight into how gender roles, female ideals and class relations were negotiated in Swedish society at the time.

Holgersson is interested in how film can capture the spirit of the era. In her analysis, she deals with film as text, which means that she has studied a broad range of the multifaceted expressions that film consists of. She is not merely interested in the plot and the characters' actions; she has also analysed clothing, language, body language and the physical environment in broader terms. The author has also analysed contemporary newspapers and film journals to show how the critics and the general audience perceived these films when they were shown on screen. An interesting methodological approach Holgersson uses is to study the connection between the actors and their roles. The way the film stars were portrayed in the Swedish press had an impact on the same actor's film roles, and on how these characters later were perceived by critics and the audience.

The book consists of five parts. The first part is a broad presentation of the housemaids' social position in Swedish life and politics in the 1930s and 1940s, and the role moviegoing had in Sweden in these two decades. The second part is about the 1930s. Holgersson analyses the films from the decade. Before each film presentation, there is a chapter about the central actor(s), their biography and how they were presented in the contemporary press. The third part is about the 1940s, where the films from the decade are presented, with the same introductory chapters about the actors before each film presentation. In the fourth chapter, Holgersson draws some comparisons between the 1930s and the 40s. In the fifth and last part of the book, she discusses the housemaids and the housemaid films in a broader cultural historical context.

Hembiträdet och spelfilmen is a detailed and well-edited book. Holgersson shows how the housemaid films work as prisms, illuminating larger societal changes and cultural negotiations at the time. However, sometimes I find that the richness in her film descriptions overshadow these larger connections, and I would have liked to see some of these larger cultural and societal relations more integrated in Ulrika Holgersson's film presentations. Overall, her book is an interesting piece of work, giving the reader an understanding of the zeitgeist and the importance of the film media in the same period. It also shows the complexity of the film medium, and the potential the same medium has as source material in historical studies.

Siv Ringdal, Oslo

The Textile Industry of Central Jutland

Kristin Holm-Jensen, ULD – Historien om den midtjydske tekstilindustri i det 20. århundrede. Forlaget Stout, Herning, i samarbete med Museum Midtjylland, 2018. 302 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7253-085-7.

■ In this work of popular scholarship entitled "WOOL", Kristin Holm-Jensen has compiled knowledge she has amassed over more than ten years. The book is about the cluster of textile industry in and around the towns of Ikast and Herning. The initial question is why this arose in Central Jutland and not in any other part of Denmark. The author does not look for an unambiguous answer, but instead shows the complex development through what she describes as "a number of narratives about the textile industry in Central Jutland". In addition to the narratives in-depth texts about different companies, associations, important events, etc., are included, printed in a typeface that differs from the main text, Furthermore, key quotations are highlighted here and there by being placed between lines and printed in a different colour. Some whole pages or parts of pages with a beige background present statistics and definitions. The chapters are clearly separated from each other by means of dark blue fact pages with accounts of textile materials, techniques, and the two branches of textile manufacture, ready-made garments and knitwear.

The fact-packed and comprehensive book is a good example of what a committed ethnologist, seeking to spread knowledge of her special field, can achieve with a museum as context for generating knowledge. The museum's ambition to preserve memories in many ways is reflected: interview-based oral history is woven together with interpretations of archival materials, and the book also contains a multitude of old photographs. These provide a visual history, chiefly of factory environments and buildings, but some focus on people. For example, there is a typical early twentieth-century picture of the workforce outside a factory, and we see the workshop from the 1950s where the sewing machines, the main tools of the female labour in the garment industry, stand in compact lines. Because knitwear was also an important product in Central Jutland, we also see photographs of men's work more than is common in literature on textile history: the photos show men standing at knitting machines, at which they worked to a greater extent than women did. Furthermore, museum objects are represented through new close-ups of artefacts and machines at the Textile Museum in Herning. These aesthetically pleasing images, well thought-out when it comes to colour and form, arouse associations with the vintage craze prevailing today. However, the photos do not highlight how old machines that still work in museums can be a source of knowledge about hand operations and body movements, which could have been appropriate to show in this museum-related study. The beautiful photographs, along with the lavish cloth cover with text printed in gold, contribute to the sensation that this is an exciting and special book, which can be particularly important because it caters to a wide readership.

The book has a thematic outline, but it simultaneously gives an overall chronological narrative, mainly concerning the twentieth century. In Chapter 1, however, the author goes back to the roots of the textile cluster, with wool preparation and knitting as a sideline to agriculture already in the seventeenth century. Wool dealers sold the goods in Danish towns and outside Denmark. In 1741 a royal ordinance gave the peasants in the region the right to sell homemade goods. Then the sons of peasants could legally act as travelling salesmen. There was a strong link to the textile trade early on.

The story of the background to the textile cluster in the area also includes information on the start of the first rural textile factories in the mid-nineteenth century and the large-scale putting-out system with

domestic production in the countryside at the end of the nineteenth century. A new road in the 1850s and the railway that came to Ikast and Herning in 1877, were important changes in the infrastructure that contributed to an increase in trade. Factories moved into the towns to come closer to the railway stations. Extensive domestic work with sewing and machine knitting continued in parallel. However, population growth in rural areas meant that people increasingly moved to the towns. Unskilled women in particular became the low-paid labour force in the garment industry.

Chapter 2 mentions that new factories were started around 1914, after which the development of the Central Jutland textile industry was linked to events in the global economy, primarily in the 1930s and 1940s. The stock market crash on Wall Street in 1929 gave rise to a new currency law in Denmark in 1932, with import regulation and devaluation, measures which resulted in increased demand and reduced production costs for the textile industry. At the same time, however, this caused problems in agriculture. Holm-Jensen writes that young men who might have started saving for a farm of their own instead headed for the towns. They arrived with sufficient capital to be able to start their own businesses with a few knitting or sewing machines. That it was not only cheap labour that came from rural areas, but also these new small entrepreneurs accustomed to long working days and hard toil on the farm, is an interesting aspect that is highlighted here (cf. Mats Lindkvist's "Ingenjör Fredriksson" in the book *Modärna tider* (1985)).

In the 1940s the supply of raw materials was problematic during the Second World War, whereas post-war import regulations had a positive effect on the domestic market. Another significant component of post-war development was the Marshall Plan, which according to Holm-Jensen accelerated both rationalization and specialization. Production for export and goods that stood out from the crowd were requirements for obtaining Marshall Plan loans. Some companies therefore switched to the production of sportswear instead of the generic underwear that they all had produced hitherto. Ideas for rationalization came through visits by American experts and through study trips to the USA. Holm-Jensen's statement that workers and trade unionists accompanied the directors on their study trips is interesting, but because the narratives in the book are not set in relation to other research, it is unclear whether this was common or distinctive for Central Jutland.

Holm-Jensen also tells us that in the 1950s there was an intensive export drive to the other Nordic countries, Britain, and to some extent Germany. Many import regulations had now been lifted, so products from other countries took shares of the Danish market. The chapter ends with an account of how international agreements such as EFTA's customs rules, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the Multifibre Arrangement subsequently continued to have a negative effect on the share of the domestic market that the Central Jutland factories controlled.

From the major contexts covered in the first chapters, in the next three chapters we then come closer to people who were active in the textile industry, through quotations and photographs. Chapter 3 begins with descriptions of operations in cellars and in basements and backyards where small textile companies were started in the 1930s. If the business yielded sufficient profit, the owners looked for better premises and could then rent the old place to some newly started firm. This spirit of helpfulness and cooperation between small businesses is viewed by Holm-Jensen as important for the creation and continued success of the textile cluster in Central Jutland. The factory owners' endeavour to develop and be close to their own production simultaneously runs like a parallel thread through the text. Among other things, we learn that having a home and a factory in the same place was regarded as an advantage, so that many "husband-and-wife factories", with 12–15 employees, were started in newly built detached houses. Heavy-duty knitting machines were placed in reinforced basements, and extra-wide attics housed the sewing machines.

In the 1960s and 1970s, localization was once again affected by a change in infrastructure when transport by lorry eliminated rail freight. New factories were then built near the entrances to the towns. Residential areas and factories were separated. It became desirable to have a factory building that matched the image of the company's brand. The illustrations in this chapter show several innovative factory buildings.

Through stories about the female workforce, in chapter 4, it is clear that textile production in rural areas did not disappear when industrialization in the towns gained momentum. Home sewing, which last-

ed until the 1980s, was often a way for women to combine the role of mother with paid work. From the companies' point of view, home sewing and production in local sewing workshops solved the problems of an uneven load during the year, in a flexible way and at low cost. Regarding those who started working in the factories in the 1930s, Holm-Jensen says that although the wages were low, the work was still better paid than other women's jobs. Factory work gave women "an opportunity to create an existence of their own" (p. 106).). Presentations of interviews give a valuable understanding of the choices made by textile workers at this time.

With increased difficulty in finding manpower during the boom of the 1960s, the factories continued to turn to housewives in rural areas. Bus transports to and from work and the opportunity to shop in supermarkets near the factory after the working day convinced many women that factory work and housework could be combined. The chapter also tells us something about the workers' leisure time, which was also heavily influenced by the textile companies, which arranged social activities, sports, gymnastics, and dances.

Holm-Jensen's narrative about the workforce then continues with a discussion of piecework pay; her material does not show any unequivocal evidence that this was viewed negatively. She then considers the overall role of the trade unions and examines in more detail how training opportunities – with varying combinations of vocational textile training and general subjects – were initiated in Central Jutland. As regards the major influence of the trade unions in the 1970s and 1980s, Holm-Jensen refers back to the historical development of the area, arguing that since many of the company managers were former employees who had worked their way up, they were aware that the companies were dependent on good cooperation with the union.

Chapter 5 pays more attention to the company management – the factory owners – who mostly focused on production. The author demonstrates organized cooperation between them, in line with the aforementioned spirit of cooperation; for example, a coffee club with weekly meetings to exchange experiences and ideas that over time grew into an association of manufacturers. Holm-Jensen describes the factory owner as a "historical parenthesis" (p. 155). Until the 1970s, the factory owner was the founder, owner, and day-to-day leader of his factory. He often also played an active role in the town's associations and cultural life. As companies grew, however, ownership and day-to-day management were separated. The age of the directors began.

The last four chapters of the book are mainly about the 1960s onwards, with more focus on sales and marketing. Chapter 6, however, begins with a description of the change from selling to wholesalers (and to three department stores in Copenhagen), to having one's own salespeople who began to travel around and take orders from shops. For many companies this happened in the 1950s. Based on the salespeople's direct contact with customers, the profession acquired a high status. They often participated in decisions about new collections and then their premise was that the garments should resemble the ones that had sold well the previous year. In this way, the salespeople acted as a restraining force on changes in fashion. Furthermore, we are told that the factory owners recommended good agents to each other who handled customer contacts abroad when it was time to export; this is yet another example of the spirit of cooperation.

On the topic of marketing, the author writes about the importance of being present at trade fairs, about a modelling agency that started in Herning, and above all about how local printing houses and newspapers produced advertising material aimed at the shops that purchased the goods. These printing houses then developed into advertising agencies in the 1970s and 1980s. At the same time, marketing began to target the end customer and the message was increasingly about feelings and dreams instead of the details and materials of the garments. In chapter 7, the story of the marketing continues, but it is mainly about the 1960s when there was an economic boom and there were more women in the labour market than before, giving a market for fashion at affordable prices. At the same time, competition from imported goods was increasing. The textile companies then had a choice, either to focus on becoming suppliers to the major clothing chains, such as H&M and Lindex in Sweden, or working to create their own brands and ensure that the garments they produced matched the brand identity. The professional role of the designer became important, especially for companies that started their own brands. The assignment was to create entire collections, garments that allowed consumers to wear the brand from head to toe, all reflecting their lifestyle.

Chapter 8 mainly concerns the 1980s, when sales and exports were major challenges. Already from the 1960s, the shirt factories noticed the competition from Hong Kong, which meant that companies especially in this labour-intensive branch of the garment industry were forced to close back in the mid-1970s, while many other garment and knitwear factories in Central Jutland survived until the 1980s. This required, among other things, rational large-scale production with automation of certain operations, such as the cutting. In addition, the labour-intensive sewing operations were moved, at first to Portugal. In addition, logistics and financial control systems, which made for easier distribution and administration, also came into being. Holm-Jensen particularly emphasizes the need for good communication with the factories abroad, which was facilitated by fax machines from the end of the 1970s. These made it possible to send not only text but also images, such as garment sketches and working instructions.

For production that remained in Denmark in the 1980s, there was debate about whether the piecework system should be continued, and about health and safety issues such as textile dust and repetitive strain injury. Holm-Jensen also says that with price cuts for the goods, the spirit of cooperation was put to the test. Manufacturers were less willing to share data about their production.

Chapter 9, the last in the book, tells of an increase in costs when responsibility for labelling and distribution was placed on the suppliers, from having previously been a task for retail companies. In order to keep up with the competition by reducing production costs, further relocations were made in 1993, for example to Poland, to the Baltic countries and to Ukraine. Difficulties in cultural encounters with the Eastern European business tradition are discussed. For example, there was no piecework pay in the east, and corruption in Ukraine is specifically mentioned. There was also production in Turkey and Asian countries such as China and India in the 1990s. Here, however, it is not entirely clear from the text whether the Danish companies moved there, or whether this concerns the development into brand suppliers without their own production, which Holm-Jensen brings up in her Afterword (see below). She discusses the buyer as a new occupational category that became the contact between the company and "production units or suppliers abroad" (p. 280). The first could concern the buyer's contact with the company's own production units which had to be supplied with fabrics and accessories in the first case, but it is somewhat unclear – an example showing that, even though the book is already packed with facts, it would have been good here and there to get more specific details and clarifications.

In the Afterword the author mentions that outsourcing continues. Since around 2000 production has often been located in Bangladesh. In conclusion, Holm-Jensen tells us optimistically that many Central Jutland textile companies are still running, but now as players in a global market in the form of trading houses selling brands without actually producing the garments that their images are based on. Holm-Jensen closes the circle when she mentions that design and marketing are contemporary keywords, but also "good business ability" is required. In other words, precisely the skill that, according to the narrative in chapter 1, was what led to the first development of the whole textile cluster, in the days of the wool trade.

One thought provoked by reading this book is how nostalgia and the emphasis of an authentic origin has been used to create interest. I believe that the subtitle, "The History of the Central Jutland Textile Industry in the Twentieth Century" is a good description of what the book is about, while the word WOOL as the main title arouses erroneous expectations of the content. Wool trading may have been a background to the emergence of the textile industry cluster, but there is nothing in the book that specifically examines the use of wool in industrial production. Moreover, the author notes that from the 1950s, when the Central Jutland industry flourished, the use of synthetic material was extensive, and she tells us how the new materials were highlighted in the marketing. As someone interested in textiles, however, I would immediately start browsing a book entitled WOOL if I saw it in some museum shop, and once I had opened it, the newly taken photographs could easily have created a nostalgic interest and made me go on reading.

My next thought concerns the cultural history that is presented in the book: how does it resemble or differ from other ethnological histories? Ethnological narratives that link "the little person" with "the big contexts" can be found in the book. De-

tails of people's lives, such as that women had the opportunity to buy their groceries in shops near the factory in order to fit everything into their everyday lives, for example, are connected to the broader economic context that these women's labour was needed for industrial development at that time. But I feel that social and, above all, economic conditions – both events in the global economy and business considerations – are ascribed unusually high importance in this book (although the concept of profit does not occur so often). People's deliberate actions, or even struggles, to achieve a decent, or indeed enjoyable, life for themselves in the industrial society are mostly just hinted at here and there in the narratives.

Holm-Jensen initially states that the book will contain a number of narratives to illustrate a complex development. These are easily discernible as narratives in each chapter, which reflect the author's interpretations of what the varying source material can say about a particular theme. Although many different aspects are addressed in relation to each theme, the narratives on the different themes are organized in the author's fairly cohesive overall narrative. She does not conceal that, at times, antagonisms between different actors in the textile industry have existed, but the reader is not given the chance to read narratives with different senders. If different voices from the past had clearly told their stories from different perspectives and if these had been juxtaposed, the book would probably better have fulfilled its ambition to contribute to debate.

Another objection is that, in my opinion, source criticism is missing. For example, there is no discussion of what knowledge is yielded by material from different genres of pictures, or what significance conventions for taking photographs in different situations may have for the knowledge that the photographic material enables.

Furthermore, the author does not explicitly show how the narratives in the book relate to other narratives about people's lives in industrial society, because this work of popular scholarship lacks references to ethnological or other research. It is a pity that the author does not relate to previous research, partly because the book would be even more instructive to the reader if it gave some insight into the latest research questions and findings in textile history, partly because such a large-scale case study, making use of museum material, ought to be granted the full dignity of an academic work. However, Holm-Jensen has treated some of the contents in scholarly articles, and perhaps we can hope for even more of those now that the book is finished.

Another objection I have is that there is no explanation for the rather complicated layout of the book, with in-depth texts and passages in different colour to mark specific content. It takes a while to work out what different typefaces and colours mean, and this distracts one's attention from the reading of the main narratives. One alternative would have been to place all the in-depth texts at the back and let the reader look up company names of interest. That would have made the reading more straightforward and made the narrative of each chapter easier to follow. When one browses through the book, however, the variation helps to give a lighter impression and makes the book less massive than such a voluminous book would otherwise have appeared. This underlines that it is an instructive popular work and not a weighty academic text.

Finally, the book's overall chronology is easy to follow, and the outline also makes it fully comprehensible that the main thesis is that development has gone from a focus on production to a focus on sales. Sometimes, however, the narrative in each chapter is not entirely chronological, with some jumps backwards or forwards in time which somewhat confuse the reading. The thematic approach also means that some content is occasionally repeated, for example with descriptions of events that relate to more than one theme.

Despite these criticisms, I hope that many people will read the book because this is textile history that deserves to be spread! The design of the book would make it a good present for someone with an interest in textile history. I also hope that students are introduced to the book, not only in ethnology, but also students in textile management and fashion studies. The book's narratives about the development of the textile industry over more than a century can undoubtedly enrich their learning about why the textile and garment industry is what it is today, and it can contribute to reflections on what they themselves as actors in the fashion industry want to try to achieve in the future.

Viveka Torell, Borås

Communal Singing in Denmark

Fællessang og fællesskab. En antologi. Stine Isaksen (ed.). Sangens Hus, Herning. 228 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-994772-1-0.

■ The central word in this Danish volume – *fællessang*, roughly "community singing" – has no counterpart in Swedish. It is not equivalent to the Swedish *allsång*, which was coined in *Dagens Nyheter* in 1927 after a competition among the readers of the newspaper and which has become a term for organized sing-along sessions where the singing itself is at the centre. The Danish *fællessang* has a broader meaning and above all a longer history. The term describes the communal singing that has occurred – and still occurs – in different popular movements, but also in schools and especially folk high schools. The term *alsang* has also been introduced to Denmark, with roughly the same meaning as the original Swedish word.

Communal singing and community is thus the theme of this book – broad enough to encourage varying perspectives, sufficiently limited for the articles to touch on each other. The authors come from different disciplines: musicology, ethnology, history, comparative religion, music teaching, etc. Surprisingly, the differences in outlook are scarcely noticeable in the texts, perhaps because intradisciplinary concepts are largely conspicuous by their absence. The reader will find no examples in musical notation, which anyone who can read music will regret. Song titles are constantly cited, and if the music had been provided it would be easy to get an idea of how the songs go.

The first author is the historian of song Kirsten Sass Bak, who paints the historical background. She tells us that the roots of the communal singing tradition can be found in the clubs that began to be set up in the 1770s, following the English model, to sing party songs. Also important for the establishment of the custom was the pietistic revival a few years into the nineteenth century. Through communal singing, the hymns of H. A. Brorson (1604–1764) were revised. The greatest impact, however, came from the great reformer N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872). His hymns and his educational programme, in which communal singing was at the centre, had virtually the whole nation singing together. His work for the folk high schools, where communal singing was cultivated, deserves particular mention.

The fundamental importance of Grundtvig is obvious throughout this collection of articles. Almost every author refers to him and his pleas for communal singing. This is especially clear in the historian of religion Katrine Frøkjær Baunvig, who devotes her essay to "Grundtvig's view of singing and the meaning of the congregation for community". She argues that, without insight into the hymn writer N. F. S. Grundtvig and his motives for the renewal of hymn singing, it is impossible to understand the multifaceted activity of Grundtvig in other spheres. With the congregation's singing as a starting point – or rather as a model – he worked to create singing communities, chiefly in the folk high schools.

Another important factor behind the emergence of *fællessang* – namely, the political history of Denmark – is covered in three articles. In a highly readable contribution, the ethnologist Tine Damsholt describes how patriotism was expressed in song and how the singing sometimes developed in response to national events, while at other times it was the singing that propelled events. She begins with the Napoleonic Wars and the Battle of Copenhagen which Denmark lost against England in 1801. That turbulence engendered what she called "mobilizing songs". The sense of national commitment – in which singing played an important part – was greatest in the capital but soon spread to the rest of the country. The Three Years' War of 1848–1851 in Schleswig-Holstein was another major event for the composition and singing of songs. This period was followed by the establishment of the folk high schools, where many of Grundtvig's ideas were implemented. He was "a wholehearted supporter of the national idea or cultural relativism, that there is no ideal society for everyone, but that each nation must find its own true destiny" (p. 82). According to the author, he avoided the foreign word "national" and instead spoke of "Danish" and "Danishness".

Damsholt divides the songs into two categories (p. 71): one with "we" and "our", aiming to mobilize the people in the defence of the fatherland, another with "I" "and "my", singing the history, nature, and language of the fatherland. The first category is older. As will be known, Denmark has two national anthems, one of which, *Kong Kristian stod ved højen mast* (King Christian Stood by the Lofty Mast), belongs to the first group, while *Der er et yndigt land* (There is a Lovely Country) belongs to the second.

The second article on the relationship between politics and singing, written by Else Marie Dam-Jensen, deals with *Den Blaa Sangbog*. This "Blue Songbook" was first published in 1867 and appeared in 20 editions, the last of which was issued in 1946. It was aimed at the "Danish-minded" population of Sønderjylland – and was of course politically explosive in the years when the area belonged to Prussia, that is, until 1920. Dam-Jensen relates the background, history, and – not least – the use of the book. A driving force behind many of the editions was the language association Sprogforeningen i Sønderjylland, founded in 1880, which worked to provide the province's Danish speakers with books. Around 1900 the German authorities were exerting particularly heavy pressure on the Danish-speaking group. Communal singing in Danish could be prosecuted. The contents of the songbook were adjusted to conform to the law – some songs were even printed with warning signs.

The third article about politics and singing is by Puk Elstrøm Nielsen and concerns communal singing during the occupation years. Inspired by the Swedish sing-along at Skansen and by comparable events in Norway, an evening of community singing was arranged in Aalborg at the beginning of July 1940, just a few months after the Nazi occupation. The singing was led by a male-voice choir. The idea was to create a community by singing, or rather to strengthen Danish solidarity in the face of German superiority. Some 1,500 people attended the event. Three more sing-along evenings were held at the same place that summer, the last of which assembled 10,000 people. The idea spread quickly, to places like Haderslev in Sønderjylland, where 6,000 people met to sing together one evening in the middle of August 1940. In Haderslev the singing had a strong political charge – the Blue Songbook and its use had prepared the country for singing in community. The culmination of this movement came on 1 September, when no fewer than 700,000 Danes assembled for communal singing events around the country, and at precisely 6 p.m. joined together in Grundtvig's *Moders navn du er en himmelsk lyd* (The Name of Mother is a Heavenly Sound) – a melodious song, far from being a rousing march. This national revival through communal singing influenced the government, which wanted to encourage the movement without letting it become too anti-German. A committee for communal singing was set up but it failed to have any major significance. For me at least, even though I have read a great deal about Denmark during the occupation years, this expression of resistance was an unknown part of history.

Not everything in this volume, of course, is about communal singing of a political kind. The book also includes essays about communal singing in the labour movement and in the women's movement. The ethnomusicologist Lene Halskov Hansen from the Dansk Folkemindesamling gives a knowledgeable account of the position of communal singing in the ballad (*vise*) tradition as a whole. Among other things, she highlights ballads with choruses sung by all those present. The volume ends with an article about communal singing in today's Denmark.

It ought to be obvious that this is a highly readable collection of studies about a phenomenon that can surely be said to be a secret outside Denmark. How many non-Danes, for example, can sing along without the support of the songbook in the lyrical *Danmark, nu blunder den lyse Nat* (Denmark, Now Slumbers the Twilight Night) or Carl Nielsen's wonderful *Tit er jeg glad* (Often I Am Happy)? The book gives a certain insight into what the singing Dane is like, if one can put it like that. The many song titles cited in the articles are a valuable discovery, inviting closer acquaintance.

Gunnar Ternhag, Falun

Processes of Change in the Faroes

Jóan Pauli Joensen, Maðkur, mykja, trimpil, betong og madrassa. Fimm smávísindalig siðsøgubrot. Sprotin, Tórshavn 2018. 136 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-99972-1-284-9.

■ In 1846, the Danish physician Peter Ludvig Panum (1820–1885), just 26 years old, came together with his colleague of the same age, August Manicus (1821–1850), to the Faroe Islands to combat the severe measles epidemic that was raging at the time. A hundred or so people had died. The doctors stayed for five months. Through his observations, the young physician understood that the disease was contagious (and not miasmatic as had hitherto been believed), that immunity lasted at least 65 years (it was 65 years since the last epidemic of measles in the islands) and that children under 5 months of age were not afflicted. Panum wrote

about this epidemic on his return to Denmark. In his article "Iagttagelser – under Mæslinge-Epidemien paa Færøerne i Aaret 1846" (published in the *Bibliotek for Læger* 1847) he also provided interesting information about living conditions and the social situation in the islands. He presented careful observations about housing, lifestyle, diet, food handling, dress, mentality, and hygienic conditions. In just a few months, a large proportion of the population had been infected. It was not a wholly favourable picture of the islanders' living conditions he painted, and his partly critical view was also challenged at the time, not least by the Faroese elite. Panum's article has nevertheless become an epidemiological classic, having been translated into German in the *Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und für Klinische Medizin* 1847, later published in English too. The details of Panum's observations are also of great value for research on culture and social history, as the Faroese ethnologist Jóan Pauli Joensen discovered long ago in his search for source material for the study of the folk culture of the island group. In his latest book, which consists of five case studies on cultural and social changes that the islanders have undergone, he takes Panum's observations as his starting point in the introductory chapter.

Jóan Pauli is a productive ethnologist who has thoroughly explored a range of cultural matters in the Faroe Islands, and perhaps most of all he has focused on processes of change from the old Faroese peasant society to today's modern society. He is particularly interested in sloop fishing as a livelihood and the time when the fishing industry became the main source of income, enabling the emergence of modernity and a modern culture. It is hands-on ethnology at its best, well-grounded in historical sources of various kinds and in solid anthropological theory (Eric Wolf, Norbert Elias, etc.) of the kind in which I feel at home. Inspired by his teacher Nils-Arvid Bringéus and colleagues of his own generation such as Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (Jóan Pauli defended his doctorate in Lund with the dissertation *Færøske sluppfiskere: Etnologisk undersøgelse af en erhvervsgruppes liv* 1975, followed by a series of studies on the importance of fishing for the islanders), he has studied the folk culture and way of life in the Faroes, as this can be explored on the basis of existing source material. Like Bringéus, he has also sought out new sources wherever they can be found. His *F*äröisk *folkkultur* appeared in Swedish in Margareta Tellenbach's sterling translation from 1980, and it was not until 1987 that it appeared in Faroese under the title *Fólk og mentan*, an excellent survey of the folk culture of the islands, with good lists of sources and literature. In 1987 he published the study *Fra bonde til fisker* (1987), which analyses the transformation from peasant society to an industrialized fishing society. Over the years we have seen a steady flow of essays on various topics in various Nordic journals and conference volumes. In recent years he has written several large books: *I ærlige brudefolk* (2003) on wedding customs, *Pilot Whaling in the Faroe Islands: History – Ethnography – Symbol* (2009), and the massive two-volume work *Bót og bitti: Matur og matarhald í Føroyum* (2015), dealing with diet and meal habits past and present.

The present book can be said to be about the modernization of domestic habits and life in the home. The introductory essay is based on Panum's account from 1846 but also discusses how the doctor responded to the criticism of hygienic conditions and foodways. With the familiar poem by J. P. Gregoriussen from 1894, where the poet contrasts modern city life with the simpler living conditions of the countryside as an introduction, the second essay is a testimony by the Faroese student A. Jógvansson (a pseudonym probably concealing Absalon Joensen) about customs around 1900. The third essay discusses the architect and builder H. C. W. Tórgarð (1885–1957) and his influence on and above all his views of the Faroese building style. He designed a number of familiar buildings, including the theatre in Tórshavn in 1926, several churches (Árbafjørður, Hvannasund, Skála, Elduvík, Tjørnuvík, and Skúvoy), schools, and hospitals. He was critical of foreign influence that was not adapted to Faroese culture. His own influence on modern architecture in the islands was undoubtedly significant in the first half of the twentieth century. The coming of modernity is particularly examined in the fourth essay, "When the Present Came to the Faroes", where facilities such as bathrooms, but also gingerbread work, wallpaper, flooring, and vacuum cleaners are discussed. The final essay is about beds and bedding. In the past, people all slept in the same room and at least two in each bed. This has changed over the last hundred years and instead there are separate beds, mattresses, bedclothes, and bathrooms, where people have been able to choose the appearance and

form. Sleeping has been privatized in a way that was unknown in the old peasant society.

All in all, these essays show how a predominantly rural population has seen its lifestyles modernized, urbanized, and globalized. Many of them would deserve to be published as separate articles in English for a wider readership with an interest in social history. The book is nicely illustrated with historical photographs and occasional drawings from the National Museum collections. Faroese society is now changing even faster as a result of globalization, infrastructural initiatives, and economic growth, at the same pace as any other post-industrial country. This will continue to change the mentality and lifestyle of the islanders.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Seven Centuries of Eating Out

Håkan Jönsson & Richard Tellström, Från krog till krog. Svenskt uteätande under 700 år. Natur & Kultur, Stockholm 2018. 393 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-27-14591-7.

■ This work is an attempt at a survey of the history of inns and taverns, or Swedish restaurant life from the early Middle Ages to the present day. The authors are both associate professors, Jönsson in ethnology and Tellström in meal science, but both are ethnologists by training. In addition, both authors have personal experience of working in the restaurant business. An important theme in their account is the role of the state in creating and enforcing rules for feeding travellers and running inns, from the Alsnö statutes of the thirteenth century, where King Magnus Birgersson, later known as Magnus Ladulås, introduced rules to relieve the peasantry of the burden of providing food to travelling nobles and bishops, to the twentieth century with its rigorous state control of temperance legislation and alcohol permits. We meet beer taverns and wine cellars, coffee houses and Swiss cake shops, luxury restaurants and simple cafes, the milk bars and patisseries of the 1940s and today's pizzerias.

The work is mainly based on a wide range of literature. This literature, however, has relatively little concrete to tell about the medieval and early modern periods. The account of these older centuries is therefore a little sketchy and some of the conclusions may be rather too categorical. But the book becomes more and more interesting the closer to our own time we come. The description of the period from the First World War to the abolition of alcohol rationing in 1955 is highly readable. In retrospect it is astonishing to see the moral conviction and zealous consistency with which the state managed to take control of large parts of restaurant life in Sweden during this time, and how stereotyped and backward our Swedish restaurant culture was allowed to remain during these decades as a result of this. Gastronomically speaking, Sweden was an underdeveloped country in the 1940s. For the constructors of the welfare state, the restaurant was, as the authors point out, virtually "a symbol of disorder". Against that background it is also surprising that Swedish restaurants towards the end of the twentieth century were able to begin to assert themselves very successfully even in international competition. There is a possible association with the fact that Sara, the state-owned restaurant company, which was built up to ensure government control over a large part of the restaurant business and which became a subsidiary of Statsföretag, later Procordia, went bankrupt in 1992. In the bankruptcy estate there were many of Sweden's leading hotels and restaurants in Stockholm, including Amaranten, Anglais, Continental, Malmen, and Reisen. This put an end to left-wing political dreams of state dominance in the restaurant business, and the door was opened to innovators and quality neighbourhood restaurants.

The book is therefore largely about how politicians and public authorities have directed an important part of social life, namely eating out. Sometimes one might think that the perspective of official control is unnecessarily emphasized at the expense of depictions of concrete behaviour in taverns and inns. The description of earlier periods is dominated by ordinances about the system of inns and stage coaches. The authors emphasize the low alcohol content as an explanation for the extensive beer drinking in older times and the need to warm up during winter trips as an important factor attracting people to taverns and inns. The conclusions often end up being somewhat too rhetorical. For example, as regards the Enlightenment period in the eighteenth century, we read that reflection on "what the body feels about external stimuli is the core of the zeitgeist". Or regarding the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, that "the modern restaurant thus became the place where the mod-

ern urban bourgeoisie's social interaction was born with the help of food and drink". These are rather bold generalizations. It would surely have been useful to discuss social intercourse in the home environment versus in public.

The reasons for visiting restaurants of different kinds are examined in the book. But one could also reverse the question: What were the reasons for *not* making use of public eating houses? I have recently read *Pehr Stenberg's levernesbeskrivning*, a work in four parts, where Pehr Stenberg, a priest in Umeå, describes his life from his birth in 1758 until 1807. Nowhere does he describe any visit to a restaurant or similar establishment. When he served as a curate in Umeå in the 1790s, he was a bachelor and his dinners were cooked by his maid. Any time when she was away, he could not cook his own dinner. But this did not mean that he dined out in Umeå. Instead he went uninvited to some family in the town and asked to have dinner with them, which was always granted. People displayed the same natural generosity as in eighteenth-century rural vicarages, when travellers received food and accommodation even when they were strangers to the hosts. What barriers prevented him from dining out, besides possibly being stingy? Later on in the book, the authors touch on different features of recent restaurant operations that have started to blur the dividing line between eating out and eating at home, for example, phenomena such as takeaway. But it would have been interesting to have a general discussion about the meal environment of the home versus that of the restaurant.

As I have said, the real strength of the book lies in the nuanced and fact-packed account of the remarkable restaurant history of the twentieth century. We meet many places that flourished for just a few decades, for example: the automatic restaurant, where the guests never saw any waitresses but got their food out of the tray along the wall after putting their money in the slot; the milk bars, which were subsidized by the authorities in an attempt to promote healthier eating and especially drinking habits; the guesthouses all over the provinces which had their heyday in the first half of the twentieth century, before summer cottages and cars undermined their foundation, or the cities' pilsner cafes, which the authorities combated and which disappeared in the decades after the Second World War. They were called pilsner cafes because they did not serve strong beer. It is one of the peculiar features of Swedish temperance policy that from 1922 and for many years to come, one could only buy beer in pharmacies with a doctor's prescription.

There is also room for patisseries in this historical study of restaurants. Here, the authors also make a rather categorical statement: "With the patisseries we see the first clear example in restaurant history of when eating out provided a place where a relationship between a woman and a man could be initiated." This is based on the belief that visitors to restaurants previously were mainly men. But there were certainly opportunities for men and women to meet in restaurants even in the late nineteenth century. These places had banqueting rooms which were in constant use for weddings and major events where both sexes participated. Moreover, relationships between male guests and female waitresses had surely been started before this. Bellman's poetry with its tavern nymphs has a great many examples of this.

This book by Håkan Jönsson and Richard Tellström is highly readable. It provides a lot of new and interesting information about a sector of society that most of us have personal experience of. For example, there is a rewarding section about the different categories of employees in restaurants and not least about the territorial thinking and the rivalry between these groups. The authors touch on the criminal world and its self-assumed concern for the restaurant business. But that topic is sensitive, particularly because of the many immigrant groups involved in it, so it is only cautiously hinted at. They could have done more.

I gladly recommend this book. My main critique is that we get too little concrete insight into the restaurant environment, the actual encounter between staff and guests. Too much space is devoted to official regulations. For example, the phenomenon of the habitué would probably have been worth a separate chapter. But where is the material? Possibly other sources of material could have been used to deepen the perspectives. What about literary accounts of tavern life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Perhaps etiquette books could also have been used to get at the written and unwritten rules that guests were expected to follow during the twentieth century?

Mats Hellspong, Stockholm

Ethnological interpretation and analysis: Towards a more open research process

Etnologinen tulkinta: Kohti avoimempaa tutkimusprosessia. Jukka Jouhki and Tytti Steel (eds.). Ethnos ry., Helsinki 2016. 431 pp. ISBN 978-952-68509-0-0.

■The overall aim of the anthology is to discuss the analysis of the qualitative research material in order to make the analysing process more transparent. The editors of the book advocate more open reflections on what happens in the analysis, how it is done and what kinds of questions are relevant to discuss in each particular interpretation processes. The articles in the anthology are based on the presentations at an Ethnology Days conference held in Helsinki in 2014 with the theme of ethnological interpretation and analysis.

Reflexivity itself has been an inseparable part of ethnology since the so called "reflexive turn" from the 1970s that was mainly implemented in Scandinavia from the 1980s and 1990s onwards. At that time it was widely recognized that the researchers' choices of theories, methods and studies topics affected the end results of the research processes. It became important for each researcher to reflect on and discuss their choices made in order to make the research process and results more transparent. Nowadays researchers' reflexivity over their position, collecting the material and the choices of methodological and theoretical tools are already a standard research practice. However, the editors of the anthology argue that reflexivity is lacking when it comes to the analysing process itself. According to them, the analysing process from "chaotic empirical material" to a "coherent end product" still seems unclear and should be discussed more. The editors base their argument on their own study that mapped out the ways the analysing process has been described or discussed in a scientific text. Their material was gathered from the articles published in *Ethnologia Europaea* in addition to recent research method literature and doctoral theses.

I am inclined to agree with the editors about the need for reflexivity concerning questions related to analysis. The analysing process, even with a carefully described method of reading or organizing material, does not tend to be discussed in the research papers. I would say that this vagueness is partly because the reality that we ethnologists study is messy. Making sense of it is a long process with different phases that might be difficult to thoroughly describe. During the research process we draw from different materials that are relevant in different ways and that influence the analysis on the way. How thoroughly to explain the accumulation of knowledge in the analysing process is not an easy task and also varies from project to project. However, the need to ponder and describe these different phases and aspects of the analyzing process would lead to an even more transparent research process and would be beneficial when questions such as how is knowledge formed in ethnology are discussed.

There are twelve articles in this book, which is divided into three sections. Some of the articles in the anthology shed light on the analysing process of particular research material in great detail and some focus on the interpretation and knowledge production process on a more theoretical level. But each of them focuses on how to describe more thoroughly the process which ethnologists go through when they are processing the material and what kind of issues they need to reflect on in the analysing process.

The first part focuses on the knowledge production process when it is done in an interdisciplinary context or outside of academia. Two ethnologists teaching in the applied anthropology programme at Lund University, Robert Willim and Tom O'Dell, have learned from applied projects that ethnography should not be thought of and taught as a linear process with a beginning and an end. Instead, we should view ethnography as a composition put together in a mobile process where the researcher moves across different fields and incorporates different bits and pieces that might not 'naturally' occur together, but that researchers do in fact bring together. In this way it is possible to include other projects that the researcher is involved with. This also develops the reflexivity of empirical and analytical work that entails multiple variations and contexts. Willim and O'Dell call this method of building compositions "looping". By this they want to emphasize that the field is not out there, but is with us and around us all the time and moves with us between different projects and in our private as well as our academic lives. When we do an analysis we draw from all around us.

What Willim and O'Dell are suggesting about overlapping knowledge production certainly sounds familiar to me as it no doubt will to many other re-

searchers. The authors are not claiming that this is something new, for researchers have for a long time used looping techniques in their analyses. However, in their view this process should be discussed more in methodological literature and also brought up in teaching.

Jörg Niewohner discusses another context in academic research where cultural researchers produce their analysis, namely the collaborative context where different actors are involved both with producing the research material and with knowledge production. The actors can be from other disciplines or come from outside academia. Niewohner discusses knowledge production in a collaborative context and argues that because it aims at change it does not produce knowledge that is genuinely created together free from the epistemological starting points of specific actors.

According to Niewohner, in producing knowledge as a shared process one needs to think of it more as an experimental process. He calls this co-laborative anthropology, which means temporary epistemic work that is aimed to increase the reflexivity focused on disciplinary knowledge production. It does not aim to produce interdisciplinary results, but actually to produce knowledge or analysis that has no aim. When there is no pre-defined aim there is room to try out various ways of combining epistemically different starting points to develop concepts.

Niewohner here is suggesting something very interesting. Because people come together in collaborative projects with different aims and motivations as well as with different ontological, epistemological starting points, this undoubtedly guides the knowledge produced so that each researcher produces his own analysis that is useful to his own aim. It seems difficult to produce knowledge in a genuinely shared process and would indeed require, as Niewohner argues, a setting free from particular aims and time to study other ways of knowing.

The second part of the anthology looks at ethical issues as well as dialogical methods of knowledge production. Anna Rastas has been building an exhibition about African diaspora in Finland as part of her research project. In her article she discusses how exhibition building has been part of her material collection as well as the analysing process. She argues that the analysing process is actually impossible to describe as a separate facet from the rest of the research process. She has also noticed how different projects tend to overlap in a manner similar to what O'Dell and Willim refer to as looping.

The exhibition was a cooperative effort. Rastas had organized open workshops that involved a variety of groups and organizations that were linked to people coming from the African continent. The idea of the exhibition was to map out the kind of cultures that constituted the African diaspora in Finland. During the exhibition building process it became clear that the material would not give a comprehensive answer to that question. Instead, the material showed that the communities that people were involved with were not organized around ethnicity. Thus, a notion of the African diaspora based on ethnicity no longer seemed so relevant. The exhibition themes were built so that they showed the diasporic agency which the academic analysis was built around rather than ethnicity-based themes. What Rastas shows is that the final analysis builds and is dependent upon the actual research process and is more than just a way of organizing the material and choices of theories.

Marjukka Piirainen researches gardening and is herself a gardener by occupation. She describes how knowledge about gardening is tacitly embodied silent knowledge that is produced in the process of doing, a modus operandi that she as a gardener shares with the research participants. According to Piirainen, translating that knowledge into scientific knowledge is not always easy. Because of Piirainen's double position both as a researcher and a gardener these two ways of knowing become intertwined and connected. To be able to understand the experience of gardening practical and scholarly knowledge about gardening provide a useful starting point for the analysis. In Piirainen's work the analysis can be understood as a kind of translation process in that the researcher acts as an interpreter from one way of knowing to another.

In her article Inkeri Hakamies focuses in her analysis on archival material, namely answers to thematic open-ended questions. She shows how this material can be approached from a dialogical perspective. This means paying attention to the possible audiences that the material seems to speak to and how that moulds the content of the material and its understanding. According to Hakamies, dialogue can be produced for instance in relation to an imaginary "invisible discussion partner" of the local

people, institution or researcher. She has separated two levels of dialogue that she pays attention to when analysing the material. These are direct and undirect answers to someone or something that can be found from the texts. The analyses of this kind of reading are based on the method of posing questions about the motivations and the content of the answers. This method in my view can be understood to be a particular approach that aims to reveal something more than a thematic question list.

Ildiko Lehtinen's final article in the second section of the book is also connected to museum exhibitions, but this time the focus is on the responsibility of the researcher to transmit the knowledge(s) of the material objects archived in the museum collection. However, the meaning and interpretations of these objects shift in time and place as well as from one viewer to another. Lehtinen discusses this in relation to the sacred objects of indigenous groups in Siberia. According to her, the exhibition builders and museums have a responsibility to think about the questions of the representation and ownership of the objects, though it is also true that museums can be institutions that preserve the cultural heritage of a specific group and take care that this knowledge is transmitted to the next generation. In view of the colonial appropriation of these objects in museum collections, it might well be relevant to repatriate these items to their original owners. However, museums can also be understood as places which preserve important cultural objects. But then the original owners or users must have a say in how they are represented to the public. The most important contribution in Lehtinen's article in my view is her analytical approach to museum objects that takes into consideration the past acquisition of these objects, the previous owners' wishes and the current representations of the object. All these are important issues when transmitting knowledge to the general public.

The third part of the anthology focuses on the different tools used in analysis and concrete examples of the analyzing process. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj starts the last section by focusing on the new analysis of her old interview material collected between 1968 and 1971. She argues that earlier materials can be asked new types of questions seen from a current research perspective. Now looking at the material again she focuses on the societal context of the narratives from an oral history point of view. When doing the analysis work she also pays attention to the tones of voices as well as the topics raised by the person interviewed. These provide an indication of what is important to highlight in the later analysis. The important point that she makes is that we should not forget that archives may contain material that can be analyzed using new questions that are currently relevant. However, because the time of the interview affects the knowledge produced, the perspective of the past would be difficult to get with current interviews. It might also be relevant that the interviewed might not be alive anymore.

Erika Koskinen-Koivisto and Lena Marander-Eklund describe in their article how by paying attention to collective features of individual narratives it is possible to analyse how these narratives are influenced by societal meanings, norms and values, and how these meanings are produced through narrative. Some of the features of narrative are easily interpreted as collective while other features contain personal ways of expressing oneself. These different emphases mean that it is fruitful to analyze narratives in terms of what they call "big" and "small" narratives. With the help of examples from the material the authors show several ways to identify the collective levels of personal narratives. Paying attention to the positioning and to the imagined audiences present in personal narratives reveals a great deal about power structures and norms as well as about individual possibilities guided by societal structures.

Aura Kivilaakso's article discusses the interpretation of media texts from the point of view of an ethnologist who is interested in cultural heritage protection efforts. She has analysed discourses from media texts from the1960s and 1970s about the 1920s wooden architecture neighborhood in Helsinki and how these discourses created as well as reproduced the values of the time that can be said to influence the current heritage protection efforts.

The anthology finishes with Pirjo Uimonen's article on 21st-century Finnish-Russian relationships in internet discussion forums. She focuses on who is telling these stories and how the stories are told, reading the material in what she calls both a "vertical" as well as a "horizontal" direction. A horizontal reading is focuses on a theme and how it is expressed in different forums. Vertical reading is when a theme from the material is looked at from a longer time perspective. Uimonen also uses concrete examples to show how the analysis is built up from a

particular reading and the kind of topics that come up.

This anthology does a good job of addressing analytical issues by showing how each analysing process has individual issues that affect the knowledge produced. At times the division into three parts seems a little unclear, though all the contributors address analysis issues that are relevant for their research. I would recommend this book to all students and researchers who are interested in the question of what actually happens in the analysing process. Having said that, the analytical process is to me still somewhat shrouded in mystery despite the fact that the contributors' choices of theories and methods are described. The analysing process is often quite messy partly because it happens at so many stages of the research project. To really open up the analytical process would take up many more pages of each contribution, though it might make sense to have a short section that deals with the special nature of a particular analysis beyond just naming the analyzing method. Ultimately, what this book really shows is that each analysis has its own unique issues that require considerable scrutiny and reflection.

Jenni Rinne, Helsinki

Memories as Processes

Ingar Kaldal, Minner som prosesser – i sosial- og kulturhistorie. Cappelen Damm Akademisk, Oslo 2016. 189 pp. ISBN 978-82-02-52983-3.

■ Ingar Kaldal is professor of history at the University of Trondheim. In 2016 he published this book, the title of which means "Memories as Processes – in Social and Cultural History". Kaldal's previous research has mainly been in the field of social history, focusing on the history of labour and industry. In this book he has assembled his experiences of working with memories, which in some form or other constitutes the basis for research on the past and which, through oral history, has become an increasingly common source material in the discipline of history. As a social historian, his reasoning about methodological perspectives on memories as source material comes close to ethnological and folkloristic research.

Narrated memories can be audio-recorded, filmed, noted down, stored in archives and museums or in the researcher's recording device, phone, or computer. Kaldal systematically examines the various methodological aspects, both opportunities and difficulties, of the use of this type of material for historical research.

For this reviewer, an ethnologist, the book does not really present very much new knowledge. What I feel instead in reading it is the pleasure of recognition as I often nod in agreement.

Kaldal goes about his task thoroughly, starting with a discussion of what memories really are, and here he notes that what we remember really is a *selection*, made on the basis of certain criteria, of what we have experienced and what we could potentially remember. Memories are thus what someone *makes* into memories, and something that interpretation makes into parts of the perception of a lived life and parts of a narrative. To summarize, it can be said that the book, as Kaldal himself presents his ambitions for it, is about *how* we remember and *why* we remember as we do. A major theme is how memories are shaped by, and also help to shape, power and social and cultural conditions.

The eight chapters of the book consider – and virtually exhaust – everything that a researcher may need to take into account when working with memories as source material. Chapter 2 is a history of research, outlining how an interest in memories, and research based on memories, has emerged and evolved. He actually begins with the Greeks, how history far back in time was transmitted orally. He also examines the emergence of folklore studies in the Scandinavian countries during the twentieth century, how an interest in workers' history arose, partly as a result of the Norwegian Folk Museum's collection projects in the 1950s and the Nordic Museum's collection of worker's memoirs starting in 1945. It may be mentioned that Kaldal, when discussing what worker's memoirs stand for, relies heavily on Bo G. Nilsson's dissertation *Folkhemmets arbetarminnen: En undersökning av de historiska och diskursiva villkoren för svenska arbetares levnadsskildringar* from 1996.

Subsequently, during the 1970s, historians took a growing interest in collecting and building up source material through interviews, a method that had long been applied by ethnologists. At that time it was also common to encourage people to dig into their own history, a movement that in Sweden came to be described as *digging where you stand*, after the title of a book by Sven Lindquist.

Romanticism, nationalism, exoticism, noticing previously invisible groups, critique of society and confirmation of the labour movement's struggle are examples of ambitions and aspects that have influenced the collection of narrated memories and research based on them. As Kaldal sees it, this has involved (1) using memories to describe a reality objectively and neutrally, (2) writing a "new" history, critically and with a bottom-up perspective, and (3) reflecting on how memories and history based on memories are produced on certain premises, such as a specific logic and stylistic devices, which determine the image that is conveyed.

Memories are created, formed, interpreted, and used in processes, and the processual aspect is something that Kaldal comes back to at many places in the book, so that the reader can correctly understand what memories are and what they do, in society and in our lives. An important aspect of the function of memories is that they remain and evolve through communication and by becoming part of narratives. This is how we can most easily retain memories, and by far the easiest way to do this is to link the memories to a place. Places are concrete and visual and they help us to remember.

How do memories relate to culture? Kaldal, who is not primarily a scholar of culture, is perhaps a little vague on this issue. Memories are like "connective tissue" in cultures, he says in an attempt to describe culture with the help of weaving metaphors. Large and dominant memory narratives may have shaped mindsets and patterns of action in entire cultures, but what holds a culture together can also be found in the details, in the small fibres of the weave, which are not visible without a magnifying glass. This is really the only occasion in the book when I would have liked to see a deeper discussion.

What do memories do? That question is discussed from three angles: first, that they can describe something in the past – facts, information, and stories about something; second, that all memories were created and shaped in the time, the setting, and the society from which they come; third, that the memories themselves have created, shaped, and influenced something – in our lives, in cultures, and in society. Perhaps we are what the memories have made.

In chapter 6, Kaldal reasons about a crucial part of the research process, namely, the interpretation of the material. He starts by stating, in somewhat extreme terms, that there are no bad historical sources, just bad interpretations. He starts interpreting memories by proceeding from the three planes on which memories act: they tell us *about* something, they develop *from* something, and they have been active *in* people's lives, and thus have helped to shape societies and cultures. The discussion in chapter 6, on different possible interpretations, is in many ways the most interesting and important part of the book. Here he also discusses the advantages and disadvantages of different sources, depending on the researcher's intentions, as well as the significance of credibility, the context, and the intertext. Kaldal also reminds us how intractable and complicated memories can be to interpret, since narratives can be both contradictory and illogical, as well as containing silences. Everything that makes interpretation tricky must be considered, and here he touches on the concept of deconstruction. As a complement to the concept of deconstruction, Kaldal proposes decentring. Decentring is about looking at what seem to be margins, corners, and nooks in the image presented by the narrative.

The last two chapters of the book deal with calls on researchers to collect memories and use the material in research, and how to go about doing this, including ethical and legal aspects. Here the author generously shares his experience. He also urges readers to search for source material in archives and museums.

All in all, the book advocates that we as researchers should investigate so-called "ordinary" people's everyday lives, past and present, which is not too bold an exhortation for an ethnologist, and to be aware of how this can be done. I feel great sympathy, for example, for a section right at the end, which is about discovering the alien in what is taken for granted. As a reviewer, I cannot feel anything but satisfaction in reading such a systematic and lucid account of the potential of a research trend, and the pitfalls it entails. This sterling book should definitely be used as a handbook in the teaching of methodology in many humanistic disciplines.

Katarina Ek-Nilsson, Uppsala

The History of Tourism in the North

Turismehistoria i Norden. Wiebke Kolbe (ed.), under medvirkning av Anders Gustavsson. Kungl.

Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Uppsala 2018. 299 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87403-28-6.

■ *Turismehistoria i Norden* is a rather large volume. It is more than 300 pages, richly illustrated and contains 20 articles written by 20 researchers from all four Nordic countries. The geographical focus is Nordic, but it has a transnational touch as it crosses the borders into countries outside Scandinavia. Some of the essays have links to the eighteenth century, while most of the texts move from the end of nineteenth century towards our own time. Wiebke Kolbe, the editor, emphasizes that a collection of articles about tourism must cover themes like modernity and internationality, identity and different relations to time and place. The authors have succeeded in doing so. The volume is organized into four different sections according to the authors' different perspectives. The first is called "The Strange and Familiar", the second has the title "Tourism and Identity", the third, "Tourism and Modernity", while the last part has "Tourism and Cultural Heritage" as its heading.

So how are the strange and the familiar conceptualized? *Berit Eide Johnsen* opens the first section with her article about summer boarding houses on the south coast of Norway in their heyday 1930–1970. The focus is on the relation between the locals and the summer guests. Despite social and economic differences, the atmosphere between the two sides has mostly been friendly. This is the opposite of what *Anders Gustavsson* has discovered on the Swedish coast in Bohuslän. During a period of a hundred years he found that frictions and conflicts could characterize encounters between residents and summer guests, although to different degrees. *Wiebke Kolbe* has moved from Scandinavia to the beaches in Germany and England, which she categorizes as *liminoid* spaces. Social and economic diversity is abolished, gender differences take different expressions, while sea, shores and material constructions are filtered together. Here the familiar may be experienced in the strange and exceptional spaces. While Kolbe selected the period the between late 1800s and the early 1900s, *Yulia Gradskova* studies Soviet tourists in the period 1930–1980 when many of them travelled to the eastern parts of the Old Russian Empire. In her essay, she shows how these areas over time have been looked upon in different ways, from something primitive and simple to something important for the Soviet Union as a whole. This includes friendship as well as feelings towards nature, culture, nationality. *Sune Bechman Pedersen*, the last contributor in this section, follows Swedish tourists on holidays to East European countries during the Cold War. Their motive was not political; they were looking for sun, summer, beaches and excitement. The form this took differed from country to country. In some places the travel routes were strictly organized, while others allowed more individual freedom to find one's own roads.

In this section, the authors use several different approaches to conceptualize the strange and familiar. The focus varies from face-to-face relations, to experiences in new constellations of time and place and to the crossing of geographical, cultural and political borders. Some of the thrill is that several of the authors find their ways to areas that are not so well known. Gradskova feels free to leave Scandinavia and introduce the reader to travels in the Soviet Union. Kolbe selects beaches in England and Germany. In her own opinion this is not a problem; her perspectives and arguments may be transferred to tourism in more northerly countries. That is indeed the situation as her text stands out as the most theoretical of the section. Pedersen's essay has a more sketchy tone, but the political touch makes the reader want to know more about the Swedes' search for sun in new but strange places.

Ulrike Spring opens the second part of the volume. She focuses on the cruise ship traffic to Spitsbergen in the early 1890s. The tourists on board felt like explorers on an expedition. Sailing in what felt like an untouched and sublime landscape gave birth to the feeling of being authentic. At the end of the 1990s this changed, as the travellers turned into "deckchair explorers" on their way to the land of tourism. Spring is followed up by *Jonas Asklund*, whose point of departure is the old health institutions based on natural spring water in the 1900s. Through the main characters in Hjalmar Bergman's novels, he examines how the health resorts turn into holidays, which function as laboratories for guests in search of their identities. *Per Åke Nilsson*, with a little help from Nietzsche and Derrida, focuses on the cultural development of the Swedish Tourist Association (STF) from 1885 until the late twentieth century. During this period, individuality was the

base, even when STF tried to incorporate people interested in sport activities. The essay discusses the contrasts between the individual and the collective. *Lars Kvarnström* shows us an important group of tourist actors who have been nearly invisible in the history of tourism, namely the tourist guides. He follows their fight for a group identity based on competence and the importance of how they present attractions and landmarks. In fact, their contribution was part of the formation of tourist sites and modern tourism as such. With help from guidebooks *Torkel Janson* examines how tourist sites are constructed. As a case, he examines how Estonia in the 1930s became a favourite vacation place for Swedish tourists. Thanks to academia, royal persons and tour operators, it was established that the population in the Baltics and Sweden had common ancestors and in part a common history. *Meichel F. Scoltz* ends this section of the book, highlighting how Gotland in the late 1880s had an ambivalent relationship to Germany. They had common interests, the Germans represented an economic resource, and thanks to the Hanseatic city of Visby, the Germans could accentuate a common history and their ownership of the island. It was not until the Second World War that Gotland was declared a Swedish island.

This section views identity from different angles and different contexts. Tourism may envisage and form relations and identities, which may be discussed in individual and collective, regional and international perspectives. The powerful nature has the magic to make individuals feel authentic at the same time as collective bonds are formed. The conquest of forceful and precarious nature is also a subject which has become increasingly topical in research on tourism. The same goes for studies of the group of tourist guides. Even though Kvarnström's essay could have been more theoretically developed, he contributes to a field of tourism that attracts lot of interest. This text is also noteworthy for its political touch. The section stands out through its empirical materials, which vary from tourist books to archives and, not least of all, novels.

The third part of the volume has the heading "Tourism and Modernity". *Kristine Skåden* is responsible for the first chapter, which deals with relations between Norway and Switzerland based on nature, tourism and the construction of modern infrastructure. Among many other things, she gives insight into how the new railway tracks in the early 1900s cut into untouched nature and impassable mountains, constructing new ways of experiencing and gazing at nature. *Erika Sandström* discusses the future of tourism in Gotland. Through newspapers from the period 1960–1970 she has coined the phrase "the paradox of tourism". Most people wish for the tourist welcome, but at the same time they observe negative consequences such as damage to nature and to the distinctiveness of Gotland. The term "sustainable tourism" has become important, but it is no guarantee of a solution. *Bente Jensen* is also interested in tourism close to the seaside, namely Bornholm in Denmark in the last decades of the nineteenth century. By dividing the tourist development into different phases such as "involvement" and "exploration", she demonstrates how the island was discovered as a tourist place and made suitable for travellers like the Germans. The guests represented new ways of life and new ways of consumption, and the result helped modernity to win over tradition. *Julie Anderson* presents an article focusing on how Germany in the aftermath of the Second World War promoted the country as a destination for Danish tourists. In Danish guidebooks, potential tourists could read about romantic ruins, medieval villages and forested hillsides as well as shopping centres and urban reconstruction. What is missing is the German-Danish border problem. Tradition and modernity are present; so too are political aspects, although they are almost invisible. In the last chapter of this part of the book, *Lulu Anne Hansen* seeks to demonstrate the importance of visual representations for research on tourism. By studying genre and motifs in photographs before and after the First World War, she manages to track down several aspects of change in tourists' interests and values. Examples show different ways to stage the local people for presentations and different ways to visualize their own roles as tourists. Keywords are authenticity, nostalgia and modernity.

This section views tourism from the perspective of modernity. The development toward mass tourism sets its mark on transformations of nature, landscape and ways of life. The different authors highlight new tourist patterns, new values, new ways of reflecting on the past and the future and new ways of looking at nature and places. Maybe Kristine Skåden's article stands out because she convincingly demonstrates the tourists' pleasure in experiencing a landscape where nature, technological power

and risks combine to make new and fantastic experiences possible. Lulu Anne Hansen is also special as she discusses the importance of visual materials in research on the history of tourism. One might also add that the perspectives she applies go beyond the subject of this book.

The last part of the volume has the heading "Tourism and Cultural Heritage". *Elisabeth Mansén* introduces the section. Through six case studies of health resorts based on natural spring water, she examines how the different resorts selectively used the historic reputation of the place to promote sales and market the resorts as part of a national cultural heritage. The fact that these places traditionally also have been visited by poor people is, however, omitted from the story. *Osmo Pekonen's* point of departure is 1736, when the French scientist and mathematician Pierre Louis Maupertuis explored Lapland, where he also wrote one of the first ethnographical descriptions from Tornedalen. Pekonen is of the opinion that this trip was important for Tornedalen and should be used in tourist promotion. He outlines how nature and culture tourists can follow in the footsteps of Maupertuis. However, he concludes that the authorities have more trust in popular fictitious idols as a basis for cultural heritage than real heroes from the past. *Kerstin Gunnemark* focuses on what she regards as an existing cultural heritage, namely the Nordic summer cottages. This heritage has evolved since families from early in the twentieth century visited the same places for generations to follow. The article also demonstrates how useful life-cycle interviews can be. *Christian Widholm* is the author of the last article in the volume. He analyses the relation between cultural heritage entrepreneurs and their childhood memories and experiences. Through interviews, he notices how these people have a special interest in telling stories from their younger days. At the same time, he observes how they have a lot of playfulness and a special eagerness to collect that forms a parallel to childhood.

Cultural heritage represents a research area of current interest. This is a field of study which discusses how cultural heritage comes into being, how it is used, formed and practised in different and often creative ways. Some of the issues discussed in earlier parts of the book are also to be found in this section. The articles highlight the atmosphere of authenticity that has potential for highly selective and strategic uses. The use of summer cottages may represent an overlooked heritage, whereas a closer look at collectors and guardians of maritime culture reveals hidden and embedded forces in the heritage construction. What is missing, though, is more profound discussions of the concept. That makes some of the arguments presented less convincing.

The volume gives a diverse insight into the research field of tourism history. It may also give rise to new ideas about the subject. Still, a few remarks can be made. This is a collection with many contributors and open to many perspectives. At the same time, it also gives the book a somewhat random impression. Some of the articles deal with themes and perspectives that are well known while others stand out because of new subjects and approaches. Some of the articles are more thoroughly worked through than others, some are predominantly descriptive while others are more theoretically oriented. The editor underlines how tourism is linked to modernity and thus, together with terms like identity and internationality will run like a red thread through the book. This intention is fulfilled, but at the same time it lends the volume a less convincing structure. The terms overlap each other and raise the question of whether sections should have been organized differently, or whether chapter titles should have called more attention to the sections and their content. Still, with many authors it must have caused some difficulties to arrive at the best arrangement. The book has its origin in a conference, which seems to have given birth to another problem. It looks as if the conference has determined the selection of articles and not only tourism history as such. Some themes are offered much more space than others and therefore appear to dominate the book. One may wonder, for instance, why so many texts deals with the seaside, move along coastlines and islands – not to say Gotland. If one adds that the health resorts are based on water, the book gives the impression that tourism in the Northern countries has preferred the wet element. On the other hand, perhaps this was indeed the case. Other themes are absent or could have been elaborated more. This goes for routines attached to travelling and transport, atmospheres and affects, material perspectives such as consumption and souvenirs. But the book is already rather large. If some subjects may seem to be left out, it indicates the book's positive capacity to inspire, to reflect and to heighten interest in the history of tourism. The book demonstrates that this

is a research field in progress and that there is room for further themes and theoretical perspectives. The book is also important in that it gives an overview of tourism research and thus may serve as orientation about what has been done and what must come. It is also of great interest to learn which researchers are dealing with this field. *Turismehistoria i Norden* is well worth reading.

Eva Reme, Bergen

Valued Treasures From the Archives

Kirjoittamalla kerrotut – Kansatieteelliset kyselyt tiedon lähteinä. (Told by writing – Ethnological surveys as source material). Pirjo Korkiakangas, Pia Olsson, Helena Ruotsala & Anna-Maria Åström (eds.) Ethnos-toimite 19. Suomen kansatieteilijöiden yhdistys Ethnos ry. Helsinki 2016. 456 pp. ISBN 978-952-68509-1-7.

■In Finland, there are a lot of written ethnological surveys that can be found in different archives. Finnish ethnologists and folklorists are aware that they exist, but these surveys of ethnology are not used as much as they can be. Still, they have a lot of potential for ethnological research.

The written survey materials, of course, will remain the same; however, researchers can look at them from very different perspectives and ask new questions. Surveys found in archives are thus an endless resource for greater knowledge.

The book, *Kirjoittamalla kerrotut – Kansatieteelliset kyselyt tiedon lähteinä*. (Told by writing – Ethnological surveys as source material), provides versatile insights into the nature of ethnological surveys. The authors of the book are Finnish ethnologists and write from their own points of view about written surveys materials. Their anthology consists of thirteen articles that are divided into four sections. The first section consists of two articles and is designed to make ethnological surveys familiar to the reader. The book indeed begins with an Introduction written by the editors. The article by Professor Bo Lönnqvist offers a lot of information about the history of ethnological surveys in Finland, as he has a long personal relationship with these surveys. Lönnqvist not only introduces the different surveys; he also discusses surveys as a resource. Old surveys, for example, still have a great many new research possibilities even today.

The second section of the book concentrates on the making of surveys. In her article, Hanneleena Hieta, PhD ethnologist, introduces ethnological surveys from the perspective of the archives. She emphasizes that a researcher should plan the life cycle of a survey right from the beginning of the research. The researcher should plan the archiving of the research materials before the fieldwork, or any sending of surveys takes place. The researcher is also responsible for informing the participants about the purpose of the survey and then archiving the survey answers after the fact.

Two of the articles in the book are written in Swedish. PhD, Archivist Carola Ekrem in her article, *Att berätta eller rapportera sitt liv – Frågelistmetoden i förändring* (To tell or report their life – The questionnaire method in change), examines the web surveys produced by Svenska Litteratursällskapet in 2008–2013. In his article, Professor Jaakko Suominen concentrates on web surveys. Indeed, online surveys can seem easy and a quick way to access and gather a large number of respondents. On the other hand, the Internet is filled with many different queries and competitions, so surveys may not always reach their target audiences. In particular, students have begun to take advantage of web surveys; at the same time, they have encountered different problems than they would if using traditional ethnological surveys. There may be many answers, but the answers may be only short and quick. Suominen indicates that technological advances have changed the way that research is actually done. It is obvious that this trend will continue now and probably in the future.

The third section of the book consists of four articles, which seek to answer how ethnological surveys can be read. I was pleased to read Docent Pia Olsson's article on the interactions to surveys. The author of a survey will most likely influence what kind of survey it will become. Respondents also write about their own starting points, which may be quite different from what others generally know. The same material can be used for very different starting points. Different researchers who have not participated in a particular survey can thus use the same material. While getting to know the material, a researcher can also discover new research questions or find a whole new approach to take for the entire research effort.

Pia Olsson emphasizes that each researcher should write down how he or she has used the ethnological surveys in his/her own research. In a way, the researcher thus has an ongoing dialogue with the reader of the actual text.

Anna Kirveennummi, ethnologist, writes about the ethnological surveys arranged by the University of Turku in 1960–1962. It is clear that surveys can provide unique and different answers to a wide range of research questions, but a researcher should still be able and ready to ask even unexpected questions from reviewing these materials.

The article by Professor Pirjo Korkiakangas focuses on the childhood memories found in ethnological surveys. The changes in this paradigm have made researchers become more interested in individual experiences. Thus, old surveys are now read again and analysed anew. Surveys responses can thus produce new and different meanings even long after the fact.

Maaru Seppä, ethnologist, demonstrates in a very practical way how she has done her own research. Step by step she describes her research and the solutions she chose. The wartime-related survey challenged the researcher in many ways. The close reading of these materials over and over again, however, eventually did help her understand the survey and its answers better.

The last section of the book discusses methodological reflections in greater detail. This chapter offers an important overview of time, place, memory and how we remember the past. In her article, PhD Kirsi-Maria Hytönen analyses the three time levels of ethnological surveys:, namely, when things happened, when they were documented, and when the researcher actually analysed them.

Another article in Swedish is Professor Anna-Maria Åström's *Minnets rum. En fråga om platser, praktiker och miljöfokuserade minnen – återuppväckande av urbana landskap* (Memory room. A matter of places, practices and environmentally focused memories – reviving urban landscapes). Åström focuses on place and memory. How do Helsinki residents remember their hometown and how does nostalgia affect their memories of their home street or neighbourhood?

Timo J. Virtanen, lecturer from the University of Turku, introduces an oral history project wherein researchers used different fieldwork methods along with surveys. In the last article of the book, PhD Aura Kivilaakso brings up nostalgia. It is really important to analyse its meaning and purpose. Nostalgia colours our way of remembering the past.

The entire book, *Kirjoittamalla kerrotut. Kansatieteelliset kyselyt tiedon lähteinä,* is a very practical volume. It is a useful guide for both students and researchers. The book also encourages researchers to undertake new surveys and inspires them to go to the archives to read old surveys and use them to design new questions and undertake different analyses.

The book is nicely in balance. It is well written and edited. The editors experience is reflected in the final result – The text is also a pleasure to read.

Ethnological surveys deserve their own specific publication efforts. In general, surveys are only presented as part of the general ethnological research literature (see e.g., Leimu 2005; Pöysä 2006). Studies have also used surveys as source (see e.g. Hytönen 2014).

The book focuses on both methodological questions and analysis and seeks to change the image of archived material being only pious documents containing old-fashioned handwritten texts. The book clearly demonstrates that surveys are an important part of today's ethnological research and are not just part of the past. Thus, they should not be relegated to the past. To conclude, I would recommend this book to anyone who is interested in using written ethnological surveys in their own research efforts.

Maria Vanha-Similä, Turku

Incidental Ethnic Encounters

Satunnaisesti Suomessa. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 97 (Incidentally in Finland) . Marko Lamberg, Ulla Piela & Hanna Snellman (eds.). Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2018. 325 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-858-005-1.

■In its introduction, the Kalevala Society ("Kalevalaseura") yearbook 2018 declares to focus on serendipities. Although the editors call for the importance of accidental moments in shaping of traditions and various cultural features, the book ultimately deals with historical perspectives on the idea of multiculturalism in Finland. The topic is, without a doubt and without the editors writing it explicitly, a reaction to the massive international migration

flow that occurred in Europe in 2015. Social scientists and researchers in folklore studies, ethnology, and cultural history realize that international migration has always existed and has meant not only cultural clashes but also cultural encounters, exchanges, and adaptation processes. The topic of this book is various incidental ethnic encounters in Finland over time. It focuses mainly on history, and out of seventeen articles, only three deal with contemporary occurrences.

Since the yearbook is published every year in Finnish, it is no doubt a challenge to find alternative authors every year to write on the chosen topic. In some cases, as in 2018, the individual articles vary widely from one another; the grand topic this year "Incidentally in Finland" (in Finnish: *Satunnaisesti Suomessa*) is very loose. Maybe a bit too loose? The articles do not connect smoothly and it thus makes difficult to write a consistent review. The articles rather present individual examples of typical contemporary research based on historical Finnish humanistic scholarship. However, this does not mean that the individual articles are not good; most of them are. Above all, they are informative, and a reader learns tons of new things from the history of Finland and the kingdom of Sweden. I concentrate presenting some of the articles within the book for their special relevance to historical anthropology and ethnology.

The first section of the book, "Encounters," includes an article by Risto Blomster and Kati Mikkola on the Finnish lay collector Matti Simola and offers a profound study on the process of folklore collecting. Blomster and Mikkola follow micro-historical traces of one lay collector, Simola, who specialized in Roma culture. For years, Simola wandered with Roma families in the Finnish countryside, and from an early age he wrote down the Roma songs and customs he witnessed. As the authors show, Simola's documentation was first and foremost for himself, as he did not originally intend to send his materials to the folklore archives. However, he ended up sending his vast writings, including personal diaries and documentation of the Roma way of life, to the Finnish Literature Society. His works were long seen as difficult to interpret, particularly because the authenticity of the Roma folklore in his collections was questioned. Examples like Simola and his personal collection not only remind researchers about the serendipity involved in the creation of archival materials but also underline the significance of archival policies.

It is slightly confusing why the article by Anne Ala-Pöllänen follows Blomster and Mikkola for it discusses one of the rare forms of contemporary ethnic encounters in Finland. Ala-Pöllänen scrutinizes cultural encounters between Filipino and Finnish seafarers on Finnish vessels. The reader is introduced seafaring as the occupation and is offered a brief historical overview of the industry. In modern times, seafarers have become international workers largely due to salary costs; Filipino seafarers' willingness to accept lower wages have priced Western seafarers out of jobs. As a result, on modern vessels, people of various nationalities work alongside each other and share extended periods of time together. Ala-Pöllänen's article is scientifically compelling, partly because it is an extract from her recent doctoral dissertation (*Happy Ships? Etnografinen tutkimus suomalaisista ja filippiiniläisistä merimiehistä suomalaisilla rahtilaivoillan*, 2017). It is also intriguing to see the authentic "ethnic encountering" that occurs on these vessels.

The next article takes a reader again back to history. Perhaps the most captivating article in the book deals with Rosa Emilia Clay, the first ethnically African Finn at the end of the nineteenth century. Anna Rastas and Leena Peltokangas co-wrote an excellent micro-historical study on Clay, a woman who experienced numerous external reactions to her skin color during a time of colonialism and explicit racism. The article begins by discussing the stereotypical idea of Finnish ethnic identity, whiteness, which Rosa's appearance challenged. Rosa Emilia Clay was the daughter of a British man and a Namibian woman, and she was adopted by a Finnish missionary couple. When the missionary family returned to Finland with their newly adopted child, the local newspapers headlined Rosa as a "Christianized mulatto"; in late nineteenth-century Finland, Clay's skin color was significant news. However, living in an upper middle-class family afforded Clay a proper education, and she graduated from a teacher seminar. She later migrated to the U.S. where she lived among other migrant Finns. Clay was the in-betweener in various ways. She was black, that is, of inferior race at the time but yet, educated, in other words, upper class; the two non-typical features at the late nineteenth century Finnish society. Often a problem with the historical studies of marginality

and marginal individuals is, that there can be seen a tendency to interpret deviances from the norm *as the norm*. However, this article succeeds in avoiding this and it presents Clay's bio critically and sufficiently contextualized. The authors do not try to convince Finnish society being open and tolerant, which it was not, in the end of the nineteenth century.

The article by Any Lahtinen takes a contrasting perspective and focuses on Hieronymus von Birckholtz who was a German-born noble man who moved permanently to Finland at the end of the sixteenth century. The article focuses on tracing the marital exchange of the daughter of Klaus (Klas) Fleming, a Finnish-born member of the Swedish nobility and an admiral and how von Birckholtz encountered enormous resistance from the Flemings. Lahtinen is the only author in the book who clearly points to the central theme of "incidental encounters" through her examination of von Birckholtz's life. At the same time, the article sheds light on multiple realms of upper-class culture in Sweden at that time, as Finland was a part of Sweden until 1809. von Birckholtz was accused of marrying for money and was suspected of being a spy in his spouse's family. However, he successfully married up and secured his standard of living. From the perspective of folk culture researcher, it is instructive to be reminded on upper class cultures, too. Unlike the folk, the upper classes were able to read and write and they left personal documents, which make source criticism different.

Lahtinen's article is situated in the "Life paths" section, as is Veli Pekka Toropainen's study on the seventeenth-century Finnish upper class and its random links to non-Finnish persons. In his article on the bourgeoisie widow Elin Såger, Toropainen highlights the economic power and decision-making abilities female matriarchs had in the seventeenth-century ironworks. Although the article does not deal much with foreign influences on Såger's actions, it undisputedly shows how visionary one woman was in creating and maintaining one of the largest and most successful ironworks in the country.

The last section of the yearbook, "Visits," covers sporadic encounters with foreigners passing through Finland. One example of this kind of encounter is the traveling salesmen in Finland who were often Russians or Russian-origin Jews and Tatars. Johanna Wassholm's thorough article on Tatars as traders is an excellent example of grass-roots encounters between two distinctively different cultures, that is, white protestant Finns and Turkic-speaking muslims. Wassholm's sources are old newspapers and news on Tatar traders. Although Tatars sold items that commoners wanted and for that matter, the locals accepted them, the press interpreted Tatar trade negatively. Tatars were suspected as working under the command of Russian authorities. The last section of the yearbook, "Visits", ends with Kalevala's publications in Swedish, compiled by Liisa Laukkanen and Harry Lönnrot.

The final chapter of the book, which works independently and is always added to the yearbook, is the Kalevala Society's annual report. I found this quite intriguing for two reasons. First, providing exact financial numbers to readers is an excellent example of the open democracy and transparency that the Nordic states are famous for. Second, this section reminded me that openness is culturally "natural" and familiar to us. Of course, this is not to say that corruption and conspiracies do not exist in open democracies and its humanistic institutions. However, if all institutions, societies, and groups, whether governmental or private, worked and acted as the Kalevala Society does, we would happily embrace them.

Eija Stark, Helsinki

The Urge to Count

Trangen til å telle: Objektivering, måling og standardisering som samfunnspraksis. Tord Larsen and Emil A. Røyrvik (eds.). Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2017. 314 pp. ISBN 978-82-304-0213-9.

■ The edited volume "The Urge to Count: Objectives, Measurement and Standardization as Social Practice" presents a cultural phenomenon of our time, namely our urge to see the world in numbers. We could say that we live today in an indicator culture, that we not only quantify, measure and standardize, but also use these numbers in performative and generative technologies. Working life is one of those contexts where we today have quantifiable target formulations that guide a form of self-control. This is something that is theoretically framed in the introduction by the anthropologist Tord Larsen and the sociologist Emil A. Røyrvik, pointing out that

numbers bring new subjectivities and other kinds of normative guidelines to our everyday life. The book is a result of a Norwegian research project and one of the aims of the project, and of this volume, is: "the study of how 'facts' are created, maintained and disseminated" (p. 11). This is examined in twelve different cases, for example New Public Management, evidence-based medicine, branding identity and so forth.

After a short introduction Emil A. Røyrvik presents a more theoretical discussion of how objectification, quantification and ranking create what could be called a neoliberal society that converts collective and social relations into a form of self-control. It is a theoretical chapter that uses working life as a case to discuss how the dominant objectification is related to quantification and standardization. From this perspective Røyrvik succeeds in making a good recapitulation of critique of neoliberalism, and how themes such as self-monitoring, new reward systems, or reducing social life to organization-specific themes and problems, can be understood and studied.

The sociologist Tian Sørhaug writes about money and new forms of value creation with a discussion of "possible connections between the development of financial technologies and more general cultural development" (p. 56). Looking not only into finance, but also the digitization and robotization of financial technologies, Sørhaug studies how today's economy is produced without real money. Instead derivatives become central for transforming uncertainty into risk calculations and creating trust in speculations. Numbers become performative when speculation with value becomes more central for the economy than money.

In the chapter "Care handshakes in scenes involving numbers" the sociologist Gunhild Tøndel writes about the relation between counting and naming in health and social services. The counting and the numbers become statistics and exercise bureaucratic control over the local organization from a distance. Tøndel therefore presents a perspective on how to "see as statistic", instead than "see as the state" or "see as a survey" – to paraphrase Scott and Law respectively. This perspective is presented very well in a question: "How is the interaction between counting and naming expressed in concrete statistical practices in the municipal health and social services, and what can this entail – for whom?" (p. 92). Central for Tøndel is how this "whom" is a question that concerns how the body in health and social services is reduced to numbers.

The next chapter continues on the theme of how statistics and numbers produce standardisation and how this meets the local level. The anthropologist Håkon Fyhn and the science and technology researcher Roger Andre Søraa use the climate and environment field as a case, or more specific building of houses. Their text is about how calculations of energy saving are transformed in different levels, from bureaucrats to building projects, to the builders who construct the houses and in the end the people who live in them. The chapter ends with an interesting discussion about the differences and the struggle between the calculations and the everyday existence of living in the house. The struggle can here be understood as a dichotomy between technology at distance or proximity.

The social anthropologists Petter G. Almklov, Gro Ulset and Jens Røyrvik present another empirical case, namely standardization and measurement in child care. This chapter discusses how New Public Management has become an organizational principle in these organizations, and how measurement requires a form of standardization – or in other words *accountability*. It is an interesting case that gives an understanding of how evidence-based methods are used in the organization of child care, and how categories and templates are transformed to the work the preschool staff do with the children. Central for the chapter is how control and responsibility are transferred from the staff to a form of institutional accountability.

In the chapter "Dignity in practice" the social anthropologist Gitte H. Koksvik deepens the understanding of how standardization praxis meets lifeworld. With a focus on intensive care units in France, Norway and Spain she studies situations where lifeworlds are most vulnerable, namely when people are really sick. This is in situations where the patient is, more or less, handed over to the staff, and risks becoming depersonalized by the professionals' objectifying processes. Koksvik has an important discussion about dignity-in-practice, and how the staff have a responsibility for the vulnerability that is present in the intensive care units. This discussion gives another layer to the discussion in other chapters about quantification, measurement and standardization.

In the anthropologist Lorenzo Cañás Bottos and Tanja Plasil's chapter the empirical theme is once again change, and this chapter focuses on historical processes around food among immigrants in Argentina in the period 1870 to 1940. But it is also a central change in the theoretical perspective; whereas the other chapters study how measurement and standardization from above change the local context, this chapter studies how measurement and standardization are developed bottom-up. In this way the writers develop the interesting concept of *standardization from below* – how a diversity of categorizations evolve and can be used for navigation in everyday life.

With the thrilling title "Can Nils Holgersson have inspired a 'diabolical' Nazi ideologue?", Kenneth R. Olwig – human geography – uses another historical perspective. He analyses how the Austrian zoologist Konrad Lorenz – member of the Nazi Party during World War II – developed a behavioural biological model that constituted the ideal for the Germanic Übermensch. Through this historical perspective Olwig gives a powerful metaphor of how wrong it can be when the terrain and the map change places.

The volume ends with Tord Larsen, who identifies three main forms for objectification in our time: a) a transformation in relation to what things and goods are, how, for example, we can objectify a relation, b) automation and identification of connotations, how objectification in the form of independent judgement is transformed into something measurable, and c) a form of "reality increase", how individuals, products or organizations are given an added value, for example in branding. This change is then related to the definitions of what is possible to own in our culture and the commodification of mental content and personality measurement. It is a theoretical chapter that in a way sums up some of the central developments discussed in the other chapters.

Trangen til å telle is an important volume for analysis of today's cultural processes around quantification, measuring and standardization. It gives many new and important theoretical and methodological perspectives to work further with in this growing field.

Kristofer Hansson, Lund

Ethnological Reflections on New Nordic Food

Jordnära. Etnologiska reflektioner över ny nordisk mat. Yrsa Lindqvist & Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch (eds.). Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsinki 2018. 230 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-430-0.

■ The international success of the so-called New Nordic Cuisine raises several interesting questions from an ethnological perspective. How could the restaurants in the Nordic countries, previously so outward-looking and so infatuated with modernity, suddenly begin looking back to the Nordic roots? What happens when traditions are deliberately used to create an innovative cuisine? What does the new Nordic cuisine look like in ordinary homes, far away from the Michelin-starred restaurants? And how should ethnologists relate to the interest in and use of knowledge about ingredients, dishes, preservation methods, emergency food, and other topics that used to be the realm of a few ethnologists and archivists, but are now used as props in blogs, restaurants, and glossy food magazines?

This book, *Jordnära* (literally "Close to the Soil") gives different perspectives on the dynamic processes in twenty-first-century Nordic food culture(s). The articles are written by researchers with shared ethnological approaches and research fields but from different Nordic countries. They complement each other well, particularly as regards empirical data, but also through a certain breadth of analytical approaches.

We spend a lot of time and resources on eating and drinking, but there are limitations to how much we can consume. On the other hand, there seems to be no restriction on how much we can talk and write about food. It therefore seems perfectly reasonable that several articles in the book focus on the development of media representations of food and drink.

Anna Burstedt writes about the language of restaurant reviews. It is almost touching to read the long quotations from restaurant critics who try to retain their preferential right to interpret what is good taste at a time when they are increasingly threatened by digital services such as TripAdvisor, where anyone can publish their testimonials for other prospective visitors to read. But in the professional restaurant rankings, of course, this is not enough. With a language all of their own, critics explain the signifi-

cance of the distinctions, the subtler the better. Here it becomes clear how the down-to-earth ideal in the elite gastronomy of the twenty-first century is not about eating simple food, and especially not about food that is simple in the way it is eaten by real rural people. With comparisons between new and older restaurant guides, we are given a welcome historical perspective on the down-to-earth theme.

Hanne Pico Larsen builds on the narrative theme and claims, with some justification, that an important part of the serving of the new Nordic cuisine consists of serving narratives. Larsen focuses on wild food as a motif and a practice in the Nordic cuisine. She goes out and picks snails with Roland Rittman, one of the entrepreneurs who has been given a boost with the new restaurants' craze for nature's hidden treasures. The stories that snails, sorrel, beechnuts, and other wild delicacies can tell are about the Nordic "terroir". The stories are highly aestheticized. The once so polished head chef at Restaurant Noma, Rene Redzepi, grows a beard, wears knitted sweaters and rubber boots, and lets himself be photographed on his rounds collecting food in the wild. The narratives are thus conveyed not only in words, but also in pictures. The idea of down-to-earth food would scarcely have been so successful without the advent of Instagram and specialized gastronomic magazines with an abundance of ambitious photographs of dishes, ingredients, and chefs.

Yrsa Lindqvist focuses on this in her article on food in pictures. It is about the creation of the brochure "Pure Ingredients", published by Marthaförbundet. The brochure is one of many in a genre of heavily aestheticized publications that seek to visualize an idyll consisting of wild nature and genuine agriculture and food crafts, which, combined with the Arctic climate and light, is assumed to create food ingredients with distinctive qualities. Lindqvist herself conducted interviews and wrote texts for the brochure, but the focus here is on the pictures, not the texts. In addition to detailed and exemplary picture analysis, the article contributes a historical perspective. Of course, photographs of food are nothing new, and Lindqvist makes comparisons with cookbooks from earlier eras. A picture of "skewered hare" from Gustava Björklund's cookbook from 1849 provides a salutary reminder that the aestheticized "raw" nature in its twenty-first-century form, despite its ambition to show what is pure and genuine, conceals a large share of all the ingredients and practices that are actually needed for the new Nordic cuisine.

Ester Bardone makes an important contribution in an article on memories of picking berries in the forest. In addition to an intelligent and general analysis of the significance of nostalgia for the experience of berry consumption, which can also be applied to other food ingredients, she broadens the theme of the book by taking Estonia as her empirical field. If the *Estonian Gourmet Cookbook* from 2006 could very well have been published in any of the Nordic countries (with minor changes), this does not apply to the responses to questionnaires from 1937 and 1947 which Bardone uses as comparative material. This shows how food, even in its purest natural form, is affected by politics. Estonian political history, with the turbulent inter-war period and the post-war Soviet period, differs markedly from the other Nordic countries. From being a supplement to the subsistence of the peasant household, the Soviet-era berries were a welcome addition to the diet. Because of the seasonal and irregular supply, wild berries were difficult to control, even in a command economy. Moreover, the serious food shortage in the first decades after the Second World War led to berries becoming slightly more than nutritional additives or sensory experiences. They were a necessity. But was the Soviet experience only a bad thing? Bardone notes that while the West was discussing obesity, overweight, and industrial food during the 1960s, the general public in the Soviet Union were talking about the excellence of fruit and berries as part of a rationally adapted diet, preferably with rational new methods of home preservation. The cultural heritage of the Soviet era will be one of the most important fields of research in the coming years. Reminiscences and material experiences can still be accessed, while the strongest feelings that were expressed immediately after the dissolution of the USSR have died down. This provides opportunities for comparative studies of Nordic experiences that, with their similarities and differences, can give new insights into food cultures in transformation.

Jón Þór Pétursson examines *skyr* in Iceland. There are few food products that have made such a quick journey from unnoticed and endangered tradition to global sales success for health-conscious urbanites as this fresh sour milk cheese. A possible parallel would be the quinoa from the Andes which

has become so popular that it has become too expensive for many consumers in the areas where it originated, with public health problems as a result. It is not surprising, therefore, that skyr makes a good topic for a creative article about cultural heritage, modernity, and changing food culture. It provides important perspectives on how small-scale food production today is dependent on cultural heritage, fashion, and new technology. Ethnography, here as so often, gives opportunities to go beyond simplistic rhetorical images of reality, such as that of the opposition between tradition and modern technology. On the organic dairy farm of Erpsstaðir, with tradition as its main selling point, the milking robot is both a prerequisite for production and a tourist attraction. Skyr from Erpsstaðir gains a special value from the opportunity to visit the place where it is produced. Skyr goes from being a food to become a destination, to borrow an expression from the tourism industry that is becoming increasingly intertwined with the restaurant sector as well as the food industry.

Other articles in the book likewise deal with the role of food in the experience industry. Food and drink festivals are a natural part of many regions' attempts at establishing a profile for themselves. Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch writes about the harvest festival in Åland, which in just over ten years has developed from a novelty to an annual event with over ten thousand visitors, most of them from Åland. The harvest festival is held in more than one place, allowing visitors to travel around and see many different farms. It is a specific arrangement, yet with the ambition to showcase rural life as more than a staged idyll. With solid fieldwork as a base, we see how the harvest festival can serve as a tourist magnet, a local community builder, and a creator of added value for producers. But there are also frictions between the different groups. Food may be a bridge builder, but it is also a watershed.

Connie Reksten studies Bergen's food festival, which she describes as so much more than a festival for the residents or a regional branding concept. Instead, Reksten argues that all the boiling, stirring, chopping, tasting, and smelling at the festival can be interpreted as part of a resistance to political conservatism as well as commercial exploitation of food culture. Vestlandet's profile as a "sensory" region can show the way to a new future. There is perhaps some wishful thinking in this conclusion, but Reksten's thesis that people can put up resistance in a different language and with a different rationality from traditional political channels – through smell, taste, texture, and materiality – gives pause for thought.

With the award-winning book *Jordnära*, we have been given a Nordic survey of the growing fascination with food and meals in the Nordic region in recent decades. It also provides much-needed nuances in a polarized debate in which slow food and fast food are held up as irreconcilable opposites. Although the authors of *Jordnära* have a slight bias towards the slow food side, it is not a one-sided or naive picture of notions about genuine food that we are given. I reach the same conclusion as the grand old man of food research, Sidney Mintz. What if we could get beyond fast food and slow food and instead strive towards "food at moderate speeds"? Ethnological food research is necessary for such a development, preferably with a focus on the frictions. The word *Jordnära* leads to the idea of an idyll, but in its practices there are also conflicts and contradictions. There is a battle for the preferential right of interpretation about what good food, a living countryside, and a good life should contain. I would like to see a greater focus on these questions in a follow-up to this volume.

Håkan Jönsson, Lund

Dogs and Humans in the North

Dogs in the North: Stories of Cooperation and Co-Domestication. Robert J. Losey, Robert P. Wishart & Jan Peter Laurens Loovers (eds.). Routledge, Abingdon 2018. 298 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-138-21840-6.

■ Remarkably, the significance of the dog for humans has been of limited interest to ethnologists and anthropologists, despite the fact that no other species has such close relations with humans, and their coexistence goes back a very long way. Perhaps it has been considered that the dog was of minor economic significance for, say, the pre-industrial peasant population, although it was important for the Sami in the north, and indeed for Arctic and Circumpolar peoples in general. But the dog has always been there, regardless of whether it has been with peasants, townspeople, or nomads. In the mid 1970s when I suggested dog keeping in olden times as a

dissertation topic my supervisor reacted with total indifference. Internationally as well, we can observe that human-canine relations are still weakly represented in ethnographic research, and the little work that is done does not have much impact on other research, as is noticeable in the contemporary discussion about the taxonomic status of the dingo (see the journal *Zootaxa* 4564, 2019), where there are absolutely no references to the significance of the Australian Aborigines in this context. In recent years, however, we have been able to discern an increased interest, partly thanks to the "non-human turn" in the human sciences, but perhaps above all thanks to John Bradshaw, Raymond and Lorna Coppinger, James A. Serpell, and other anthrozoologically inspired researchers with a genuine interest in animals, focusing on the presence of animals in human society and showing how the species influence each other through the close contact in which they live. Bryan Cummin's book *First Nations, First Dogs* appeared in 2002, a study of dogs among the Canadian First Nations which underlined how ethnographic research until then had largely ignored the significance of the dog, although it is a cultural product of ancient origin. In recent years, however, researchers have seriously become aware of the significance of the dog. The book reviewed here, *Dogs in the North*, assembles a large number of scholars from many countries and from different disciplines to shed light on the changing meanings of the dog for Circumpolar peoples.

Some of the essays deal with Nordic matters. Glimpses into the relations between humans and dogs far back in time are provided by two Finnish researchers working at the University of Helsinki, the palaeobiologist Suvi Viranta and the archaeologist Kristiina Mannermaa. In this survey chapter, "Prehistory of Dogs in Fennoscandia", they cover finds from all over Fennoscandia, that is, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Such are known from Stone Age hunter-gatherers almost 10,000 years ago, and subsequently there are finds from all periods up to the Viking Age. As far back as the Mesolithic, dogs were buried together with humans. Dog teeth used as artefacts are also found in prehistoric graves. Through studies of Neolithic dog finds from Denmark it has been observed that dogs ate the same food as humans, a fact that underlines how closely interwoven people's and dogs' lives were. Dogs are still present in human graves through the ages, testifying to their special position among humans. However, they appear to be uncommon at Sami find places. The authors present here a find from Sodankylä in Finland, but I would draw attention to finds of pups, probably sacrificial animals, at a settlement site in the Coastal Sami district of Sørstraumen in Norway. Dogs were not just kept for company and for rituals but also had a great many functions, for instance as hunting companions, but also as a source of protein for humans. Archaeologists think that they can distinguish different kinds of dogs in the extant material, for instance numerous finds of sighthound-like dogs from the Iron Age. Of present-day dogs, the authors point to the Finnish spitz, which they say may go back a very long way, perhaps 6,000 years, thus giving us a glimpse of what prehistoric dogs might have looked like. Also interesting are finds of artefacts associated with dog keeping.

The anthropologist Nuccio Mazzullo examines the significance of the dog among the Sami, and especially narratives about dogs in oral tradition. The dog has been of great significance in all economic activities of the Sami and is an indispensable part of their history. Mazzullo cites many examples of how close these ties were and how they are also reflected in language. Based on the current ethnographic accounts by Knud Leem, Johan Turi, and T. I. Itkonen, the dog is described as a helper in Sami reindeer herding. This is followed by an analysis of the dog in a Skolt Sami legend, a story without references to reindeer herding. It is interesting that the discussion also reflects how Skolt Sami informants themselves reflect on the legend over time. A person who has previously described the importance of the dog among the Sami is the American anthropologist and ethnobiologist Myrdene Anderson. Here she returns to the topic and reflects on her own long-term relationship to the study of canine-human relations among the Sami, but also speculates about mutual domestication. Now that the dog is no longer needed in Sami society, new bonds arise, not least the role of dogs as pets.

Several articles are about Alaska and Canada. We should also especially mention the Danish ethnographer Kirsten Hastrup, writing about dogs among the Inughuit (formerly named Polar Eskimos, who differ linguistically from other Greenlanders) in northwest Greenland. Dogs have always had an obvious role in their society, so obvious that we have always

taken it for granted. There are also essays here about the significance of the dog in history and today in Siberia. A diachronic perspective of change is provided, for example, by the German-American anthropologist Lisa Strecker in her study of the functions of the dog in Kamchatka in the Russian Far East. Sled dogs need salmon to be able to live and work, but that has also been the staple diet of the natives of Kamchatka, a combination that has not always been easy to reconcile. Nowadays the function of dogs has changed to a large extent, from sled dogs for transport to competitive sport mushing. It is interesting that the author, in her historical survey, has benefited from Sten Bergman's travel accounts, as he was in Kamchatka at the start of the 1920s and was dependent on sled dogs to be able to conduct his field research and has thus conveyed many insights into their significance for the local population as well.

A book of this kind, with so many essays, naturally becomes disparate in content, but the editors through their Introduction and Conclusion have tried to tie the texts together. In any case it is very interesting reading in places, and I have learned a great many new things about human relations with dogs in various societies and different eras in the north. The illustrations in the book are few but interesting.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Ecology and Culture in a Solid Danish Cultural History

Bjarne Stoklund, Læsø Land. Økologi og kultur i et øsamfund 1550–1900. Anders Møller, Signe Mellemgard & Marie Stoklund (eds.). Museum Tusculanum Forlag, Copenhagen 2018. Etnologiske studier 15. 2 volumes. 624 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-635-4429-0.

■ The editors start by outlining, in a short foreword, how these books about the island of Læsø came about. The work as a whole is divided into five parts. The first is called a prelude, stating the objectives of the study and the framework for the island's cultural history, while the second part describes the women and the land in nine sections. These two parts make up the first volume. The second volume covers the men and the sea in a third part with seven sections. A fourth part at the end of volume 2 summarizes continuity and change in the maritime community and, in a short concluding part, the threads are drawn together in an analysis of the roles that ecology and culture have played for the distinctive character of Læsø.

From 1949 until his death in 2013 Bjarne Stoklund amassed an extensive corpus of source material about life on Læsø. He himself had a kin relationship to Læsø, through his grandfather who had moved to Copenhagen with his family. It was therefore easy to establish contacts with people on Læsø during his fieldwork. He was also able to use photographs, diaries, and accounts in the possession of the family. The source material also includes biographical notes from Stoklund's grandfather about life on Læsø.

Stoklund died before he finished his extensive analysis of life on Læsø. However, as the manuscript was almost complete, an editorial team consisting of Signe Mellemgaard, Anders Møller, and Marie Stoklund decided to complete the work. In their foreword they point out that there is no section about hunting in the chapter on the men and the sea, and in the volume about the women and the land there ought to have been a section about the sick and the elderly – topics which Stoklund had planned to write about. The last, summarizing chapter on ecology and culture has been edited and finalized by the editors. They have also reworked the entire material and extended the notes and the index. The pictures in the books are taken from Stoklund's previous published works. He took many of the photographs himself. The text is printed with detailed descriptions of the different work processes in grey so that they can be read separately from the main text.

In the prelude Stoklund describes how, in the summer of 1949, as a 21-year-old history student working for the National Museum's ethnographic survey, he came to Læsø to supplement the material on popular traditions that had been collected by Dansk Folkemindesamling in 1920. The focus was on the material and social aspects of life, traditional working methods in agriculture and fishing, and everyday housework. Læsø turned out to be an ethnological gold mine. Stoklund's aim was to understand the historical process that created the Læsø culture that existed at the end of the nineteenth century and which he could reach through his field notes. Rich source material was available, not only

the records of life at the end of the nineteenth century, but also extensive archival material, court records, and various writings. During the 1950s Stoklund visited the island many times to do fieldwork. Over the years he published his Læsø studies in journals and books, which can be considered as preliminary studies to the work reviewed here. He presents it as a survey of how an island community evolves and changes in a long historical perspective. By adapting to changing internal and external circumstances and shifting economic conditions, from an economy based on salt production, via the timber boats trading with Norway, to the thriving international shipping by sail. Læsø has always had its distinctive character, which Stoklund emphasizes with the title *Læsø Land*, as if it were a country of its own.

The island's cultural history is then presented from the Middle Ages to the present day, as an abridged version of the book *Arbejde og kønsroller på Læsø* from 1988 (reviewed by Svensson in *ES* 1991). Based on ecological and economic criteria, the island's history is described from 1200 to 1900 as a series of what he calls readjustment phases. Here we already see the highly individual character of the island resulting from the division of labour and the economy between women and men on Læsø. Agriculture was the women's sphere while the sea, shipping, and fishing was the men's world. This is the basis for the division of the study into two volumes, with the first treating the women and the land and the second dealing with the men and the sea. Stoklund begins by discussing the change in the concept of culture since the 1950s. At that time, culture was simply the opposite of nature, whereas today it is viewed as a meaningful system of norms and ideas, he says. He prefers to regard culture as a process, a way for people to constantly try to bring order and meaning to life. He describes the natural environment as ecology, the process that involves adaptation to nature.

The long part about women and the land describes not only the cultural landscape and the buildings, but also ownership, arable farming, the outlands, the livestock, and everyday chores such as grinding flour, baking bread, butchering etc. A complex ownership situation led to an extensive land redistribution in the 1850s, consolidating land holdings. Arable farming on the island did what it could with the dry, thin, sandy soil. Oats and winter rye have been cultivated at least since the seventeenth century. From the nineteenth century barley was also grown at times. Potatoes have been grown since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The section on arable farming describes different forms of cultivation as well as manuring and related utensils. Haymaking by scythe is nicely described in both words and pictures. Heather and peat were particularly important in agriculture on Læsø, as was seaweed.

For the people of Læsø, however, the livestock was much more important than arable farming. Horses, cows, and sheep were the foundation of animal husbandry. Remarkably, there were as many horses as cows. But the properties were small up until the nineteenth century and people had only a few horses and cows along with a dozen or so sheep. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, every household also had its own pig, which was slaughtered for Christmas. Among poultry, the goose was the most important fowl. The all-round character of Stoklund's description can be illustrated by the relatively large space devoted to well-being and disease among the livestock. Beekeeping did not become widespread until the end of the eighteenth century, when heather became more common.

Farm buildings were also distinctive on Læsø, not least the large roofs thatched with seaweed. The roofs also affected the timber structure of the houses. Otherwise they were built in a sturdy half-timbered style. Much of the timber for building came from stranded ships. Each farm consisted of three or four ranges of houses grouped around a courtyard. The interiors of the dwelling houses are described in detail. There was also an interesting signalling system, as the flagpole was not only used to show the direction of the wind but also had a basket in which various messages could be conveyed.

Bread has been a central part of the Læsø diet, which is why it was treated with special reverence. Stoklund describes in detail the bread culture that prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century. A distinction was made between coarse and fine bread. Pure wheat bread was very rare and only the wealthiest could indulge in it. People ate a soft rye bread, and a harder type of rusks. Rusks were consumed primarily by men at sea, but could also be used as payment in kind, as we know from court records.

Agriculture on Læsø scarcely covered the islanders' own need for vegetables, but when it came to meat production a certain surplus could be achieved. During the nineteenth century this was sold either to travelling buyers or to local merchants who had by then established themselves on the island. Some sheepskins were sold for export, but many were tanned and processed on the island. Both men and women often wore sweaters made of skins. During the nineteenth century there was a change in the export of animal products, from finished products to raw materials; this applied to wool as well.

Stoklund provides detailed descriptions of things such as slaughtering, skin preparation, and even candle-making, but there is very little about how, for example, the wool was used in the production of textiles.

The last sections in the volume about women and the land contain two detailed accounts of diet and eating habits in the nineteenth century. The pantry often had stocks of rye bread, meal, flour, dried and salted fish, smoked mutton, and potatoes. Hot food was eaten once a day, usually cabbage or peas with some meat in the winter, and in the summer milk porridge. But the poor people lived solely on dry food with which they drank water or, in the case of the men, spirits. Fresh meat, pork, butter and cheese were regarded as luxuries. Novelties in the nineteenth century were potatoes and hot food. The diet gradually became more varied too. Most common among the diet of Læsø was tinned fish. Of vegetable dishes, kale soup was most common. Kale was an important plant in the small vegetable patches that surrounded the farms. Sometimes there were also white cabbages, carrots and parsley.

The people of Læsø drank coffee every day, and the coffee kettle was always hanging ready at the fireplace.

The part about the men's work focuses on the sea and begins with the decline of salt production, confirmed in 1652 with new duty system. Then the island community was forced to preserve the last remnants of the forest to avoid sand drift and the peasants could no longer use the forest as firewood to boil salt. Salting of food had played an important role in the Scandinavian diet since the Middle Ages, and the production of salt on Læsø remained important for a long time, as the water in the southern part of the island had a higher salt content than the seawater.

Freighting now became a more important source of income. Timber boats appear in historical sources around 1600. Very little is known about the appearance and design of the Læsø boat, the *skude*, but it seems to have been built by local shipyards on the island. A list of ships from 1763 comprises 40 *skuder*. Here Stoklund makes extensive comparisons with the boats used in other parts of Denmark. The Læsø boats mainly brought timber from Norway to sell in Denmark, but they also carried smaller quantities of local products such as bread, flour, and fish. The shipping was organized in small partnerships, with the crew as the part-owners. Thanks to a silver hoard discovered under a farm by an archaeological excavation in 1982 we know how much wealth a boat owner on the island could accumulate in the seventeenth century.

In the 1770s, however, the *skude* trade ceased completely and a new process of readjustment began. Now the majority of the Læsø men had to seek a livelihood away from the island. They became sailors in the international shipping. Many found employment on Dutch sailing ships, but the most desirable solution was to sign on the Greenland shipping trade, where seamen were treated better. This section contains detailed accounts by men who went to sea after confirmation. We learn about one of them, Johannes Stoklund, Bjarne Stoklund's grandfather, who found employment in the Greenland shipping. Johannes kept a diary with interesting details about the Greenland trade. However, the end of his story in the early years of the twentieth century shows that it was now difficult to continue the old maritime traditions. Of his large family, only one son chose shipping and even for him it was a short career.

Both shipping and fishing on the island were dependent on boats, and a section on skiffs and cogs describes how these craft were built and used.

Many descriptions reflect how sadly neglected fishing was on the island. But despite the fact that fishing was not on a large scale, it is the man's work that is described in most detail. Only one kind of fishing actually seems to have been of any significance, namely, for garfish. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, lobster was also caught. Difficult natural conditions are stated as the reason for the neglect of fishing, but a large proportion of the male population were away at sea working in international shipping. Stoklund has chosen to present

all the methods of fishing in detailed descriptions of how nets were made, how lobster were caught, how to use a leister or a jog, when to start putting out nets, and so on. There is also a description of how to use a spinning wheel to make hemp yarn for the fishing nets.

Garfish were caught by the traditional implement, long lines, also called *bakker*. The word probably refers to the flat trays on which the baited rope was pulled up. Fishing for garfish was a seasonal activity, but it provided households with food for the winter and a cash income.

But even more important than fishing as a source of income in the composite economy of the Læsø islanders was salvaging stranded ships. This, however, was hedged with complicated legal rules about who was entitled to the wrecks, and this led to stories of how the islanders in the past could light a lantern on the beach to lure sailors into believing that it was a lighthouse and cause them to run aground. Læsø was not incorporated into the general Danish salvage system until the nineteenth century. But the salvagers retained their central role in the economy throughout the nineteenth century. By then the technology of shipping had changed so that this activity declined in importance.

The men took no part in farming, but creating with their hands was an acceptable aspect of the male role. When they were at home on the farm they tended to spend their time in the tool shed or the forge. They mostly made what was needed for building houses or boats. Things for boat-building were most important. This also included rope-making, of which we are given a detailed description here. Also on the island were local sculptors and stonemasons who made sepulchral tablets and gravestones.

With one of the concluding parts entitled "The Maritime Community", Stoklund stresses the most essential structural feature of Læsø society, which in his view was the division of labour between men and women, with the sea as the men's domain and the land as the women's. This structure is found in all coastal communities in the pre-industrial Nordic countries. Here he rounds off by asking questions about the noticeable changes that have taken place in gender divisions over time, how the size of the population has changed and the role this played for the character of the community. From the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, the population fell by one third. This was due to the end of salt production, the reduced important of the *skude* transports, the sand drift that devastated a large part of the farming land, besides which many young men were conscripted into the navy. At the end of the seventeenth century, the island had a large female proletariat, with a huge surplus of unmarried women and widows. Single women then accounted for half of the adult population. From the end of the eighteenth century until the 1950s, the number of inhabitants gradually rose to 3,000 and in the eighteenth century conditions improved so that the proportion of men and women became more equal. But today the population has fallen to 2,000 and now the gender balance is again skewed: it is the women who move away and single men remain.

With the island's location far out in the Kattegat, the people of Læsø have always had to take it upon themselves to ensure that trade and crafts functioned well. Stoklund describes the island society as a mixture of a farming community and a market town.

The woman's agricultural work chiefly involved digging soil and peat and her most important implement was the spade. The Læsø spade thus plays a key role in the island's history and has served as a symbol in many contexts. Court records tell of spades being used as weapons in fights between women. Another concrete example showing that only women could manage the work on land was seen when soldiers were stationed on the island; only women could be used to keep guard because they were accustomed to driving and riding horses, whereas the men were not. So the women were both cart drivers and guards.

The career for a man meant sailing in home waters at the beginning and end of his working life, while in between he served as a sailor on the seven seas. Because of the large surplus of women, men enjoyed relatively broad freedom as regards sex, so that, for example, a prosperous man could have an extra woman and children in one of the small labourers' cottages.

There was a big difference in the men's and women's life-rhythm. The woman was always active while the man was able to spend his leisure time in the inns and taverns. Men who had been nurtured in the international seaman's culture brought its norms ashore and were valued according to the status they had at sea – a world to which women did not have access. Men with a seaman's background,

however, made up just a part of the male population. The other group consisted of immigrant men who did all the jobs that were beneath the dignity of the Læsø men. They also differed in the way they dressed and in many other respects.

It is not until we reach this section analysing the shipping community that Stoklund chooses to write about dress and identity. Here too he emphasizes how gender roles were expressed. These were particularly clear in dress. The rich source material has made it possible to follow continuity and change in costume. Many people have taken a particular interest in the woman's beautiful festive costume, which is illustrated in topographical descriptions and artists' sketches from the island. The men followed an international fashion while the women wore traditional Læsø costume. Men had their local features too, such as a fine silk umbrella, which they always had with them except when it was raining, because then it could be damaged. Stoklund gives a rich and detailed portrayal of the female dress, not least the costume silver and the headdresses.

Next comes a section where all the details of the analysis are brought together under terms such as niches, ecological balance, and evolution or devolution, on the basis of which Stoklund describes the island's cultural profile, cultural features, and diverse cultural contacts. Distinctive features of the island have included the seaweed roofs, a technical solution in the form of a small post-mill for grinding grain, the special flagpole, the dress, and the spade. These are all examples of both tradition and innovation, according to Stoklund, and are determined by both ecology and cultural history.

Together with Stoklund's excellent *Tingenes kulturhistorie* from 2003, this solid work is not only a valuable source of knowledge about what has been called the old peasant society, but also a multifaceted cultural history where the analysis focuses on the significance of long lines in history. When Stoklund seeks to understand life on Læsø around 1900, he does so with the help of a reconstruction of traditions that can be traced back in time half a millennium. The analysis not only addresses adaptation to the island's natural resources, but also to the political and economic context of which Læsø has been part. For an ethnologist it is particularly interesting to take note of how habits and working methods developed into lasting traditions. But there is also interesting ecological knowledge which can benefit today's land use. There is also much to learn methodologically from the pluralistic use of sources. And when Stoklund does not find enough source material to show, for example, the long maritime tradition on Læsø, he does as in classical cultural history, reasoning on the basis of various indications which he then compares with similar conditions in other communities. He also makes use of the material culture. He is able to demonstrate how a sail that can be traced to the guild to which it belonged can also show that there was a long tradition, reaching back to the Middle Ages, of boat trade organized by guilds, where not only merchants but also farmers could participate.

This sterling work can therefore be warmly recommended not only for an understanding of continuity and change in an island community but also to learn something from the analytical and methodological approaches. With the aid of fine, informative illustrations, a rich list of sources and a detailed index, the three editors have created a book of lasting value for ethnology.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

Black Books in Norway

Ane Ohrvik, Medicine, Magic and Art in Early Modern Norway. Conceptualizing Knowledge. Palgrave Macmillan, London 2018. 302 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-137-46741-6.

■ Who is Cyprianus? This question is answered in Ane Ohrvik's study of Norwegian "black books", manuals of the black art. According to the dictionaries, black art means black magic, witchcraft, *sorcery*, yes, even voodoo. We are thus dealing with a collection of books that could be classified as evil and dangerous. One plucks up courage to start reading this study, and one puts it down at the end, fascinated by *Medicine, Magic and Art in Early Modern Norway: Conceptualizing Knowledge*.

Although Ane Ohrvik describes the flora of black books in Denmark-Norway from the Middle Ages until the end of the nineteenth century, when the central focus in not on the Danish-Norwegian texts themselves and black art in the Nordic countries, her study is also relevant outside this geographical area. The black books are viewed here as part of the history of the book, and consequently she works on the basis of an anomaly. In this way she introduces a

purely folkloristic tradition, and thereby, according to the definition of folklore that prevailed in the nineteenth century, an oral tradition, into the part of historical scholarship that is least oral, namely, bibliography and book history. One might think that this is a boring way to study folklore, but if so you should change your opinion.

The premise is that black books consist not only of spells, magical instructions, medical recipes, or other prescriptions for making life work. This is how folklorists are used to thinking about black books. Ane Ohrvik instead seizes on the paratext that is also found in the books, but which folklorists usually skip in their use of them. By paratext Ohrvik means the information about a black book contained on the cover or the title pages, in the foreword and the afterword, if there is one, and sometimes also as handwritten notes. Similarly, she is interested in the choice of format, size, and other features of the book alongside the actual black art content. This information says a lot about each individual black book, its owner, his or her relationship to the envisaged reader, how he or she wanted the contents to be understood, how the texts were authenticated, and above all how the knowledge in the book was authenticated, and how the owner treated and used the book. Ohrvik would not have been able to get at this without a very thorough close reading of this paratext.

The very concept of book becomes a problem. Are handwritten documents books or should they be called manuscripts? Is a black book a book even though it only consists of a few sheets? These kinds of questions about the physical object itself are typical of Ohrvik's study. She refers to research in book history and borrows the tools for her analysis there, but she also introduces the "old" folklorists, such as Ohrt and Bang, to shed light on the way black books were viewed in earlier folklore research. The ancients actually were not as naive and limited in their discoveries as many today like to think.

Through these two channels, folkloristics and book history, Ohrvik takes the reader through European cultural history and (Danish-)Norwegian thinking about knowledge. We get to read about Cyprianus and his path to becoming a magic-working saint (yet another anomaly!). We become acquainted with the whole flora of medieval magicians, the Renaissance "scientists", the situation in the Enlightenment and the romantic era in the nineteenth century, and the emerging world of modern knowledge. We are confronted with the extensive literature of *grimoires*, *secreti*, and *Kunstbücher*, all designations for literature consisting of occult knowledge, recipes, and tricks. But occult knowledge does not mean secret and concealed, more like inaccessible, specialized, often even in a foreign language, such as Latin. By pointing to the links between works from central and southern Europe and those from Denmark-Norway, the authors of the black books build up trust in the reliability of the magical texts. Those who write (or copy) such texts and those who read them and use them perceive themselves as belonging to the same specialist group as the famous foreign sages and educated "scientists" who once produced such books.

Ohrvik typically poses a question to her material and then seeks an answer, but she does not content herself with the first answer she finds. She looks for alternative explanations and meanings in what she reads in the paratexts. Her main and overarching question is actually how the authors – if they can be seen as authors at all, or should rather be perceived as copiers or compilers, which she determines through meticulous reasoning – present and represent their knowledge. This does not mean how they group their formulas and prescriptions, but rather how they create credibility around their texts. Among other things, they rely on what they consider to be greater authorities. For example, the genre of black books was named after the austere Carthaginian bishop Cyprianus from the third century.

According to Ane Ohrvik, the owners of the books cannot have carried their black books in their pockets for constant use, on account of their octavo or quarto format. They appear to have treated them with greater respect than that. The reader also learns that the authors of the black books make demands on their readers as righteous Christians. It is interesting to see that the Christian sphere is invoked in connection with the users' perception of where the black books belong (a third anomaly!). A person who is a good Christian need not fear the fact that he or she is dealing with dangerous magical texts that could actually be exploited by the devil, because God protects the faithful even in such a context. God gives the true knowledge and the Christian user is led to it by God himself.

Ane Ohrvik is very well-read and knowledgeable. It has been enjoyable and exciting to read her book. It must have been fun to write it, to delve into

a clearly demarcated and rather easily defined material, to tie it to a pan-European tradition that prevailed from the Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century and detect the traces of the classical works in the Danish-Norwegian black book tradition. Neither Norway nor Denmark were isolated regions, as is clearly demonstrated once again by the black books. It is precisely this cultural-historical connection that is interesting to observe. The book is highly recommended as entertaining reading which will broaden your perspectives. Above all, students who have received minimal teaching on the history of education and culture should take time to read these roughly three hundred pages very carefully. They provide an excellent foundation for future folkloristic studies. The book is also well-edited and richly illustrated, which means that the reader learns something about handwriting, printing, text placement, and secret writing.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Encounters and Acts of Parting in a Multicultural School Environment

Pia Olsson, Kaikki vähä erilaisii. Yläkoulun sosiaaliset suhteet (All a little bit different. Social relationships in a lower secondary school). Gaudeamus Oy, Tallinna, 2018. 326 pp. ISBN 978-952-495-487-7.

■ The ethnologist Pia Olsson has made a long and interesting journey to the everyday life of teenagers in a lower secondary school in Helsinki. As an ethnologist she worked three years with teenagers of different school classes in the school that could be described as multicultural school environment. She followed students in a multicultural preliminary class, an elongated compulsory education class and three different general education classes. The students had different multicultural backgrounds and transnational roots. They also had different learning skills; in the elongated compulsory education class there were mainly students with intellectual disabilities. All of them had also different targets and attitudes towards school. This book is about these differences, not only how these differences create boundaries but also how they connect teenagers and how they learn different ways to cross over these acts of parting.

Pia Olsson has previously published articles about her school studies: "'Gingerbread' and Ethnic Identification: Teenage Schoolboys, Experience and Defining Racism", *Ethnologia Fennica* 2011, and "Feasting on Matter? Material Culture, Teenage Boys and Doing the Right Thing", *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 2013.

The book consists of six chapters and the appendix at the end of the book. At the end of the book there is also a useful bibliography. The appendix is a very interesting chapter for ethnologists, because it opens up the process of Olsson's school ethnography. Olsson writes honestly and sensitively about the interaction in the field, the features of the research the school environment created and how the research process proceeded with the teenagers. She brings up the ethical problems concerning language and other communication skills, the "asymmetrical conversations". Olsson noticed these asymmetrical conversations in several situations and describes her field material as a concept of the broken narrative. The observations in the field are then also in the important role in this research that represents very well the current school of ethnography.

Sometimes finding out the right ways to communicate with teenagers required time. Olsson's fieldwork period was three years from the 7th grade to the 9th grade; some students participated in the research project for the whole three-year period, some of them joined the research project for only a short time. It seems that it was easier to get young boys involved in the research; for the reader some of the boys became quite familiar during the book. Olsson also noticed that it was harder to get girl-dominated classes to engage with the research project. It seems that in this case boys were rather more eager to make their voices and points of view heard than the girls, who were more suspicious of the research project and perhaps also of the researcher's motives. Olsson gives real voices to the students and also makes self-reflections on her own actions and her role in the school community. Usually Olsson acted like an adult educator, sometimes as a reliable conversation partner and very rarely as easy-going joker. She constantly considered her level of participation and sometimes she consciously dropped out of the situations and only made observations. Olsson managed to create a trusting atmosphere among the teenagers, which is not a very easy task for a re-

searcher who is in the same age group as most of the parents of the teenagers.

Olsson considers the social relationships as processes and multiculturalism as experience in the school. She understands the multicultural features in the school environment in the context of everyday life, the routines and structure of the school. Social relationships are built up throughout the whole lower secondary school period. The teenagers understood how time passes and made clear self-evaluations and reflections of their journey through the school. Olsson interpreted the observations and interviews through the encounters of the differences and distinctions. She wanted to raise up the possibilities that school has to affect multicultural practices of everyday life and enable the assimilation of encounters of differences in the sense of a cosmopolitan canopy. Olsson portrays the students as independent, self-aware actors. She did not interview any teachers, wanting to do her research solely about the conditions of the students.

The book is not aimed exclusively at other ethnologists. I think the main target group could and should be teachers at different school levels. For them the book might be too heavy; you have to read it from the beginning to the end. Only that way does the story of the book and the process of the fieldwork open up clearly. For teachers it would also be useful to have clear summaries of the findings of the research: how to create more possibilities for positive encounters between the differences in everyday life in the schools. Now the findings and also critical comments targeted at the school system are formulated so gently that the valuable ideas can disappear within the text.

Theoretical concepts such as conviviality, cosmopolitan canopy and intercultural civility are described vividly and through the voices of the teenagers. Olsson found several virtues of cosmopolitanism that teenagers have and create in the multicultural school environment. The school can also create cosmopolitan protection for situations where differences clash, but that does not happen automatically. It requires not only activity on the part of the students but also support from the adults in the school. This book needs time for the reader to become deeply engrossed in the story of the different students and the ethnographical journey with them. But that time rewards the reader: this school ethnography is an interesting and at the same time thought-provoking work. This book opens up the everyday life of the present-day school from the perspective of the teenagers.

Maija Mäki, Turku

The Culture of Walking

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Gångarter och gångstilar. Rum, rytm och rörelse till fots. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2018. 299 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-264-0.

■ Walking is perhaps one of the most mundane practices that humans engage in. Most of us walk on a daily basis, for all kinds of reasons. Although rarely in focus, it is a major part of much of our literature, film, art and other forms of cultural expression. It is hardly possible to imagine a world where humans do not walk. The sheer volume of walking through human history – in different styles, for different reasons and by different actors – makes it a rich and diverse research field, to say the least.

In this book, the ethnologist Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, docent in Nordic folklore at Åbo Academy, investigates cultural practices and ideas about walking in Sweden and the traditionally Swedish-oriented parts of Finland, while also making comparations with other Nordic countries. She formulates several research questions: what might distinguish Nordic walking from other forms, whether tourists, pilgrims and others who travel by foot have distinct walking practices, and how walking has narrative potential.

The first chapter presents an introduction to the field of walking studies, as well as a presentation of the somewhat eclectic theoretical and methodological starting point for this journey on foot. A rich combination of archival sources, fieldwork, interviews and more has been used. Walking itself is included in the methodology, as part of an autoethnographic approach. Österlund-Pötzsch underlines how field trips and personal experiences of walking in different ways and in different places have been an integral part of the interpretation and analysis of source material (pp. 12–13). Then follow a brief overview of the research field, where Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust* and Frédéric Gross's *A Philosophy of Walking* are rightly mentioned as important works. Others, such as *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking Studies* (ed. C. M. Hall, Y. Ram & N. Shoval, 2017) or Susanna Blomqvist's

(2018) *Encountering Nature and Nation on Foot: A Comparative History of the Outdoor Movement in Britain and Sweden, 1880–1939*, are not mentioned here. Still, Österlund-Pötzsch shows the diversity of the field of walking studies, with contributions from ethnology, history, cultural geography and several other disciplines. She then discusses some theoretical starting points, of which perhaps the most important is the dual understanding of walking as both experience and performance (p. 20), with reference to phenomenology as laid out by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and others. Walking, presented as a basic ability for human beings, is tangled up with a lot of different ways of experiencing and performing.

The second chapter is an overview of different ways of walking throughout history. Pilgrims, refugees, nomads, workers, merchants, philosophers, soldiers and many others used walking as a means of transport, and in some cases as a form of sociocultural performance (p. 35). The latter dimensions became increasingly important in the eighteenth century, with scientific expeditions and cultural travels growing more common. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other authors began to popularize a new understanding of walking as a means to experience the landscape (p. 47; see also Björn Billing's 2017 book about Rousseau's travels on foot). The popularization of walking continued with researchers and scholars, poets, aristocrats, urban middle classes and eventually even the working classes.

Chapter three delves into the discussion of whether there is a certain form of Nordic walking. At least in a cultural understanding, walking here has been more linked to nature than to the cities. It is also striking how walking and other forms of physical effort to move through natural surroundings (swimming, running, skiing) have been promoted as a way of strengthening the population for military and economic reasons. Walking in forests and mountains is also strongly connected to ideas about being Nordic.

Chapter four is a case study about how walking was used by folklorists to collect material about Swedish culture in Finland. This corresponds to similar efforts in Sweden to gather material about Finnish culture through fieldwork on foot in the so-called Finn forests. Walking was not just a means of transport, it was consciously used as a method in such endeavours.

Chapter five brings an important theoretical contribution. With reference to the "tourist gaze", Österlund-Pötzsch introduces the concept of a "tourist gait", a distinctly touristic way of walking with maximum engagement with one's surroundings (p. 129). It is a fruitful way of framing touristic walking, and perhaps other forms of touristic mobility as well?

Chapter six explores ritualistic ways of walking. While everyday walking can be somewhat invisible in its mundanity, other forms of walking (e.g. in a parade or a demonstration) are more easily recognized as performative acts.

The final chapter has a discussion about rhythms of walking. Different styles and ideas affect which rhythm is seen as ideal. And when walking with others, we tend to negotiate a common pace that works for all. But at what speed does walking become something else? How do pace and rhythm change the experience and performance of walking? Though not within the scope of this work, a discussion about the differences and similarities between walking and running would also have been interesting. Research on how running relates to landscape in different ways, by scholars such as Alan Latham, Hayden Lorimer, Kai Syng-Tan, Mattias Qviström, John Hockey, Jacquelyn Allen-Collinson and others would be highly relevant if the discourses about walking and running were more in dialogue.

The role of infrastructure and technology is somewhat underdeveloped in Österlund-Pötzsch's analysis. Though mentioned briefly several times throughout the book, it is not integrated with the general analysis. Given how profoundly new infrastructure and technology (streetlights, pavements, cars, buses, trains, trams etc.) have changed and challenged walking practices in urban areas, and how new (faster and large-scale) technologies in mining, forestry, industry and agriculture have affected the small-scale infrastructures of walking in both Sweden and Finland, a more thorough discussion about such issues would be warranted. Perhaps Paul Virilio's dromology, i.e. the idea of how faster technologies and practices out-manoeuvre old and slow equivalents, has something to add to a discussion of this kind?

Nonetheless, Österlund-Pötzsch has made an important contribution to research about walking, both as an overview of the field and through new empirical cases such as the popularization of Nordic walk-

ing (i.e. walking with poles) and the role of walking in the articulation and understanding of Swedish influence in parts of Finland. The concept of a "tourist gait" will also prove helpful in future studies. The book is rich with references to historic walking literature and is reflexive and meandering all at once. It takes our understanding of walking, in all its complexity as experiential and performative practice, quite a bit further.

Daniel Svensson, Gothenburg

Kitchen of Dreams and Everyday Life

Köket. Rum för drömmar, ideal och vardagsliv under det långa 1900-talet. Ulrika Torell, Jenny Lee & Roger Qvarsell (eds.). Nordiska museets handlingar 143. Nordiska museets förlag. Stockholm 2018. 352 pp. Ill. ISSN 0346-8585. ISBN 978-91-7108-599-3.

■ One of my earliest memories is the kitchen floor in Ringstorp, an early 1960s area in Helsingborg. I remember crawling on a plastic rag rug that was black, white, and pale yellow. Maybe I was trying to reach the BRIO rattle that was a bit further away, while my mother's legs went back and forth between the sink and the cooker. The first photograph of me was also taken in a kitchen. I am lying on the stainless steel sink top in the summer house, where I am basking contentedly in the morning light in the summer of 1966, having just been given a clean nappy.

Such associations arise from a reading of this large collection of studies, with a title meaning "Kitchen: Room for Dreams, Ideals, and Everyday Life during the Long Twentieth Century", published by the Nordic Museum and written by historians, economic historians, historians of ideas, museum curators/ethnologists and an art historian. It is of course a subject that all cultural historians should regard as central, "the heart of the house" as the kitchen has sometimes been called.

The period covered by the study is what the historian Giovanni Arrighi named "the long twentieth century" (1870 to the present), what was previously called the age of industrialism. There are no links to the long lines of history, which is a pity. I remember my aha-experience at a Pompeii exhibition in the 1990s, where I saw that many kitchen utensils from antiquity were strikingly similar to those we still use. The long twentieth century was not very uniform, either politically or economically, and whether we are in late modernity (how far can that be prolonged?) or in postmodernity is a question that can be discussed. The spatial demarcation of the book is also unclear, as we see just by reading the blurb and the preface. Is the book about the Western world, all of Sweden, or Stockholm? Several chapters are based on an unreflected and taken-for-granted Stockholm perspective which makes it problematic for readers outside the capital city. There is nothing about how the modern kitchen was presented at major exhibitions such as "Vi bo i Ribershus" (Malmö, 1938), "Bo Bättre" at Guldheden (Gothenburg, 1945), or "H55" (Helsingborg, 1955). From what I have previously learned, the era of the housemaid ended at Guldheden (the planned home for maids was immediately converted into student flats), while fish fingers and burgers were launched at "H55".

Already in the introductory chapter, the editors point to the USA as an important source for innovations in the kitchen. It is noted here that the kitchen has been the "housewives' room" but also a research field for architectural history and the history of housing policy. In addition there is the perspective of the kitchen as cultural history. In Jenny Lee's survey chapter on "The History of the Modern Kitchen" we follow the kitchen during the long twentieth century. The focus is on working-class kitchens and the shortage of servants, but there is no real discussion of the functional differentiation of the bourgeois home into dwelling and kitchen regions (which also included the kitchen stairs, the maid's room, and the serving passage). The main interest is concentrated on influences from the USA and England, neglecting the interesting presentation of the Swedish kitchen in Harald Boklund's *Våra bostäder* (1907), published in collaboration with the Fredrika Bremer Association. This is a pity, because that had an early discussion of utility kitchens, wipeability, ventilation, washing up, pantry, iceboxes, and refuse chutes. Nor is much space devoted to the contributions of the architects Ragnar Östberg, Lars Israel Wahlman, or Erik Gunnar Asplund at the home exhibition of 1917. Ernst Spolén's survey of the kitchen in *Ditt hem* (1924) is also missing. The inter-war period introduced Taylorism to the kitchen but also saw the development of the rational Frankfurt kitchen (the laboratory kitchen) and the Munich kitchen (a kitchenette in the living room). In Sweden the

laboratory kitchen, as we know, prevailed with the triumph of functionalism and dominated until about 1970. The welfare-state kitchen was created in an ongoing dialogue between the tenants' cooperative association HSB, the government inquiry into housing conditions, the housing exhibitions, and the Riksbyggen housing company. The Second World War was followed by a harvest time with standardization, prosperity, new forms of food distribution, but also isolated housewives whose work in the kitchen was studied for its functionality, down to the finest detail. With the rustic trend of the 1970s, functionality partly gave way to lifestyle. Kitchens became large with pine interiors and rustic items such as old kitchen sofas, and with the advent of neoliberalism the kitchen became a lifestyle product, a stainless steel display arena where everyone seems to play the part of master chef. Our contemporary over-consumption of kitchen interiors, an absurd waste of resources not infrequently triggered by speculation in housing cooperative flats, might have deserved more discussion.

The following chapters deal with topics such as the pantry (Kerstin Thörn), the fridge (Fredrik Sandgren), the cooker (Marianne Larsson), utensils (Karin Carlsson), the kitchen table (Ulrika Torell), the washing up (Roger Qvarsell), the rubbish (Ylva S. Sjöstrand), and the kitchen garden (Jenny Lee). These are all rich in facts, cohesive and well-structured chapters about the different functions of the kitchen, in which we learn when washing-up liquid was introduced (1947) or that the sorting of waste actually occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century. To a great extent this is how an economic historian would write about cultural history, focusing on practical functions and flows. The relationship of the kitchen to the laundry room or utility kitchen receives little attention. As an architectural historian and art historian I regret the absence of floor plans and furnishing plans; as a cultural historian I would like to see a deeper discussion of status, symbols, and rituals. One may well ask Peter Burke's question: *What is cultural history?*

In Helena Bergman's chapter on "Emotions" we meet housewives in radio shows and newspaper columns. The emotions, however, are largely confined to emotions about work in the kitchen. The husband and children are virtually invisible, which is a very limited way of portraying this time, dominated as it was by nuclear families. Orsi Husz and Karin Carlsson's chapter about kitchen science interestingly highlights relations between social engineering and global commercialism, or in other words how consumer representatives and the strong Alice Thiberg managed, through hard work, to get Ikea to spread rational Swedish kitchens all over the world. The authors present the kitchen arrangements of late-modern functionalism and how this was implemented. However, I miss an account of the way these ideals were transmitted in school lessons on domestic science, which have been compulsory for boys and girls in Swedish school since the 1960s.

The concluding chapter, "Dream Kitchen for Sale", is by the art historian Maja Willén, who has previously studied contemporary housing ideals. Willén, who is exploring the postmodern narrative rather than late modernity, studies three trends of our own time: "the rustic kitchen", which is a rehash of tongue-and-groove and panelled doors, behind which modern technology is hidden; "the retro kitchen", where the 1950s kitchen that was thrown out by the housing cooperative occupant twenty years ago is resurrected; and the smooth "modern" kitchens, which always seem to have a perfect surface, ready to serve an aperitif. The kitchen has been transformed from a functional laboratory into lifestyle markers, large spaces with kitchen islands, bar stools, and recessed spotlights. Moreover, they have often moved out into the living room too.

This is a thick book with many qualities and good points, mainly because several chapters provide new knowledge and highlight new source materials. The book may give an encyclopaedic impression but, despite its systematic character and its broad scope, it does not cover the whole topic of the kitchen. Its grounding in architectural history and historical research on buildings is too sweeping, and inter-cultural references between Miss Julie and 1930s' comedies about maids are lacking. Museum kitchens could have been used as examples and illustrations, such as the apartment museums in Stockholm and Gothenburg, Anders and Emma Zorn's kitchen in Mora, which was modern for its time, or the living-room-cum-kitchen in Lars Israel Wahlman's workers' housing at Tjolöholm. Here historical kitchens could have been contrasted with new rustic and retro kitchens. Everyday life is mostly described, not without justification, from the perspective of kitchen work and housewives. The husband

"possibly helps with the washing up", but not much more. I miss the kitchen as a central framework for breakfasts, for getting the news via the morning paper and the radio. The children are likewise too invisible in the book, as babies demanding care, as crawling infants, and as schoolchildren doing homework and being tested on their vocabulary by a mother simultaneously cooking the dinner. In many welfare-state flats the kitchen was a sewing room and a hobby den, but this is not explored either. Bachelors' kitchens, students' communal kitchens in halls of residence, or the kitchen as a romantic place where young lovers have their first breakfast together would be other aspects to consider.

As I finish this review and go to empty the dishwasher, I am inclined to think that this volume could have been even better if more ethnologists and building historians had been admitted through the kitchen door.

Henrik Ranby, Gothenburg

Dressing the Perfect Gentleman

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Den perfekte gentleman – Mænd, stil og idealer i verden af i går. Copenhagen, Gads Forlag 2018. 431 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-87-1205630-0.

■ The research field of fashion and dress history has long had a tendency to focus primarily on women's clothing. The link between femininity, the surface, and fashion has thus been unintentionally reproduced, even when the aim of the research has been the converse, to problematize this type of stereotyped association between femininity and superficiality. That men wear clothes too, and that male dress practices can also carry complex and profound meanings, is an insight that has often been mentioned in passing, before the gaze has once again been focused on the different silhouettes and uses of ladies' fashions. Of course there have been exceptions, as shown by studies by researchers like Christopher Breward, Shaun Cole, Bo Lönnqvist, Peter McNeil, and Patrik Steorn, but in a broader perspective the scholarly publications that take men's fashions seriously have been few and far between. This means that the very existence of this book is interesting to reflect on. It is – let us hope – a sign of the times that such a rich and full book has been given a place in the publication lists, even though it belongs in such a small niche as male Scandinavian fashion history.

The title of the book means "The Perfect Gentleman: Men, Style, and Ideals in Yesterday's World". It is divided into four different sections with nine chapters in all, the last of which is a summary in English. The first part explains in a general and lucid manner the different topics in the book. It is important to understand, the author observes, that this is not a guide to how the reader himself can learn to dress like a gentleman. Instead the book offers a cultural-historical examination of the lifestyle of the Danish gentleman around the last turn of the century. Part two of the book gets down to the details, covering themes such as dress, behaviour, and social codes – and describes the social contexts in which young men lived, with special emphasis on details in clothing and a description of the male consumer's shopping possibilities. There is also a detailed description of the function of school in the construction of a gentleman's identity. Part three looks at themes such as work and social life, leisure and summer life, and the relationship between sport and masculinity. The fourth and last part is shorter, dealing with the gentlemanly ideal at the turn of the century.

The introduction is one of the most interesting parts of the book, painting a picture of the gentleman in relation to several important themes, not least as regards how appearance and behaviour are expected to be associated with inner values and ideas. The figure of the gentleman is also set in a broader context of cultural history, particularly highlighting the Christian tradition, with Jesus as the ultimate source of inspiration for men's style. The well-known figure of Beau Brummel is introduced early, and there is an interesting discussion of class, where the author explores the difference between "a gentleman born" and "a gentleman bred", which indicates the importance of social mobility. This is underlined through references to Georg Simmel, known for being one of the leading theorists of the relation between social mobility and the functions of fashion in the age of modernity; Simmel was contemporary with the period studied by the book. It should also be mentioned that the king's presence is described as a source of inspiration for men, who did not merely imitate the monarch's outer elegance but also aspired to conduct themselves like him, which illustrates the prominent role

of the monarchy at this time, while simultaneously clarifying the class perspective.

Yet another part of the book that deserves to be held up is the one about men as clothes consumers. A figure of thought that is often reproduced in fashion history is that of women as consumers and men as producers. Several researchers have already questioned this oversimplified distinction between the sexes, and Venborg Pedersen further nuances this through a stringent analysis, solidly grounded in the empirical data, of how Danish men, in different ways and via different dealers, acquired their wardrobe from the town's tailors and in various department stores. This section provides a meticulous description which will be an important reference in the future for how even Scandinavian men in the late nineteenth century acted as fashion consumers, demonstrating that shopping as an activity was also a major factor in the creation of the male self-image.

The discussion is based in large measure on objects belonging to the dress collection of the National Museum of Denmark. The author also cites works of art, private photographs, statute books, fiction, and memoirs. Particularly in the last part of the book, literature is used in an innovative way, linked to actual events and persons, which adds a deeper dimension to the descriptions of clothes in the fiction. Moreover, there is a finely balanced relation between text and illustrations all through the book. Clothes, often reproduced in pictures, are described in terms of model, cut, and material. The exact cost of the clothes is often stated, which provides welcome information about the role they actually played in the gentlemen's private economy. There are also recurrent descriptions of the relation between body and garment, so that the reader gains further knowledge about how it could feel to wear various garments. That clothes are not just ascribed a symbolic value but also described in terms of their physical dimensions is not only rare in fashion research but also valuable since it sheds light on the fact that garments not only have a symbolic dimension but were also a part of a person's everyday life, and that they had a powerful influence on the bodily experience of what it meant to be a human being.

The title of the book emphasizes that its subject is the gentleman, but this is only partly true. The book is also a cultural history of a time of change, when Denmark's relations with other European countries, particularly Germany and England, were a matter of serious discussion. Denmark as a nation is also portrayed in detail, and the tension between town and country is described from several different angles, not least as regards questions of class, ownership, and leisure. This means that the book ought to find readers far beyond those who are primarily interested in fashion and dress – the subject matter of the book is much broader and richer than that.

The author's clear declaration that the book is not "a study in masculinity as gender" is however bewildering, since the book is in many ways precisely that: he explores homosocial environments and relations, and he describes how masculinity and femininity were related to each other, and how public places in the town and the private nooks of the home were clearly gender-coded, with major implications for the way a gentleman moved through the town and how he decorated his home. The gentleman is precisely that – a man – and this fact is the obvious core of the book. In contrast to what the author himself says, the theorizing about the staging of masculinity is the main theme running all through the book. Different ways of relating to masculinity – in different social classes, through sport, socializing, and on the marriage market – are precisely what the book describes so well. In particular, the construction of masculinity from a class perspective is carefully analysed, as is the almost lifelong distinction between men and women in bourgeois social life.

What propels the book forward and makes it easy to read is the author's obvious interest in the topic and his profound involvement in the gentleman's dress practices and lifeworld. This is a book written by someone who wants to highlight both empirical data and deep theoretical perspectives about gentlemen's lives in the last decades of the nineteenth century . But this can also become an obstacle. The book is not short of detail, on the contrary, it is highly descriptive, almost prolix, and at times exhausting in its eagerness not to omit a single little aspect of a gentleman's life. This is of course both a strength and a weakness; it strengthens the author's theses and makes the book a solid reference work, but it makes the text harder to read when one constantly gets lost in intricate discussions of seemingly peripheral trifles. Moreover, there is repetition of information in some places. The last chapter, on the other hand, could have been further developed; much of interest is said here which might have deserved more room.

All in all, this is an important book, with a careful description and interpretation of gentlemen's clothes and lifestyle in the period 1870–1914, which is used as a lens through which Danish society – from the manor house to the department store, from the bathers' jetty to the Copenhagen salon, through conventions and scandals, in working life and leisure, from childhood to adult life – is carefully described and interpreted. The empirical material is present throughout, which gives legitimacy and weight to the author's statements. It is thus a significant book, not just for the research field of fashion history but also in the broader sphere of cultural history.

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The Sami Winter Village Theory

Thomas Wallerström (med bidrag av Ulf Segerström och Eva-Maria Nordström), Kunglig makt och samiska bosättningsmönster. Studier kring Väinö Tanners vinterbyteori, Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning/Novus forlag, Oslo 2017, 322 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-907-1.

■ In his book on the Skolt Sami, *Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området,* 1 *Skoltlapparna* (1929), the professor of geography at the University of Helsinki, Väinö Tanner (1881–1948), defined *sijt* (Northern Sami: *siida*) as a fusion of a nomadic group, their reindeer and the territory used by this group, with exclusive right of use in relation to other Sami groups. In addition to his definition of *siida*, Tanner's description of the winter village in the Pasvik *siida* has become iconic in the research literature on Sami social life in the past. The stay in the winter village was a time for joy, community, play, football (!) as well as singing and dancing to accordion accompaniment. Older generations passed on old traditions to the young. In a life otherwise filled with work, in wintertime one could enjoy a full store of provisions. In his account Tanner was somewhat of a moralist: he wanted to portray the alcohol consumption in the winter village as moderate and wrote about how the time in the winter village could also be devoted to "useful moments". The priest, churchmen, and the county sheriff also visited the Skolt Sami, whose lives were otherwise regulated by the *Sobbar*, their own administrative and judicial body. Tanner's (and Karl Nickul's) description was not the first mention of the winter village, but it stands out for being so positive – many scholars were provoked by what they interpreted as laziness among the Skolt Sami. Nor was Tanner the first to speculate as to whether the same kind of winter villages could have existed in prehistoric times in the *siidas* further to the west, in Scandinavia.

Professor Emeritus Thomas Wallerström discusses the problems concerning the "Skolt Sami analogy", the theory that the Skolt Sami winter village in Pasvik was a representative pattern for winter settlements in all Sami *siidas* in the time before state powers made their presence felt in Sápmi. The theory is disputed, debated, and also refuted, but according to Wallerström it has been highly influential in Sami research. Wallerström's book is a reply to earlier identifications of winter settlements by archaeologists, identifications based on "alternative names" such as *talvadis* (Arvidsjaur, Ruonala, and Markkina, the site of the first church in Enontekis parish), but Wallerström also links the problem of the existence of winter villages to the establishment of state power in the Sami areas.

This review is written by a historian, so I shall not touch on the archaeological discussion nor the argumentation based on vegetation history in Wallerström's book. Instead, I aim to comment on the book on a more general level, and add some replies to Tanner from the viewpoint of the history of research and reception.

The book is intended as a "final" reply in a lengthy debate on the settlement patterns of the *siidas*. In addition, the book is a summary of Wallerström's research career, with its emphasis on Swedish settlement in Lapland. The book is multidisciplinary, operationalizing the debate within archaeology, together with aspects of vegetation history, cultural history, and research history. This is enough to show that the book is very many things at once: subject criticism, method criticism, research programme and manifesto, as well as a quest for a prehistoric phenomenon.

As Wallerström points out, the winter village theory was first presented by the professor of Finno-Ugrian languages at Uppsala University, Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868–1934), and became a truism within the historical part of Lappology. Archaeologists have used the theory as a basis for theorizing about a "band" form of society in Sami hunting communities. The matter has been addressed in

many contexts, and a whole book has been written by the ethnologist Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok (1935–2015), *Den samiska sitan och vinterbyarna: En utmaning*, 2011), on Tanner's ideas about the Skolt Sami *siida*.

Wallerström's main concern is to reveal that, instead of Sami settlement concentrations, or winter villages in the localities marked with *goahti*-like symbols on seventeenth-century maps, these were *market places and church assembly sites* – the ideological, judicial, and economic outposts of the state. This emphasis on the interests, needs, and commands of the Crown has led Wallerström to the question of how the state acted and "came" to the north. How was the "incipient state-ness" implemented? What happened among the people?

Wallerström contributes to the discussion of the coming of the state to Lapland with heavy-duty tools, such as *regal prerogative*, the doctrine of *dominium*, and the principle of *the territorial state*, which entailed limitations to property rights. This is examined by Wallerström as a process that took place around 1600, when the states were in the midst of bellicose rivalry for the northern parts of Scandinavia. Wallerström highlights the king's rhetoric in the royal *dominium directum* over the northern resources as a source for a far-reaching power takeover. The doctrine of *dominium* contributed to bringing the northernmost periphery of Europe into a state, which must additionally be understood as part of the global context of colonialism (the latter is not explained in much detail). Wallerström paints a picture of a process that encountered hardly any opposition, which took place in cooperation with the Sami and which was made into a resource through economic exchange between the Swedes and the Sami.

The idea of *dominium* has led Wallerström to write an almost formalistic interpretation of the relationship between the Sami and the state, where taxation is viewed as a sign of the subservience of the Sami to the crown. In this interpretation, whatever is stated in official documents is read as the reality. The freedom of action of the Sami is described as having shrunk as regards religion, culture, everyday life, and the law. The Sami are presented in the text as objects of power, as those who adapt to the situation and are complicit in it through their passivity and/or by making use of the new institutions and opportunities. Wallerström's perspective is in line with much of the research about the processes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but Wallerström emphasizes external forces, while bypassing more radical interpretations, for example, of taxation as an expression of a robust Sami economy and the strength of the old *siida* community.

The use of historical method in the book invites critical comment. Lack of information about winter villages in the sources from the seventeenth century – in clergymen's reports and official correspondence – is used to substantiate Wallerström's argumentation, without directly denying the possibility that Sami forms of society existed. Meanwhile, Wallerström omits to discuss whether historical source criticism allows retrospective conclusions to be drawn from the sources. For a historian, these sources are suitable for research on the seventeenth-century situation and the establishment of institutional structures for the church, but they are less suitable as evidence for periods and conditions before the coming of the church. Another problem with Wallerström's argumentation is that he searches for the Sami winter villages in exactly the same localities where the "state outposts" were located in historical eras. None of the winter villages, not even those of the Skolt Sami, were permanent. They were moved and re-established after the local resources had been used up. This mobility invites a hypothesis that there may have been several winter villages, as Wallerström himself partially agrees. Tanner's model has been tested in recent archaeological research. This has found deviations from the model and led to hypotheses that there may have been several smaller winter settlement areas for the Sami, each with a potentially different organization. There are several such areas in Enare, the neighbouring *siida* of Pasvik.

Wallerström examines major questions: the origin and political "sovereignty" of the Sami social forms and institutions. Wallerström does not adopt extreme positions regarding these politicized topics, but the book does, as mentioned, display a certain formalism on account of the use of sources produced by the central government. In the case of the main question, whether the *siida* community represented a "proto-Sami" ethnicity, Wallerström may be said to occupy an intermediate position: the areas are not empty of the Sami, but a social form such as the winter village, which could be labelled as genuine Sami, cannot be demonstrated.

One of the strongest parts in the book is the short analysis of older Lappological research and the establishment of the winter village model. Wallerström shows how this research was generalizing and intuitive, with a poor empirical foundation. The mechanistic and diffusionistic retrospective method, based on the idea of stages of cultural development and on ecological-deterministic views, as well as the use of seventeenth-century sources, in which cultural traits from the early modern period and the 1920s were generalized to apply to earlier historical phases, is critically scrutinized by Wallerström.

Tanner is a tricky research topic. His work on the Skolt Sami *siida* is unfinished, multidisciplinary, and thus of uneven quality. Tanner himself admitted that the book was edited in haste. Tanner's work had several different agendas and voices, often contradictory. This also applies to theoretization and interpretations of Skolt Sami society and its organization. As Wallerström writes, Tanner occasionally makes reservations about statements and knowledge that he presents elsewhere in the book as certain facts. In addition, Tanner offers several, partly conflicting interpretations of the winter village. Tanner's historical and ethnological sources were uneven, and his description is characterized by the Lappological method, quoting and commenting on older Lappological research on which he himself ultimately stands as an expert. Tanner's book opens the door to uncritical use of various interpretations and models concerning the Sami. And Wallerström has not succeeded in unambiguously determining Tanner's place either ideologically or in the field of theory of science or research policy – the conflicting voices and many methods in Tanner's book make it almost impossible to pin him down.

It is difficult to read Wallerström's study without comparing it with Kuoljok's book, where she directs her criticism alternately at Tanner and at his colleagues, who in her opinion believed too much in Tanner's book and misused the model taken from it. Wallerström's book has a better basis in scientific theory, it is more coherent, and the critique of Tanner is better contextualized than in Kuoljok's book. On one point Wallerström agrees with Kuoljok, who in her study adopted sources from the Russian colonization and societal establishment to refute Tanner's model of a proto-Sami *siida* organization. In a short section in the book (p. 206) Wallerström agrees with Kuoljok's claim that the Skolt Sami *siidas* were part of the Russian state administrative structures and legal systems. In this way, the Skolt Sami winter villages on the Russian side also appear as state "outposts", on a par with the Scandinavian market sites. According to Tanner, *Sobbars* were linked to the Russian local administration by the state, and members of the Finnish local administration could meet at *Sobbar* in the inter-war period. But *Sobbar* have both a literary and a real history of self-governance, although their mandate was limited. Russian administration history and the names of administrative bodies (e.g. *Kola-Sobbar*) are not well enough known and have created confusion among Nordic researchers. Here there is a need for cooperative research to clarify the concepts.

Wallerström investigates the winter village model in the light of a diverse range of empirical data and in a variety of contexts. The book would have benefited by proceeding from a discussion of the diversity of the forms of *siida*, winter villages, and settlement patterns; this is not considered until the end of the book, as a possible new way of studying the history of the Sami. Wallerström's book is valuable as a commentary on the reception history of Tanner's work and by virtue of its multidisciplinary approach. The reading of Tanner's work has generally become more critical, and in terms of reception history Wallerström belongs to this critical orientation in the reading of Tanner.

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