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Editorial

By Birgitta Svensson

For forty years, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* has presented current ethnological research from the Nordic countries. This year's volume displays two sides of the subject: cultural-historical studies of people's lives, and new contemporary theoretical approaches to everyday customs, habits, and norms. The problem of how dark memories are incorporated in today's European integration process, and the role of prostitution in the past, are topics that raise questions about how certain complex and ambivalent phenomena are used in identity formation and sense making. Several articles bear the imprint of discussions of gender theory, and of the extensive research on memory processes and their significance in the lives of individual people and in broad transnational contexts. Spatial awareness is making itself increasingly felt in ethnology and once again in the borderland formerly shared with human geography.

The presentation of new professors is a source of knowledge about the position of the subject, and this year we present no fewer than six new professors of ethnology who have been installed in Sweden. They show that a new generation is now making its impact on the discipline. It is gratifying to see that the gender distribution is even. If the occurrence of many new professors this year seems to be a particularly Swedish phenomenon, the many new dissertations show a good spread among the Nordic countries.

Among the articles in this year's *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, some are on the theme of controversial issues on the margin, with such different matters as prostitution and how communism can be incorporated in a European memory. Others seize on the meanings of places such as laundry rooms in the early welfare state or middle-class living rooms. Several articles take place in urban spaces both past and present, while others give us glimpses of a vanishing factory landscape or are located in the ephemeral oscillation between people's outer and inner landscapes.

In Niels Jul Nielsen's article about urban spaces on the margin, Henri Lefebvre's triad provides theoretical guidance through a text that is able to discuss different spatial processes and simultaneously orient the reader in a little-known social environment, prostitution in Copenhagen around 1900. The setting involves a number of contradictions that recur not just in Danish society but also internationally. Although the article concerns a distant time, the topic is more relevant than ever before, since it sheds light on today's debate about prostitution as abuse or work.

From Danish women at the turn of the century, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto brings the reader to Finnish women but in a completely different setting: the factory. The time here is the mid-twentieth century, and the events are based on a single woman's narrative. When she tells of the changes or the disappearance of the many places that were typical of the industry where she spent much of her life, she also says something about greater changes to society, about open and closed spaces, and about differences in a female factory worker's memories of place and the current picture of industrial history. Like several of the other articles this year, this shows that emotional perspectives have become more important in ethnological analyses. Koskinen-Koivisto discusses methodologically interesting questions about memory practices, storytelling, and biographical narratives.

One place that was significant for women in Sweden during the early days of the welfare state was the laundry room. Based on her study of the history and the underlying visions of the communal laundry room, Kristina Lund shows both what it meant tra-

ditionally and what it means today. Nowhere else in the world do people do their laundry as they do it in Sweden. The communal laundry is a part of every apartment block. Today, however, the characteristic feature of the laundry seems to be all the conflicts between people that it generates. Lund also discusses the potential of the communal laundry in the future, and concludes by asking whether laundry has once again become a class issue.

Sarah Holst Kjær's article deals with another space that was established in the twentieth century, namely, the living room. It is not the room as such that is in focus, but the part it plays in the intimate life of modern couples. She shows how emotions are shaped in the home and its staging by showing, for example, how the materiality of the sofa can define the "hetero-emotions" of urban middle-class couples.

In Gabriella Nilsson's descriptions of life as *mappies* (mature, affluent, pioneering people), we find ourselves in the upper middle-class sphere, and the scene varies between a small coastal town and the world. Mappies form a kind of ideal image of what has been called the fourth age, in which money and health are the foundation for the good life. The theoretical reasoning concerns relations between cultural, symbolic, and economic capital.

Can the brief history of communism in Europe be contained in a collective memory as cultural heritage and do service in European identity creation? By regarding the historical period between the Second World War and 1989 as a cultural wasteland, Lene Otto discusses in her article how guidelines are formed in the Europeanization process as regards how interpretations and memories are transferred to transnational "standards for national memory constructions". In the process, ambivalences and contradictions arise as problematic memories can pit nations against each other but also create, for example, Russia as the antithesis of Europe.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch shows how an act of walking constitutes a vital dimension of dwelling and everyday life. To assist her she uses Tom O'Dell's concepts of *cultural kinesthesis*, which clarifies the significance of the interplay of emotion and motion. Taking a walk involves using a bodily memory and also relating to the surrounding landscape. Walking is a basic attitude to the place where it is done, and place and memory are in constant dialogue with each other. It can also bridge limitations and intervening spaces by combining an external physical act with an inner one.

With the ambition of integrating ethnological analysis with film theory, Rikard Eriksson argues in his article for the importance of understanding the part played by cinematographic techniques in the creation of socio-cultural meaning in what we see in the world of film. With the aid of the concepts of ethos and pathos he shows how film can serve as an ethnographic source, while simultaneously stressing the importance of a critical analysis of the visual language it contains. In his agenda for film ethnography as a research method, he ends by setting up a number of criteria for what this ought to include.

As usual, the reviews section also reflects the many types of ethnology that are pursued, such as the different spaces in the city, folk art and music, architecture and textile aesthetics. It mirrors traditional themes of ethnology such as death, local history, and peasant diaries. Most of all, however, we see new perspectives in ethnological research concerning materiality, museology, discourse analysis, how we interpret the past, and how interdisciplinary approaches and global cultural processes make themselves felt in research.

Forty Years of Ethnologia Scandinavica

By Nils-Arvid Bringéus

The editor of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, Professor Birgitta Svensson, has asked me to write a short retrospective article to mark the fact that it is 40 years since this journal was first published.

At the international fairytale conference in Lund in 1935, the head of the Dialect Archive in Uppsala, Herman Geijer, and Professor Sigurd Erixon in Stockholm suggested that the existing international cooperation should be expanded beyond fairytale studies. A new journal was envisaged as an important component of this. What the organizers did not know was that a group of younger delegates had a similar plan which they were keeping secret. On 24 March 1936 Herman Geijer wrote to one of the three secretaries on the executive committee, Dr. Gair: "Two of the participants at the congress in Lund, Dr. Gunnar Granberg of Upsala and Dr. M. Haavio of Helsingfors, have secretly prepared a journal of their own, called *Acta Ethnologica* and intending to embrace the Scandinavian North and the Balticum… The first number is at present in the press."

The executive committee of the Lund congress was not inactive, however. On 24 March 1936 Åke Campbell reported to Séamus Ó Duilearga in Dublin: "As regards a journal, we should try to arrange one in connection with the meeting in Berlin. This journal would be under Nordic management (Sigurd Erixon would be editor-in-chief). Western Europe would however play a dominant part." In January 1937 the first issue of the journal *Folk* appeared in Leipzig, published by the International Association for Folklore and Ethnology. Åke Campbell was one of the members of the editorial board, but not Sigurd Erixon. As the political situation developed, however, the Germans could not continue publishing the journal, which ran for just one year.

Yet Sigurd Erixon had not been inactive either. In the same year, 1937, he published the first issue of the journal *Folk-Liv* through the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture. In the foreword to the next issue Jan de Vries, President of the International Association of European Ethnology and Folklore, announced that the journal *Folk* had been incorporated in *Folk-Liv*. The following year *Acta Ethnologica* was also incorporated in *Folk-Liv,* which was now given the subtitle *Acta Ethnologica et Folkloristica Europaea*. The journal was in large format, half-bound. It was issued by the publisher Thule in Stockholm, which was also responsible for the printing. Most of the articles were in English, a few in German.

Sigurd Erixon thus emerged victorious from the contest, and behind him he had only the strength of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy and no co-editors. The ensuing volumes appeared in the same format but without the lavish binding. In 1939, clouds were gathering on the European sky. Articles in the journal were no longer translated into international languages but published in Swedish. The main idea of an international journal had thus been abandoned. The different years of the journal also varied greatly in volume.

After Sigurd Erixon's death in 1968, Gösta Berg and Harald Hvarfner temporarily took over the work of editing the journal. It now had a much more modest look, being issued in small fascicles with green monochrome covers. In the last

double fascicle for 1969–1970 came the announcement: "with this volume the series *Folk-Liv* is concluded. Manuscripts, correspondence, and books should instead be sent to the editorial board of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, Professor Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Finngatan 8, Lund." Concealed behind this information were exhaustive discussions between Gösta Berg, Harald Hvarfner, and me. At the same time, the international influences were making themselves felt again. In 1970 the name of the university subject was changed from "Nordic and Comparative Folklife Studies" to "Ethnology, especially European". It was therefore natural that the designation ethnology should occur in the title of the journal, which presented itself as a "sequel to the earlier journal *Folk-Liv*, started by Sigurd Erixon. The journal will publish original papers in English and German based on all branches of material and social culture, and in interviews, biographical notes and reports reflect ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries". Folkloristics was thus not included in the scope of the journal since a special periodical for this, entitled *Arv*, had already begun to appear in 1945. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* was designed by Lars Tempte and in reality became a yearbook and therefore could not function as an organ for debate. Cooperation with the editor of the journal *Ethnologia Europaea*, Professor Günter Wiegelmann, was significant. I myself was entrusted with the task of editing *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, with an advisory council composed of Gösta Berg, Stockholm, Knut Kolsrud, Oslo, Holger Rasmussen, Copenhagen, and Asko Vilkuna, Jyväskylä. The members were responsible for acquiring articles and reviews from their own country. Once a year we met in some place where it was suitable to hold planning meetings. We were unable to employ any editorial secretary. Coordinating the content was something that I as editor had to do during my summer holidays in Kivik.

Giving an all-round presentation of ethnological research in all the Nordic countries was not always easy. Finnish research in particular could sometimes end up in the shade, and since there was considerable activity there, the Finnish Literary Society began to publish its own journal, *Ethnologia Fennica*, with contributions in English, starting in 1971.

Having served as editor for 24 issues, I passed this duty on to Professor Jonas Frykman while Margareta Tellenbach simultaneously became assistant editor, which she had been in reality before that. At the same time, doctoral dissertations were separated from other literature in the reviews section. After eleven years as editor, Jonas Frykman was succeeded in 2005 by Professor Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm. As Lund continued to be her main home, the journal still, after 40 years, has its editorial office in the Folklife Archives in Lund. Since 2010, however, it has been distributed by Swedish Science Press, Uppsala.

Always on the Edge

Prostitution in Debate and Cityscape

By Niels Jul Nielsen

Welcome to Magstræde 16 – an eating place in one of the most charming streets in town. Magstræde 16 is a historical address in Copenhagen's Latin Quarter. An address redolent of tradition and atmosphere – and through many years a rich gastronomic culture as well.

This piece of information meets the visitor to one of Copenhagen's new fancy semi-gourmet restaurants. The restaurant is located in a narrow alley in the old Latin Quarter of the capital. Here prices and rents are high, the buildings date back to the eighteenth century, and two low houses are even among Copenhagen's very few remaining buildings from the seventeenth century. The restaurant deliberately links itself to this past, being well aware that potential customers are searching for more than just dinner when attending a restaurant. Nostalgia, a whiff of history, and the connection to the intimacy of old Copenhagen are desirable assets on the competitive market of gastronomy.

However, it is the privilege of the storyteller to pick out the elements in his story, and what the text does not mention is how this crooked and paved alley, together with the streets close to it, once made up one of Copenhagen's prostitution neighbourhoods for more than half a century. And to cap it all, the staircase at Magstræde 16, from basement to dormer, served as a full brothel at least from the first half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. So, as is well-known since the days of Paul Ricoeur (1984–88, 2004), our common memory is written and rewritten over and over when it suits the ones with the power to compose it.

That the brothel part of Magstræde's history is erased from present-day branding – although drawing on the same bygone days – is in no way surprising. Prostitution is among the fields that we are always reluctant to deal with. In the following, this theme will be investigated through a closer look at prostitution in the neighbourhoods of Copenhagen in the period from approximately 1850 to 1910.

It holds for a field like prostitution that it is not just in the construction of the past that it is treated with distance and ambivalence. As we also know from present-day debate about prostitution, it is marked by heated voices divided between opposing points of view. The second half of the nineteenth century showed a similar eagerness to debate the issue. This article will investigate the debate as an important aspect of prostitution in that period. In the conclusion I will also briefly comment on the change at the beginning of the twentieth century that initiated an almost hundred-year period with much less public debate about the issue, and by extension of this I will also consider how the debate has flared up again in the present day.

When I look at the latter part of the nineteenth century, it is not only the voices of the leading opinion makers in journals and newspapers that are under investigation. The intention is to combine this aspect – you might call it the prostitution discourse – with two more: the regulation of prostitution and the practice of prostitution.

The regulation through laws, statutory instruments, and so on is closely connected to – if not inseparable from – the discourse, and it is decisive for prostitution since it draws the borders and dictates the

conditions for it. Furthermore, regulation is important for the way that prostitution is looked upon as something which is within or beyond the edge of what is regarded as acceptable.

The practice of prostitution is of course deeply dependent on the two other aspects. Practice, as it is used here, refers to the way that prostitution demands space; how it needs to gain some kind of acceptance from the immediate neighbourhood; how it is dependent on having at its disposal places of various types – such as a room to commit the act, streets and dance halls where customers can be picked up, a brothel to operate from, and so on. In connection with this, the legal framework around prostitution is of major importance.

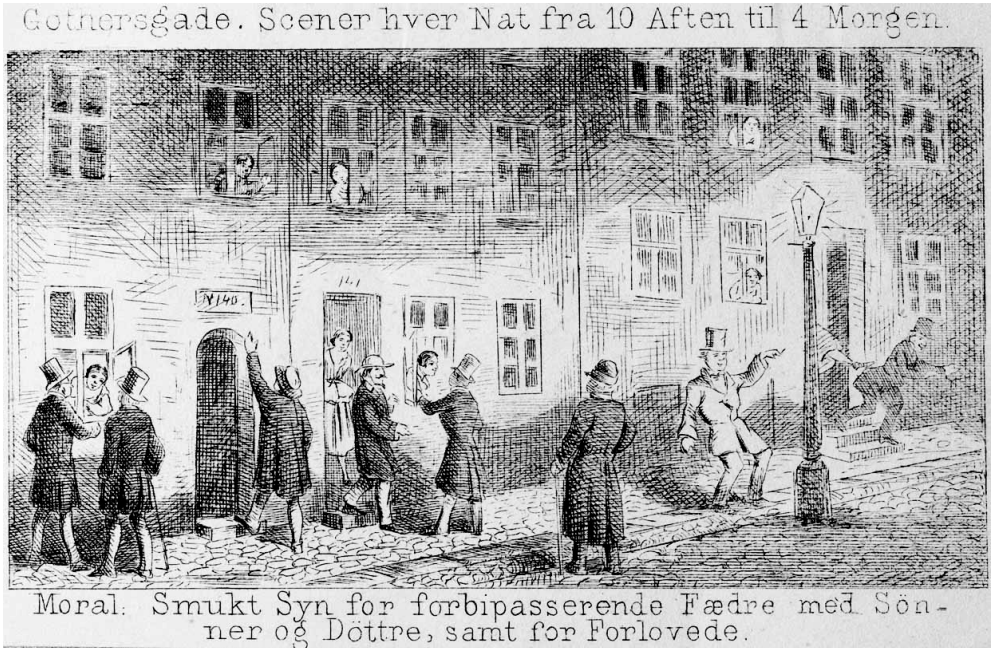
All in all, the triad of discourse, regulation, and practice makes up a close-knit framework, which relates to different and inseparable aspects of prostitution's way of being embedded in society and among its citizens.[1]

Several scholars have investigated how prostitution was practised in the growing urban environments in the latter part of the nineteenth century; several of these cities exercised a system of regulation like the one in Copenhagen (see later in the article). In Scandinavia the ethnologist Rebecka Lennartsson and the historian Tommy Lundquist especially have analysed the relationship between regulation, prostitution, and cityscape (the former in Stockholm, the latter in different Swedish towns) while the system in Copenhagen has been treated by the historians Merete Bøge Pedersen and Karin Lützen and the medical scholar Grethe Hartmann.[2] Before returning to the way that the system of regulation was played out in Copenhagen, I will relate the present study to the extensive debate regarding space in the cultural sciences, since this concept is crucial for the way I handle the three dimensions of the discourse, regulation, and practice of prostitution.

Space as an Intersection

A lot of activity related to prostitution takes place in hidden places and in the shade. The act itself generally occurs behind closed doors, remote from fellow citizens and the public eye. This relationship between prostitute and customer is not under investigation here, although, of course, these meetings underlie the presence of the issue of prostitution.

But there are other kinds of space that are critical in the intersection between discourse, regulation, and practice: prostitution is assigned space whether formally or informally (dependent on discourse and regulation) by the authorities; neighbours are confronted with activity related to prostitution; and so forth. Altogether, various forms of clashes – or co-existence – between prostitution and citizens in general take place in space. In working with these different approaches, therefore, I have chosen to go deep into a limited geographical area in the old capital. In this way it becomes possible to investigate how concrete practices connected to prostitution are lived and enacted within the specific conditions existing in the latter half of the nineteenth century. What happened in the streets? How did the neighbours perceive prostitution? Where were the limits of vice and promiscuity drawn? How did the authorities act and react? What meanings were attached to prostitu-



Among the often heard objections against the regulated prostitution were the commotion related to the brothel streets. On of these – Gothersgade – is portrayed here with the heading: "Gothersgade. Scenes appearing every night from 10 evening to 4 morning" and the footer ironically adds: "A nice sight for passing fathers with their sons and daughters, as well as for engaged couples". Photo: Museum of Copenhagen.

tion? Did the neighbourhood change as a consequence of prostitution?

Awareness of spatiality has grown in the last two decades. This spatial turn (Crang & Thrift 2000:2) seems to be in line with the change of scholarly course which also resulted in the linguistic, the material, and the performative turn of recent decades. It seems as if the lack of confidence in the appropriateness of modernism's systemic thought and theoretic models has directed attention towards objectives of a seemingly more sensuous and accessible kind such as written texts, materials, and human agency.

Although reflections on and investigations of spatiality are diverse, it will probably be apposite to assert, as Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift (2000:3) do in their edited volume on space, that they have all abandoned a Kantian perspective of space as an absolute category in favour of a conception of *space as process* and *space in process*, in other words, an approach also comprising an emphasis on the relationship with time. In the present article this perspective indeed is relevant since the *change* of urban neighbourhoods – physically as well as mentally – is at the core of the investigation.

What characterizes most present-day perspectives on spatiality is probably also a rejection of a clear-cut distinction between subject and object. The material

and spatial is not exterior to the individual. By extension it is not regarded as appropriate to see individuals simplistically as assigning culture and meaning to their physical surroundings; it might just as well be the other way around, and as a consequence the subject-object divide becomes blurred, if not irrelevant. What seems to be an even more commonly shared perspective, hence, is the self as created through their being-in-the-world in a Heideggerian sense (ibid. 2000:9). It is notable that these present-day scholarly tendencies run parallel to an increasing citizen interest in urban neighbourhood history and identity (Pløger 1997:6) – of which the opening quotation is also an example. In a great many urban settings city planning has become a matter of keen public interest, where a common understanding seems to be that individuals both create and are created by the spaces they inhabit and visit.

It is hard to disagree with the perspective of a very complex relationship between self and space. Spaces are certainly not empty or neutral containers; they only take on meaning from the individuals inhabiting them; and vice versa, individuals are not simple pre-formed selves populating these different spaces.

However, I see a jeopardy involved in this heavy emphasis on what happens in the interrelationship between self and space. Spaces are constituted by much besides, and more than what individuals attach to them: why are they there at all, what historical circumstances (of any kind) have created the conditions for their being and appearance? Likewise, individuals consist of much more than the spaces they are being-in; this is apparent just from the very different ways they perceive, enact, and perform in a particular spatial setting.

Following this, I would maintain that we are best helped with trying to understanding "the system behind" (well knowing that some will claim that merely using such a phrase is basically misinterpreting the coincidental world surrounding us); and this calls for an approach that investigates how and why particular spaces – townscapes for instance – are created as a conglomerate of economic, political, military, and other interests and struggles.

So, space has actually to a large extent been overlooked up to the last one or two decades, and we need to extend the analysis and search for both the conditions for the presence of particular spaces and the different cultural reasons and circumstances behind why and how certain individuals enact these spaces (in their different ways); as the Norwegian ethnologist Hilde Danielsen puts it: "When we ask how places happen, how they are made, I think we should be interested in the contexts, premises and ideals that contribute to the specific use, interpretation and reflection connected to concrete places", and she maintains the importance of also looking for "the different structures – material, social and cultural – that are relevant in the making of places" (Danielsen 2010:71f.). This relation between cultural practice and space can be summarized as a production of social spaces through different forms of sense-making, and it is an approach shared by many scholars with only minor variations (Pløger 1997:15f.).

To get at the complex interrelationships between different social groups and urban spaces, I have felt more comfortable re-

turning to a work of older date, namely Lefebvre's well-known 1974 book *Production of Space*, embedded in a Marxist, modernist tradition. Lefebvre is well aware of the importance of a theory of society, but he appends a conceptualization of spatiality which goes beyond the intentions of other Marxist writers.[3] Lefebvre wants to understand the development of space in its interrelationship with specific historical – particularly economic – circumstances, with society and culture as a whole. This seems to be the reason why he stresses the importance of the concept of *production* of space. Through the history of mankind, according to Lefebvre, spaces are generated and created in an ongoing process. When working here with the relationship between prostitution and cityscape, this approach seems particularly fruitful. In this societal area spaces are created, enacted, struggled about – and eventually demolished – through a melting pot of discourse, regulation, and actual encountering on street level, all of this being conditioned by ideological, economic, political, and social circumstances in a particular historical setting.

To work with this *production of space*, Lefebvre develops his famous "spatial triad" (Lefebvre 1998:33) of different aspects or perspectives of space, mingled into each other in real life but separable in theory. For Lefebvre this is also a way of getting a kind of access to qualities of space which are not necessarily perceptible to the senses (Merrifield 2000:173). The triad is outlined as representations of space, representational space, and spatial practices.

The *representations of space* refer to planned space, to the spaces of professionals and technocrats, the space which is *conceived*. This represents the intentions and conceptualizations of, for instance, city planners. How do they want the cityscape, and for what reasons? In relation to the present purpose, we get here a key to the designation of particular streets for prostitution, and different efforts to create order through spatial regulation – as well as to potential subsequent decisions about, for example, slum clearances.[4]

Representational space refers to the *lived* life, life as experienced and sensed. It refers to affections and actions, to symbolic "readings" of the physical space, to situations of any kind in actual everyday occurrences. The area of prostitution is replete with this kind of spatiality with its elusiveness, promiscuity, darkness, tension, and suspense – in other words, representational space is more or less the antithesis to conceived and ordered space, a fact easily observable in the present case when, for instance, the authorities struggle with licentiousness and lack of restraint.

Spatial practices, being closely related to perception (Lefebvre here talks about *perceived* space), are rather close to representational spaces, but are linked more to the everyday world of people, to interactions and making use of space, to being in production, reproduction, and consumption and the spaces this involves. It might be that we can find here the entrance to the *different ways* in which spatiality is part of the conditions for different kinds of everyday life: for instance, do prostitution areas appear secluded from the rest of the infrastructural network of the city? Or is it something that fellow citizens will inadvertently meet and be confronted with?

And furthermore – if we change the perspective to the prostitutes[5] themselves – how are *their* practices related to the conditions provided by the spatiality of the city (where can potential customers be picked up, is soliciting an option, etc.)? In relation to these spatial practices Lefebvre (1998:38) also speaks of "the specific spatial competence and performance of every society member".

Lefebvre's triad is by no means beyond reproach. Perhaps the relation between presentations of space and representational space is too much of a dualism; perhaps the three concepts are not that constituent and comprehensive, and so on. However, I find them appropriate for coming to terms with the obviously extremely heterogeneous agendas of different groupings of the area in question here, and, furthermore, they are expedient in understanding why certain spaces run through such extreme changes as are the case. The three perspectives are intertwined; they are inseparable in real life and constantly provide the conditions for each other.

The focus on space in the following – in concrete: the development in two separate streets seen as expressions on a micro-level of some general characteristics of the relationships in question – should be seen as a methodological means to gain access to the complex interrelationship with debate and discussions, formal regulations and day-to-day encounters between people related to prostitution and other citizens. In other words, space is an intersection for discourse, regulation and practice.

To achieve insight into these different elements and their interrelationship, I will present and discuss the main characteristics of the prostitution debate in the period and the ways in which the authorities tried to control it through various types of regulation. In part of the period, regulation went into extreme detail and addressed prostitution practice on a large number of day-to-day issues. Along with this more or less panoptic perspective of authorities – debating and regulating – I also intend to investigate the interrelationship between prostitution and its neighbours "from below". For this purpose, a thorough investigation has been made of the development of the residents in two particular streets – one of them Magstræde – through more than half a century, from 1850 to 1906. These two streets are among the ones in which the authorities accepted the establishment of brothels. By approaching the field in this way, it is possible to examine the reaction of neighbouring residents towards the prostitution activities – and hence experience some of the mechanisms that lay behind an urban neighbourhood turning, as will be shown, into a cultural wasteland. It follows from the above that the main issue here is not the personal history of the individual prostitute, nor even life as a prostitute, but rather prostitution in its interrelationship with the surroundings – neighbours, public opinion, and politicians.

Regulated Prostitution and the Debate

In several European countries the nineteenth century meant a new way of tolerating prostitution under a broad system of regulation. This does not imply that prostitution was actually legalized, but it was recognized as an issue that was regarded, with some kind of necessity, as part of so-

Sailors and other grown men, together with young boys gathered in Helsingørsgade, one of the brothel streets. Also the local kids are bystanders to the bustling. Probably the sailors have arrived from nearby Nyhavn (New Habour). In the period it was debated how young boys made a packed by leading sailors to the prostitutes. Photo: Museum of Copenhagen.

ciety. The reason for this was not a more liberal way of looking at prostitution, as something women could choose for themselves – as we hear in the present-day debate; the regulation system was established in an effort to contain the spread of venereal diseases. European states were concerned about the health of their populations because of the transmission of illnesses such as syphilis and gonorrhoea when men visited prostitutes. Napoleon was apparently the first to take up a kind of regulation system, involving registration of the women in question, and similar systems became widespread throughout Europe and in the USA (Scott 1937:97f.). It was certainly not a new thing that prostitution was regarded as a matter for the authorities to attend to. Through the centuries the ways of tackling the issue have alternated between legislative acceptance (as in ancient Rome and to some extent in the Middle Ages, with baths and other kinds of accepted arrangements) and harsh repression (as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with a very restrictive church).[6] What was new in the nineteenth century were the efforts to fully control the field by building up a large-scale administrative system; this – we can call it

modern and enlightened – way of handling a topic like prostitution had not been seen before. In Denmark, a public police notice from 1809 is probably the first initiative that must be seen in this framework – although more isolated arrangements had also been made earlier, such as rights for prostitutes to be cured if necessary at public expense. From 1809 onwards, however, making a living as a prostitute was actually accepted – not legalized – provided that the woman registered with the police. She was thereby enrolled in a more or less effective system of regular medical examination. In Denmark, this administration and organization of prostitution was consolidated in earnest when in 1874 a new act on prostitution come into force, more or less ratifying what had already been the practice.

These initiatives certainly did not come without disagreement. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s – and definitely after the introduction of the act – the discussions were fervent. There were two main sides in the debate. One argued in biological terms that prostitution is an unavoidable element of society, due to men's sexual dispositions; therefore the only rational answer to the challenge from prostitution is to be sure that the prostitutes visited by men are not transmitters of venereal diseases. This side largely consisted of doctors who seemed to have great faith in modern medical abilities. Several politicians also took this stance.

The other side of the debate totally disagreed with these doctors and other pro-regulators. They opposed the acceptance of men being slaves to their sexual instincts, and they opposed any kind of regulation that would admit the recognition of prostitution. Furthermore, they made sarcastic remarks about the way only the women were subject to regulations, since men were transmitters of disease. Representatives of this stance also included doctors, together with women from the fledgling women's movement.

Just as some of the individuals on the pro-regulation side were involved in international institutional frameworks of doctors, policemen, politicians, and other groupings working with the planning of modern society and the organization of the big cities, the anti-regulation side had its international interface. The organization of Abolitionists – the name referring to their disapproval of any kind of regulation – was founded in 1870 and had branches in several European countries, including Denmark.

It must be underscored that none of the participants in the public debate in this period approved of prostitution – in contrast to the present day, for instance in the Netherlands, where prostitution is held high as part of an image of tolerance and liberty.[7] Even the pro-regulators regarded the area as something erroneous, immoral, and best practised far from the public eye; if not cultural wasteland – since they related to it in an offensive way – then at least it was a kind of only reluctantly accepted terrain. This was evident with the introduction in Copenhagen of a detailed edict in 1877 that followed up the three-year-old national prostitution act.[8] This edict delineated which streets prostitution from brothels was allowed in and outlined the acceptable activities of prostitutes in minutiae. What kind of behaviour was allowed; or rather – since the edict was packed with prohibitions – *not* allowed? It outlined the appropriate conduct for

women in the brothels: children over four years of age were prohibited inside the brothels, as were boyfriends; any change of address had to be reported within 24 hours; no showing off in the windows was allowed, and so on. The rules for walking about in the streets are detailed as well: distinctive, eye-catching clothes were banned; when the women went for one of their twice-weekly medical examinations (also part of the obligations for the registered women) they were preferably to ride in a closed carriage and wear decent clothing; and so on. And in this manner the edict continues through more than fifty sections.[9] Altogether, the authorities did what they could to concentrate prostitution activities in demarcated urban areas, and to curtail chance encounters between prostitution and "ordinary" citizens – alongside their relative acceptance of it.

When the authorities accepted soliciting in a few streets, they were making a virtue of necessity, since it was already practised there. The same seems to have been the case with the designation of specific streets for the establishment of accepted brothels – several of these were already well known for that kind of activities (Hartmann 1967:76). Prostitutes were divided into two categories: those permitted to practise by themselves, and those obliged to belong to a brothel with a hostess. The hostess constituted the link to the authorities and guaranteed the fulfilment of the instructions in the edict. The main point was the registration of the women, and the regular medical visitations they had to attend (followed by hospitalization if they were found to be ill). This constituted the whole basis for the system. The police kept meticulous records[10] of individual prostitutes – that is, the officially registered ones – and followed their doings. Furthermore, of course, it was the police who took action if they received notices from the public about women suspected of living as prostitutes, a regular incident judging by the number of such letters from citizens in extant documents from the police department.

Summing up, under this regulation system it was the intention of those in charge – in contrast to their opponents – to create a rationalized, modern, all-embracing control regime which confronted the issue in an offensive and openly sanctioned way. At the same time, however, it is apparent how the whole field of prostitution was regarded as something culturally deplorable. Alongside the intention of keeping prostitution distant from the public eye, every effort was made to create transparency in all activities of the women in question when it came to the controlling party: the police.

This two-sided approach is apparent from the regulation initiatives of the period – on the one hand creating clear guidelines for the practice of prostitution, on the other hand making sharp demarcations for this same practice and, not least, limiting it to certain neighbourhoods. There are several interesting perspectives in this, both in relation to the abolition of the system in 1906 and in relation to present-day prostitution policy. These issues will be briefly touched upon in the conclusion of this article.

The Prostitution of the Streets

We have seen how the debate and the regulations put into practice handled prostitution as a problematic part of society,

balancing between (reluctant) acceptance and explicit disapproval. Following Lefebvre, this also includes the efforts to spatially control and regulate it. We need to see the third aspect of the initially outlined triad of concepts: namely, how prostitution was actually practised in relation to its neighbourhood – including, with the wording of Lefebvre, how it was spatially perceived and lived.

It is no simple task to reconstruct relevant patterns of prostitution and ordinary life in nineteenth-century neighbourhoods. As regards available unpublished sources, it makes sense to distinguish between what can be called silent and revealing material. To the latter belong documents rich in information, such as the above-mentioned letters to the police. Other sources of this kind are earnest approaches from dedicated citizens to the authorities – such as the municipality – regarding their opinion of local prostitution. These approaches, however, are as scarce in number as they are substantial in content. In other words, the archives are by no means filled with material fit to shed light on the co-existence of prostitution and social surroundings. What seems to be totally missing in the archives, furthermore, are the voices of the prostitutes themselves – except when they defend themselves in the police records.

Hence, I have out of necessity also used material only touching incidentally upon prostitutes, but in turn doing it on exactly the same conditions as for all the other citizens. These sources are the regular censuses.[11] In these, prostitutes are listed side by side with other residents in the same manner (name, year of birth, religion, occupation, etc.). In addition to the selection of this kind of material, I have narrowed down the field to two streets, both followed through six censuses – 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1906, and both among the streets in which brothels are allowed. The investigated persons total approximately 5,000 citizens. Through this it is possible to create two kinds of picture: one of the social composition of the streets in synchronic cross-sections, another of the pattern of development through more than half a century. Who were the residents? Was the proportion of prostitutes increasing? And, if so, did this influence the number and social profile of the neighbours?

Furthermore, these particular streets have been chosen for this investigation because – according to some contemporary observers – one of them apparently represents the more exclusive part of the market for sex sale and the other represents the more common part.

All in all, it will be possible through this investigation to get a rough idea of the co-existence of prostitution – when concentrated within limited areas – and "ordinary" citizens.

In the following, I will first present the two streets and sum up the findings concerning their development through the period. Secondly, I will add to this picture the (few) explicit voices from the neighbouring residents.

Neither Magstræde nor Helsingørsgade was among the fashionable streets of Copenhagen around 1850. Magstræde, however, was a socially heterogeneous location with quite a large number of occupations on the upper part of the social ladder; residents were not necessarily very rich but many had professions of an academic

kind. Alongside quite ordinary families there were also officials, civil servants from ministries, and other individuals of rather high esteem.

Helsingørsgade – in contrast to this – was a street inhabited by common people, workers (skilled as well as unskilled) and only a few masters.

When it comes to prostitution, there is no sign of it in the 1850 census – partly because it *was* limited, partly due to the reluctance in this early phase to actually admit prostitution as a profession. Very few women have occupations that could be a cover-up for prostitution on a regular or occasional basis (these can be sewing, washing, and the like, occupations carried out from home and therefore difficult for the police to check up). We know from other sources (Hartmann 1967:51ff.), however, that – at least for a part of the year – prostitutes resided in a few of these apartments, but probably with varying intensity. Only at one address (both streets contained just under twenty stairwells) was there any sign of actual brothel activity – and that was Magstræde 16.

Through the following decades, however, the prostitutes show up in growing numbers. This does not necessarily mean that there were brothels; many were living alone or in couples in separate flats. However, brothels certainly turn up as well. In these there are typically 3–5 women working as prostitutes together with the obligatory hostess, not infrequently a former prostitute herself. Not in all cases does the brothel fill the whole stairwell – although this is stipulated in the edict. Other deviations from the rules concern the presence of children above the age of four, which is found in a few cases.

A portray of Natalie Brodersen, allegedly a brothel madam in Magstræde. The madams, or the hostesses, were the link between the authorities – in this case the police – and the prostitutes who occupied the brothels. They should see to the adherence of the edict regarding health controls, rules within the brothel, conduct of the prostitutes, etc. Natalie Brodersen was born as a daughter of a bricklayer in 1851 and enrolled as a prostitute in 1869 after several instances of suspicion for looseness. It was not uncommon that prostitutes later on became madams. Photo: Provincial archives of Zealand.

Prostitution and the Neighbours

What is important in the present investigation is the reaction to this inevitable increase in prostitution on the part of the neighbouring residents. Did they care, or did their lives continue regardless of the activities related to prostitution?

Two tendencies are apparent from a close look at the development in these two streets.

One is that the population as a whole was declining. This, however, need not be due to the influx of new inhabitants. On a

general level, there was a heavy decline in the population in the old part of Copenhagen in this period as a result of the demolition of the ramparts surrounding the capital and the related permission to build on the formerly – for military reasons – scarcely build-up environs. In this period the immense working-class districts surrounding the old city were being created and thousands of people moved to new flats in these suburbs.

The other tendency in the two streets in the fifty-year period, however, is significant in relation to the issue in question: The composition of the residents changed dramatically. There were fewer families and well-reputed occupations; public houses moved in; and so on. What can be deduced from the investigation in these two streets is a development from a state of affairs around mid-century with few prostitutes on an irregular basis, to a situation after the turn of the century where almost one fifth of the inhabitants were prostitutes (or madams), and almost half of the stairwells were made up of brothels. In short, if we regard prostitution – as was done in the period – as something depraved and unwanted, the two streets experienced what can best be characterized as a radical social comedown.[12]

From this picture of the two streets – no doubt representative of the majority of the brothel streets where prostitution gained a foothold – let us consider the views explicitly voiced by the neighbours. It is obvious that the letters addressed to the police and the city council by no means give an adequate picture of attitudes to prostitution in the period; we only hear the complaints of dissatisfied citizens. These, however, are relevant in terms of an interest in what – for some residents – can be regarded as culturally acceptable and what is regarded as beyond this limit.

The complaints as a rule denounce the behaviour and conduct of the prostitutes: the women do not leave people unmolested, they solicit though this is prohibited, and they invite attention from the passing men from their windows. Judging by these complaints, it seems as if the streets simply became magnets for noisy people, and furthermore, the customers were not only grown-ups, but younger boys as well. All in all, bustling and shouting became a part of life in these streets.

Three main intentions in these approaches to the authorities can be discerned. One is the inconvenience caused by the liveliness close to one's own residence. The other is the worry about the moral condition of the young generation. The third objective is the negative influence the activities related to prostitution have on housing prices; often the writers of the complaints are landlords themselves. To give an impression of the tone and gist of these writings, an excerpt from one letter will be quoted. It was sent by a group of citizens to the Copenhagen City Council from Magstræde's neighbouring street Farvergade, also a brothel street:

> the women lean out the windows with the upper part of their body, and hail the men present in the street; and this happens day and night… the provisions of the edict are not complied with at all. Especially in nos. 12 and 17 the women frequently show up, more or less dressed, in the open windows to hail or signal to the passing gentlemen, just as they shout across the street from the two dwellings. The women frequently stay in the front door and solicit in a free-and-easy manner outside the dwellings and invite men to prostitution.[13]

Promiscuity, disobedience of the law and worry about the depreciation of property values are the main topics in this complaint, and this is typical of the (not many) similar ones.

However, what is interesting with regard to the interrelationship between regulation and practice is that the authorities were *not* willing to comply with the wishes of the senders. The latter received the answer that they already knew about the status of the street when they bought their house, and that prostitution has a place in the public landscape and hence must be accepted (although, of course, the senders receive conformation that rules must be complied with).

From the records that the police kept on every prostitute when they were under suspicion of vagrancy, we can also learn several things about the way the landscape of the city was used to create the necessary connections. The prostitutes picked up customers at specific dance halls; they mingled with them in public houses and elsewhere in the night life of the city; and they used certain streets – typically close to the brothel neighbourhoods – for soliciting. In addition to these glimpses from the unpublished sources, relevant examples can also be found in the contemporary literature where the different debaters from time to time use observations supporting their arguments. From this we learn, for instance, that schoolboys in some streets were invited to see the private parts of the women for small change (Ehlers 1896:40), and also that these same schoolboys could make a few pennies by taking incoming sailors to some of the brothel streets. A final example of the use of the cityscape far beyond the tolerated limits can be given through the following passage: "In several streets we meet them in groups where they block the pavement and obstruct the passage. Not even main streets … are excepted. In the most crowded streets … in the evening when traffic is heavy, public women [the contemporary phrase for prostitutes] can be met, not singly and still, but typically two or more in company, vociferous and insolent" (Engelsted 1861:87).

Conflicts, Co-existence, and Efforts to Control

Above I have given a few glimpses of the way prostitution was a part of city life; the setting for it; how it was enacted; and how it was met by fellow citizens. How can this be seen as components in the production of space? How is the cityscape here being conceived, perceived, and lived? Regarding the *conceiving*, it is unmistakable how the Copenhagen municipal authorities, in cooperation with the police in the wake of the law of 1874 and the edict of 1877, made huge efforts to organize, order, and control the sphere of prostitution. Special measures were designated for specific areas, and tremendous resources were put into the surveillance and registration by the police, who seemed to more or less know every woman in question (to judge from the individually based files in the archives). This was not a result of some casual idea on the part of powerful Danish individuals, however. The whole system is in line with the international vogue of the period and can be related to a general concern for the physical health of the population together with an immense faith in the skills of medical science; and it must furthermore be re-

Inside one of the brothels in the street Helsingørsgade, c. 1905. The madam to the right. Two of the three prostitutes appear in the distinctive dress which they – according to the edict – were obliged to wear when leaving the brothel. The edict also stated that children above the age of 4 were not allowed to attend the brothels – a section clearly infringed in this case. Photo: Museum of Copenhagen.

garded as a general part of an ongoing inter-state struggle to be on a level with other modernized nations of the world. Underneath it all lies – as mentioned earlier – a belief in the futility of controlling men's sex urge; the viewpoint which in this particular period in general took the lead in the international debate forums.

When it comes to the way space is *lived* in relation to prostitution, one is struck by how difficult this area was to control and curb. A lot of things were enacted in the dark. The cityscape – despite the efforts to control it – provided a wide spectrum of potential encounters between buyer and seller. Glances could be cast across the streets as well as over the tables in bars and dance halls and contravene the limits intended in the regulations, just as women could easily catch the attention of men by showing themselves in the windows, soliciting, and so on.[14] However, all these possibilities of creating an atmosphere of suspense, just like the various efforts to affect the senses of potential customers, were dependent on an actual encounter between the two necessary parties in the relationship.

This brings us to space as *perceived*. After all, it was a minority of the capital's

inhabitants who ran into prostitution by accident. The system provided for a concentration of the related activities to specific areas, despite the above-mentioned opportunities to sidestep these restrictions. People who did not wander about the streets at night and kept out of the neighbourhoods in question might not encounter prostitution at all. However, some citizens *were* offended by prostitution. These were basically of two kinds. There were the ones who condemned it for moral reasons, just as we know from today's debate; and in that case the actual practice and enactment of prostitution are unimportant, since there is simply no acceptable form for it. The other group felt that their situation and living conditions were spoiled or at least compromised. These are the ones we meet in the complaints to the city council, or the ones who wrote letters to the local police station – and they are probably also the ones who moved out of the brothel streets in large numbers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although most of the latter are silent in the sources (except for their disappearance from the censuses from the brothel streets). These reactions to prostitution are not explainable through a feature common to all mankind as regards what happens when "ordinary" citizens are faced with the world of prostitution, no matter how special, if not barrier-breaking, this world might appear for some. The reactions are better understood as based on the specific conditions related to the day-to-day practices of the citizens in question. For some, prostitution threatens their income and savings – we saw an example of that above; others are physically offended because they live close to the activities and see their street being invaded by customers and prying visitors, and pestered by shouting and noisy night-life, with frequent visits by the police. Still others were part of the development themselves. Just like the prostitutes and the madams, they benefited from prostitution and its magnetic abilities; among these were the inns and public houses, which grew in number as we see from the censuses. For these, as is the case for the prostitutes, the image of the streets and neighbourhoods was more or less essential for their existence. A potential party benefiting from prostitution could be the authorities (municipality and state), as it is well known today that the sex industry promotes an increase in economic terms; this possibility, however, is not mentioned anywhere in the sources, and it is likely that circulation of money related to prostitution mostly benefited the people directly involved.

The actions of prostitutes and customers; the reactions to prostitution; the efforts to control it and shape its realization; the enactments in the urban areas; the crossing of borders of a physical, mental and legal kind make up *different* kinds of producing and being produced by space; in this case, living with and by prostitution as a component of society and urban life.

In other words there is no unambiguous lesson to learn from the experiences in the late nineteenth century, except perhaps that when prostitution became heavily concentrated – as was the case in some of the brothel streets – it caused a severe social comedown and degeneration into slum, often accompanied by street disturbances on a regular basis. For the most part, however, prostitution took place in remoteness and insularity with

no involvement of any third party. When it comes to spatiality, then, the area was constituted by a diversity of spaces made up of intentions of regulation and control together with the actual actions of the inhabitants; moreover, spaces were ascribed a diverse selection of meanings related to people's dissimilar ways of living their lives and using the physical surroundings.

Posterity

So, what happened in the years that followed the system of accepted and regulated prostitution? Briefly, in 1906, the prostitution act was replaced with a law against vagrancy, and the whole system was abolished. Actually, nobody knew whether it had had any positive impact on the containment of venereal diseases – a fact that probably is part of the explanation why the Abolitionists gained the upper hand in the debate. In general, the twentieth century saw a shift to abolitionism, one expression of that being the condemnation of countries with laws permitting brothels by the League of Nations in 1929 (Bassermann 1968:297). The impact on the cityscape of Copenhagen in 1906 act was quite big, at least on the areas that were controllable. The brothels disappeared from the selected streets[15] and in this period, moreover, the Copenhagen municipality started its first slum clearances in the most dilapidated parts of the capital. Some of these were in a neighbourhood close to Helsingørsgade, also heavily marked by prostitution in the regulation period. Helsingørsgade itself was abolished in the 1950s. Of course, prostitution did not disappear with the new law. It spread to other parts of the city and adapted to a new time with a changed discourse and legislative framework.

Not all prostitution neighbourhoods experienced definitive abolition or slum clearance, but in mental terms this was more or less their destiny. Their history as hosts of prostitution has been erased from the narrative of their past – as the introductory quotation explicitly shows. In this way the prostitution of the late nineteenth century has been subjected to a double repression – physically as well as mentally.

And that brings us to the debate of today. Not since the end of the nineteenth century have the discussions been as fierce as in the last decade. The main – and seemingly inextricable – division today concerns the view of prostitution as either *abuse* or *work*.[16] I will go no further into this, besides pointing out how a consequence of the intransigent arguing – where for instance the stance is either for a prohibition on the purchase of sex as in Sweden and Norway, or for normalizing the whole business – is that issues of prostitution remain an incessant battlefield. So, when a fancy restaurant draws upon the murky, gloomy, and piquant past of the street it is located in, it has to leave out prostitution, although this was what everybody once related to its promiscuity.

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Notes

1 The present article is based on a research project on prostitution carried out with varying intensity in the period 2008–2010. This

project – published in Nielsen & Frandsen 2010 – makes a comparison between the situation in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the last three or four decades, also through the three dimensions of discourse, regulation, and practice.

2 Outside Scandinavia similar studies concerning the regulation of prostitution in this period have been undertaken, for instance by the historians Judith Walkowitz and Timothy Gilfoyle regarding the situation in England and New York respectively.

3 Such as Castells, whose city space in *The Urban Question*, according to Merrifield (2000: 169), was merely a container of social and class relationships.

4 In a paper delivered in 1975 Lefebvre talks about catastrophic space, the boundaries of which – when exceeded – lead to the dissolution of the space (he makes an analogy to an aeroplane breaking the sound barrier). On a small scale this can be an illustration of what happens when urban neighbourhoods succumb due to too severe social disintegration (Lefebvre 1997:45).

5 I use "prostitute" here as a somewhat neutral term (although the designation of the women in question has always been debated, see Nielsen & Frandsen 2010:173) while in the period they were called *offentlige fruentimmer* (there is no parallel English term, but it can be rendered as "public women"), this being a reference to the way they were tied to a societal regulation system.

6 See for instance Scott 1936, Bassermann 1968 and Hartmann 1967.

7 See for instance Nielsen & Frandsen 2010: 144–160 where the background to, and the present-day experiences of, the tolerance of prostitution in Amsterdam is discussed and related to the Danish experiences today and in the nineteenth century.

8 The full title of the edict is *Regulativ for Politiets Tilsyn med offentlige Fruentimmer i Kjøbenhavn af 9. Marts 1877* (Edict regarding the supervisory authority of the police over prostitutes in Copenhagen. March 9, 1877), http://prostitution.e-museum.dk/pdfkilder/4.%20Politipraksis%20og%20domsmyndighed/Politiregulativ%201877.pdf.

9 Soliciting in the streets was also generally abandoned; however, in a few of the brothel streets it was permitted. Actually, one of these streets – Holmensgade – is an excellent example of the efforts of the authorities and of public opinion to deny the past if it is not suitable for the present: originally the name of the street was Ulkegade, but since prostitution flourished here for several centuries, an effort at rebranding was tried in the early nineteenth century, when the name was changed to Holmensgade. This, however, had no impact on the activities in the street. After 1900 and the abolition of the regulation of prostitution the name was changed once again, now to Bremerholm, a name that it still holds today.

10 These are the "Sager vedr. indskrivning af offentlige fruentimmere 1867–1906" (Reports regarding registration of prostitutes 1867–1906), in the Provincial Archives of Sjælland.

11 The censuses are nationwide counts of every citizen – the first one appearing in 1787, the last one in the 1950s. The second half of the nineteenth century was when they were conducted with the highest density. They are accessible at the National Archive and at the Provincial Archive of Sjælland. A large amount of them today are accessible on the Internet as well.

12 As a means to check the validity of the analysis of the development in the two streets, the results have been compared with an alley, Brolæggerstræde, very close to Magstræde and of almost the same size. Brolæggerstræde's social profile is completely unchanged; this confirms that the developmental pattern of the two other streets is connected to the influx of prostitution.

13 Debates of the Municipal Council of Copenhagen (Borgerrepræsentationens forhandlinger), Copenhagen City Archives.

14 The above mentioned reports regarding registration of prostitutes contain a large amount of examples of these kinds of infringements of the regulations, either in the form of the policemen's reports or as letters attached to the individual reports sent to the police by citizens.

15 Actually the brothels had been illegal since 1901 without this change being followed by their disappearance. With the more radical change in 1906, however, they did vanish.

16 See for instance Gangoli 2006. The debate's much more persistent nature is no doubt relat-

ed to the fact that organizations composed of prostitutes (typically called "sex workers", a way of underlining the "prostitution as work" approach) have come into existence in an effort to insist on regular rights for prostitutes. This debate is analysed thoroughly in Nielsen & Frandsen 2010.

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Disappearing Landscapes

Embodied Experience and Metaphoric Space in the Life Story of a Female Factory Worker

By Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto

What disappeared then, we suggest, was not only the central source for economic and social life in the community, but also the framework for memories. Around the image of the mill, people constructed their own identities, incorporating work-based ideologies of gender. Thus, deconstruction of the mill altered the cultural and psychological as well the social and the physical landscapes of the town (Modell & Hinshaw 1996:133).

This article[1] focuses on experiences of change and of disappearing landscape from the perspective of an elderly factory worker, whose stories I analyse in my PhD research.[2] In this text, I examine the narrated space created in her stories and explore situated embodied experiences and their symbolic meanings. I am interested in the way she tells about differentiated spaces and specific places that no longer exist in the physical landscape. What does it mean to her that her home environment and working place have changed radically? Using the concepts of metaphoric space and site of memory, it is argued here that the disappearing narrated landscape recreated in the narration and its places symbolize, or rather *materialize* or *embody*, larger themes central to my narrator's life and sense of self. Place-based personal stories continue to resonate even after the physical sites/locations are gone. The narrated places, sites of memory, need not be physical any longer but they can be remembered, and narrated because of their continuing metaphorical power and relevance in the present.

In this article, I will thus go through the material from one particular interview with a former production line worker, Elsa Koskinen (interview 8, January 6th 2002), addressing the changes in the factory community.[3] I asked about these changes after several interviews ending with her saying: "but then, life started to change in that village." Unlike in many other interviews, this one only contains two variants of the narratives that were told either in earlier or in later interviews.[4] Why so? Life stories often consist of key narratives which are repeated and told over again (Linde 1993). In this particular interview, new narratives seem to rise from the context of change relating to space and places. Many of these narratives (like much of the life narratives) are nostalgic in their tone. I am interested in this sudden burst of new nostalgic narratives. Nostalgia, melancholic longing for the past that has been lost, derives from details that take on *emotional* content. Nostalgia is twofold: some things from the past are remembered while others are (deliberately) forgotten (Korkiakangas 1999:171–172; Åström & Korkiakangas 2004:11–12). In my analysis, I will investigate the nostalgia to find out what kinds of experiences are attached to the narrated places of factory village: What features, events, and feelings are emphasized while others are pushed into the background? What makes certain places special and worthy of telling about years later, after they have disappeared? Could it also be that certain physical sites – whether they still exist or not – lend themselves to being remembered? My analysis will consist of theorizing the remembered and narrated space, and reflecting the metaphorical power of Elsa's narratives. Instead of pointing at the degenerative, problematic power of turning towards the past, I seek to illuminate and deploy a positive view on nostalgia. Following the folklorist Ray Cashman's reflections on critical nostalgia (2006), I argue that the nostalgia attached to the nar-

rated places can entail positive and enriching connotations of the old factory community and patriarchal social order.

Disappearing Landscape: The Old Factory Community

The industrial change has not only been dramatic, but also a constant part of workers' life (Ahvenisto 2008; Kortelainen 2008:25). Starting from the late nineteenth century, Finland industrialized rapidly. Factory communities grew and flourished for some time in the rural countryside. This continued until after the Second World War, when technology and societal development quickly began to replace traditional (patriarchal) factory communities and when urbanization and globalization led to post- and de-industrialization. Modern business units emerged without having direct connection to residential areas or to diverse social activities. Places of employment and places of residence were not necessarily related. These significant changes took place during Elsa Koskinen's life. The ironworks in which she had once worked invested in new technologies and the traditional community which had sprung up around the factory started to disappear. The factory still exists and runs today, but the physical environment, the factory village, has almost disappeared. Today, there are still almost as many people living there as 60 years ago, but the landscape and the social dynamics have changed significantly.

The factory community of Inha was situated by a river, just as all water-powered ironworks started before the invention of steam power. Inha Ironworks in Ähtäri in Southern Ostrobothnia was started in 1841, at first as a really small rural factory producing raw iron from scrap metal and lake ore. In addition to the ironworks, Inha supported a sawmill, also situated on the river. The factory and the village grew bigger at the end of the nineteenth century, drawing people from the surrounding region. In 1883, railways were built close to Inha Ironworks. Right after that, Inha's industrial units (both the ironworks and the sawmill) were sold to a Swedish engineer August Keirkner, later known as *the Patron*, who invested in new technology such as steam engines. The factory started to process the iron into horseshoes and spikes. Besides developing the industry, the Patron also contributed to the life of the workers, starting a school in 1889 and constructing a powerhouse giving electricity to the village. There was also a common baking place, sauna, and a factory-owned shop. At the beginning of the twentieth century the workers organized and started to engage in various activities of the labour movement – cultural and political. The local workers' union was established in 1904. In 1907, the workers built a community hall, where different cultural events such as evening parties, concerts and workers' theatre performances took place. Workers also had their own sports club, which organized programmes for both children and adults, male and female. Popular historical writings by local amateur historians describe the old Inha factory community and its activities in *nostalgic* terms, drawing a picture of harmonious, vibrant, and well-organized village life.

The factory was sold in 1917 to the Fiskars group, who still runs it today. Inha factory village and the iron production also suffered from the Great Depression of

the 1930s but it survived and kept going. During the Second World War, the factory served Finnish military industry. Women who were recruited during the war to compensate for the labour shortage continued to work in the factory after the war. The 1940s and 1950s were busy times of rebuilding. Karelian resettlement and the baby boom increased the population. The latter part of the modernizing process of Finnish society, often called the Structural Change in Finland, took place in the 1960s. The new big generation left the countryside to look for jobs in the cities. Forest work, agriculture and industry developed and mechanized fast, and education became more valued and common among ordinary Finns. This change affected the Inha factory village and the ironworks as well. Some crucial elements of the landscape and of the social life changed after the factory engaged in new technology and started modern production-line work in steel and aluminium. Until that, the factory community was organized in a hierarchy that placed people in different categories, grouping them as workers and as upper class, which followed the dynamics and hierarchy of other Finnish industrial communities of the twentieth century (see e.g. Leminen 1996; Schreiber 2004:299; Kortelainen 2008: 40–43, 47–52; Ahvenisto 2008). The shift to modernization changed these classed dynamics.

Elsa Koskinen (maiden name Kiikkala) was born in 1927 as the seventh child of a factory worker's large family (altogether 12 children) that lived right next to the factory, along with other families, in big log houses owned by the company and built for the factory workers. Children used to play in the piles of scrap metal of the work yard, an open space and the centre of the village. Elsa learned physical labour at an early age and grew to know the work thoroughly. Among other things, she worked as a handyman carrying boxes of horseshoes and operated a machine on a horseshoe line. After the war, she married a worker from the same village and they had three children. As was thought to be typical of the time, Elsa stayed at home with them.[5] But as described earlier, times changed, and so did her social position as the wife of a man who had climbed the social hierarchy when, in the late 1960s, the factory invested in new technologies. Machines replaced physical work and new professionals were hired to design and analyse the production. Elsa's husband educated himself and became first a foreman, then a production designer. His family became a middle-class family, moving from old small factory-owned apartments to larger and nicer ones. His wife, Elsa, however, went back to the lower-status physical labour of the production-line worker, this time to put together pieces of steel hinges. The family lived in a dwelling (at last a single house) owned by the factory until retirement in 1984. Elsa retired at the same time as her husband (1984), and they moved away from the factory village to the municipal centre of Ähtäri. They bought a flat, where Elsa still continues to live. Her husband died in 1989.[6]

Place Organizing Experience and Memory

Place and time are both basic dimensions that give structure to experience. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) has sug-

gested that a place can master or even stop time. Places might preserve the past and tie them together with events, building a continuum between different times. Interestingly enough, Elsa can't point out *when* any of the accounts she narrates happened. Often the time does not even matter to her. As a researcher, I am more interested in the chronology than she is. Instead, Elsa remembers things according to the place and house her family lived in:

Eerika: When did the washing machine arrive? When did you wash by hand? Can you estimate?

Elsa: Well we lived that time in "the Engineer's Manor" [a huge log house of three apartments].

Eerika: Ok.

Elsa: Until the time that…

Eerika: It was either the 1960s or the 70s?

Elsa: Well, you see, your father was already a grown-up when we lived there.

Eerika: It must have been the 70s then.

There are only a few major events in her life she can date: the time she entered working life (when the Second World War broke out and everybody over the age of 15 had to do productive work), the times when her children were born and left home, and the time she herself retired from the factory work. Other events and narratives, and her reminiscences in general, are situated in certain places and spaces, some of which seem to act as more than a scene. In my view, they become sites that orient the storytelling and define Elsa's life and identity; in other words, place is a way of understanding the world (see Cresswell 2004:11).

Scholars of new history and oral historians have discussed the meanings attached to certain sites using the concept of *site of memory*.[7] Finnish folklorists and oral historians have used the term site of memory in relation to the collective creating of traditions and *ritualized exercise of power.* In their view, oral traditions of particular places and events that live in collective local traditions are often excluded from official history (see e.g. Peltonen 2003; Tuomaala 2004; Fingerroos 2004, 2008; Heimo 2006). In my case study, there are no concrete or material sites left that would accommodate rituals or other commemorative traditions, because these sites have disappeared or have deteriorated. However, these disappearing places have attracted stories and they are constantly recreated in the course of life-story telling. The stories of the old factory community communicate unofficial knowledge that studies of industrial history and history of technology often ignore when describing modernization, development, and technological advancement: the experiential level and the individual (worker's) point of view. In this case the attachment to sites that are reminders of communality and that establish a sense of self are omitted from official histories. The concept of the site of memory illuminates the importance and the social dynamics of remembering. However, it is important to note that Pierre Nora referred to material, not narrated sites, and memory as ritualized (or even compulsive) action pushed by a collective need to remember (Nora 1989).[8] My material, life-story telling, is more personal, but it could also be seen as ritually enacted narration. The disappearing of places indeed calls for action, in this case storytelling, which could be seen as *place making*, a term used by the

anthropologist Keith Basso (1996:5).[9] I am interested in this process of meaning-giving which occurs over the course of time, which seems linked both to collective and personal experiences and to collective and personal identities (ibid. 7).

The historian Saara Tuomaala has elaborated on the concept of site of memory in her study of experiences of Finnish children and young people in the public school of 1930s (2004). She was interested in the way Finnish boys and girls were educated to become proper citizens in the early time of the nation state Finland. Tuomaala found that many of these practices, such as hygiene instruction, moral education and discipline, have become collective embodied memories. She argues that experiences leave behind symbolic and linguistic marks which are intertwined with the cultural construction of narratives. Through this, personal-experience narratives about feelings, emotions, moves and acts preserve sites of memory that create past-directed *metaphoric space*, where various meanings are articulated (Tuomaala 2004:58).

Metaphoric space is close to the concept of *chronotope* created by the literary theoretician Mikhail Bakhtin. Chronotope, or in other words *time space*, stops time and captures events in a certain space. In chronotopes, form and content, time and space get entangled with the whole storyline and the historical context (Bakhtin 1979:243–244).[10] According to Bakhtin, chronotopes are created by the author, who makes up entire worlds in the process of writing, and in doing so, borrows categories of the real worlds around. The concept may also serve in analysing personal narratives of true life (see Savolainen 2009). Both of these levels, textual (stylistic) and experiential (phenomenological), are needed in the analysis of narrated space. Spatiality is a sensual and embodied experience, but in order to map out and analyse it, this experience needs to be verbalized and conceptualized. Thus, language is closely related to the spatiality as well (see Merleau-Ponty 1962:283–347; Meriläinen-Hyvärinen 2010:69). Some emotional and embodied memories may regenerate exactly the same kind of feelings as once experienced (Klein 2006:18–19), but it may be hard to verbalize and conceptualize traumatic experiences or scenes related to dramatic changes in culture or society such as war experiences.[11] Thus, a physical site and embodied memory might offer a concrete example and a place to which those who do not share the same experiences can also relate. Philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) has used the metaphor of *phantom limb* to describe bodily layered memory (see also Tuomaala 2009:80). Disappeared places that only exist in collective or perhaps in individual memory could be described as phantom limbs of a body of culture. The stories told about the sites that used to exist verbalize the feeling of loss, and embody the process of change. Thus, narrated sites of memory are amputated limbs of the disappearing landscape, the embodied metaphoric space.

Sites (Dis)Connecting People

When I asked Elsa to describe the major changes that occurred in the factory community during her lifetime, she first mentioned that many of the places where people used to meet each other, such as shops, bank and post offices, closed down.

She misses the sense of communality that is embodied in these concrete spaces: the open factory yard which was always crowded and served as a market place, the big smokestack everybody could see, and the old bridges where people gathered were torn down one by one.

It went a little bit too far. All those places started to disappear. Places that were living conditions for the old factory workers. The bridges were gone, and in the end, all the dwellings disappeared, the houses, our homes, they are gone. There are only a few left there, Hurutlinna, we lived there for a while, and Lumppulinna, and some private houses, two of them on the rock. And the community hall is left, they renovated it, it is a village house and I have heard it looks nice. But I don't want to go there anymore, there is nothing left there. The bushes grow on the roads and on the ruins of the old buildings. They are gone. I only feel sad if I go there.

At the beginning of the century, factory communities were hierarchal and patriarchal but also very communal. Studies of Finnish industrial communities of the twentieth century have illuminated the dynamics of social order and sense of communality (see e.g. Ahvenisto 2008; Kortelainen 2008). Besides distinguishing between different groups within the worker community, these studies have shown how the factory communities established different symbolic borders of us and them, between the outsiders and the insiders. Some of these borders were marked by geographical sites and others by buildings or other constructions. There were also some shared mental borders that were not visible. In Elsa's stories there are traces of symbolic borders, and she often tells about incidents where these borders were crossed, for example when she and the other children were secretly playing in the yard of the mansion of the former factory owner:

You were not supposed to go on to the grounds of the factory owner's mansion. But we went anyway. There was a housekeeper there. The yard was well taken care of. Nowadays they don't look after the yard that way. It was always so nicely decorated, even the road was raked. We went there to the end of the road. There were many of us, as usual, because the families were big. The housekeeper shouted – she had a loud voice – "Children, you shouldn't come here: there's a big snake in the forest!" She didn't know what to say.

One version of the story continues: "Some of us shouted back that you are the big snake yourself!"

This story could be interpreted as a kind of counter-narrative, an expression of the oral history of working-class children. It also shows that the mental borders are somewhat flexible and transform over the course of time. The factory owner's mansion often serves as a scene for different stories, for example many popular ghost stories local people still know. In fact, the mansion is one of the few places left in the old factory village that reminds people of the times of the Patron and his flourishing factory village. By the time Elsa was a child, nobody lived in that house anymore. Nevertheless, it was still a very special and an upper-class place. The factory community she represents in her stories seems to be controversial when it comes to hierarchies and space. There are many borders and places with limited access, especially for a child.

Some examples of chronotopes introduced by Bakhtin, *road* and *threshold*, also underline the interconnectedness and the individual trajectory and sense of self (see Bakhtin 1984). Road, both as a

scene and as a metaphor, is not only characterized by movement and travelling, it is also a place for meeting people and for forming collective experiences and memories. Saara Tuomaala (2006) has shown how meaningful the way to school was to Finnish children of the 1930s, how well it was remembered years later and how it resonated with the values of the time, such as independence, perseverance and self sustainability. The stories of the way to school dealt with different conceptions of time, authority and morality, and included both collective and personal memories. Ulla Savolainen (2009) who has studied a travel narrative of a Karelian evacuee, found connections to the chronotope of threshold, which symbolizes individual growth and entering a new phase in life. Elsa's story about crossing the boundaries as a child tells about learning the social rules and norms of the community, belonging to the group and establishing the worker identity. Later, on the other hand, being a worker, a part of the community also gave freedom and access to certain sites. Elsa also mentions that there used to be much more freedom and possibilities to cross different lines then than there are nowadays:

> You can't go there anymore. That time you could go around freely. Like the riverside, you could walk on the river bend right next to a factory building. People went fishing there. But you have no business going there anymore. There was the bridge and the road also right in the middle of the working yard. People went to work and school along the bridge just next to the smelting furnace.

Elsa describes how the factory yard was open to anybody, even children who lived in the village. It thereby affected everybody's life (see Kirsti Salmi-Niklander (2004:300). Today, the factory area is closed to outsiders by a fence. It is clear that Elsa feels sad about the

Children on the bridge in the 1920s. Photo: Gustav Welin. The Archives of Fiskars Inhan Tehtaat oy ab.

places she can't visit anymore and about the sites that are not there anymore. She has concretely lost contact with these places while so many buildings are gone and the landscape has turned totally different:

Elsa: The River is not the same anymore. It grows different kind of plants. I don't know if it is there anymore. At least you can't see it. … And there was the mill and the bridge. It was a romantic place, the old mill. And the phone centre, that white and yellow building…
Eerika: It was right next to the factory, right?
Elsa: No, the bridge was there. You don't know that. It's not there anymore. It was really sad for old workers that they had to tear it down. They shouldn't have done that. It could have been saved as a footbridge. Cars couldn't use it anymore. They use to drive through it. Somehow it was a nice bridge. We spent a lot of time there, walked there in the evening and stayed there.

In this story, Elsa relates to a larger collective experience of loss by saying that the old workers were devastated when the places they used to know and gather around were torn down. Disappeared places mean more to her than just losing personal bindings to the physical environment. These sites used to bring people together. Therefore, the loss is more abstract: by demolishing the bridge, they took away an important part of communality and worker identity, the *interconnectedness* between the people. The folklorist Patrick B. Mullen found interconnectedness to be one of the central themes in life stories of many of his elderly informants (1992: 271). Many of them wanted to belong to their communities, be close to their families, but also to the meaningful places such as the landscapes of their childhood and professional life they felt connected with. The loss of the physical structure parallels the loss of community, and thus what is not there physically is likewise not there socially. Elsa is concretely cut off from the community.

Stability and Presence

Everyday life consists of streams of changing events and developments such as modernization or globalization. On the other hand, people preserve traditions and mentalities consciously and unconsciously. The long duration of cultural values and practices can be seen in social practices such as self-sufficiency or gender roles (Two different times, see Braudel 1980; 1993). Based on ethnographic fieldwork among different communities in Turkey, Ireland and Bangladesh, the folklorist Henry Glassie (1998) suggests that what matters most to communities and individual people themselves is the long duration – stability, continuation and integrity. Stability seems to be important to my informant, especially when it comes to physical environment and the social world connected to it. Elsa misses the physical landscape of the factory community that was dominated by the factory and the big smokestack. It seems to serve her both as a symbol of the old industrial community and a symbol of the change that has occurred in the industrial and the social world and their dynamics:

Elsa: And the smokestack. It was the last thing they demolished. They say that the old men cried that day [in a touched voice]. We had a hard time being there. I can't understand that. It wouldn't have bothered anyone there.
Eerika: When did they do that?
Elsa: I was still working that time. It was the time of the technological advances. Those old men were still there like Gunnar. It was a sad time for them. Those men have seen the smokestack everyday during their whole life. It was

hard for me too. It felt like death visited the village. The smokestack had a lightning rod so we did not have to be scared when the storm came on and the thunder roared. And everybody felt at home there…even if you were poor. It didn't matter. Everybody was in the same boat.

Elsa connects the demolished smokestack as a "landmark" to a larger issue: to the sense of security and belonging, being part of a whole. New technology brought about more changes than just lighter work at new computer-driven production lines. The social hierarchy of the community turned different when ironworkers were no longer needed but instead, the factory hired some engineers and other trained professionals. The younger generation started to study and move out of the village, and social life died.

Demolishing the smokestack in 1966. Photo: The Archive of Traditional Society of Ähtäri.

Furthermore, Elsa, who went to school for four years only and started working at an early age, feels incompetent in today's world of higher education and information technology; she feels there is no place for her or the other old people in this new social order. Social change, blurring of boundaries and openings of possibilities can also be a threat to a person's sense of self, as contradictory as it first might seem from today's individualist point of view. In Elsa's words, the old workers cried when they saw how the smokestack was demolished. Even if she was younger, she also grew in its presence. She gets nostalgic when thinking about the village and the sense of belonging.

The folklorist Ray Cashman has studied storytelling in Northern Ireland in an area that has undergone "staggering amount of change over the past century" (2006:137). He points out that material culture can provide resources from which people revise their memory of the past and their identities in the present. Therefore, nostalgia can be seen as more than just a counterproductive modern malaise. In fact, it is a way to cope with the changes around and a source of a better future. Cashman's elderly informants had started again to build old-style rural houses and use old rural artefacts and vehicles on their home farms. They explained that they want to keep something from the old world and teach the younger generation how different life was back in the old days (Cashman 2006).[12]

Elsa would have liked to preserve the physical landscape and the particular material sites, because for her they characterize the old stable factory community. The sites such as the smokestack not only

mark the place, but establish a material and physical connection to the past. The industrial advance that closed down the old coal-fired steam engines did not stop at that point either. The factory still exists today, but it struggles with the challenges of globalizing industry and market economy. Elsa is well aware of the current development, and often states that the times have really changed. According to her, back in the old days, there was a lot of work to do, and today there are unemployed people who do not have anything to do. However, she also doubts whether people of today would do such work anymore.

The geographer Doreen Massey sees place as processes that are not frozen in one time (2005). In her view, places do not have single identities but multiple ones, and they are by no means enclosures, with a clear inside and outside. Thus, places are social processes and meeting points, where history accumulates. Following Massey's ideas, the anthropologist Anneli Meriläinen-Hyvärinen (2010) has examined the experiences of the transforming place in the case of the Talvivaara mining area in Finland. She interviewed people who used to live there but who were forced to sell their houses and their land to the mining company. She states that the mining area is indeed a space time where local history, personal experiences of the place (topobiography) and even globalizing challenges of industrial business meet. This could be said of numerous other industrial spaces, many of which grew and flourished, then deindustrialized, and thus were transformed in various ways (cf. Kortelainen 2006; 2008; Ahvenisto 2008).

Meriläinen-Hyvärinen emphasized the reciprocal relation between the place and the subject (2010:75). Not only do people make places, the transformations of space also affect people. Some places offer people the sense of *stability* that correlates with the coherence of the self (see Tuan 2006:16–19, 29).[13] One of Meriläinen-Hyvärinen's informants, her elderly father, experienced deep sorrow for the lost place, and Meriläinen-Hyvärinen (2010: 68) compared his feelings to an early death. Elsa compares the demolition of the smokestack to death as well, not to a personal death but to the death of the community and communal spirit. Apart from this dramatic event, the transformation of the factory village and changes in the social dynamics of Inha Ironworks happened over a longer period of time. However, the disappearing sites are concrete examples of this institutional change, condensations of time acting as fruitful sources of storytelling.

Conclusions: Amputated Sites, Living Meanings and Continued Lives

Since I started studying Elsa's stories, I have wondered why she cherishes these memories of hierarchical factory community and hard physical work. Isn't it great that the world has changed and we are more equal and do not have to work in such circumstances anymore (see Koskinen-Koivisto 2009)? Nostalgic thinking has been characterized negatively as a rejection of the change and the dynamic process between progress and stability (see e.g. Lowenthal 1985). However, as Ray Cashman (2006) has demonstrated, nostalgia can also be seen as a more complex practice, a part of critical thinking.

The metaphoric space Elsa Koskinen creates in her stories is full of sites that connect her to the old factory community. Hierarchical and communal, this space offers her a sense of security, a feeling of knowing her place in the world. The sites such as the river, the old bridges, the factory owner's mansion and the smokestack connect her to other people, and materialize both the change and the stability of patriarchal factory community which may never have been that stable, but at least clearer, more familiar, or more manageable from her point of view. Material and physical sites are sources of life-story telling and of the sense of self even, if they no longer exist. Creating the space over and over again does not mean that the narrator is living in the past, but rather that she is using the past to cope in the present.

In Elsa's case, today's world manifests itself in loneliness, in confusing amounts of individualism and in growing competence on globalizing markets. The old factory community with its narrated sites is a metaphoric space of communality, safe social order, and an opportunity for an untrained, hard-working labourer to support a family. The storytelling and the metaphorical space carries the positive parts of the past into the future, to another person, in this case me – a grandchild and academic scholar, who has not seen the actual landscape, experienced the everyday life of factory village or met the people of the old community. The life there was unknown and foreign to me until I heard the emotional personal narratives, most of which Elsa told to me for the first time and this time only. As Bakhtinian chronotopes introduce specific time-places for readers, narrators of their own lives create metaphoric spaces from their sites of memory.

Place is created in and through social practices (Mahlamäki 2005:46; Massey 2005). Storytelling creates a metaphoric space, where sites connect to the sense of self and meaning in life. In Elsa's storytelling practice, the disappearing sites of the old factory community symbolize the loss of the communality and stability, and the clear social hierarchy created by the factory and the work. The factory, the workers and the upper class, the dwellings and other buildings, the river, the bridges and the smokestack were once part of the disappearing landscape, the social body Elsa Koskinen was part of. The feelings of loss are deep and concrete. Thus, the change is materialized and embodied in places, amputated phantom sites that continue to exist and give meaning to her life through storytelling. In Elsa's case, by employing powerful metaphors and nostalgic images, her personal narratives communicate experiences of loss, but also work as resources for continuing her life by strengthening her sense of self and positioning her in the constantly changing globalizing world. Thus, nostalgia related to the disappearing landscapes of the old factory community entails positive power of continuity, the long duration of time.

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Notes

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2 In my PhD research *The World Changing around Me – Intersections of Gender, Class and Work in the 20th-Century Life Story of a Female Laborer*, I analyse the life story of Elsa Koskinen, my grandmother, who was born in 1927. She is a retired factory worker and still alive. She worked in Inha Ironworks in the rural district of Ähtäri, Southern Ostrobothnia, in the centre of Finland, and lived in the surrounding factory village, a small community of 400 people, until retiring. Later, she moved from this village to the municipal centre. In my dissertation, I examine the ways in which she represents herself in relation to the changes that took place in modernizing Finland of the 20th century.

3 The research material consists of twelve life-story interviews which I conducted between 2001 and 2004.

4 In the interview 8, 6th of January 2002, 10 percent of all narratives were retold variants. In other interviews the average amount of retold variants was 30 percent.

5 The 1950s is often considered as the era of housewives, a time when married women stayed at home and took care of the household. The image of the housewife was also prevalent in Finland during this time (Wikander 1999:157). However, statistics show that married women did not return to being housewives, supported by their husbands as they returned from war, to the same extent as in other European countries (Haavio-Mannila 1984: 49; *Naisten asemaa* 1970:38).

6 This summary of Elsa's life is mine, and emphasizes several *changes* in her life course. Many of these changes, however, have been narrativized by Elsa herself. Trying to contextualize her life, I have pushed it into a chronological and more causal order.

7 The term site(s) of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) was created by French historian Pierre Nora (1989). He observed that modern society is in the phase of dislocation and anxiety caused by unprecedented change, and that people are driven to preserve as many traces of the past as possible. Nora wanted to present critique of the historical memory of a nation state. In his view, sites of memory are the last places that conserve living memory, which has disappeared when the production of written, constructed history. According to Nora, sites of memory are non-written manifestations of "the presence of the past within the present" (ibid. 20) which are "at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration" (ibid. 18).

8 It has been shown that ritual repetition and shared embodied experiences create collective memory and identity that the members of the group grow into (see Connerton 1989; for examples based on ethnography see e.g. Noyes 2003). Telling stories about the ritual events and the places where these events took place is also an important part of the collective (and personal) experience and strengthens identity (see Myerhoff 1978; Mullen 1992).

9 Keith Basso (1996) studied place-names and stories among the Western Apache. He saw that Apache's stories of meaningful sites function to remind them of the past and to teach a moral lesson to younger generations. According to Basso, place making is "universal tool of historical imagination", which takes place "at that precise moment, when ordinary perceptions begin to loosen their hold, a border has been crossed and the country starts to change. Awareness has shifted its footing, and the character of the place, now transfigured by thoughts of an earlier day, swiftly takes on a new and foreign look" (ibid. 5).

10 Bakhtin's chronotopes are somewhat vague and they are by no means easy to distinguish. Bakhtin uses them almost as metaphors (Mahlamäki 2005:45–47).

11 The kind of phenomena, known as *vivid or flashbulb* memories, are part of autobiographical memory, and often related to emotionally arousing events. Besides psychology, memory and narration have been studied in oral history and narrative studies (see e.g. Portelli 1991:63; Vilkko 1997:169–170; Peltonen 1996:28; Korkiakangas 1999:166–167; Tuomaala 2006:273).

12 Empirical research and analysis of people's relations to particular spaces may bring up some of the positive elements of nostalgia. Studying the strategies of town-dwellers' reactions to the planning of a new school building, the ethnologist Pirjo Korkiakangas (2004) noted that nostalgia functioned as a resource which not only strengthened the identity of a place, but also created a kind of "legalized" moral claims on those in power.

13 Coherence related to self and life-story telling is a problematic concept in the narrative study of lives. Some scholars do not believe that there is any self outside the narrative, or emphasize the coherent self as an eligible and healthy subject agent (see e.g. McIntyre 1985). This view has been criticized, among other things, for the demand of closure and oneness (see e.g. Löyttyniemi 2004:69). However, narrative form tends to construct coherence, offering an arena for negotiating contradictory life experiences and/or major changes and passing of time (Ricoeur 1992). Life-story telling thereby helps people to accept the chaos and fragmentariness of life (Löyttyniemi 2004:68–70).

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The Communal Laundry

A Swedish Story

By Kristina Lund

The Communal Laundry Room – Loved and Hated

To be able to wash one's clothes in a well-equipped, modern laundry room, without having to buy a washing machine or tumble dryer or leave the building, can be appreciated as a privilege – or it can feel like a major headache to have to plan, book, and share space with unknown neighbours. The communal laundry room leaves few people unaffected.

The communal laundry room is rather unique to Sweden. It is based on the vision of the "People's Home" (*Folkhemmet*), a fair and equal society, and the idea that everyone should be able to wash their own clothes and keep clean. In the communal laundry room, clean meets dirty, written rules face unwritten rules, and perfectionists confront slovenly people. Sometimes these encounters are cheerful, sometimes they end up in angry notes pinned to the door, or violence reported to the police. The communal laundry room is both a public and a private space. It is not easy to share your dirt with strangers and to expose your underwear to others.

Despite the fact that the Swedish model is built on collective values, Sweden today is a country characterized by a high extent of individualism and independence. However, the communal laundry is not as common in other countries. The communal laundry is a leftover as typically Swedish as the alcohol retail monopoly and the right of public access. In many other countries people use the neighbourhood laundry or take their washing to someone if they do not have a washing machine in their flat. In countries like Switzerland and Austria and in some parts of United States there are communal laundry rooms similar to the Swedish ones. In Finland and Norway communal laundry rooms exist but not to the same extent as in Sweden. In many European cities, such as Copenhagen and Berlin, there are commercial laundry facilities, laundromats, instead of laundry rooms in the apartment building. Even in Sweden fewer and fewer laundry rooms are being built today, since most people demand laundry facilities in the home.

The word for the laundry room, *tvättstuga*[1] – literally "wash-cottage" – is hardly associated with the urban life that most people live today, but nevertheless the word remains. Perhaps the fellowship in the laundry room still implies some kind of village mentality where we get close together. In peasant society the laundry was carried out in a separate building, and since then the word has been deeply rooted. The laundry room is for many people the place where they meet their neighbours. In many neighbourhoods, the laundry room has the same role as the church had in bygone days.

Sweden has a tradition of apartment housing supported by communal areas, such as outdoor spaces, bicycle rooms, garbage rooms, meeting rooms, playgrounds – and communal laundry rooms. Today there are communal laundries in most apartment buildings, both those with rental apartments and those with privately owned flats.

Around 42 per cent of Sweden's population live in apartment buildings. Most of these have a communal laundry room. This means that almost half of the Swedish population has access to communal laundry rooms, and even more people have experience of one.

Communal laundries display a great variety. At 47 Katarina Bangata in Stockholm, 21 apartments share a laundry room with two washing machines, one tumble dryer and a drying cabinet. Laundry time is booked by writing on a calendar outside the room. At Kungsklippan, just a few metro stops away, 430 apartments share one laundry room, which consists of seven washrooms, each with a set of machines, with fully electronic reservation and lock systems. Rinkeby, a suburb of Stockholm, has Sweden's largest laundry room, where 22 families can wash at the same time.

Doing the laundry is closely associated with everyday routine. Boredom, waiting, and habit are undervalued in a society where variability, flexibility and having fun are highly esteemed. Doing the laundry is a fundamental part of life for most people, but also a trivial everyday chore that attracts little attention. Furthermore, washing is a Sisyphean task: the laundry is eternal.

The way people have managed their laundry, hygiene, and dirt is a traditional subject of ethnological study at the Nordiska Museet. This article[2] is about the history and the underlying visions of the communal laundry and the related conflicts, about the dirt and the lint.

Heavy Laundry

The water was cold. They were on their knees on the shaky jetty below Gertrudsborg, beating the washing with bent sticks. Sometimes the jetty swung so deep that they got water over their knees.[3]

Washing has changed radically in Sweden over the last hundred years. In the early twentieth century, clothes were washed a few times a year on special washdays. The dirty laundry was beaten clean with wooden bats on piers and in "batting cottages", often in cold water. It was a hard chore that women performed together.

Along with industrialization, new mechanical washing devices were introduced. But doing the laundry was still heavy, and washing it by hand was by far the most common way.

The new society that emerged at the turn of the century meant an increased professionalization of new jobs as washerwomen and laundry maids. Urbanization and a growing middle class created a demand for laundry services. Those who could afford it let special facilities, known as "wash-aways", do their laundry. For most people, however, that was not possible. Sweden at that time was a country with large class differences, and poverty was widespread. In the early twentieth century, Sweden was still a country of emigration, with high unemployment and a stagnant economy. After emigration to America slowed down, migration to urban areas and especially to the capital increased. Many people moved into the cities, and especially in Stockholm people lived in overcrowded homes. Many found it hard to keep themselves and their clothes clean.

There were laundry facilities, cooperative, collective and neighbourhood laundries, sometimes equipped with machines. But the washing facilities could be far from home and were insufficient for everyone. And of course there were laundry rooms in residential buildings early in the last century, but they were simple facilities equipped with wood- and gas-fired boilers and washbasins, sometimes with a cauldron to boil the laundry in. The drying

space was often in the attic, which could be cold in the winter. "Usually this place has no heating […]. Washing clothes in a laundry room like this normally takes two to three days. How long it can take before the clothes are dry during the cold season has not been reported, but one must of course reckon with a week or so," writes Brita Åkerman (1941) in a study of how everyday life was organized in the late 1930s in Stockholm.

These early laundry rooms were impractical, lacking machines, and it still took several days to do the washing. Many people still washed small laundry items by hand in the kitchen or bathroom, and dried them over the stove.

The Big Clean-up

> Sweden has filth within its border, too much filth to tolerate calmly, and this filth must be eliminated as quickly and as thoroughly as possible, not merely for the sake of national prestige but – far more importantly – for the sake of national efficiency. We cannot afford to have so much filth in the national machinery (Nordström 1938).

Until the 1930s, Sweden had Europe's worst housing standards. The situation was bad all over the country but especially in big cities like Stockholm. The number of inhabitants had exploded. Poverty was widespread and many people lived in cramped homes that were damp, dark, and dirty. The lack of hygiene made many sick, and diseases like cholera and typhoid were widespread.

During the 1930s there were various political and social movements promoting change in Sweden. Voices were raised in the public debate imploring politicians to clean up the squalor. Housing, which was a private matter, should be responsibility of the state, according to the most radical debaters. The movement was called "the new objectivity" and became influential in contemporary art, architecture, and housing construction, and also in the social debate.

Alva Myrdal (1902–1986) and Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987) had prominent roles in this debate. In their report book *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* (Crisis in the Population Question, 1934), they highlighted the importance of an orderly family life. They warned that lack of living space and low-quality housing gave a poor environment for children to grow up in, which resulted in physical and psychological harm. Better housing – along with other reforms – was a remedy against the low birth rate that would also slow migration.

Alva Myrdal fought for women's opportunities. She wanted to solve what she called the general problem, the difficulty of combining paid work and family life. Her solution was that housework should be professionalized, with clothes taken to a laundry for washing, nursery care for the children, and restaurants to do the cooking. A controversial part of her ideas were the proposals about forced sterilization of individuals with undesirable characteristics, to achieve the ideal society.

The journalist Ludvig "Lubbe" Nordström (1882–1942) was another significant figure in the debate. He wrote a report, *Lort-Sverige* (Sweden the Filthy), that exposed the dreadful state of housing. His high-profile stories were broadcast by Swedish Radio in 1938 and became a milestone in Swedish investigative journalism, subsequently also printed as a book. Sweden's filth, according to Nordström, was not only a social but a moral

problem. Spiritual filth was widespread. The old ideas and the antiquated ideals had to be removed, along with the poor housing. Sweden needed a major clean-up.

The historian of ideas Ronny Ambjörnsson (1996) writes that the leading Social Democrats ran a public-health campaign directed at the Swedish working class. "Hygiene was the buzzword of the thirties. With hygiene they tried to pinpoint an ideal which, beginning with external behaviour, came to involve all dimensions of everyday life, from brushing teeth to the morality of marital intercourse. Dirt was not only what stuck to the skin but also things that crept into thoughts and fantasies."

New Ideals in Swedish Society – the People's Home

> The foundation of the home is the community and the sense of responsibility. A good home recognizes no one who is privileged or neglected, no favourites or step-children. No one there looks down on another, no one seeks to benefit at another's expense, the strong do not repress and plunder the weak. Equality, consideration, and helpfulness prevail in a good home.

These words were spoken by the Social Democratic politician Per Albin Hansson (1885–1946). His ideas about the People's Home were important in creating the new Sweden. In the Swedish welfare state, everybody should have the right to a good home with facilities for washing themselves and their clothes. In his famous speech in 1928 he indicated the labour movement's new direction. The People's Home was a vision of society based on solidarity, equality, security, justice – all would be fine and the state would take care of the weak. Society would be like a good home. The People's Home was founded on an ideology that the state can create and manage growth, prosperity and equality. Even poor people would live a healthy and clean life without disease and dirt.

The People Home of the future would be practical and hygienic, situated close to nature, in other words, in the suburbs, far from the inner city's dark and dirty surroundings. Light, air, and cleanliness became a metaphor for enlightenment and rationality. Clean, bright, practical, rational, functional, and comfortable were the watchwords and ideals of the welfare state. Hygienic housing and the clean society forged an association between body, health, cleanliness, and a new modern social order.

Along with industrialization, new ideas swept over the country, and the 1930s saw the beginning of the modernization of Sweden. A new approach to health emerged and the politically charged housing issue was connected to laundry work. Besides the hygienic aspect there was also a desire to relieve housewives of the time-consuming washing so that they could work outside the home.

The laundry took a lot of time, and by freeing up time for women, they could devote themselves to something else or earn money by working outside the home; this made women responsible for both earning a living and taking care of the laundry. The working housewife became a familiar concept and topic of lively debate. During the 1930s and 1940s the working woman was the ideal; later in the 1950s it turned into the ideal of the strong housewife.

It was society's responsibility to address both residential and laundry issue. Perhaps women's housework was in focus, but the welfare state was created by men. Ideas

about gender roles were clear: the wife was linked to the home and the husband to the nation. The home was the woman's job and workplace. The rationalization of housework would raise its status and make the woman into an expert in housework.

The growth of the modern society was closely related to the housing issue. When new homes were built, the social and democratic aspirations were combined with new hygiene ideals. Everyone had the right to housing – good housing.

Politicians joined representatives of modernism in pursuit of the good home. The new architectural ideas had their major breakthrough at the International Exhibition in Stockholm in 1930, when modernism was presented for the first time to a wider audience. Through political means housing conditions would be improved and a good standard of accommodation would be offered to everyone.

Laundry Room Pioneers

According to entirely credible information, with these machines one person could wash 60 kg of clothes in about 8 hours with much less labour than washing by hand. A wash that takes two days, usually by two people, can easily be done in the machine by one person in a day.

This estimate of the social savings that could be gained if hand washing was replaced by machine washing was made by the Board of Directors of HSB, the Tenants' Savings and Building Association, a housing corporation and popular non-government organization for cooperatively owned flats. HSB, together with the architect Sven Wallander (1890–1968), played a leading role in the modernization of Swedish homes and the establishment of the communal laundry room. The organization was early in putting forward new ideas about how everyday life could be made easier for women.

HSB's very first laundry was started in 1925, in the Röda Bergen area in Stockholm, equipped with electric washing machines and spin dryers. The fact that the laundry room was situated inside the apartment building was new. It would take another few years before the new functional homes were equipped with refuse disposal chutes, hot water, modern bathrooms, kitchens – and communal laundry rooms with modern washing machines.

HSB's machine-equipped laundry rooms were compared to the former laundry rooms, which were impractical and time-consuming, often taking several days. "It is equipped with a washing machine and rinsing basins and tubs in sufficient numbers, usually with a mangle and a drying room with hot-air dryer, located on the same floor as the laundry room. It takes no more than half a day for a big wash, and even drying is included in this time" (Åkerman 1941).

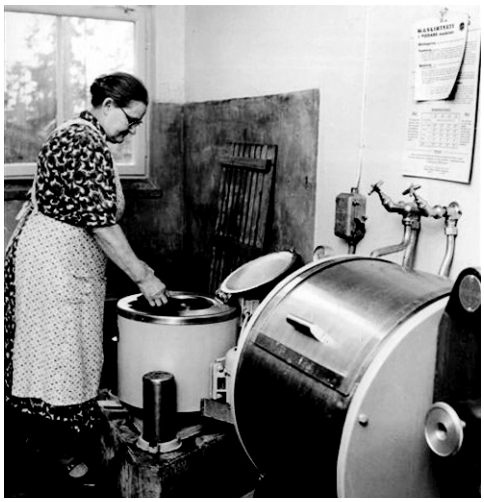

Photo: Karl Heinz Hernried © Nordiska museet.

Besides the fact that people gained access to modern homes, they were also disciplined and learned to live in a modern way. It was primarily the working class whose character was to be improved by this means. The welfare-state ideology contained an element of education, and there were calls for good behaviour and hygienic living.

The socially committed architect Sven Wallander tried to convince housewives about the benefits of the new machine-equipped laundry rooms but failed. At first the innovations aroused opposition and suspicion among housewives. Could technology really be better than washing by hand? Comments among the women that emerged from the interviews were, for example: "machine washing wears clothes out more", "clothes get very badly chafed", "wanted to get some fresh air into the clothes" (Åkerman 1941).

The HSB pioneer Olga Grimlund (married to the politician Otto Grimlund) had better success. She led evening classes where HSB taught how the modern home should be operated. A key issue was the management of the common laundry room. HSB had special hostesses to convince housewives of the benefits. HSB housewives say, for example, "it is so easy", "a pleasure to wash in this kind of laundry room", "I recommend it because it's nice", "If you go down in the morning with the dirty clothes, you will back in the afternoon with the laundry clean and ironed" (Åkerman 1941).

HSB was a predecessor when it came to developing practical homes but was also criticized for building luxury flats. It was surely not necessary for workers to be able to take a bath at home! But to HSB the rise in housing standards was part of the democratic project. HSB participated actively in the development of the laundry issue and was represented in government committees and various studies.

A Symbol of Rational Housework

It must not only be equipped with water, drainage, central heating, electricity, kitchen and sanitary installations, and storage areas, but must also have access to other appropriate equipment such as refuse disposal chutes, laundry room and storage area in the basement or attic (*God Bostad* 1954).

The search for the good dwelling, the good home, characterized the period from the 1930s until the 1980s. Rules were needed when many parties – architects, engineers, politicians, planners, women's organizations – were engaged in the housing problem. The Domestic Research Institute (Hemmens forskningsinstitut, HFI), was founded in 1944 by housewives' leagues and women's organizations. The scheme was financed by the state, and the aim was to rationalize housework through research and consumer information. Domestic science teachers, chemists, nutritional scientists, sociologists, architects, and engineers went into people's homes, and private lives. They researched, timed, examined and measured. The status of the housewife was raised – she was now an expert in housework.

Up until the 1930s, Sweden had the lowest standard of housing in Europe. More, better, and cheaper homes needed to be built. The HFI defined what it regarded as a good standard of housing, and drew up norms and regulations. Being able to do the laundry was one of them.

In 1957 the HFI was restructured and had its name changed to the National In-

Beginning of the 1950s. Photo: Erik Liljeroth © Nordiska museet.

stitute for Consumer Affairs (Statens institut för konsumentfrågor), which is now the Swedish Consumer Agency (Konsumentverket).

The official government report *Kollektiv tvätt* ("Collective laundry"), presented in 1947, argued that the state should take responsibility for the laundry issue. The investigators considered that large social gains could be made if laundry was performed in a more rational way.

Washing facilities with large machines that were used by many households were recommended, and large-scale facilities were also built, which meant that laundry was transported over long distances. Later the idea of factory-like laundries was abandoned in favour of the laundry rooms in the apartment building itself: in short, the nearby common laundry room as we know it today.

HSB housing was only available for those who could afford the down payment, but HSB's example was followed by housing corporations owned by municipalities in the sector.[4] This is a major reason why the laundry room became so common in Sweden. Right from the outset all apartment blocks were to contain public facilities such as child care, refuse storage rooms, meeting rooms, a playhouse and laundry rooms.

The public provision of rental apartments was considerable, and the housing

policies could be accomplished through the municipally owned housing corporation.

Housing policies during the post-war era, together with HSB's visions and the Swedish municipally owned housing corporations, are important reasons for the expansion of communal laundry rooms in Sweden. Government loans financed the construction of public facilities in apartment blocks in every neighbourhood.

Laundry rooms were made standard in newly built apartment blocks in the 1940s, and the real breakthrough came in the 1950s. At the same time, washing machines began to be used in homes but they were costly and not something everyone could afford. The washing machine was a technological revolution which facilitated the work of 1950s housewives. As we have seen, however, the labour-saving home technology was also a way to get women into the labour market.

In 1955 front-loaded Wascator machines had been launched. Photo: Karl Heinz Hernried © Nordiska museet.

The "Washing Book" (*Tvättboken*) published by the National Institute for Consumer Affairs in 1969 described the options available for organizing laundry work: personal washing machines, a laundry room in the building, laundry businesses, public laundries, professional hand-in laundry. "Washing was heavy and time-consuming 10–20 years ago, but can now be significantly simplified by using new fabrics and above all new devices. With access to an automatic washing machine the effort will now be very small."

Expansion was rapid, and after only a few years 80 per cent of all households in apartment buildings had access to laundry rooms. In the 1960s the proportion had risen to 90 per cent. Laundry had become something that families could take care of by themselves. It was not possible to do frequent small washes.

The expansion peaked in the early 1970s, when most of the residents of apartment blocks had access to laundry rooms. At the same time, automatic washing machines were introduced.

The vision of the good home and access to laundry rooms persisted during the coming decades. The issues then concerned machines, environment, and technology. In the 1980s, for example, the harmful effects of dryers were discussed, and the 1990s saw a breakthrough for energy-saving machines.

A Minefield

The laundry room is a minefield. We have nothing to envy in the Middle East. We have our own Gaza Strip in the basement. Do you think it is a coincidence that the laundry room is always built adjacent to the shelter? Of course not. It takes more than a Russian air strike to get Swedes to abandon their laundry time. The laundry room brings to-

gether the holy trinity of the Swedish mentality: order, respect, and punctuality. Keeping a laundry time is an act of good faith, perhaps the only patriotic deed that a Swede can perform. It is important that immigrants learn that quickly (Ezpeleta 2009).

The communal laundry room is not only used for washing clothes. It also gives rise to meetings, irritation, arguments, and conflicts as people with diverse routines share it. Although you are most often alone in there while you do your wash, the communal laundry is a room you share with others. In the laundry your personal habits face those of other people. In the laundry your neighbours' views of dirt, hygiene, and the immediate environment collide with your own ideas. It is a semi-private place, a space between private and public.

Many people have either suffered a laundry room incident themselves or know someone who has. This is the subject of many stories. There is the young man who had lint pressed through his mailbox by an unknown neighbour; the father who found his laundry thrown on the dirty floor when he failed to empty the machine in time; the mother who had an outburst when she had her laundry time stolen for the third time the same week; and the young woman who had her underwear and favourite jeans stolen.

People tend to dwell on the negative experiences. The girl who has had her white sofa covers damaged when the neighbour who had used the machine before her had dyed clothes blue does not keep this tragedy to herself, nor does the mother with allergic children who was forced to buy a washing machine for the apartment when the machine in the laundry room was always filled with cat's hair.

One tenant in five has got into trouble in the laundry room, according to a survey in the tenants' magazine *Hem & Hyra* (2007). The most common conflicts in the communal laundry room are caused by laundry times and cleaning. Not cleaning the tumble dryer's lint filter is considered a violation by some.

The laundry room can be seen as a miniature society where there are sometimes struggles about who is entitled to use the room and the machines. People have defined territories, and when these limits are exceeded, conflicts arise. The proximity and the small space makes us repressed, which sometimes leads to a conflict, says the mediator Eleonore Lind, who is hired by housing corporations to give mediation training in laundry room conflicts. It is also an intimate situation when clothes that you have worn close to the body are exposed.

In 2008, a total of 72 cases of laundry room threats and beatings were reported to the police in the county of Stockholm alone. Who is entitled to use the machines is the most common dispute between neighbours. Beatings, threats, and rapes are also among the crimes committed in communal laundries.

The housing corporations use billboards, information, and technology to avoid conflicts. Many real estate representatives are trained to mediate between residents, and some housing corporations hire a professional mediator to resolve disputes. To prevent such problems, more and more housing corporations are installing digital booking systems, allowing only one household at a time to enter the

laundry room. Other housing corporations are trying large, manned laundry rooms, or installing washing machines in each flat. In order to create a secure environment, cameras and alarm phones are sometimes installed. Today, when new apartment buildings are produced, the housing corporations avoid placing the laundry rooms in the basement where they are hard to reach. Instead they locate the laundry rooms on the ground floor, with windows facing the courtyard or the street. Ensuring transparency is a way to prevent fights and conflicts.

The laundry room is a classic arena for disputes between neighbours, as confirmed by Cecilia Henning, associate professor of social work at the School of Health Sciences, Jönköping University, in a conversation. Everyone has to take responsibility for the communal laundry room, but people may tend not to look after it as well as they do their own home. The boundaries are not clear. This makes the laundry a space exposed to conflicts.

Careful management of superficial neighbourly contacts is more important than one might think. The communal laundry is a room that many people visit. It may therefore be very anonymous. If you do not know who your neighbours are, you will be more sensitive to poor cleaning and problems with the time schedule. Greeting your neighbours and knowing what they look like will increase tolerance, according to Cecilia Henning.

In spite of the conflicts, the Swedish communal laundry room is appreciated. But the community with neighbours, the spontaneous meetings and discussions taking place in laundry rooms across the country every day are not as rewarding as a subject of discussion. It is often the negative experiences that become stories.

Three out of four tenants use the communal laundry room. The majority, 71 per cent, find it sufficiently cleaned and tidy. Most of those who wish for a tidier laundry room are women. The reason for this could be that women spend twice as much time as men doing housework. A Swedish household spends two and half hours on average per week doing the washing, and the greatest gap between the sexes lies in the washing of clothes. While men spend half an hour per week washing clothes, women spend two hours.[5]

Get Your Act Together!

As the board has received complaints about some people not cleaning the laundry after they have used it, it is extremely important that everyone takes responsibility and cleans up after themselves before leaving the laundry. If cleaning does not improve from now on, measures will have to be taken, which might lead to us to bar people from the laundry if they don't clean up after themselves. We hope there will be improvements for everyone's sake!

The Board[6]

In the 1930s, the poor were taught how to keep clean and tidy. Social upbringing was an important idea behind the creation of communal laundry rooms, and it still lives on today. In the 1930s and 1940s poor people were supposed to learn how to become clean and tidy when they moved into the apartments built for large families. Today landlords instruct their residents in how to behave in the communal laundry room. Manufacturers of washing machines and detergents teach people how to use the correct washing cycle and the right amount of detergent. Neighbours educate each other. The angry note in the

laundry room is famous and infamous. Everyone has seen one, no one has ever written one. These notes pass on modest proposals for actions, accusations, insults, often with exclamation marks, capital letters, and angry drawings. The note writers' strategies and styles vary.

But why all these notes? Fear of conflict as well as anonymity are considered to lie behind the inclination of Swedes to communicate through written notes instead of face-to-face. "An angry note means more than a thousand angry words," according to a website (www.argalappen.se) that publishes angry notes from the laundry room.

If you get angry or annoyed with anything in the laundry room, the basic rule is: no angry notes, according to the mediator Eleonore Lind. Instead you should find out what has happened and who is responsible. Contact the person in question, but do not make accusations or assumptions. Ask questions instead. Be specific and tell the person what you have seen, heard, or smelled. Suggest actions, formulated as questions. Perhaps everything is just a misunderstanding.

Spotless Clothing and Contaminated Environment

In bygone peasant society, people wore their working clothes from Monday to Saturday. On Saturday night it was time to bath and change clothes. On Sunday they dressed up to go to church. On Monday the unwashed working clothes were put on again. Now it is different. Many people wash their clothes after wearing them only one day.

Laundry removes dirt and the clothes become clean. But what is clean and dirty? When is a sweater dirty? Does it have to be washed after it has been worn once, or does it get another chance? At the same time, studies show how both environment and body are affected by the frequent washing. The increase in allergies and eutrophic waters is partly the result of overdosing of detergents and fabric softeners.

Each time a machine runs, it takes 60 litres of water and 1 kilowatt-hour of electricity. Add to that the energy used for drying. A laundry room with fully loaded machines running on the right cycle will keep down costs and spare the environment. Private washing machines in the apartments increase the amount of small wash loads and hence the consumption of water.

Relative Dirt

> The battle against dirt, impurity, and disorder is the classic struggle against chaos (Frykman & Löfgren 1987:166).

Cultural ideas about dirt and cleanliness permeate the whole of contemporary society. What is dirty to one person might be clean to someone else. Different cultures, groups, people, and historical eras have their own beliefs and rules about what is dirty or clean. The view of dirt and purity says a lot about the taboos and morality in society, according to the cultural anthropologist Mary Douglas (Frykman & Löfgren 1980; Johansson & Miegel 1996:86ff). By understanding what is seen as dirty or clean, we know about the categorization system that forms the basis for the organization of social life. Dirt is something relative; an object is not dirty itself but is considered dirty depending on where and when it is

Photo: Karl Heinz Hernried
© Nordiska museet.

placed. Mary Douglas cites the old definition of dirt as *matter out of place*. Food is clean on the plate but dirty on the floor, hair and nails are nice on the body but disgusting when found in food or in the clean laundry. Washing powder is clean in the box but dirty when poured outside the detergent dispenser.

In society there is a large amount of classification that is expressed in the norms, regulations, laws, decrees, categories, and boundaries. Doing your laundry is a way to organize your life. What does not fit, what is different or strange, is dirty. A stain on the shirt breaks the order. It must therefore be removed. The perception of dirt and cleanliness is about much more than the actual spots and stains.

When we clean, wash, and set things in place we restore the moral order. What is wrong has to be removed or brought back to its rightful place. Creating order is a kind of social ritual, which ultimately means that we restore society and relationships. Sorting clothes as clean or dirty is simultaneously a way to make a moral assessment.

Many people sort clothes into dark and light shades, and according to washing temperature, but there are other cultural differences when it comes to sorting the laundry. The Romani people's tradition of sorting clothes is perhaps the most famous example. They have a whole system of proper behaviour and examples of moral judgements. In an article by Nora Weintraub (2004) some women friends from different backgrounds discuss how they sort the laundry. A Romani woman says that her people sort everything – socks and underwear separately as well as towels and face towels for the lower body, and of course men's and women's clothes are kept apart. A woman of Egyptian background separates women's and men's clothing. A friend from Syria does not mix

underwear with garments that have not been in direct contact with the body. Another person would not mix baby clothes with adult clothes, tablecloths with sheets or handkerchiefs.

Is it wasted energy to follow the old traditions from a time when today's efficient machines were not in use, or are they habits worth preserving? Physical purity is inseparable from moral purity. Historically, dirt has been associated with guilt. Being clean means being free of debt, having a clear conscience. Moreover, purity traditions are also about identity, about showing who you are. To the Romani people, the purity rules are an important part of their identity which is linked to their historically difficult living conditions. Habits persist and do not change so easily even though society changes.

The Laundry Room Now and Tomorrow

It can be like the situation abroad, where people either have their own washing machine or use a laundromat in the neighbourhood. Or the laundry rooms might change into assembly points with ironing facilities, children's playroom and a social space next door.[7]

A communal laundry room is a natural feature today in most apartment blocks in Sweden. The laundry room was created during a time when everyone was supposed to achieve the best material standard. Prosperity and growth were on the agenda. That everyone would be able to wash was a question of democracy and accessibility. The original idea behind the communal laundry room was to create good economy and community.

Today other issues have to be resolved. The main challenges are to make the laundry room environment-friendly and to prevent neighbours from getting into conflict with each other. Technology is used to manage both these challenges. In the future, we might have to get used to more collective solutions in order to create a sustainable society, such as car-pooling and extended public transport systems.

Development in late twentieth and early twenty-first century has taken different paths. In some cases, the collective idea has been abandoned. Laundry rooms have been closed because of feuds between neighbours, and in some newly built apartment blocks there are washing machines and dryers installed in each flat – no communal laundry room, no fuss. Other housing companies, on the other hand, invest in laundry rooms and carry out various improvements. There are two approaches: the construction of more and smaller laundry rooms, or of fewer and larger ones.

To make the laundry room function more smoothly, lock cylinders which can be booked with a key are now being replaced with digital booking and lock systems. This way no booked times are blocked due to forgotten cylinders, and all the hours can be used efficiently, but it is also a way to prevent neighbours from taking each other's times and to regulate access to the laundry room. Only those who have booked can enter. There are fewer encounters between neighbours, and the risk of theft is reduced.

The digital booking board is always connected to the laundry room, but in many houses with a digital system it is also possible to book and change the laundry times online. The electronic system

Photo: Karl Heinz Hernried

makes the laundry room into both an accessible and an enclosed space.

The system has several weaknesses or strengths depending on how you look at it, besides the fact that the community will disappear. The system is relentless and not negotiable. Anyone who forgets to pick up his or her laundry in time will simply be locked out. The only way they can gain access to their clothes is to wait for the person who has booked the next time. There are stories of people writing polite notes to ask to have their newly washed clothes put outside the laundry room door. And there is no mercy for those who take a chance and start another machine even though time is short. When the washing time is over the machines are turned off, ready or not. Is technology a tool that makes life easier or a barrier that cuts out people and prevents human encounters?

Technology has also contributed to energy-saving machines and automatic detergent dosage. This avoids overdose and detergent spill. And it is not up to each individual to choose an environmentally friendly detergent. The housing company has already done that. The new computerized washing machines weigh the laundry and adjust the water consumption to suit the weight, and the dryer switches off when the clothes are dry. Alternatives to detergent already exist, for example, washing nuts and laundry balls. How effective they are remains to be seen.

The future laundry room will be even more about the environment. Washing

machine manufacturers, architects, detergent manufacturers and housing construction companies are working to achieve an environmentally friendly laundry room and sustainable washing, with less wear on clothes and a fresh perspective on purity. In order to become more environmentally friendly, less consumption of water and energy is required as well as improved detergent, and above all, that consumers change their washing behaviour.

In the future we are expected to have machines that will wash with a third as much water, with almost half the energy consumption, and with drying fans powered by sound waves. The project S'wash (Sustainable domestication washing, run by IVL Swedish Environmental Research Institute) is about developing sustainable washing. But the ability to wash totally without water is also a vision for the future. Even today there are washing machines designed for larger laundries that wash in liquid carbon dioxide. If it were possible to take dry clothes out of the machine, drying rooms, drying cabinets, and tumble dryers would become superfluous. A great deal of energy could thus be saved (Cavallin 2009).

As we have seen, the laundry room is no longer hidden in inaccessible basements. In newly built apartment blocks the laundry room is located on ground level with windows. This makes the room both more accessible and secure. Sometimes the laundry facilities are placed in separate buildings in the inner courtyard, which means that the laundry room can be used day and night since no neighbours are disturbed. Another trend is that laundry rooms are given a more comfortable and warm interior design, with tiles and better lighting. Sometimes architects are hired to choose the design and colour scheme of the laundry room. In some laundry rooms there even are corners with books, television and music.

Those who believe in the future of the common laundry always insist that collective solutions are superior for the environment. But not everyone is ready to share dirt and machines with others. Anyone who can afford it can buy their way out of laundry matters and feuds with neighbours. Especially in condominiums, it is common that people have their own washing machine and dryer. The dissolution of collective solutions is a general trend in today's society, with privatization, deregulation, the selling off of public housing, fewer members of trade unions and student unions. There is also an increasing group who do not use the laundry room by simply paying to have their clothes washed by professional cleaners. Boring routine work is assigned to somebody else. In Stockholm and other major cities in Sweden, there are laundries on every other street corner where you can have five shirts washed and ironed for around 100 kronor. In some circles it is also common to hand in sheets for washing and ironing. Women's double responsibility for unpaid laundry and paid work continues today, and the concept of the working housewife that was created half a century ago is unfortunately still relevant.

At the same time, it has become more common to hire housekeepers to take care of laundry and cleaning, perhaps especially in the big cities. The bene-

ficial tax deduction rules for household services means that it is not just high income earners, but also stressed middle-class families with children who pay for home care. Washing machine manufacturers such as Electrolux are thus facing new challenges when it is not the same person who buys and uses the machine. Anyone who has paid for the new advanced machine may have never used it.

Is Sweden thus back where it all began when the laundry was a class issue?

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Notes

1 The word *tvättstuga* is attested from 1640 according to the dictionary *Nationalencyklopediens ordbok* and Rune Palm, Department of Scandinavian Languages, Stockholm University.

2 This article is a condensed version of the book *Tvättstugan: En svensk historia* (2009) that was connected to the exhibition "Tvättstugan" at the Nordiska Museet (November 2009–March 2010). The author was responsible for the research. Collecting "angry notes" and personal stories related to communal laundry rooms was part of the research; this material is now kept in the archives of the museum. I am grateful to the following people for personal communications: Cecilia Henning, School of Health Sciences, Jönköping University; Roland Johansson, HSB; Eleonore Lind, medling.nu; Ulrika Sax, SABO.

3 From the novel *Springkällan* by Kerstin Ekman (1976). This section is based on Ramberg (2004), Ranby (2009), Rosén (2002), Larsson (2004), Molina (2008).

4 The public housing is run by municipally owned housing corporations with a non-profit purpose. The amount of public housing produced in the 1940s and 1950s is rather large in Sweden.

5 According to a survey in the magazine *Hem & Hyra* 2009 and SCB time use study in 2000/01.

6 This note was sent in from a housing corporation in Liljeholmen, Stockholm.

7 Klas Hall, Marketing director HBV, purchase department of SABO (Swedish Association of Public Housing Companies) in the magazine *Bofast* (no. 3, 2009).

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Home and the Longing for Easy Familiarity

By Sarah Holst Kjær

Late modern, urban couple's relationships are performed at home as an act of longing for relational intimacy through things. The materiality of the home – furniture, laundry, dishes – can be defined as a cultural third through which couples relate, make sense and evaluate their mutual feelings of nearness or absence. Thus, romantic couples create and negotiate positive or negative feelings through the cultural and material order of their home.

An ethnological, qualitative research-study on the everyday life of romantic coupling is the point of departure. Between 2003 and 2005 I studied how couples performed and defined good (and bad) coupling through cultural symbols, fantasies, places and things. The fieldwork was done in private homes and on urban arenas of leisure. The focus of the interviews was to understand 'relationship normality' practiced by heterosexual, middle-class, well-educated, reflexive and urban couples between the age of 23 and 50 in Copenhagen, Denmark (Kjær 2009).

This article discusses one aspect of late modern coupling, namely the kind of intimacy which happens in the living room. I discuss domestic things on this arena – the sofa, newspaper, TV-set and computer games. Being present in the sometimes unpredictable course of everyday life events, things are used by the couple to interpret and evaluate the emotional intensity of their interpersonal intimacy. In many ways handling the materiality of home is not only a skill which points to materiality itself. Handling is also a practice by which one demonstrates attentive or indifferent personal attitudes or what is considered to be good or bad habits.

The interviews not only present the lazy, resting or pleasurable sofa-routines after a long day at work or on a Sunday afternoon. Domestic things and relationship interpretations activate more common ideals and anti-ideals of the male/female-relationship: Through the couples' engagement with things we also gain access to larger present cultural ideologies on individual time opposing family time, gender-role stereotypes and their choreographies, and human power-positions and strategies.

Twenty Four Pieces

Two adult grandchildren, their parents and I spend an afternoon in 2003 packing up Carlo and Gerda's home. Carlo and Gerda had lived in a terrace house in the outskirts of Copenhagen for over fifty years. The first years they lived together with their four children and later on they lived there by themselves.

On our way to the house the grandchildren told me that they had visited Carlo and Gerda almost every day when they were children. While their mother was at work they had done their homework at their kitchen-table, they were skipped off to sports at the right hour, and sometimes – in order to create small mundane celebrations – Gerda had made a dessert of ice-cream and sweet liqueur from a bottle she once had bought on a holiday in Spain – using the special occasions to speak about the world. In my field notes I wrote:

> The terrace house has been given up and Carlo and Gerda have moved to a home for the elderly. Some years ago, Gerda was the first one to move out and now it is time for Carlo. At the home, Carlo has got a room located one floor below Gerda's.

Yesterday morning the grandchildren took Carlo to the home. They sat him in a couch in the main living room and went to get Gerda.

Back at the house, glass and china are put out on the dining table. Twenty four pieces of each item are going to be divided into smaller units and the family will inherit. Cupboards and drawers are emptied and books on the shelves are ready to be put in boxes and circulated. Family pictures are lined up and bear witness of the time when Carlo and Gerda was younger. Tenerife, Mallorca and Greenland are some of the places they have had the money and time to travel to. There is also a black and white picture of Gerda with a couple of friends at the International Worker's Day.

Now Carlo and Gerda are ill and old and do not remember many things – not even their grandchildren. But they remember each other as Gerda enters the living room. The young people had counted the nineteen times – or something like that – Carlo had kissed Gerda on the cheek.

The number of kisses is the only thing told as we pack up the house. We do things in silence. Carlo and Gerda will never come back.

That afternoon, the sense of loss defined the course of the events. The objects of the home were attached with both new and old meaning. While the younger generation reminded themselves of the old couple, the afternoon had a dense atmosphere which defined the family's performance. Carlo and Gerda's home had changed in the modus of the situation. A long life had materialised itself and the things had become objects of inspection. Now an old collection of objects could be split into new collections. Things could be distributed and they could rephrase the large family into smaller, nuclear families of the grandchildren. Things could transfer old emotional meaning into the lives of the next generation. They were the memories of long lasting love.

Home and Feelings

Certain feelings are supposed to be felt at certain places, as the English sociologist Mike Featherstone (1994:62) writes. He continues: Still, home is not a place where only certain feelings are accepted. On the contrary the cultural logic of home is based on the idea of "the private" where feelings and their many dimensions are accepted between people who know each other: Cruel, unpleasant, boring, safe, secure, loving, joyful or happy feelings are associated to home. At the same time, Featherstone explains, home is also a place involved in cultural fantasies of the unbroken kinship, the continuation of social bonds and long-lasting emotions. In order to accept the idea that the private contains both pleasant and unpleasant feelings, a certain level of self-control, discipline and instruction by others are culturally acknowledged social performances of home.

"Home" can furthermore be defined as a place of a local modus where people who are significant to one another engage in particular social situations. Cultural rules for emotional commitment and conduct, like Featherstone describes it, are more or less recognized by the people involved. But the local modus of home narrows the private even further down by pointing to a specific knowledge about *this* place and *these* people. Social situations at home can remind the individual of how one is supposed – or not supposed - to act exactly here. This local type of social performance indicates a specific and precise way of knowing each other by being part of a common life world and its experiences (Gullestad 1989:14, 23).

As part of people's identity, home can additionally be understood as a tool for association. Through both the cultural and local meanings of home one can explore how a group of people in a certain era, geographical setting and particular context organises their everyday life and create meaning out of their experiences, thoughts and feelings (Londos 1993: 44-45). Thus home presents both cultural ideologies of the private and local and social agreements between people who share a common life world.

Beginnings

Some of the couples in my research project had lived together for a few years when the interviews took place. Their great interest was to create an everyday life practice that would uphold the cultural ideal of the long-lasting, romantic relationship where the couple will progress into becoming a family. Progress was understood in natural, logical and hence positive terms. This meant negotiating the 'correct' relational ways of balancing individual work hours and leisure time spend in public with the project of becoming a family. Both man and woman regarded self-realisation and social time as equally important.

The couples charged their home and its materiality with specific emotional meanings. In general they understood their home along the line of the cultural male/female-dichotomy where public space corresponds with the male and private space with the female. Thus there was a presupposition that home was the woman's ambition and engagement which at the same time produced a presupposition that home was not the male's ambition. This presupposition was, by the woman, expressed as a fear of being too much, too active and too controlling. By the man it was expressed as a fear of being too less, too passive and too controlled. This male/female-dichotomy was considered negative and reminded the couple's on how a male/female-relationship was not supposed to be. Thus the dichotomy referred to how one should correct ones gender-identity and gender-performance in order to live up to the cultural fantasies of being an ideal man or woman with more flattering gender-attributes such as the male being strong and leading and the woman being delicate and following (Kjær 2009). It is important to note that this is a common cultural fantasy – and hence also the couples' – which stimulates a self-disciplining ambition of wanting to improve man and woman in order to correct a relationship-balance into something more suitable and acceptable.

But the cultural male/female-dichotomy did not refer to the couples' everyday life practice: Both the man and the woman had full time jobs and individual leisure activities. They had no difficulties in equally sharing and dividing the domestic responsibility in the sense that the person – male or female – with less work-related stress took the largest duty at home. Accordingly, when using this fantastic male/female-dichotomy it was a way of culturally and rhetorically pointing to an emotional problem in the relationship. It was a way to appeal for things to be different and a way to express feelings of distance, absence and longing.

Anne, a woman around thirty, explained how she perceived home and living together with her husband Søren:

Anne: The home is a material frame-work around a relationship. It is a project for many – including me. Søren said it very clearly when we moved in together: This would be our first great project! And he would be a man around the house. He would do all the practical things and this would be a wonderful thing we'd have. I have asked him what it means symbolically in our relationship that he has never done any work at the apartment. But he doesn't think I can put it like that. The apartment isn't finished and hasn't been for three years.

Sarah: Why does it need to be done?

Anne: It would bring energy to other things. Everything is blocked. Time, energy and money. It feels like a story of eternity, when it should have been a lift-off story. And *then* we could get the baby and the car!

Anne and Søren seemed to have agreed about their building project when moving in three years ago. Something was unfinished, although Søren disagreed with Anne's interpretation.

In Anne's story there is an association between the evolvement of the relationship from couple to family and the material order of the home. The home presented materiality; the practical things Anne and Søren had planned to do. Thus home presented gendered relationship fantasies, changing the couple into a family by Søren keeping his promise of being a handy-man around the house. This male figure was not only pointing to a cultural ideal of masculinity. It also worked as Anne's rhetorical gender-trope by which she appealed for things to be different.

The materiality of home became a symbol – as Anne said – of two people's different expectations to and different understandings of their relationship. There were fantastic and ideal goals and actual facts of homemaking. The American sociologist Keri Brandt (2006:143) defines "the symbolic" as a rule-based type of association. This way of thinking follows fixed rules by which a bond between an image and a cultural convention is established: When one sees an image, one is culturally trained to pre-understand (a single or many of) its narrative conventions. At least to Anne the order of home referred – in an analogue way – to the relationship's emotional order. The unfinished home became a symbol of the unfinished cultural convention that she and Søren were supposed to be headed in the direction of the family.

Anne presented metaphors of stagnation. Energy and time had been blocked and the building project had become a story of eternity. By these metaphors Anne suggested that she was waiting for an absent, future storyline of their relationship.

Domestic Things

Waiting points to the different social processes and practices of maintaining an intimate relationship. Practices of relationship-maintenance can be performed through available and close to hand domestic things. As the English anthropologist Daniel Miller (1998:18) explains in his article Making Love in Supermarkets – a study on English housewives – shopping for groceries is "primarily an act of love that in its daily conscientiousness becomes one of the primary means by which relationships of love and care are constituted by practice".

Similarly in order to sustain family-relationships, this interpersonal feeling of waiting is often about handling the materiality of home, writes the Norwegian anthropologist Jorun Solheim (2001:36-43).

In her study on late-modern fishing families in the Western coastal landscape of Norway, the men of the families are away from two weeks up to six months at the time. The women in their turn stay indoors except when they engage in religious work or social activities with the children. Otherwise they are at home. They are waiting, as Solheim writes. The women keep an eye on the weather and investigate if the ocean is still or stormy. They make preparations around the house and count the days for the return of their husbands. Their waiting is closely connected to the dangers of the sea and to feelings of uncertainty and hope. Although the women master domestic routines and are able to maintain the house completely, they nevertheless pick out small tasks in the home for their husbands to repair when they return. Domestic things become part of a romantic ritual that bears witness not of the lack of the women's skills, but to the missing husband who is awaited and who is remembered despite his absence. When he comes back, the to-do-list of things is a token of affection that confirms that he is wanted and belongs to this particular household.

Absence

Home as a place for feelings is sometimes embodied by the waiting woman and the absent man. Studying the paintings of the 16th century artist Pieter de Hooch (1629–1689) the Dutch art historian Heidi de Mare (1999:21, 28, 30) investigates how male and female are portrayed in de Hooch's paintings. She comes to the conclusion that every male figure is located at door entrances – just about to leave or enter the house. Every female figure is on the contrary portrayed in a chair, occupied with a piece of needlework or one or two children in her lap. Sometimes she looks out the window.

This symbolism does not expose an ideal family-constellation of the 16th century Holland. Neither does it expose a nuclear family form which did not exist in an era with no efficient birth-control. According to de Mare the paintings are rather an exercise in style and technique by which the three dimensional space of home is explored. Furthermore the paintings are a study of facial expressions: The figures gaze at each other, maybe or maybe not longing for each other. Al though the association between home and (family) feelings of intimacy is said to have arisen only in the 18th century, there is still, as de Mare discusses, a certain relationship between the male and female in the paintings: The woman is portrayed as the embodied embrace of the home – a place for the man to leave from and return to.

With de Mares art historian study one can define "absence" as a hetero-emotion: Man and woman are absent from each other because they are culturally expected to embody different arenas – him by the door and her by the window. They are unsynchronised in time and space but maintain their relationship through practices of dreaming, longing and waiting.

Returning to the couples in my study it thus became a performance of the cultural hetero-emotion to engage in this conventional absence between man and woman. Absence – wanting it, necessitating it, claiming it, ignoring it, or opposing it – was, to the couples, a self-evident way by which two people created their social unit

and showed that they cared. In other words they made use of cultural symbolism in order to perform their significant feelings.

Longing

Examples of late modern longing was given by the interviewed couples. Most of their feeling-descriptions on absence evolved around the time spend outside the home and away from their partner. In order to pursue their career and their individual leisure activities, engaging in the routines of the home, sharing meals or spending time together was contested.

The couples shared public space in equal ways and in this sense they were urban career people who had changing but identical responsibilities at home while the other was away. Still, the couples borrowed from the hetero-emotion of absence. They were occupied with the cultural fantasy that a woman is closely connected to home and hence to the responsibility of engaging her husband in relationship-intimacy. This was a responsibility that both man and women identified as the woman's activity. Public engagements – especially work – activated cultural feelings of the woman longing for more and the man's bad conscience of delivering less. This asymmetry contained fears of detachment and divorce. In this sense the implicit meaning of absence in the hetero-emotion motivated them to 'work on' their relationship. Divorce was not agreeable either to them or to the cultural ideal of a life-long romance.

Torben and Benedikte, a couple in their forties, explained longing for shared time between them:

> Torben: I like my work and feel that it is very stimulating. But I am often tired when I come home. The time I spend around the house is generally spent on practical things and on time together with Benedikte. I think she understands it the way that I don't priorities our personal life together because I work a lot. But I don't work a lot more than average hours.
>
> Benedikte: It is not a surprise that it is me who feels dissatisfied. During the years I have been begging and nagging for us to do something together. I have suggested that we take up courses in car-repairing, needle work – anything. Just as long as Torben decides! Otherwise I will be pleading all the time.

Torben and Benedikte came to embody the cultural expectations to public and private arenas as gendered. Their situation of longing and the creation of mutual feelings were formed along the lines of the cultural expectations to an unsatisfied woman and to the man unable to satisfy because of his analogue relationship to public space. The couple performed recognisable hetero-emotions of absence in order to express importance of intimacy. But they also demonstrated a cultural fantasy of the 'correct' asymmetrical male/female-relationship since the actual time spend apart not was extensive, but only a little extra than average hours, as Torben explained. Debating work hours became an agreed-upon opportunity to perform feelings of mutuality.

The Sofa

Interpersonal feelings of absence or nearness could also be performed in the sofa at home. A domestic object could strengthen or ease feelings of longing. The couples described this particular piece of furniture and its body-object practices as ways to evaluate the presence of intimacy in the

relationship. Drifting into mutual feelings, the sofa became a situating practice where two bodies, synchronised in time and space, could finally meet and engage. The piece of furniture offered techniques of intimacy to the late-modern couple.

Olav, who lived together with Maria – both in their late twenties, explained how intimacy was practiced in their sofa:

> Olav: The sofa is about closeness and the intimacy of being silent together. It is almost spelled out. We feel very secure by having each other. This is how I feel about it. It is very nice just to sit next to each other in the same sofa, but we do not have to do the same things. I can watch TV while Maria is reading the newspaper.

What did Olav mean by the phrase that silence is "almost spelled out"? Could this piece of furniture carry any particular connotations of relaxation, intimacy and closeness?

Most people today would probably approve of these connotations but studying the cultural history of the sofa it is clear that the techniques of intimacy had to be taught. How should one lead a gentle conversation, how should one participate in resting, how should two people make themselves comfortable in this peculiar piece of furniture that was not a bed neither a chair? The new European sofa-users needed instruction and guidance. Ethnologists and art historians set out to describe the sofa's implicit meanings.

The sofa was designed in the Orient and with this geographical origin it soon became a piece of furniture that represented (Western) conceptions of the East: The exotic, mystic, and sensuous. In the 1950s the Danish ethnologist Tage Heft (1953:76, my translation) made a pictorial description of how the sofa arrived to Europe:

> The Oriental *suffah*, which means a blanket-covered podium placed along the walls of the living room, came to Europe already in the 16th century. In France it was developed into a sitting-bench for at least six people, with armrests but backless. Later it was also seen without armrests and had the oriental names; the *ottoman* and *devan*. This honored piece of furniture came into discredit in Southern Europe when Crébillon in 1742 wrote a pornographic novel by the name: *Le sopha*. It got so far that no clergyman dared to own a piece of furniture under that name. But when the sofa came to Denmark and replaced the old wall-bench it was acknowledged as the most treasured piece of furniture of the living room.

On its way through France to Scandinavia the connotations of the sofa changed – according to Heft – from something exotic to something erotic and even pornographic. This can be interpreted as a dramatisation by the ethnologist himself, though. According to the German art historian Andreas Mayer's (2006) study, the novel *Le sopha* started a scandal partly because of the lightly dressed women depicted in the book. But the main discredit was more about the sofa resembling a bed and in this sense it would be inappropriate at the living room's official arena to sleep or relax where you were expected to stay awake, socialise and entertain your quests.

The sofa was, nonetheless, met by adoration in a sofa-manual written by the Austrian art historian Jakob von Falke in the year of 1880. Most new sofa-users in Europe, he meant, could learn to master its exotic relaxation- and pleasure techniques. In the manual von Falke recommends all Europeans to surrender to its soft, tender and indefinable curves which, in his words, had "the advantage of tenderness sliding into human relationships and opening the doors of the mind". In the late 18th century the sofa made it possible

for oneself to be transported to something different. Now the social exchange of daydreaming, fantasising and imagining became the highest form of lifestyle-fashion (after Wittmann 2006:84).

Meanwhile, and at least around the year 2000, the sofa became a place for self-contemplation (Andersdotter 2001: 1). The furniture was also turned into an instrument of self-presentation: According to a study on young urban couples moving in together, the Danish anthropologist Trine Wulf-Andersen (2000) has suggested that the sofa is much more than mere comfort, relaxation or aesthetics. Instead, she found, that the piece of furniture accentuated and reminded the owner of his or hers life-history. When moving in together, the choice of sofa – his or hers – became a question of identity. The living room could be decorated with grandmother's antique sofa but also with the 'victory couch' – a magic sofa from which important soccer-matches had been watched and won. To the couples, selecting the sofa became a question of which one of the parties that could compose a personal background more significant than the other's.

When a market-survey by the Swedish furniture chain IKEA declared the sofa the most popular piece of furniture amongst Scandinavian adult males from the age of thirty to forty-four, at the same time as Scandinavian women of the same age used the sofa significantly less frequent, the sofa had become an item of age- and gender statistics.[1] At this point it was possible to imagine all sorts of domestic scenarios. If the sofa previously had offered connotations of sensuous intimacy it now was an IKEA-packaging of possible emotional distance and gender-drama between man and woman.

Everyday Meditation

As active career-people the interviewed couples were to a large extend influenced by late-modern imperatives of self-realisation and work-ethics (to work (on), improve and achieve). These ideals were not only active on the public arena but also understood as relevant in the couple's interpersonal relationship.

Sprawling on the sofa with the everyday-meditation of watching TV, playing computer games or watching DVD as Sunday morning entertainment should be balanced with more challenging occupations such as newspaper-reading, conversation or planning the future, the couples explained. The sofa thus referred to a negotiation between couple-time and individual time which again pointed to feelings of nearness and absence. In other words, the sofa's early-modern romantic exchange of tenderness, imagining and fantasising was still in fashion but now competed with late-modern styles of self-contemplation and media-consumption.

I asked Anne what a disagreement between herself and Søren would look like. She explained:

Anne: We are usually very friendly to each other and kiss and hug. But something is lurking. Every three or four months I explode. I rage and mix everything together into one big truth about Søren. It is like an outburst of a slogan!

Sarah: What kind of truth?

Anne: That he is lazy and sits in the sofa playing games all the time. *Xbox*, *Playstation* and other computer games. He says it's to relax and have entertainment. I think it is all right but sometimes it's too much.

Sarah: And then you explode?

Anne: Yes. I just think it's getting out of hand. It becomes some sort of a non-existence. I think it is okay but he can easily spend a whole weekend playing. If he has a week off from work he will play.

Sarah: How to you solve your disagreement?

Anne: Then he looses his temper and starts crying and the conversation starts from there. At this point, I think we have some really good conversations. We unravel a lot and cut through what ever is on TV and what ever misunderstanding of who said what and how everything was meant and interpreted and why things were said the way they were. It all makes sense.

Sarah: Does he feel that way too?

Anne: He says he does. He also thinks it's hard. He says something in him wants to avoid it. He believes it's a male-thing, that men don't like a negotiation-conflict. Men want it to be easy and there is not supposed to be any trouble.

Sarah: Do you not feel the same? Even though you are not a man?

Anne: Yes. But it is characteristics he attributes men.

In Anne's narrative Søren had explained that "something in him" – as in other men – wanted to avoid confrontation, and by this strategy of gender-essentialism and gender-generalisation and he inscribed himself in a general cultural fantasy of a male order.

According to the Australian historian Robert Connell (1996) a "male order" has the purpose of including and excluding people on grounds of their sex – an attribute as difficult to change as e.g. ethnicity. Still, the intention is to separate males from females and prefer men over women. This is a structural feature in most Western societies, Connell explains, and a female order is in consequence considered inferior. The male will distinguish himself by creating distance to females and female orders. He, other men and even women will consider a male to be less a man if he is a part of a female order. Thus by engaging in the superior male order, a man receives a set of attractive and culturally 'correct' masculinity rules, norms and ideals. In return, he has to uphold the order by living up to, performing and promoting its expectations, for instance by practically and rhetorically including males and excluding females. In this perspective, the man will find it less desirable to engage with the woman. Instead he will prefer the male order and will regard its cultural ideals and fantasies – male absence, male things and male feelings – as more valuable.

Because domestic conflict (with a woman) – according to Søren – was not for men, he could rhetorically separate himself from negative feelings and uncomfortable negotiation. The "male-thing" disconnected male and female and thus Anne and Søren were detached. Nevertheless this gender-fantasy was also an appeal for harmony and easy familiarity.

The American litterateur James B. Twitchell (2006:10, 147-149) has studied the combination of male-absence and the male-wish for harmony. In his book *Where Men Hide* he discusses how men perform the masculinity-practice of retreating and reducing oneself. Though huts, shacks and basements are some of the detached places which first come into mind, the most intelligent hiding place and the very fine art of disappearing is, according to Twitchell, so obvious that one tends to forget it. Of course it is right in the

middle of the living room in front of the TV-set and "in the eye of the hurricane" as he calls it. Twitchell probably refers to home as the woman's domain, but he also – by this natural metaphor – uses a widespread dramatisation of the woman who is attributed with nature's body and hence spontaneous, wild and even child-like feelings (Kjær 2007). Comfortable and relaxed the man has "withdrawn himself" and "cut down on life" in the sofa, as Twitchell writes.

"Withdrawal" means withdrawal from something or someone. The performance of male-reduction can hardly be played out without the presence of a woman and her culturally given responsibility of home and husband. If this fantasy did not exist, there would be nothing and no one to withdraw from. This obvious hiding place within reach of the woman – her appeals, attention and possible services – presents the hetero- emotion of male absence, but since the living room is his favourite hiding place, everyone around him will have to show consideration. If his hiding place is discovered or contested, he is willing to fight for easy familiarity, Twitchell claim. In this sense the male's hetero-emotion of absence also include strong feelings of belonging.

The Power of Definition

In 2005 a media-debate rose on the question of "gender-power". In the newspaper *Dagbladet* the Norwegian anthropologist Runar Døving stated that the woman was "the master of the house" – she had the authority. "Power" manifested itself as the woman being in command of everyday life. She decided the clothing and food of the family. She was the "hostess" as Døving uttered. Both male and female abused their gender-power: Women would use their tears while men would use violence. This created a general sympathy for the woman but not for the man. Again the woman was the domineering part, Døving suggested.[2]

Considering the cultural and historical values of public and private space there is not much power attached to being the hostess at home or choose clothes or food. But 'power and dominance' is nonetheless a strong theme when discussing the male/female-relationship in the context of home. Although Døving only considers the cultural fantasy of the dominant woman of the home, and in this sense avoids discussing larger issues on societal power structures, the question is still what "power" has to be made of in order to be defined as interpersonal dominance.

Defined by interpersonal, unpleasant feelings, and returning to the narrative of Anne and Søren's sofa-conflict, Anne had, on the one hand, made Søren cry: She had exploded, said hurtful things and demanded at change. Was this an act of power, powerlessness or something else? On the other hand, Søren had lost his temper: He had not wanted to take part of the conflict and thought it was commonplace that men preferred comfort, cosiness and easy familiarity. Was this an act of power, a defence or something else? At least, ease and unease was negotiated.

The British sociologist Beverly Skeggs (1997) has discussed "power" in relation to the otherwise pleasant phenomenon "ease". One could be let to believe that a free expression of negative and positive feelings at home is allowed and accepted.

Still, as Skeggs argues, one risks breaking the contract of a relationship if one challenges the consensus-rule that ease will maintain a social relationship. Those, who do not agree that ease is comforting will either, have to become accustomed to harmony, or risk breaking the social contract.

In addition, the Norwegian social psychologist Hanne Haavind (2000:200, 215) has explained that "power" needs to specified into a "power of definition" concept. The person who decides the outcome of a situation i.e. whether the circumstance is comfortable or uncomfortable is, at the same time, the superior part, because this person defines the emotional imperatives. Thus when interpersonal feelings are defined as appropriate, inappropriate, comfortable or uncomfortable the decision-making person also has the power of definition.

Since ease is the ideal social convention and consensus of home, it is culturally inappropriate and wrong to prefer the uneasy. Even the person advocating for unpleasantness would understand the possible consequences of breaking the social contract. In contrast, a person who understands how to fit his or her own perception of relationship-ease to the cultural ideals of home-consensus will in consequence become the person in power to define how things should – or should not – be. Power is thus possessed by the person who masters the conventions of a cultural power structure. This structure will, in return, underline the individual's power to define.

Although Anne, as a woman was culturally expected to be the master of the house and one could even claim that she had a dominating attitude, she was still breaking the home's social conventions of easy familiarity – a convention she herself as a cultural individual approved of. In this sense she 'knew' she could risk the social contract of the relationship. On the other hand Søren extended his body and being into the cultural order of home as ease, he fought for it and mastered it. In this sense he united himself with larger agreed-upon comfort-ideals, which Anne departed from, and this gave him the power to decide what kind of feelings that were appropriate, and, how and what to discuss. The power of definition was furthermore underlined by a male order rhetoric which meant that not only Søren but all men would feel and think the exact same way as he did.

Activity or Rest

Social consensus is not only a question of ease and unease. Interviewing the couples we discussed how the ideals of coupling were influenced by the imperatives of self-realisation and work-ethics which had entered into the private arena of late modernity.

If one person had surrendered to sofa-meditations – like Anne had portrayed Søren's habits – this would, in this perspective, go against late-modern ideals of the individual's activity and achievement. In many ways the couples' relationships were based on two people who actively practised some kind of self-realisation in order to avoid being un-inspirational or even a boring company to the other.

The sofa staged feelings that the couples either idealised or feared. In the interview with Kristoffer and Louise, a couple in their late twenties, they ex-

plained which sofa habits were acceptable in their relationship:

Kristoffer: If Louise always was lying on the sofa…

Louise: Then I know what would happen! Kristoffer would break up with me. That's for sure.

Sarah: Why is that?

Louise: He would not have anything to look up to. There wouldn't be any challenges.

Kristoffer: No. That is right.

Louise: I would not get any input and then I would be boring.

Kristoffer: It is vital to a relationship that you have common grounds and follow each other. You have to be able to level with one another. Because you were once in love doesn't mean that you will be forty years after. You need to work on it.

The couples' largest fear was divorce. Lying on the sofa meant not doing one's best, working on being active and interesting. Thus Louise explained that she would break their social contract if her level of activity was lower than Kristoffer's. They both agreed that the consensus of the relationship concerned ethics of work, self-improvement and hence mutual exchanges of challenging conversation. Otherwise the relationship would be dissolved.

In the interview with Torben and Benedikte they told something similar. They too felt a relationship would be more ideal – harmonious and balanced – by a high level of activity:

Torben: I had always imagined my relationship to come second and my personal hobbies to come first. But little by little I stopped doing the things I have always done. Without replacing them with anything else – and now we just sit here.

Benedikte: And do nothing!

Sarah: In the sofa?

Torben: Yes.

Benedikte: Now we are looking for something new. A little more than just a good dinner with wine. We like that but it's not enough.

Torben: It is not enough either, to watch a movie or go out.

Sarah: Talk about the same things?

Benedikte: Yes. In the same way!

Torben: Or go up to the cabin. Although it is nice up there it too becomes a habit.

Benedikte: Yes. One has to renew oneself all the time.

The pleasurable habits of leisure expressed something good but also too well-known. While the cultural signs of the romantic couple were abundant, it still could be better and why have a good relationship, when one could achieve a sublime one?

The sofa was a piece of furniture for dreaming of how things could eventually be as soon as Torben and Benedikte had found something new and renewable to do, as Benedikte said. The sofa thus created a social room for evaluating the enjoyable things Torben and Benedikte had already achieved. In this way they demonstrated the energetic and full of life ideal a male/female-relationship of the late-modern era was expected to have. Even Torben's complaint about his own individual leisure time being slowly replaced by (the dream of) joint activities, became a consolidation of the romantic couple choosing couple time over individual time.

The sofa was suitable to transport oneself to opportunities beyond the familiar, and to something that was not fully defined (McCall & Becker 1990:10). Two

people could agree about the future. With fantasy, effort and unselfishness as driving forces one could change a good relationship into one with new and better standards.

Conclusion

Though "home" is considered a private domain which contains a cultural logic of tension between ease and unease, social and cultural rules of consensus still articulates home as a place for easy familiarity. I have discussed interpersonal acts of power and dominance as "power of definition". By this encirclement it becomes clear that a person – male or female – who is able to define good or bad habits of the home will create a stronger argument by using cultural and social consensus and its agreed-upon rhetoric and practices.

Both man and woman agreed that feelings of boredom, absence or conflict could dissolve their relationship. The interviews showed that an equally balanced and exiting relationship could be achieved by imperatives of self-realisation and work ethics. The couples felt they could make a good relationship even better if it evolved into family-life and into new and different experiences other than the well-known and all-ready tested out routines. These practices were ways to avoid separation.

In many ways the materiality of the sofa contested late-modern imperatives of activity and provoked fears of stagnation. Still, it also promoted romantic practices – doing pleasurable tings and dreaming for a better future. Through the intimate sharing of couple time, this piece of furniture showed that techniques of closeness were considered more ideal than the individual's everyday media meditation.

The couples were urban, middle-class career people. They shared public and private space in equal ways. However, they performed interpersonal feelings through gendered stereotypes and cultural fantasies on male and female. These feelings of longing and belonging mean that detachment between male and female is a central trait in the characterisation of a "hetero-emotion". The couples' feelings of intimacy, absence or nearness, and the appeal for things to be different can additionally be defined as hetero-emotions because these feelings originate from the construction of the male/female-dichotomy itself and not from everyday life reality of the couple. Thus the cultural history of the male/female-dichotomy – and its division of public and private space and its analogue subdivision of male and female – produces relationship-feelings on the basis of distance between man and woman. In late-modern coupling, practices, rhetoric and ideals are performed in order to overcome, live with or negotiate this heteroemotional relationship premise – the cultural fantasy, or anachronism, of male-female detachment.

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Notes

1 The Swedish newspaper, *Sydsvenskan*, Wed., 5th of November, 2003.
2 Sissel Fantoft: "Kvinnan er husets herre" in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, Sun., 5th of June, 2005, 10-11.

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Age and Class in the Third Age

Talking about Life as a Mappie

By Gabriella Nilsson

Healthy, Active, and Affluent

In mass media and popular science a number of years back, the idea was launched that the generation which is now retiring is different from previous generations.[1] According to the ideal image, today's recent retirees are described as being healthier, more active, and having better finances that the generation before them. They are expected both to demand and to afford paying for experiences of different kinds (*KK-bladet* no. 2, 2007; see Soukannas 2008; Brembeck (ed.) 2010). The distinction between young and old are described as being blurred, resulting in a kind of uni-age lifestyle (Featherstone and Hepworth 1991:373). Instead of turning into sweet old ladies and nice old gentlemen, they're straddling their Harley Davidsons and heading off into a second age of freedom that recalls their teenage years. Without children, without debts, and with lots of time (*Expressen*, Dec. 27, 2008).[2] One explanation offered is that those retiring from 2005 onward are the large, so-called baby boom generation – people who in the course of their working lives are supposed to have dominated society and to have acquired the financial means to make demands of life (Edmunds and Turner 2002; Gilleard and Higgs 2007; Karisto 2007; Rasmussen 1985, 2005). As retirees, they are expected to continue making demands that are just as high (see Lindgren et al. 2005).[3]

One designation for the recent retirees that figures in the media is the abbreviation *Mappie* – Mature Affluent Pioneering People.[4] An attempt to delimit the stage of life in which these *Mappies* find themselves is quite frequently made with the concept of *the third age* (where, by implication, childhood and adult life represent the first and second ages). The history of the concept goes back to USA in the 1940s but it became established in Sweden over the past decade. One of the most cited accounts of the concept can be found in historian Peter Laslett's book *A Fresh Map of Life. The emergence of the Third Age* (1989). The third age is usually defined as a stage of life that begins with the statutory retirement age (in Sweden, 65 or 67) and ends as the conditions for an active, independent life decline. Consequently, the delimitation assumes also a fourth age, which is characterized above all by dependence and infirmity (Hubbard 1976: 60; M. Nilsson 2008:17; Thelin 2009; see Torres and Hammarström 2007:68). The view of retired life as divided into two stages is shared by the retirees studied here but is described instead in terms of present and future. The informants distinguish between the active, mobile, healthy present and the anticipated passive, immobile, unwell future. This division of retired life also corresponds with the one made in gerontological research through the distinction between *young* old people and *old* old people (see Neugarten 1974).

The background to this distinction is the view of aging, dominant since the beginning of the twentieth century, as a societal problem (Jönsson 2002; see Cruikshank 2003; Hepworth 2000). The social scientist Magnus Nilsson in his dissertation *Våra äldre: Om konstruktionen av äldre i offentligheten* (Our "Older People": On the Construction of Older People in the General Public) (2008) shows that the connection between older people and concepts like illness, dependence, incompetence, and stagnation are made almost au-

tomatically in the media, in official reports, and by their own interest organizations (M. Nilsson 2008:27). As an antithesis to this negative characterization, an alternative approach in gerontology has made itself felt, in which prominence is given to older people's experience, competence, and activity (see e.g. Liliequist 2009; Jönsson and Larsson 2009). Activity in old age has become a universal "good" and the questioning of its benefits within gerontological circles, sociologist Stephen Katz writes in a somewhat sarcastic tone, would be considered unprofessional, if not heretical (Katz 2000:135f.). The Danish folklorist and researcher on aging Anne Leonora Blaakilde is critical of the fact that this paradigm of activity has come to totally dominate the cultural landscape of our time. It is her opinion that it has become the duty of older people to demonstrate a high degree of activity in order both to achieve high cultural status and to indicate that they are not being a burden on society (Blaakilde 2007a:40). At the same time disabled and dependent people have become targets of state policies to empower and activate them (Katz 2000:147). Nilsson is critical as well, pointing out that this way of trying to increase the value of older people's activity only works through a rejection of the weak and sick (M. Nilsson 2008: 96ff.). Positively intended concepts like young-old people and the third age only have meaning apart from old-old people and the fourth age. Of particular importance to this article is the view that different ways of describing and categorizing people, in research as well as in the media, has implications for, and possibly delimit peoples' lives.

What concepts of this type are trying to capture is the temporal stages of aging, but they are simultaneously concealing the fact that life as a retiree is affected by other factors than age, such as gender and class (Fors 2010). The media's description of the third age does not necessarily describe reality for the great majority but is largely the invention of the advertising industry and the trend institutes, hand in hand with the technological inventions of medicine (Edgren 2004; Lövgren 2005; see also Brembeck (ed.) 2010). For many, the Harley Davidson has no meaning as a metaphor for the demands that retirees today are assumed to be making. In reality, a life of the kind portrayed is made difficult by physical or financial obstacles (see Ronström (ed.) 1998). It is not just anyone who can afford to drive a Harley Davidson, and it is not so easy to drive a motorcycle at all with a worn-out back. Talking about retirees as *Mappies* makes certain subject positions possible but reveals fissures and diversity as well (see Krekula, Nervänen and Näsman 2005:83; Lövgren 2009:30f.). The image of today's recent retirees ignores the way different power structures operate in different directions, something that, to be sure, yields political clout inasmuch as the retiree group is homogenized but which has its price in that certain voices are subordinated to the dominant message (see Edgren 2009). As a matter of fact, the social scientist Angelika Thelin shows in a literature review that, in practice, the concept of the third age is not at all used to describe a *stage of life* that includes a heterogeneous group of older people united by the commonality of age. Instead, it represents a homogeneous social *category* of older people who are

active and have abundant resources (Thelin 2009; see Larsson 2007), a category that has at least as strong a connection to class as to age.

Despite the media interest and the large number of popular-science accounts of life in the third age, few Swedish studies have been made of people who could in fact be categorized as *Mappies* – who are healthy, active, and affluent retirees.[5] This article makes a first attempt to fill this empirical vacuum. Its aim is to study in what way this group portrays life as a retiree by relating to the image of today's retirees – as *Mappies* in the third age – but also to investigate how the description of retired life becomes a way of doing class. The point of departure is a constructivist perspective where social categories are considered procedural and seen as something we constantly do thorough cultural and social practices. The interest is primarily on the intersection between age and class.[6]

Life as a Retiree in Simrishamn

The ethnologist Birgitta Svensson in a study of intellectuals describes some people as better than others at constructing the ideal identity through choice of concepts and themes in their narratives (Svensson 1997). It becomes clear in the meeting with the retirees in this study how well their telling is in accord with the idea of how life in the third age ought to be lived. Position as a *Mappie* is accentuated at the expense of other imaginable ways of living as a retiree, such as a quieter life or a focus on the grandparental role. Existence is described taking shape through the continual, and to a large extent conscious, staging that choice of residence, leisure interests, and habits of socializing constitute. The subject, in the sense of discourse theory, is fragmented and can adopt various competing subject positions depending on context (Winter Jørgensen and Phillips 2000:48). This does not mean, however, that subject positions are freely chosen. Access to and mobility between different positions is curtailed and limited. Other categorizations than age, such as class and gender, function as structurally compelling and determine what is possible to do, and talk about, in a credible fashion, and what is not (Skeggs 1997).[7] Context-dependent experiences of superiority and inferiority, exclusion and inclusion, identification and disidentification give rise to habitual ways of acting and of understanding one's environment (Bourdieu 1986; Skeggs 1997).[8] The informants are in agreement with which themes and code words talking about life as a retiree ought to contain and at the same time find themselves in a socioeconomic situation that makes them credible. Passing as a *Mappie* requires that they exhibit sufficient symbolic capital – that they really are healthy, active, and affluent. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to describe how different assets – economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, etc. – function as valid currency within various power and dominance structures, in various fields (Bourdieu 1986). The British sociologist Beverly Skeggs, who is strongly influenced by Bourdieu in her studies of gender and class, particularly stresses the necessity that a capital be actively legitimized by those who dominate a given field in order for it to be valid, to be translated into symbolic capital (Skeggs 1997). Consequently, it is only when the retirees' choices of

residence, leisure interests, and habits of socializing have been read as signs that they are healthy, active, and affluent that the staging constitutes a symbolic capital.

This article is based on interviews made with persons who categorize themselves as healthy, active, and affluent retirees. They are between the ages of 58 and 73 and live in the municipality of Simrishamn in Österlen, the southeastern part of the province of Skåne.[9] All have moved to the municipality, either in the midst of their working life or as recent retirees, which follows Simrishamn's population statistics. Statistically, an age bulge of residents just under the age of 60 is forming. Further, people in the age group of 50 through 67 are immigrating to the municipality (CFL 2006). More often than not, Österlen is portrayed as a place where it is possible to achieve a particularly high quality of life due to its open countryside and its proximity to the sea. Thus, it is not inconceivable that it is the very category of retirees which is studied here that is moving to Simrishamn – or "Sweden's Florida," as one informant calls the municipality. With regard to finances, the group is relatively homogeneous. One of the informants is at the absolute pinnacle of society, while another considers things to be really tough financially. Compared with the collective of retirees as a whole, however, all informants are to be found in the upper stratum. One similarity among the participant men is that they have been managing directors of, or have owned, large companies that, when sold or upon their retirement, had generated a great deal of financial capital. The women, as professionals, have had qualified positions in the health-care sector. The informants can be described as belonging to a certain category of retirees – the healthy, active, and affluent retirees. If one disregards the dimension of age, however, their life choices would be understood equally well in terms of class.

While it can be ascertained that the basis for class society is unequal economic living conditions, such a statement does not necessarily mean that similar experiences of economic superiority or inferiority create affiliations that can be designated in simple terms. A concept like working class has never been unambiguous or considered to encompass a homogeneous group of people (see e.g. Lindqvist 1987; Lundin 1992), but a distinction between working class and bourgeois class, for example, has been rendered still more difficult as other, parallel forms of differentiation like ethnicity and gender have been brought out in gender studies and postcolonial theory (de los Reyes (ed.) 2006). The great impact of the intersectional perspective necessarily has significance for the view of each individual power structure (Krekula, Nervänen and Näsman 2005; Edgren 2004). To regard class as an affiliation is both analytically and empirically problematic (Lindqvist 1996:14f.).[10] For this reason, Skeggs stresses the importance of regarding human affiliations of all kinds as processual: that they are *done* in interaction with other people, rather than possessed (Skeggs 1997; see also Svensson 1997). The informants describe their own life with the help of markers of similarity and difference. Hence, the concept of class is used in this article as an instrument for structuring the informants' stories of lived experiences rather than as a designation for certain groups of indi-

viduals. The focus is on how class is used to stage, reflect upon, and tell about life as a retiree: how the categories of class and age intersect.

In Good Health

A principal goal of the life choices that the retirees describe themselves making is to be and to remain healthy (see Cruikshank 2003:159ff.). Preserving good health is the very prerequisite for being able to live the life that is striven for (Alftberg 2010). It is only thus that the Future – their concept for illness and dependence – can be kept at a distance. The supposition that the person who is not struck by illness can hold off aging recurs in other studies (Trossholmen 2000:121; see also Blaakilde 2007:39; Lövgren 2009:46ff.). It is also a central component in the discursive conception of today's retirees – they simply *are* healthier than previous generations (*Expressen*, Dec. 27, 2008). For four of the five informants in this study, acting consciously to counteract the anticipated negative effects of aging is a given. The maintenance of good health is portrayed as a job.

> I sort of think that you have a personal responsibility. Some illness you can never get away from, you can be struck by it, but you can actually manage quite well if you work with it yourself. Work with your health, in other words. (Inger)

Inger distinguishes between illness that is not possible to escape and illness that can be avoided for the person who takes responsibility for his or her health.[11] The division suggests a view of aging as to some extent self-inflicted. The ethnologist Charlotte Mannerfelt has noted in a survey of advice books addressed to recent retirees from the 1960s onward, that the same dividing line is found there, between what is perceived as *authentic* and *inauthentic* aging. Authentic aging is understood in the books as part of our biological destiny, a natural breakdown that afflicts us all sooner or later and thus imposes no blame on the individual. Inauthentic, premature aging, on the other hand, carries a heavy moralistic charge and ought to be avoided by living the right way. Not even to try to preserve good health is perceived as immoral, not least because poor health can lead to an economic burden for society (Mannerfelt 1999:51ff.; see Katz 2000). This approach gives the distinction between the third and the fourth ages an additional explanation. Crossing the boundary to the fourth age prematurely becomes a sign of insufficient character. Conversely, the ability to remain in the third age as long as possible (and, above all, longer than other people) becomes evidence of responsibility and morality. If we go further back in time, to the first half of the twentieth century, it is evident that the demand to assume responsibility for one's own health pertained not only to the aging part of the population; rather, the trim, healthy body had been a central bourgeois ideal (Frykman and Löfgren 1979; F. Nilsson 2007, 2011). Hence, society's educative demands for greater assumption of responsibility have been addressed above all to the working class. It was their bad habits that were to be curbed (F. Nilsson 2007; see also Bildtgård 2002; Liukko 1996). For this reason, failing at one's own health is not only a sign of immorality but also signifies a failure to hold a certain class position. The ethnologist Fredrik Nilsson recounts in a study of masculinity and obesity how the bourgeois man

William Banting in nineteenth-century London experienced his being overweight as a state that fettered him in a body that belonged to a different class (F. Nilsson 2007:31). In a corresponding fashion, the self-evident choice to take responsibility for one's health could be interpreted as a way for the Simrishamn retirees to live up to a superior class position. Not to live healthily would be the same as doing a different class position than the one they consider themselves to hold.

Working with one's health, as Inger formulates it, means, as far as both she and the other informants are concerned, that they are physically active. The most common form of exercise is golf. Three of the informants devote spring, summer, and autumn to playing golf several times a week. Working out at the gym, life outdoors, and long walks with the dog are also highlighted as important health-promoting activities. Beyond exercise, food stands out as an important tool for staying healthy. Wholesome eating habits are a self-evident choice, even in those cases that require forgoing things.

> We eat sensibly, I think. We avoid food that's not appropriate, rich food. We, or I, have an ambition to lose a little weight, so we avoid the kind of thing that isn't positive in that way. We're giving up butter now and switching to the kind of stuff like Becel margarine and that sort of thing that's supposed to be positive, and that they say is scientifically proven, so to speak, positive and lowers cholesterol and that sort of thing. I want to lose weight. I weigh 90, 91 [kg] and I'm damned if I'm not getting down to 85, and it's slow going. I'm way too fond of sweet things, buns and pastries and that sort of thing. They're scrumptious, but there are some things you've got to do without. (Erik)

The quotation shows that Erik is ambivalent in relation to the new eating habits. This is apparent especially from the way he mixes the use of we and I. It is "We" (he and his wife) who eat appropriately and "I" (himself) who is fond of sweet things. Erik says he wants to avoid food that is not appropriate, at the same time that his description of the healthier margarine as "stuff" that according to science is "supposed to be positive," suggests some degree of hesitation. However, he expresses no thoughts that it could be otherwise, such as that, being a retiree, he might be entitled to indulge himself. He appears to be in full agreement with the idea that a healthy life as a retiree requires sacrifices. When, in spite of this, ailments make themselves felt, it creates a certain irritation.

> I've had the privilege to be extremely healthy throughout my life, I haven't been sick ten times in my entire working life maybe, but now one thing and another like this … problems of age. Cholesterol level a little high and, well, now and then I probably had, well, what would you call it, a very, very mild stroke, maybe. That kind of thing turns up, and you have to start taking blood-thinning drugs, like most old people have to, for that matter, but that kind of thing is a disadvantage that's coming. But there's nothing to be done about it because it strikes everyone, I understand that. […] There are no big problems. It's just sort of … it irritates me because I'm not used to it. I've never taken medicine, not ever. I've hardly swallowed an Albyl in my entire life and then suddenly now it's a few pills. The doctor says you ought to take cholesterol-lowering and blood-thinning drugs. It's normal, in their opinion. Do it! It's just something to accept. I'm not suffering from it, but … well, it's a small source of irritation. You see that there may be more to come. (Erik)

Erik is very cautious about placing himself in the sick role. He does not say he has had a stroke but "a very, very mild stroke,

maybe." The medicines he is compelled to take are, in his description, a normality that goes with age, not with sickness. It is "most old people" who take blood-thinners, not sick old people. At the same time, he is fully aware of what these "problems of age" signify. They provide an insight into what is to come. From now on, he will never be getting healthier, only sicker. They also provide insight into the diminished subject status that is assumed to follow with increased infirmity. After his life as a successful corporate executive, suddenly other people know better than Erik does himself. "Do it!" he is exhorted by his doctor. He who has almost never been sick in his entire working life is now beginning to approach a stage of life in which gradually increasing infirmity and dependence are anticipated and accepted. Independent of Erik's efforts to maintain his position as a healthy retiree through his choice of eating habits, the ailments are forcing him in a palpable way to relate to the traditional discourse on aging as the same thing as sickness (see M. Nilsson 2008). For the person who is not healthy, still being active and affluent does not help – as the Future comes closer, it becomes harder to pass as a *Mappie*.

An Active Life

Retiring is not infrequently described as an existential crossroads where it is a question of choosing correctly in order to continue to develop and not stagnate (Lövgren 2009). Three of the informants moved from the Stockholm area to Simrishamn in connection with retirement. They describe the move as a decisive choice of path, a fresh start that changed their whole "concept of life," and a prerequisite for the active life they were seeking. In Simrishamn the golf season is longer, it is closer to the continent, which is described as simplifying travel, and there are large numbers of other retirees to socialize with. Living an active life means having a lot to do, that "the calendar is pretty full" (Kristina).

> If it's not a golf day, it might be gardening that takes a number of hours in the day. It's actually rare for us to sit reading books and that sort of thing in the daytime. I often say to Kristina, now it's five o'clock and I haven't sat in the rocking chair or on the sofa and read for a while all day, but it's work in the garden, taking care of the car or something. Taking care of the house, so to speak. Then, a couple of days a week, there's bridge in the afternoons. (Erik)

Here, Erik paints the picture of his fully booked life. Always, he has something going on. It is rare that he sits on the sofa or in the rocking chair and reads. Instead, as he portrays it, he is often taken by surprise when it is five o'clock in the afternoon and he has not yet sat down. The rocking chair and the sofa as well as the book reading here functions as symbols of the slower pace of old age (Hubbard 1976:60) that the informants try to dissociate themselves from. Not using them becomes the same as not being old. According to Magnus Nilsson, passivity and lack of occupation are portrayed both as morally illegitimate and, from a health perspective, as a risky behavior. Looked at this way, being unoccupied is a consequence not of lack of ability but lack of enterprise, and laziness. The responsibility for activating oneself rests with the individual (M. Nilsson 2008), an assumption of responsibility with which the informants appear to be in agreement. For some of them, the dog functions expressly as a means of forcing

themselves to activity in the event that their own morality should fall short. Erik, in the quotation above, successfully does the position of active retiree and accordingly stands out as a person who takes responsibility to counteract aging. In the interviews, the imagined opposite – being sedentary – symbolizes stagnation. It appears inconceivable to do something sitting down.

[It's important] to fill your daily life with something instead of sitting down not doing anything. (Inger)

I say it like this, that the day I'm sitting in the wheelchair shaking, I don't want to regret that I didn't do such and such. That I didn't travel there and there. I want to try to do what I want to do now. And we do have plans for various destinations we want to experience within a couple of years, which we have said we'll do. So that we do it before we're sitting still here. (Erik)

In the quotations, two forms of sitting appear: the voluntary *sitting down* and the involuntary *sitting still*. The dividing line between these two corresponds to the one between inauthentic and authentic aging that has been discussed above (Mannerfelt 1999). The informants are able to counteract the voluntary sitting themselves, simply by not sitting, not being unoccupied. The involuntary, enforced sitting, on the other hand, is perceived as inevitable. It is not a question of *if* they end up in a wheelchair but *when*.[12] Soon enough they will be sitting still, dependent on others and without the possibility to act on their own daily life. Until that time, it is a matter of making the most of life in order to avoid regretting what was not done. This too is a perception that recurs in studies of old people (Trossholmen 2000:123). According to Mannerfelt, meaningful occupation has long been portrayed as a way to keep spirits up and obstruct the progress of aging, while lack of occupation is considered to lead to rapid aging, immobility, apathy, and a premature death (Mannerfelt 1999:20, 51ff.). At the same time, the quotations reflect a demand that is placed not only on old people but on people in modern society in general and on the bourgeoisie in particular. Activity, movement, and a predilection for change are strongly enjoined, and time a scarce resource one must gain power over (Svensson 1997; Frykman and Löfgren 1979:34). The ethnologist Mats Lindqvist describes in his study of the economic elite that the temptation to sit down and lean back comfortably, resting on one's laurels, is considered the beginning of the decline (Lindqvist 1996:60). Consequently, the demand for activity is directed at the informants in their capacity as retirees, "modern people," and bourgeois.

It is not just any occupation that counts; only a "meaningful" one becomes valid symbolic capital. In the description of their own active lifestyle, the informants position themselves in relation to passivity but also against, according to them, less meaningful occupation. Activity in the sense of meaningful occupation has significance especially for the doing of class.

Maybe that we're a little more active than ordinary retirees, or is that my prejudices, but I do think so … and maybe also that we get involved in different things. My husband also has various commitments, not in politics but nonprofit things. And there I suppose you could say that we might be a little more involved than the average […] I think it has to do with personality. If you've had a profession that has been tremendously inspiring and interesting, you've had that drive to participate in things and be involved, so to speak. Believ-

ing that you can have an influence, or, well, maybe you don't think that any more, but at any rate, involving yourself in something you think can enrich the mind. (Inger)

Inger is not only active, she believes she is *more* active than ordinary retirees, an assertion that aims above all to increase the value of her own lifestyle. Moreover, she ties the active life to other positive concepts like involvement, commitments, and the ability to have an influence, which she thinks are bound up with her personality. At the same time, she describes the desire to be active as a driving force already during her professional life. It is those who have had an inspiring and interesting profession who continue to be active as retirees, which confirms the third age as a homogeneous social category rather than a stage of life.

The ethnologist Ninni Trossholmen, who has compared older women of working-class and bourgeois backgrounds, respectively, in her dissertation, shows that "active" is a watchword regardless of class experience. The dividing line between the women in her study is rather at what is and is not experienced as activity. For the working-class women, activity is synonymous with physical movement (sports, exercise, or being outside in nature) and handicraft. For the bourgeois women, it is instead a matter of involvement and is an important part of their self-image (Trossholmen 2000:186ff.). Seen in this light, Inger's talk of drive and being involved, commitments, and influence is not merely a way to describe life as a retiree but is also a way to hold a specific class position. The class aspect recurs in Kristina's description as well. Kristina stresses the importance of being occupied, but not with just any occupation. She does not want to be served a retiree's selection but wants to be able to choose among the offerings of music and lectures that are addressed to all ages. On the other hand, she thinks that there are groups of retirees other than the category she considers herself to belong to, who need to be served an occupation in order not to become sedentary.

SPF [Sveriges Pensionärsförbund, the Swedish Association of Senior Citizens] and PRO [Pensionärernas Riksorganisation, the Swedish Pensioners' National Organization] make enormous efforts, but that being so, I sometimes get a little doubtful about their program selection. That it's a little too … old, if you see what I mean. Today's retiree is much more active, much healthier, than if you go back just fifteen years. PRO is addressed more to … I'm against this thing of saying "workers," but … No, I'm not attracted by their selection. […] Maybe it's that the people who don't feel that [the activities of the retirees' associations] are attractive don't need them. They go to lectures or music that they find themselves […]. Maybe it's that they appeal to the category that isn't attracted by all this other offering and find a community there, then. A lot do go there to, if you're single, to have a sense of community. To make new acquaintances. And maybe that's because of not having this that we have, bridge and golf and music. So that you find your contacts in other ways. I can't answer that. (Kristina)

Kristina's reasoning calls Trossholmen's results to mind. The working-class women in her study had not planned their activities before retirement; their leisure-time occupation was initiated only when PRO offered it. The bourgeois women, on the other hand, had already begun the cultivation of an interest before they retired and had planned for the time of retirement (Trossholmen 2000:131). Skeggs points out that talking about class differs from

living class. Class connotations of various actions may permeate everything, but they are seldom expressed, particularly not by those who do not wish to be reminded of which position they themselves have. For her informants, class is more a matter of disidentification than identification, dissimulation than simulation, i.e. constitutes a basis for dissociation from one's own "class affiliation" rather than identity formation (Skeggs 1997:124). Since Kristina is able to pass as a person in a superior class position, she has no need to distance herself from class as a category of differentiation; even so, it appears that she is hesitant about how she should designate these other retirees, particularly in talking about them explicitly in terms of class. Perhaps they are "workers," perhaps they are "single." Regardless of which, she is clearly making a distinction between retirees who have the occupations she does (golf, bridge, and music) and those who do not. Here, the retirees' organizations may symbolize the Other, something concrete from which to dissociate oneself without being forced to name individuals. Those who are dependent on PRO's selection in order to satisfy the requirement of activity are excluded from the third-age category. Their occupations cannot be translated into a symbolic capital that is valid in a field which is dominated by *Mappies*.

Continuing to Work

One way to remain active is not to stop working. For this reason, an important political issue for many retirees' organizations is that society should increase the value of retirees' experience and be open to a higher, or rather elective, retirement age (e.g. *Silvergenerationen* [The Silver Generation]).[13] Of the informants in this study, it is Rolf and Lennart above all who are still working, Rolf with his own start-up company and Lennart as a board member of a large number of companies, as a mentor for younger executives, and as a project manager for several multimillion-kronor projects. Both say that they are working because it is an interesting form of occupation. Job and leisure time flow together and become a "jobby."

> I want to be occupied with something interesting, I don't want to just work. […] I enjoy various forms of business, of course, I do. It's my hobby, it has turned into that, more or less. (Rolf)

> It's a "jobby," that's what it is. It can be a hobby, being involved in different projects. It may actually be – this sounds a little pathetic – but it may actually be that you come to a realization in life that this is how it was, pretty much. (Lennart)

Both of them describe themselves as enjoying business affairs and projects, but at the same time the choice of occupation is portrayed as both haphazard and doubtful. It just happened that the work turned into their hobby. One explanation that would correspond to the haphazard aspect of Lennart's and Rolf's choice to go on working anyway after retirement is the power of habit. The habits we have been socialized into give us a sense of confidence and speak of how we should act in various situations (Frykman and Löfgren 1992; Hansson 2010). For someone who has stood at the center of a large company all his life, it might be difficult to stop, for reasons having to do with what feels comfortable (see Lindqvist 1996). However, Lennart thinks the continued work could be perceived as pathetic. Rolf develops this, saying that he ac-

tually feels the occupations of retired life ought to be something other than those of professional life.

I have always had an interest in lakes and the sea and boats. That's why we chose to move down to the sea here. Maybe get a fishing boat and be *The Old Man and the Sea* and go out fishing here later on. I enjoy fishing, I do, but I haven't taken advantage of it here that much yet. […] I think it's beneficial to have something besides your job to occupy yourself with. I don't think it's good to have your work as a hobby, which it often turns into when you have your own business.

Gabriella: But if you think it's fun to work, why can't you have work as a hobby?

Rolf: Yes, you can, clearly. I have, and it has yielded good results, but I still feel that it would have been fun if I'd had some more intense hobby of some sort. Studying old churches or what you will (laughter). Life is too short, I suppose that's my conclusion from the whole thing.

Rolf's conception of life as a retiree differs strongly from how he is living in reality. His imagined life in retirement is highly romanticized and expresses a longing to do something else. His own life appears to collide with a more traditional view of life as a retiree. Here, it is important to reflect on how age and class intersect. What different life choices are enjoined by retirees in the doing of class? Both Lennart and Rolf point out that their continuing to work has nothing to do with money. They do not need to work to make a living, but having the financial means to choose one's lifestyle oneself does not necessarily mean that one's freedom to choose is unlimited. Class position imprints and curtails people's agency regardless of whether, from a hierarchical point of view, it is superior or inferior (Skeggs 1997). Lindqvist describes the quieter retired life as legitimate for the economic elite in his study. According to him, once the baton has been handed on to the next generation, the outlook on the necessary forward movement changes. The future they had previously been eager to be the first to reach becomes threatening and problematic. Standing still, which had previously been tantamount to passivity, decline, and death, becomes the only thing in the new situation that might slow departure from this life (Lindqvist 1996:123). Rolf and Lennart, however, do not give the same legitimacy to standing still (except possibly in their view of the fourth age), as is apparent from how brusquely Lennart interrupts his reveries:

I had imagined golf, books, cars, and especially, cooking. I thought, wonderful, plenty of time, walk down to the harbor and buy a little fish, make a good dinner for my wife when she gets home in the evening, slaving away and struggling. She works a lot. Devote some time to finding the ingredients, making it with a little quality from various things. […] No, it would have been too sedentary just wondering whether all the spoke rims are polished properly, could I hit a better golf stroke, or why haven't I read that book. I had an image of how life would be, but of course it didn't turn out like that at all. (Lennart)

In the choice between the more traditional conception of aging as something quiet and thoughtful, and the active ideal, Lennart takes his stand for the latter. Another life than the one he is living now would have been too sedentary. At the same time that the coercive nature of class position can be a factor that plays into the decision to continue working, it is important not to forget the rhetoric in Rolf's and Lennart's statements. It is the voices of the privileged that we are hearing, those who have been given a continued opportunity to

keep working, something Lennart himself admits. It is easy to say that one would rather study old churches than be head of a company if the choice is free. Time at the "front" in command of a large company is an ideal of the business leaders in Lindqvist's study. The entire modern career system is drawn an ascending curve that, when it eventually sinks, leaves us behind (Lindqvist 1996:120ff.). As long as work is valued so highly in our culture, it is going to be difficult for the individual to relate to being placed outside production (Trossholmen 2000:113). Against the background of this, still to be in demand on the job market after the age of 65 or 67 is regarded as a sign of unique competence and proof of success in one's career (see e.g. *Expressen*, Dec. 27, 2008).[14] In this context, the work's value is chiefly the symbolic capital it generates, something that is needed in order to be able to pass as an active retiree. As long as we are productive and able to contribute to society ourselves, we are regarded as adults (Krekula, Nervänen and Näsman 2005: 85). Continuing to work, regarded as a meaningful occupation, becomes an effective way to resist aging, but also a way to remind the surrounding world of the successful career.

Money and the Good Life

Beverly Skeggs is of the opinion that, above all, what distinguishes people with different class experiences from one another is the possibility of disregarding money and creating distance from the bare necessities of life (Skeggs 1997). All informants describe themselves as belonging to an economically privileged group in comparison with the collective of retirees as a whole. A few experience themselves as entirely without financial limitations and able to fulfill all their dreams and wishes. For them, money exists to be used. Travel, food, and drink are given prominence as important ingredients of a good life, but the car and the house are also mentioned repeatedly. Their social circle consists to a large extent of other retirees who have also moved to Simrishamn, with whom they are able to share this good life. The informants explain their choice of company with the fact that, as new arrivals, they have been forced to look outward to make friends in a way that the people born there have not needed to. Erik indicates, however, that one reason could also be differences in how they "feel and think" (Erik). When he develops this, it is apparent that the differences are a matter of lifestyle and finances.

> I think it has a very great deal to do with finances. A retiree, say a farmer somewhere down here who becomes a retiree and who has worked in agriculture his whole life, has a retired life that's far removed from the one I have, and want to have. But those who have moved down here having been a corporate executive, had a company or the like, there are lots of doctors and people like that who have decent finances, I think their lives are pretty much like we have it. (Erik)

The dividing line between themselves – the former corporate executives and the doctors – and other retirees in Simrishamn – described interchangeably by the informants as natives, people from Skåne, workers, farmers, or fishermen – fills an important function as a basis for the construction of a new community in Simrishamn bound up with age, but also with class. Being included requires one to have a reasonably similar life, for which "decent finances" are required. For those of

the informants who, in comparison with retirees who have even better finances, are not able to disregard money, the dividing line becomes problematic. This is evident from Inger's description of her dreams of travel. Inger had not anticipated so drastic a lowering of standards after retirement and blames herself and her husband for having been naïve and putting themselves in a difficult financial situation.

> We think a lot more in terms of finances now, we do. But it's nothing that we're suffering from. But, yes, when we hear how other people are maybe traveling. We travel to visit our daughter [in Kuala Lumpur], of course, but those are like our only holidays abroad. Sure, I'm certainly the one who might have thought a little bit there that we would be traveling a lot and seeing a lot of the world once we were retirees. That's not the way it's been, but, no, when you come back to this thing of as long as you're healthy and have a good everyday life, it doesn't matter that much if you can't exactly buy or do … We're doing well, it's not that … […] I should have traveled! I should have (laughter). I sit reading travel ads. But watching TV works, too. And we have traveled a good deal in the past, of course. And you've got the memories. (Inger)

Inger points out again and again that she and her husband are doing well in spite of their finances – she is healthy and has both television travel programs and memories of past travels to live on. The quotation is strongly marked by the thoroughly positive attitude to life that Lindqvist considers to be culturally enjoined for the person who wishes to hold a superior class position. A self-imposed victim identity would have been highly reprehensible (Lindqvist 1996). At the same time, her frustration is apparent at needing to think in terms of finances and no longer being able to disregard money. Hardest to accept is the financial situation when others in her social circle are traveling. In comparison with her friends' (even more) active lifestyle, Inger ends up left behind. Instead, she is forced into an involuntary sedentariness on the sofa in front of television travel programs or reading travel ads. In the discussion of postmodern society in the 1990s, the mass media and virtual reality were expected to come increasingly to replace the need to actually transport oneself. The world would be experienced from the TV sofa (Löfgren 1997). It is apparent from Inger's account how wrong that supposition is. As a symbol of development and individualization, travel is still a powerful ideal (Lindqvist 1996) and is an important symbolic capital in the third age. An interesting paradox in Inger's statement is that the recurring trips to visit their daughter in Kuala Lumpur, a destination many Swedes would regard as tremendously exciting, do not seem to contribute to their symbolic travel capital. These trips apparently do not count as travel in the sense that Inger dreams of and hears friends telling about. As the ethnologist Orvar Löfgren writes, certain travels mean a great deal, while others pass without a trace, and it is not necessarily the length of the journey that determines which is the case (Löfgren 1997). For Inger's disappointment to be understandable, it must be interpreted in relation to the discursive ideal of today's retirees. In comparison with other healthy, active, and affluent retirees, she experiences life being curtailed as a consequence of the financial terms. With this, her legitimate affiliation with the category of the third age diminishes and she becomes less credible as a *Mappie*.

Change or Continuity – On Life as a Healthy, Active, and Affluent Retiree

The point of departure for this article has been to make visible how the intersection between age and class is expressed in talking of life as a healthy, active, and affluent recent retiree. The aim has been to study in what way this category portrays life as a retiree through relating to the image of today's retirees – as *Mappies* in the third age – but also to investigate how the description of retired life becomes a way of doing class. It can be noted that the accounts of the Simrishamn retirees are in clear accord with the discursive image of how life in the third age ought to be lived, at the same time that they find themselves in a socioeconomic situation that makes them credible. On the surface, they pass with ease as *Mappies*. The informants already have in advance the symbolic capital required for life in the third age but, as I see it, not because they belong to the generation of baby boomers, which tends to be offered as an explanation, but because they have a certain class experience. Life as a *Mappie* is, as Inger puts her finger on it, based already on professional life and is made possible not by the increased freedom of the position of retiree, but *in spite of* the position of retiree. As I see it, life in the third age has to be explained in terms of continuity, not change. The most characteristic thing in the retirees' telling is not that they have stopped or started with things since they have retired, but that life has gone on as before to such a great extent. The position of retiree and a superior class position place interacting demands on the informants – that they be healthy, active, and affluent. In the stories of life as a retiree, different power structures intersect and in this way reinforce their effect of superiority and inferiority, exclusion and inclusion.

To designate the category of retirees who have been studied here on the basis of the commonality of age – to talk about "today's retirees," as is often the case in the media and popular science – rather than in terms of class, makes it more politically legitimate to talk about, both by those who are themselves included in the commonality and by others. At the same time, fissures and paradoxes have become clear. Erik's increasing health problems, Lennart's thoughts of a quiet life, Rolf's dreams of developing a hobby that is not about running a company, and Inger's disappointment at not being able to afford to travel as much as she had imagined are reminders that a life in the third age is not a given for everyone. Trying to achieve a life as a *Mappie* involves trying to approach a highly placed ideal that presupposes a certain degree of symbolic capital, supplied in advance, but that also requires forgoing things in the present. Succeeding is a question of being healthy, and active, and affluent. I consider different types of capital to presuppose each other. Cultural capital in the form of meaningful occupation does not become symbolic capital without access to economic capital. Economic capital, in turn, loses its value without cultural capital in the form of good health. Without it, the retiree is irremediably sent on to the fourth age, spoken of in the interviews as the Future. The concept seems abstract and indefinite, but for the informants it is something very concrete: a state of infirmity, sedentariness, and dependence. Through this operation of thought, aging is always something they

have before them. It is assumed that the possibility to act on their lives themselves will end only when they have crossed the threshold to the fourth age, something that is a strong argument for their practice of forgoing things in the present. Torres and Hammarström, however, in their study of very old people who require assistance, show that they too place aging in the future (Torres and Hammarström 2007), which speaks for the fact that what is experienced as necessary symbolic capital for maintaining a certain position as a retiree is continually changing, rather than that the position is rendered impossible.

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Notes

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1 Among the wealth of Swedish popular-science titles can be mentioned Malin Alfvén and Kristina Hofsten's *Barnbarnsboken: för mor- och farföräldrar* (The Grandchild Book: For Grandparents) (2007); Alexander Danielsson, Claes Hellgren and Mats Petersson's *Kom inte och säg att du är gammal* (Don't Say You're Old) (2006); Ulla Holm's *Att gå i pension är ingen barnlek* (Retiring Isn't Child's Play) (2006); Arne Jernelöv's *Frisk, välbärgad – och uttråkad?* (Healthy, Wealthy – and Bored?) (2006); *Rekordgenerationen – Vad de vill och hur de tänker* (The Record Generation – What They Want and How They Think) by Mats Lindgren et al. (2005); Ludvig Rasmusson's *Åldersupproret* (The Age Rebellion) (2005); and Patricia Tudor-Sandahl's *Den tredje åldern* (The Third Age) (2000).

2 In the past year, a further dimension has begun to emerge in the talk about the new retirees, namely, fear of the costs that are expected to follow once they are a little older (Bengtsson (ed.) 2010). "Nightmare scenario as baby boomers grow old: Old-age liabilities could double in 20 years" is a headline in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* on September 29, 2010.

3 The idea of generational shift is not new in itself; younger generations have always had a need to define themselves by excluding the preceding one (see e.g. Rasmussen 1985, 2005; Blehr (ed.) 1993). What may be new is that the talk about the new generation of retirees as different originates to a large extent from the retirees themselves. The generation is creating itself through cultural and social practices (Edmunds and Turner 2003) defining itself as not excluded.

4 In Sweden, the concept has been launched by the publicist Amelia Adamo, who says she had long been looking for an expression that was not associated with boring retirees and senile seniors. In her translation, *Mappie* stands for *Mogna Attraktiva Pionjärer* (Mature Attractive Pioneers) (*Expressen*, Dec. 27, 2008). The concept of Mappie can be compared with the concept of Tweens (In-Betweens, between childhood and teen years).

5 A newly published study that should be mentioned is the anthology *Ju mer vi är tillsammans: Fyrtiotalisterna och maten* (The More We Are Together: Baby Boomers and Food), edited by the ethnologist Helene Brembeck (2010). One of the informant groups studied here is "well educated, financially well-off older urbanites" (p. 32), and the book has an interdisciplinary focus on the eating habits of baby boomers. Anne Leonora Blaakilde's study of retirees who have moved to the Costa del Sol (Blaakilde (ed.) 2007b) can be counted here as well, even if the persons who were studied did not necessarily belong to the category of healthy and affluent.

6 Another important intersection that is evident in the material is gender identity. The *Mappie* position requires different types of argumentation for the male and female informants, respectively, in order to appear as legitimate. This is apparent especially when it comes to legitimizing the choice to move away from children and grandchildren, something that

will be discussed in more detail in a future article and is also described to some degree already in G. Nilsson (2010). In the themes dealt with here, the difference between the male and female informants is not very great; the class aspect stands out at the expense of the gender aspect.

7 The ethnologist Mats Lindqvist reminds us that narratives are not without a basis in reality. That they are attached to a fixed cultural pattern for how life should be configured does not mean they are false. Rather, narratives can be understood as a part of life itself (Lindqvist 1996).

8 The dispositions that arise through experience of superiority and inferiority are what Bourdieu aims at describing with the concept of habitus. In this article, however, I will talk about it as experience.

9 The article is based on a small interview study that was carried out in Simrishamn during the autumn of 2009. The title of the research project was "Healthy, Active, and Affluent?" and alludes to the discourse on today's retirees. When I was looking for informants I told them that I was looking for healthy, active, and affluent recent retirees, but stated no criteria for what this meant. Five persons, two women and three men, signed up at once. Thus, in the selection, it was the informants' perception of themselves that governed rather than criteria such as age and income. For a more detailed description of the project and the implementation of the study, see G. Nilsson (2010).

10 Mats Lindqvist, who has studied male corporate executives in his book *Herrar i näringslivet: Om kapitalistisk kultur och mentalitet* (VIPs of Commerce and Industry: On Capitalist Culture and Mentality), considers the concept of class to refer more to theoretical phenomena and structures, while the concept of elite points toward a lower level of abstraction and to identifiable individuals' exercise of power. For this reason, he speaks of his informants as "the economic elite," and what he studies is consequently the culture of the economic elite (Lindqvist 1996:14f.).

11 Another aspect of health that emerges from the interviews is the genetic. If one's parents have had a healthy old age, this is experienced as a source of security. This is discussed in greater detail in G. Nilsson (2010).

12 An interesting paradox here is that it is the wheelchair that symbolizes *sitting still* for the informants, when in fact it exists to increase mobility for those whose mobility is otherwise limited. Even if they are *sitting down*, by means of the wheelchair they would not have to be *sitting still* (see Hansson 2010; Nygren 2008; Sapey et al. 2005).

13 It is a common conception that retiring is difficult. This idea appears, for example, in the title of the book by the psychotherapist Ulla Holm, *Att gå i pension är ingen barnlek* (Retiring Isn't Child's Play) (2006). Self-help books of this kind, addressed to recent retirees, are a genre that according to the ethnologist Charlotte Mannerfelt, has existed as long as the retirement pension itself. The shift to life as a retiree has been considered so extensive that recent retirees have needed help adjusting (Mannerfelt 1999:30). She describes how the books have always been disciplinary in nature, but in different ways, depending on the decade. In the past, the books were addressed above all to the working-class population – they were the only ones who were "retirees" in the sense we picture today – but today all retirees are in need of guidance (Mannerfelt 1999:39).

14 This does not mean that all retirees want to keep working at any price. Many people who have had a physically wearing job long for retirement. For others, the ideal of today's retiree is financially problematic to live up to, and they are forced into a cycle of supplementary work, perhaps hourly employment at the workplace they have just left. For them, the continued work does not function as a cultural capital.

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A Common European Identity

Cultural Heritage, Commemoration, and Controversies

By Lene Otto

> … in 2009 a reunited Europe will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the collapse of the Communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe and the fall of the Berlin Wall, which should provide both an opportunity to enhance awareness of the past and recognise the role of democratic citizens' initiatives, and an incentive to strengthen feelings of togetherness and cohesion.

The quotation above is an excerpt from a text adopted by the European Parliament in April 2009 on European Conscience and Totalitarianism.[1] This initiative adds to the long list of other initiatives over the past two decades. In the aftermath of 1989 "culture" and "heritage" have become the battleground of the re/construction of "Europe" after the East-West divide because of a widespread consensus that communism was a period of history that was spiritually and intellectually barren, and life in Eastern Europe during the era between the Second World War and 1989 was lacking in spiritual, aesthetic, or other humanising qualities; it was a vacuum: a cultural wasteland.

During the Cold War history appeared to have lost much of its old power (MacMillan 2009:9). Since 1989 Europe has experienced the rebirth of history and a search for historical reasons to fear, hate or identify each other. However, what to remember, the collective memories, are contested and during the past two decades conflicts over the interpretation of the history of the twentieth century have raged, among other things due to different experiences and historical knowledge on each side of the Iron Curtain (Hochschild 2003, Judt 2007, Knigge & Mählert 2005, Kubik 2007, MacMillan 2009, Scribner 2005, Smith 1996). Nevertheless, the idea that the reconstitution of identities after the political rupture must come about through memory seems less contested. Even though scholars in academia have discussed at length and have tried to define the relations between memory and identity for years without reaching consensus, scholars in practical politics seem to have less difficulty in that matter. One can wonder whether the widespread constructivist or discursive approach to identity, as for example formulated by Stuart Hall – "Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves in, the narratives of the past" (1994:394) – has been taken up in political practice exactly because it is easy to instrumentalise: will new stories build new identities? After reading numerous policy papers in the field of heritage politics, I will argue that the fundamental idea put forward is that cultural identity and cultural heritage are contingent upon one another. The idea can be summarised as follows: cultural identity is based on acts of remembrance of some past events and experiences, and that which is remembered as important events and experiences is constructed into the identity's heritage; heritage takes in the relationship between identities and remembering.

This scheme points to the reshaping of historical memory as the natural answer to weak identities, and it may shed light on why the resolution on European consciousness was drafted in the first place and put to vote in the European Parliament. Like the quotation above, the other statements in the resolution are very brief, but jointly they comprise a kind of response to the previous twenty years of heated debate on the cultural interpretations of the history of the divided Europe.

The objective of the resolution is to contribute to an already established identity-political agenda in Europe using statements to explain the political context. A few more excerpts from the resolution can serve as examples:

F. whereas the memories of Europe's tragic past must be kept alive in order to honour the victims, condemn the perpetrators and lay the foundations for reconciliation based on truth and remembrance,

H. whereas the dominant historical experience of Western Europe was Nazism, and whereas Central and Eastern European countries have experienced both Communism and Nazism; whereas understanding has to be promoted in relation to the double legacy of dictatorship borne by these countries,

K. whereas Europe will not be united unless it is able to form a common view of its history, recognises Nazism, Stalinism and fascist and Communist regimes as a common legacy and brings about an honest and thorough debate on their crimes in the past century,

10. Believes that appropriate preservation of historical memory, a comprehensive reassessment of European history and Europe-wide recognition of all historical aspects of modern Europe will strengthen European integration;

15. Calls for the proclamation of 23 August as a Europe-wide Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, to be commemorated with dignity and impartiality;

16. Is convinced that the ultimate goal of disclosure and assessment of the crimes committed by the Communist totalitarian regimes is reconciliation, which can be achieved by admitting responsibility, asking for forgiveness and fostering moral renewal.

No doubt, the idea is that the European peoples need to remember their common history of political violence, and that all the totalitarian regimes were equally evil. Still, it seems that communism is more evil than the other totalitarian ideologies, because it manipulated history. The inherent idea in the text is that post-communist countries seem to suffer from a lack of history, they are short of memory. This idea that the Cold War cut a former shared universal European culture and heritage in two is much older, though; it was introduced by intellectual dissidents such as Milan Kundera, who in his essay "The Tragedy of Central Europe" from 1963 accuses communism of having put an end to civilisation in Central Europe, the former cultural axis of Europe. He argues that "the countries in Central Europe feel that the change in their destiny that occurred after 1945 is not merely a political catastrophe: it is also an attack on their civilisation. The deep meaning of their resistance is the struggle to preserve their identity – or, to put it another way, to preserve their Westernness." The essential tragedy is that these countries vanished from the map of Europe, according to Kundera, and no longer were part of a common European history.

Lack of History and Memory, Need of Heritage

The assertion that Europe will not be united unless it is able to form a common view of its history has great political ramification in Europe (Judt 2007). The rift between east and west was soon seen as more than a question of money and power; it was also as one of historico-cultural re/construction precisely because the post-communist countries and peoples suffered from civilisational backwardness, a lack of civilisation. The cure to heal the divid-

ed Europe was (and still is) seen as a question of giving them back their European roots and history, so as to overcome the so-called asymmetrical memory (Judt 2007). Understanding the problem as a lack of memory, and the answer to the problem as a question of raising historical awareness, also impinged on questions of membership of the European Union. The Eastern European countries have been subject to demands to remember past wrongs in certain ways; they are expected to be "facing up to history" (Lebow 2006: 5). To demonstrate their commitment to democracy they must be willing to confront their past and rewrite their history. The EU enlargement process has proved that recognition as a legitimate state requires a legitimate memory, one which is in accordance with a European self-understanding and with global rules. These rules or expectations include acceptance of political and moral guilt, genocide recognition, official apologies and the rehabilitation of victims. In this process communism is constructed as Europe's negative or "dark" heritage (Lennon and Foley 2000).

I understand this process as "Europeanisation of memory", and as part of a wider preoccupation with ways of fostering senses of European values; described as "cultural Europeanisation" (Shore 2000) – or "the third wave of Europeanisation" (Karlson 2010), which have complemented the earlier economic and political integration waves. Essentially it means building a collective European identity on the basis of a collective memory. In such a concern, heritage and history are envisaged as social glue that might be used to stick together disparate bits of society and to attach those new nations that have become detached during communism or that were never bonded in the first place. I argue that a general process of Europeanisation can be said to be well under way, because the very idea of European heritage is suspended on much more than the rhetoric that is used to establish interregional cooperation, to attract tourists and to acquire funding; it is intertwined in many cultural practices, also in processes of remembering; memory is not a thing. I refer to collective memory as the varieties of forms through which we are shaped by the past, public and private, material and discursive, as well as harmonious and disputed. Because commemorative imagery and practices occur in many different places, it is not possible to assess whether a common European signification is really generated (even if it were possible to measure the extent and depth of cultural meaning and identity).

Europeanisation as a cultural process is commonly associated with the European Union, but includes in fact the other European institutions, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Europeanisation is not only about adapting to rules but also a process of developing consciousness and awareness, including the shaping of cultural practices and norms that make peoples in Europe become more European by adapting to new standards. It is a long historical process as well as a contemporary process of cultural change and new identity formation, intertwined with political change, but not only brought about by the EU as diffusion of a set of ideas to be internalised.

A Council of Europe workshop visits a Romanian village in April 2007 as part of the project "Sharing Histories, Sharing Places: A Thousand and One Lives of Heritage in Europe". The village is known for its multicultural heritage, materialised in seven different churches with active congregations. Photo: Lene Otto.

Fieldwork on Europeanisation

The revision of history or the Europeanisation of the memory of the recent past can be studied in many places. I have followed Europeanisation of the post-communist memory as discursive and material practices on three arenas: (i) The definition and handling of the European heritage in EU; (ii) Heritage management and the promotion of memorial activities by the Council of Europe; and (iii) Remembrance as nation building in museums of communism in Eastern Europe. Even though this study of Europeanisation takes policy as its starting point, I believe that Europeanisation is achieved through cultural encounter and is not limited to institutional transfer of policies.

My approach to European remembrance policy has been to follow subjects, concepts, and ideologies involved in the EU's promotion of cultural heritage as citizenship education and in various Council of Europe programmes; one example is "Values of Heritage for Society", especially the project "Sharing Histories, Sharing Places: A Thousand and One Lives of Heritage in Europe", in which I took part as a participant observer in April 2007 in Timisoara, Romania. I have also led various fieldwork trips to Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine with students, and

have conducted fieldwork on the Internet. I have not gone into the various national commemorative cultures in depth; instead I have performed case studies in several post-communist countries. In particular I have been interested in the construction of communist legacy, e.g. how communism becomes an object of history writing and heritage management and how communism is commemorated and exhibited in museums (Otto 2008, 2009a, b). In this article I seek to analytically combine the political level, the EU cultural policy and the Council of Europe's activities and papers with the practice level where the controversial material heritage is handled and interpreted. Rather than analysing museum representations in detail, I have some more general considerations about the narratives they produce. Memory is shorthand for all these discourses and practices.

Memory and European Identity Politics

When viewed from the point of view of the European Union, the process of Europeanisation means two different yet fundamentally related processes: deepening and enlargement. The enlargement process is "real politics", while the process of deepening the integration leaves room for cultural policies and "identity politics". This seems to have actually enhanced and strengthened the status and role of the Council of Europe.[2] The Council has a rather discursive role in European politics, which during the Cold War period was thought to be the major weak point because of the absence of any kind of executive power, but since 1989 its role appears to have been enhanced and strengthened by the present focus on deepening the integration, paying special attention to the delineation of a common heritage. Accordingly, the Council has devoted itself to a conscious, reflective, and universalising commitment to the Europeanisation of European identity, including a promotion of the use of culture and cultural heritage in reconciliation processes. The idea put forward by the Council in its publications and on its website is that a common European identity is dependent upon a shared European past understood as a common European heritage. It is important to notice that this is not intended as a process of "homogenising" but rather as something equal to "unity in diversity". It is often declared that the gradual introduction of a standard and uniformly packaged memory must not obliterate and discard the differences of local and national memories.

With the adoption of the Faro Convention in 2005 the agenda was set for shaping a common European identity through cultural heritage. The convention states that Europe's common heritage takes in "all forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity" (Faro Framework Convention, 2005, Article 3). In the subsequent years the Council has been experimenting with the role of the cultural heritage in gradually building a European citizenship. They have initiated projects like "Cultural Identities, Shared Values and European Citizenship" to shed light on how multiple cultural belonging and mutual recognition can go hand in hand with a new form of citizenship, one that is open, plural and participative. One example is the project I participated in: "Sharing Histories, Sharing Places – A

Thousand and One Lives of Heritage in Europe" which, according to the project description, "suggests an original perception of the heritage that may contribute to the 'founding narrative' of a Europe based on diversity and on giving effect to the basic values shared by its different population groups" (CDPAT (2007) 5:3). This does not mean that their ambition is to create a master narrative or a common history textbook for all member states (although history teaching and the writing of history books are important activities for the Council), but rather a more vaguely agreed-upon frame of reference to communicate and negotiate conflicting memories. This common frame of reference is needed to recognise distinctive national narratives and memories, but also to moderate the destructive differences of national memories by making them compatible with each other. The Council's ambition is in fact to extend the borders of Europe to what can be considered Europe's historico-cultural roots. This is why memory has become such a comprehensive strategy.

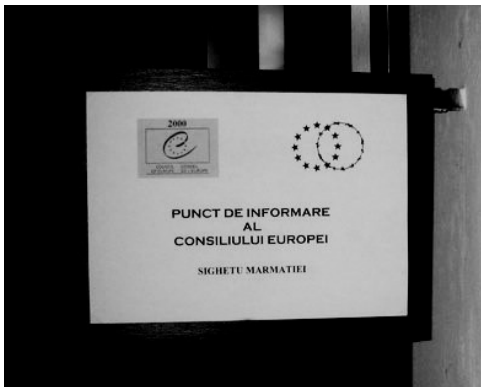
At the most general level, memory pertains to the actualisation of the past in some form of contemporary experience – a tourist's visit to a historical site, a community's celebration of an event in the past, a new memorial, the release of a new historical film or book, historical re-enactments and many other types of events. In this sense, memory is an invented tradition often shaped by many individuals and groups over long periods of time. Memory is related to the notion of "history" but is broader because the professional historians are but one voice in the choir. Hence, the cultural production of public memory refers to both the medium of presentation and the process through which the representation of the past assumes its particular form, often involving engagement of the senses, emotions, imagination, and the intellect of the public. Commemorations, understood as rituals and activities that (re)produce memory, assign significance to events and figures to create a heritage, a set of shared historical experiences and attitudes that define and bond a community. In this capacity, public memory is part of the symbolic foundation of collective identity, where the question, "who are we", is answered. The subtle relationship between cultural identity and remembering is explored, for instance, by the American historian John Gillis in his book *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*: "The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity" (Gillis 1994:3). He is a prominent exponent of the non-psychological tradition in which memory is understood as something which is activated between people and thus always inevitably culturally and socially mediated. Memory is first and foremost moral and identity-building acts. Memory is also a word that covers both collective, commemorative activities, and personal experiences. In both cases narratives are produced to represent and shape identity by means of cultural idioms and tools at our disposal.

The term collective memory always defines a collective self-image, and this self-image is constructed according to historical and political challenges. The term collective memory was first introduced by Maurice Halbwachs.[3] He emphasised that

this term was not a simple metaphor. Memory is in constant exchanges of impressions and opinions among members of the community with the effect that the framework of collective memory confines and binds our most intimate remembrances to each other. For him, a collective memory was not a mysterious fusion of individual minds or souls, but the product of continuous social interaction. Social interaction may be personal face-to-face, but also mediated, symbolic communication via media such as television, history textbooks, museums, monuments, commemoration rites, and more recently the Internet. As an analytical term, "collective memory" evolved in the 1980s and 1990s along with a discourse on *collective identities*. Up until then, the term "identity" had been mostly applied to individuals. New discourses on both memory and identity were backed up by a "constructivist turn" in the humanities. This turn highlighted the role of cultural symbols such as texts, images, and rituals in the formation of identities, and acknowledged that the past is always reconstructed according to the needs of the present. Reconstructing the past is a varying and open-ended project, as nations and states enter into new political alliances and constellations. Thus, collective memory must be studied as the objectives and actions of individuals as well as institutions. People identify and experience identity because of this ongoing construction and narration; as Benedict Anderson argues, it is because we cannot remember or experience continuity in a direct fashion that we rely on narratives (Anderson 1991). Experiential memory, on the other hand, means that you have experienced what is remembered with your own body, while social memory is the meaning of the events, but both are bodily experiences. This insight was first put forward in 1989 by Paul Connerton, who argues for the performative nature of social memory; without bodily practices, memory cannot be maintained. For example, the corporeal nature of the museum visit may well constitute the memory of having experienced, for example repression, even though it was not a personal experience. The range of participation in a collective memory can be said to have widened considerably in our time. Accordingly, memory can take many forms; it can be displayed in images, objects and narratives, condensed and frozen into monuments, represented in physical landscape or embodied through parades, rituals of remembrance and re-enactment; in modern museums, not least the post-communist ones, all these forms of memory practice are often united, when rituals of remembrance of different kinds give life to the fixity and immutability of exhibitions. This is identity politics in one sense, and even if it is not a result of dictates it can be seen as an element in the broader memory politics, where European institutions redefine "cultural heritage" as part of a project to establish a common European identity, where memory is managed and Europeanised as a means of integration.

I am not going to reveal the Europeanisation project as an ideological one, in the sense of being false. In line with Peter Novick, I understand collective memory to be always and inevitably grounded in current concerns, current self-understandings, and current perceived needs (Novick 2001). In this field, whether we are re-

searchers, politicians, or mangers, we are always actors and not only observers; we all have vested interests, political stances, and moral preferences, and hence have no privileged access to knowledge of what is a use and what is an abuse of the past, As one person's use is another person's abuse, Novick comes to the conclusion that there is no Archimedean point from which one can distinguish objectively between use and abuse of Holocaust memory. This must be said to apply to memory in general and thus to the memory of communist rule.



Prison cell exhibited in The Memorial of the Victims of Communism in Sighet, Romania. By transforming victim testimonies into nation-transcending experiences such as expulsion, terror, and genocide, they become European or global experiences. The Council of Europe supports such heritage initiatives economically and morally; the letter C embracing the European circle of stars affirms that this museum and its exhibition on communism is "approved" according to European standards. Photo: Lene Otto.

I. Harmonisation of Memory, the Work of the EU

Since the 1990s the EU has had as one of their objectives to provide the enlarged Europe with a cultural-symbolic foundation, e.g. finding common references in history. In a new book on European memory it is claimed that "the dark shadows and bitter experiences are notably absent from the commemoration agenda" (Pakier and Stråth 2010:2). This is hardly the case, if the preoccupation with cultural heritage and memory in European institutions is studied more closely. In the resolution "On European Conscience and Totalitarianism" quoted above, there is also a proposal to make 23 August, the day of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1939[4] – the secret pact about the division of Europe – an official European commemoration day. The idea was first introduced in 2008 in the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism, which was meant to recognise the crimes of the former communist regimes as deserving the same condemnation as the crimes committed in the name of Nazism.[5] During the political process in the European Parliament the text underwent a number of changes before its approval in 2009. The replacement of communism with totalitarianism was a compromise, and it can be seen as a means to equate crimes in order to make them become a common historic experience. Including both Nazism and communism under the banner of totalitarianism is widely questioned, though, not least because the role of perpetrator and victim is reversible. Jews, recognised as victims per se, were in many cases also communists, and also because Nazi perpetrators, German as well as local, later turned into victims of communism. A paragraph that explicitly asserts the uniqueness of the Holocaust was added in response to parts of the critique. The point is that it is no longer possible to create national myths unchallenged; an

increase in one identity necessarily implies a decrease in another, and all representations of the past are assessed by other European nations and minority groups, even globally.

Again, it is important to repeat that the Europeanisation of memory is not a diffusion process, in which the EU is an anonymous political institution, a centre of power which imposes ideologies on naive European populations. Rather, the apparent comprehensive political will to remember in general, and the commitment to a systematic politics of commemoration related to the European communist past in particular, is the result of individuals' engagement and dialogue. For instance, the elected members of the European Parliament are not anonymous officials; they must be accountable for their positions on all policy issues, and their opinions matter, if they want the votes from their fellow citizens back home in their national or local communities of memory. Therefore, the European MPs are not only supposed to express the opinions of the political parties, they represent; their personal judgements matter, and anybody may use the Internet to find out what their representatives are up to. Blogs are also widely used. Of course one might argue that everything on the Internet written by a politician is an official rather than a personal point of view, but I still believe that a selection of elected MPs' views on a common European memory can give an impression of the cultural meanings these people attach to the idea of cultural memory. Unlike interviews where answers are formed in response to the fieldworkers' agenda, the Internet contains the informants' personal formulations, when they put forward their thoughts on different topics. As part of their political work the MPs formulate explanations for their point of view and individual reasons for voting for or against different political resolutions. I have chosen some quotations from various MPs who have voted either for or against the resolution, not as a representative analysis but to demonstrate how contested the memory, and accordingly the resolution, really was:[6]

Edite Estrela (PSE), from Portugal writes:

> I voted in favour of the resolution on totalitarian regimes. I believe that Europe will not be united unless it is able to reach a common view of its history and conduct an honest and thorough debate on the crimes committed by Nazism, Stalinism and fascist and Communist regimes in the past century.

Luca Romagnoli (NI) from Italy agrees, and explains why:

> I firmly believe that Europe must be made more aware of crimes committed by totalitarian and non-democratic regimes, because I believe that we cannot consolidate European integration without promoting the preservation of our historical memory, provided that all aspects of Europe's past are acknowledged. I also approve the motion to declare a "European Day of Remembrance" for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes.

Glyn Ford (PSE) is much more critical and articulate:

> While I am in favour of the maximum objectivity in analysing Europe's history, and while I recognise the horrific nature of the crimes of Stalinist Russia, I am afraid that this resolution has elements of a historical revisionism that flies in the face of a demand for objective analysis. I am not willing to equate the crimes of the Nazis, the Holocaust and the genocide that saw six million Jews, along with Communists, Trade Unionists and disabled die, with those of Stalinist Russia. This political relativism threatens to dilute the

unique nature of the Nazi crimes, and in doing so provides an intellectual underpinning to the ideologies of today's neo-Nazis and fascists, some of whom are with us here today.

One of the Portuguese members, Pedro Guerreiro (GUE/NGL), is even more critical:

This shameful resolution approved by Parliament is part of the operation to distort historical truth that is being undertaken by reactionaries and those seeking revenge: the losers of the Second World War. They are the same people who are rehabilitating in their own countries those who collaborated with the barbarism of the Nazis, for example. The goal is to put neo-fascism in a good light and condemn communism. … Its goal is to erase the decisive contribution of the communists and the Soviet Union in defeating Nazism-fascism, their role in improving the living conditions of the workers, their contribution to the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke and the role they played against exploitation and war following the Second World War. … At bottom, its intention is the criminalisation of communists, their activities and their ideals.

Along these lines but with more pathos a Greek member, Athanasios Pafilis (GUE/NGL) writes:

No parliament, no parliamentary majority comprising the representatives and servants of the barbaric capitalist system can use slander, lies and forgery to wipe out the history of social revolution, written and signed by the people with their blood. No black anti-communist front can wipe out the huge contribution made by socialism, its unprecedented achievements and its abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

The impression is that the views of the recent past are not only divided in accordance with the borders between east and west, but are contested in the light of a deeper political divide. The mere existence of a debate at the EU level means that we can talk about Europeanisation, even though it is hardly based on a common interpretation of the recent past.

In spite of, or maybe because of, the apparent clashes of political ideologies in Europe, the Council of Europe contributes to the politics of memory on the grassroots level. By that I mean that they not only pass resolutions, but also encourage commemorative practices and historical consciousness, thus wrapping the political project in humanistic vocabulary.

II. Ambivalence of Remembrance, the Work of the Council of Europe

Even though the idea of a common heritage is already present in the Council's founding documents, it has become a more reflective and more political objective in the new century, due to the aforementioned Faro Convention "on the Value of Cultural Heritage in Society" from 2005.[7] Article 3 – "The common heritage of Europe" – reads:

The Parties agree to promote an understanding of the common heritage of Europe, which consists of: a. All forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity, and b. The ideals, principles and values, derived from the experience gained through progress and past conflicts, which foster the development of a peaceful and stable society, founded on respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

Here, for the first time in a treaty instrument, the notion of the "common heritage of Europe" conveys the idea that Europe's diverse heritage can be managed as a political tool. The group of experts who drew up the convention between 2003 and 2005 expect that this new heritage approach will foster a respect for fundamental shared values that underpin a common po-

litical design for Europe, rather than encourage revival of past conflicts. The concept of heritage is taken far beyond the traditional notion of old buildings and historic sites to the more soft and indeterminate "enrichment of cultural life". It is recognised that objects and places are not, in themselves, what make cultural heritage vital. They are important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to them, and the values they represent, as stated by Robert Palmer, Director of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage in the Council of Europe (Council of Europe Publishing 2009:8).This understanding is hardly original, but in a political framework, this seems to be a significant change in heritage thinking and political focus. The value of heritage in social terms is its ability to build societies or heal divided ones and build cultural, collective identities, as it is stated.

To heal and to build is exactly what heritage management is about – *within* post-communist countries and *between* new and older EU member states. The underlying argument is also that to forget is disempowering because it erases the underpinnings of identity available through remembering. Oblivion is considered unhealthy; communism must not be forgotten, but remembered as a European experience that all Europeans can relate to in the same way. The first reactions after the breakdown of communism were to tear down and demolish monuments to the bigwigs of communism, but the Council of Europe worked against such national reactions and for a balanced remembrance in which the legacy of this period has to be managed in certain ways. A recent example is when the Council of Europe in 2007 interfered in a conflict between Russia and Estonia over memory, caused by the Estonian government's dismantlement of the so-called Bronze Soldier (and the alleged tomb) that symbolised the liberation of Estonia by the Red Army. Terry Davis, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, met the Estonian and the Russian ambassadors to the Council of Europe, and afterward he pronounced:

> I condemn any attempt to soil the memory of those who died in fighting the Nazis, but the Russian Federation should also show greater understanding for the painful memories associated with the Soviet presence in Estonia after the war. Estonia and Russia have different perceptions of their recent history. They are both members of the Council of Europe and can benefit from our programmes on history teaching as a means of reconciliation between and within countries in Europe. Whatever differences the two countries may have, they should be resolved through dialogue between equals, based on mutual respect (http://www.coe.int/t/secretarygeneral/).

The will or desire to remember the period of communist rule in a European way is also nourished by the EU, as the resolution on totalitarianism indicates. The price of belonging to Europe has been the appropriation rather than the refusal of a "traumatic past". My argument here is that the European Union and the Council of Europe, among others, are actors in an ongoing process of Europeanisation of historical events and memories which formerly tended to be more national. This brings us back to the concept of collective (or collected) memory, which justifies this political engagement with remembrance and heritage. Above I identified significant changes in heritage thinking and political focus in recent years, as heritage now is

seen as an element of the grand design to build a united Europe and as a potential tool to be used to help create peace and resolve conflicts. This shift from working to safeguard heritage to working on the meaning of heritage is in line with a holistic definition of cultural heritage. The new principle is that the preservation of this heritage is not an end in itself "but has the object of furthering the well-being of individuals and the wider expectations of society" (Council of Europe Publishing 2009:10). Holistic, yes, but also an instrumentalist conception of heritage in which the idea of the utility of heritage is vital: "in conflict resolution, in economic regeneration, in education for citizenship, in the search for sustainable development" (Council of Europe Publishing 2009:17). In several publications the Council of Europe dedicates itself to "creating a common experience as Europeans by constructing a shared field of memory with the purpose of creating a shared, democratic and peaceful future". It is particularly clearly stated by the German political philosopher Peter Wagner in one of the publications:

> The question to be addressed appears seductively simple: How can the politics of "cultural heritage" contribute to the creation and stabilisation of a European identity? To answer this question it is necessary to engage "culture" and "heritage" in their relation to "identity" and to relate these three terms to the space and meaning of "Europe." As this report will argue, the necessary definitions and connections can and should be made in terms of a Europeanisation of collective memory and shared experiences based on the founding principles of the Council of Europe: "the protection and promotion" of the "ideals and foundational principles" that constitute the "common heritage" of its members (Council of Europe 2010:9).

This, in a professional heritage context, novel approach proceeds from the idea that much of the tension between populations that co-exist is due to insufficient knowledge of their respective cultural traditions, and to disregard of the relationships which have grown up between them through time. From this standpoint, the proper route for advancement is via "remembrance management" which will enable the individuals and groups who live in Europe to take collective spiritual possession of all heritages. The heritage of past conflicts should be taken into account, besides that constituted by moments of openness, freedom, and progress. This is where the humanistic wrapping becomes obvious. "Human rights" and abuses against such rights offer a relevant problematic and entry-point with which people can be reached in different ways. By focusing on problems common to all mankind, such as resistance and suffering under Fascism/Nazism and Communism, when such memories address ideas and ideals that transcend their particular places of genesis and enactment, those experiences are made into something lived and shared. Heritage is promoted as an enabling power; as a force for democracy in Europe.

I am convinced that it is fundamental that the new narrative, one supposed to bring about European unity and include the recognition of humans, can only be attained through the dilution of a general concept of human, and as respect for human rights. A widely used way of achieving this is by shaping a common European heritage as human stories and lived experience, especially experiences of violence; the attractiveness of this humanising of

A popular or spontaneous memory site in Timisoara, Romania, in memory of some citizens who died in the revolt against Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989. Photo: Lene Otto.

history is that it is an alternative to traditional political history and history of ideologies, which potentially generates conflicts. Apparently it is easier to agree on a common history of human suffering; suffering is no longer specific to one group or one nation, but becomes a common experience that all Europeans can identify with. Its priorities have shifted towards safeguarding values and rooting them firmly in people's minds. That the Council of Europe now gives prominence to the building of a more human and more cohesive Europe shows the Council as a more political actor.

Thus the Council of Europe's vision of a Europe bonded by culture and heritage can be seen as a more human-scale approach which also merges well with the idea of a shared identity endorsed by the politicians of Europe. In contrast, another strategy to successfully leave the past as cultural wastelands behind is nation building, including the shaping of a distinct national history and heritage. Eastern Europe is not more or less passively becoming Europeanised. New cultural identities cast in the well-known national mould are also a viable practice; as was the case in the nineteenth century, museums of cultural history play an important role in this process, as they become responsible for the material and intangible legacy of communism.

III. Cultural Heritage and Nationalism, the Work of Museums

It is a common experience of Eastern European societies that their history and past under communism was falsified and rewritten or even destroyed in order to construct an ideologically homogenised history (Niedermüller 1998:172). So, one foundation of the new memory discourse is that the misinterpretation of the historical *truth* must be corrected. "Historical truth" and "historical reality" are represented as entities which are the political antithesis of communism. The assumption is that the truth will heal both individual souls and the collective spirit, and become the moral basis of the new society to come. In this way national memory becomes a moral duty, a means of effecting an internal transformation in the hearts and minds of the former communist citizens, and thereby undoing the normal corruptions of communism. Memory is needed to protect and heal society, and "break the amnesia pact between the regime and the nation, a pact upon which communism rested" (Eyal 2004:21). The discourse of the communist past which has been created in the social and political space of post-communism also influences and organises people's common understanding of themselves and their past. In this process museums play an important role as co-producers and mediators, because they hold a strong symbolic power through not only narrating but also materialising, visualising, and ritualising the past (Knigge & Mählert 2005).

The use of material relics and the construction of metaphors and narrative structures for the telling of the past is an important element in the process of national identity creation. "In contemporary Eastern Europe, museums are frequently employed as a means of creating historical authenticity to render communist terror tangible and the related interpretation of the recent past credible" (Apor 2010:241). This is in accordance with the now classic work by the French historian Pierre Nora, who analysed how historical events have been produced in concrete form. In his *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984), Nora argues that these representations – the sites of memory – are inauthentic substitutes for living traditions – the social milieux of memory. The social environment where the event would be part of everyday memory has disappeared. In contrast, I see another tendency, the development of new museums which are both sites of memory and museum; they are *not* substitutes for living traditions, but they become part of everyday memory practices. Many post-communist museums promote an active engagement with the past and they play an active role in the discursive production of memory and in the healing of collective trauma. Discourses work through a particular cultural form, which can be verbal, ritual or visual as in texts, historical commemorations and exhibitions (Niedermüller 1998:172), but most often they are a permutation, as in the museums I refer to in the following, which all deal with the discourse of trauma, as regards genocide, violence, terror, and suffering. This is apparent in their names: The Genocide Museum (in Vilnius), The Terror House Museum (in Budapest), and The Memorial of the Victims of Communism in Sighet, Romania. These three museums seek to serve a liberating as well as a therapeutic function by drawing out memories rather than

repelling them. In the following I draw on my earlier analysis (Otto 2008, 2009a, b) in a generalising way, rather than investigating the museums separately.

Much research has confirmed that struggles over public memory involving historical trauma, genocide, and human rights violations abound in Eastern Europe (and the world). The American scholar Andreas Huyssen (2003) even uses the term "trauma discourse" about contemporary uses of the past. He notes that, since the 80s, we seem to consider the whole history of the twentieth century under the sign of trauma: "The privileging of trauma formed a thick discursive network with those other master-signifiers of the 1990s, the abject and the uncanny, all of which have to do with repression, spectres, and a present repetitively haunted by the past" (Huyssen 2003:8). The discourse of traumatic memory has encouraged the spread of ideas about "healing" and "grief work" on a collective level, including the idea that every citizen needs to grieve after the end of a repressive political regime, even if they never actually directly experienced violence. The idea is that the world has to be remade through suffering in the forms of testimony and witnessing for example in forums of truth commissions and trials. This process also "involves the moral engagement of others by making the victim's suffering visible" (Humphrey 2002:144). Museums as institutions of collective memory take active part in this remaking of the world. Museums are catalysts for a cultural process of remembering and revisiting the past, and they play an important role in "the allocation of responsibility and the politics of blame" (Antze & Lambek 1996: xxi).

This new role of museums has been thoroughly considered in Paul Williams's book, *Memorial Museums*, about the global rush to commemorate atrocities. Williams sees memorial museums as playing an important role in the shaping of public historical consciousness. He proclaims that morality is a topic that hangs over all memorial museums, whether representing disasters associated with fascism, communism, imperialism, or industrialism (Williams 2007:160). Others have also identified the emergence of these new "museums of conscience", which deal with subjects such as genocide, slavery, apartheid, civil rights, and crimes against humanity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2002:59). A moral museum is no longer a mere storehouse for exhibits and collections, but also a centre for research, and an organiser of different activities, such as hearings and commemorative ceremonies. They have become catalysts for national recognition and spaces for witnessing, debate, reflection, healing, and are as such closely related to processes of national, cultural revival and commemoration. These museums have a historic mission, they know that they are making history, and especially that exhibiting atrocities is an act of conscience – of making right historical injustice and misinterpretations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2002:57).

The three museums I refer to are all memorial museums, i.e. buildings in which former atrocities took place. They were founded to commemorate communism as a violent event and to honour the memory of victims of communism. For this, trauma is a much used metaphor for political oppression, and "traumatic memory" is used as an interpretive framework in the

exhibitions. The public memory of political repression is given more permanent shape in the museum settings, because the materiality of the museum is more persuasive and moving than a history book. Hence, they are arenas for the formation of collective memories of experiences with political violence, and they must manage the balance between aestheticising traumatic memory and offering a place for historical reflection to its visitors. To attain this goal at least two strategies are used: one is to work in the service of truth by facilitating a space for the silent witnesses of the past as a kind of Holocaust survivors, opening up to a now global horizon of Holocaust remembrance. Another is to externalise the communist past, presenting it as an alien phenomenon imposed by a foreign force (the Soviets) against the nation's will; the nation's suffering is explained as the result of ill will on the part of "others". Both strategies facilitate a national identity as a community of suffering.

Bearing Witness

A true representation of the national history is one of the most important political and symbolic demands of post-communist museums. It is a widespread strategy to aim at a symbolic restoration of history, meaning the recovery and representation of missing historical experiences. Truth and memory are seen as necessary for the therapeutic process, and the recollection of past evil seems to be a crucial source of empowerment. The idea that memory heals through truth has provided the rationale for this exhibition strategy. Bearing witness has become a central obligation for memorial museums. Events and social groups that were forgotten in the official history are reinterpreted as central in a new and truer history. The three museums pay special attention to the personal stories of deportees, who become the core of the narrative. Documentary texts such as autobiographies, portraits, diaries, life story narratives and memories are used to correct or restore the manipulated history. They are not simply memories but testimonies (Agamben 1999). A testimony is a specific kind of memory, told by witnesses. The first-person account has a certain kind of legitimacy, and survivor testimonies are also known from Holocaust museums. Nothing seems too painful or too emotionally provocative to deal with. The idea seems to be that, as psychotherapy aims to help individuals get unstuck by bearing witness to their suffering, so museums can heal the nation's collective identity, but potentially these narratives of suffering could be in conflict with the Europeanisation ambition, because the identification of perpetrators inevitably leads to political conflict in or between nations. A way to steer clear of counteracting the ongoing process of building a European Union on a common memory is to transform the victim testimonies into nation-transcending experiences such as expulsion, terror and genocide, not infrequently with a little help from the Council of Europe. The Council supports such heritage initiatives, i.e. museums exhibitions, economically and morally and it gives its official imprint, the letter C embracing (or squeezing?) the European circle of stars, in many of the new post-communist museums, to affirm that the exhibition is "approved" according to European standards.

Using museum representations as a

therapeutic tool is a creative process which imposes meaning on otherwise incoherent suffering and also a way of breaking the silence. The downside of this is that it may disempower the people by institutionalising the position of victim (Judt 2007). The exhibitions may seem reliable and reasonable, but through this process of recognition of individual suffering a new definition of victim has come into being, which only infrequently complies with the victim status codified into law. Victim status is accorded simply against the background of an experience of politically motivated injustice suffered in the past. Because the term "victim" captures the helpless psychological position of a subject during torture and terror, the construction of identity through victim may enforce a continued victimisation role. The problem is, on the one hand, that this staging of victimisation may subject people to feelings of helplessness, and on the other hand, that the historical context and macro perspective vanish behind individual fates and particular life worlds, as pointed out by Niedermüller (1998:174). Rather than foregrounding social and political contexts, the biographical perspective on history emphasises the human being as an individual, but the experiences of the individual are also reduced to a general human suffering, a universal victimhood.

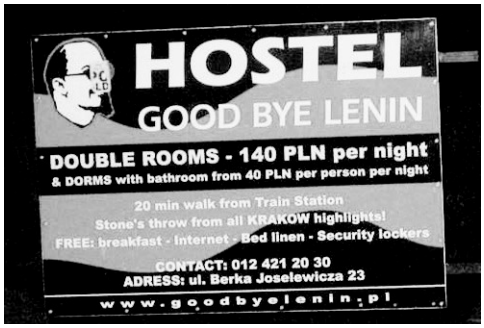
Political Oppression as a National Holocaust

What apparently often happens while explaining the ambiguities of history in exhibitions is that the new national identity directs the responsibility for failure away from oneself. This strategy also feeds into a reconstruction of a national memory in terms of victimhood. Such reparative narratives of the terrible things that happened to the nation are conceptualised as trauma narratives in the museums (as per their names). To recognise one's history as a history of abuse or terror, or even as genocide or a national holocaust, is a rejection of responsibility. According to Andreas Huyssen (2000:24), the Holocaust often functions as metaphor for other traumatic histories and memories, and the global circulation of the Holocaust as a trope certifies its use as a prism through which we may remember other instances of genocide.[8] In his article "The Competition of Victims", analysing memory politics in Ukraine, Wilfried Jilge has pointed to the tendency in post-communist countries to construct "national Holocausts" and thus award their nations victim status and position themselves as morally superior (2006:51). This of course, is in conflict with the view that the role of the victim in the West undeniably belongs to the Jewish people. In Budapest as well as in Vilnius, post-communist and Jewish museums have been involved in conflicts over these issues. In the Terror House Museum in Budapest (founded in 2002 by right-wing Prime Minister Orbán as part of his election campaign) the exhibition portrays Hungary solely as the victim of foreign occupiers hardly recognising the contribution that Hungarians themselves made to the regimes in question. It is emphasised throughout the exhibition that the Hungarian population were victims of a forced socialisation with values that were totally alien to them, and it is overlooked that the victims of Stalinism were often former collaborators with National Socialism.

The Jewish museum, on the other hand, questions the legitimacy of making a parallel between the Nazis' short, but effective eradication of 600,000 Hungarian Jews, and 44 years of political repression of the Hungarian population. The comparison is not found to be appropriate, even though it is in agreement with the European ambition to remember in terms of common human experiences. In line with that, the Council of Europe has exercised its influence through the professional body European Museum Forum, which in 2004 nominated the Terror House Museum as Museum of the Year. The judges' report on the museum reads:

> The House of Terror in Budapest arouses strong feelings in its visitors, as it housed the headquarters of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross Party before the Second World War and later the political secret police of the Communist regime. Each room has its own environment, with theatrical effects mixed with original pieces, the philosophy being closer to a contemporary art installation than a conventional museum display with showcases and text panels. The uncompromising portrayal of recent history has generated strong political debate in Hungary as many people who are still alive have experiences of the House of Terror, both as interrogators and those who were brought to the building for questioning. It was felt by the EMF Committee that the presentations in the museum were founded on sound research and succeed in keeping alive the memory of a series of terrible political and social experiences in Hungary without sensationalising them (http://www.europeanmuseumforum.org).

In spite of criticism from the Jewish Diaspora and many other institutions and individuals, the memory of the Holocaust has come to play an important role in the post-communist discourse, in the scholarly memory debate, as well as in the exhibition design in museums. An example is that the historical Holocaust trauma is materialised in the post-communist museums with the use of artefacts such as barbed wire, shoes, and a cattle wagon to provide a symbolic connection to the Holocaust. Such victims' objects have almost become icons heavily influenced by the example of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum, known for its display of camp objects and items found at the site after being plundered from the victims of mass extermination on their arrival: suitcases with nametags still attached, shoes, hairbrushes, mirrors, glasses, toothbrushes, jewellery, and clothes. The use of victims' artefacts in the three museums of communism is highly reminiscent of Holocaust displays; thus telling us that what happened in Eastern Europe was genocide, rather than the murder of political enemies. The statement on the historical nature of communism as terror and violence is based largely on a comparative evocation of fascism. The promoters of this interpretation may believe that this comparison establishes their history of communist dictatorship as a genuine European event.



The communist legacy is not only difficult, but can also serve as a resource in many ways. Perhaps the contours of a common communist heritage industry are beginning to emerge? Commercial sign in Cracow. Photo: Lene Otto.

Communism as Cultural Heritage

The considerable body of previous scholarship on memory of communism usually documented the disorderly status of evocation of the recent past and tried to explain this with reference to malfunctions of historical consciousness in the region. In contrast, I have viewed the contemporary politics of commemoration with regard to communism in Eastern Europe in relation to the historical and cultural-political conditions generated in Europe as a whole.

In recent memory the historical period between the Second World War and 1989 has become a cultural wasteland characterised by crimes against humanity through revitalisation, instrumentalisation, and transformation of the communist heritage, partly in order to meet the expectations of how to memorialise and consequently to affirm a collective European identity. On a national level, the promotion of cultural heritage as suffering may have some severe side effects such as disempowerment. Both Huyssen and Williams point to the problem that, when memory is exclusively understood in terms of pain, suffering, and loss, human agency is denied. They also agree that the approach to history as trauma does not help much to understand the political layers of memory discourse in our time. And as noted by Williams: "The expansion of those who consider themselves affected possibly adds to the viability of memorial museums worldwide, as they come to serve a global, cosmopolitan culture sympathetic to loss" (Williams 2007:165).

The cultivation of an image of one's own people as victims of violence and the rejection of responsibility has often been criticised, but what we also see now is that past events are judged ever more harshly in historical and legal terms. Using the word "genocide" has become an accepted way of talking about and exhibiting repression in post-communist museums, to characterise a broad spectrum of repressive actions such as political repression, Sovietification, deportations and collectivisation.[9] When the past is remembered as genocide or terror, it closes up the possibility to analyse and understand communism as a system, because such attempts will inevitably be seen as a defence of genocide. This interpretation strategy is supported not least from the USA and is not exclusively an Eastern European phenomenon.[10] And just to make sure, there have been great wrongs in the past, of course, and cultural history museums should set out to understand what happened and why, and not be satisfied with museums that replace event history with theatres of trauma.

European cultural institutions have taken upon themselves the task of turning entangled memories into shared memories. When I have suggested in this article that an element in the Europeanisation process is to create a shared memory, I do not claim that this means that a homogenising view of history is imposed on the member states. Rather, I have explored the political discussion about possible transnational standards for national memory constructions. The EU and the Council promote standards on the basis of practical communication and mutual negotiations across borders. The standards are meant as pragmatic guidelines for international agreements concerning the peaceful coexistence of collective memories. My analy-

sis shows that, to arrive at these standards, what is needed, according to institutional rhetoric and activities, is the adoption of humanistic values, referred to as European rather than universals, but also a deeper knowledge, recognition, and internalisation of the perspective of the respective other. This also means that there is an obvious need to identify and abolish problematic and pernicious memory strategies that still persist or have been revived in recent years. In European institutions it is hoped that, if such cognitive practices are introduced especially in border regions, it will have a helpful effect, making memory constructs more permeable and inclusive, thereby neutralising the aggressive potential of nationalistic memory constructs.

On the other hand, it may also be problematic if a sense of community at the European level must be founded on universal suffering or victimhood, which seems to be the case when an abstract term such as totalitarianism is put on the agenda as in the historical argument to make 23 August into a European Remembrance Day, or a European *lieu de mémoire*. The memory of shared suffering – all the peoples of Europe have suffered because of wars and political decisions – can provide a powerful link, but it does not necessarily result in European cohesion, because one nation's victimhood must imply another nation's role as perpetrator; and one and the same person may play both roles, and the victims or heroes of one period can become the perpetrators of the next. Another consequence may be that in the process of constructing a common identity we create an Other who is the antithesis of Europe, namely Russia, which must defend the Soviet legacy against "Europe", and this is exactly what Russia does by every means, for example, when it threatened to shut off the gas pipelines because the Estonian government removed the monument to the Red Army. Then there is the still unresolved conflict over the Russian exhibition in Auschwitz Museum, where the Polish museum director refuses to acknowledge the Russians' use of the word "Soviet citizen" about people who had this label because their country had been occupied. This is one of the dilemmas in the otherwise laudable ambition to build cultural identities through cultural heritage, as a way to integrate the former communist countries. In spite of that, the third wave of Europeanisation relies heavily on the apparently less fraught concept of "shared cultural heritage" in politics and practices of memory. Heritage and the canonisation of history have thus achieved a new high status, and are creating new regimes of "truths" to create an imagined community.

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Notes

1 European Parliament resolution of 2 April 2009 on European conscience and totalitarianism**:** http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P6-TA-2009-0213&language=EN&ring=P6-RC-2009-0165.

2 The Council of Europe was founded on 5 May 1949 by ten countries; it now has 47 members, including most countries of the former Eastern Europe, Russia, all the Nordic countries, and Turkey. The Council is built on po-

litical-cultural criteria of belonging. Article 1 of the Council's founding document states that membership in the Council rests and is built on the "ideals and foundational principles," summarised as the "common heritage" of its members. The Council of Europe seeks to develop throughout Europe common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals.

3 That Halbwachs today is esteemed as the pioneer of social memory studies may be due to his constructivist stance, and it also explains why his concept is considered useful for scholars who seek to explore memory as a process rather than an essence.

4 An agreement officially titled the "Treaty of Non-Aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union", signed in Moscow 23 August 1939. It was a non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, but in addition the treaty included a secret protocol dividing Northern and Eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence, respectively.

5 "The Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism" (also known as the Prague Declaration) was signed on 3 June 2008 by several conservative European politicians, former political prisoners, and historians, including the prominent Vaclav Havel. The declaration called for condemnation of and education about communist crimes.

6 From: "Explanations of votes" in "Texts adopted" on the European Parliament's website, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/.

7 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro, 27 October 2005 ("the Faro Convention").

8 The Ukrainian parliament, for example, has adopted a law recognising the Holodomor famine in the country in 1932–33 as genocide implemented by the Soviet.

9 According to the legal definition of the UN Convention, genocide is "a systematic effort to eradicate the whole of or a large part of a group of people solely by reference to their group membership", whereby the elimination of individuals with regard to political affiliation or belief is not covered in the convention.

10 American media and conservative organisations often repeat that 100 million died in the Communist holocaust, as against only 11 million victims of the Nazi Holocaust. Right-wing organisations in the United States, represented for example by the Heritage Foundation, have also worked to get the United States to erect a statue to commemorate "victims of communism, tragically numbering more than 100 million, struck down in an unprecedented imperial communist holocaust through conquest, revolution, civil wars, purges, wars by proxy, and other violent means". In 2007, a monument, "Victims of Communism Memorial in Washington DC, was unveiled.

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The Ephemeral Act of Walking

Random Reflections on Moving in Landscapes of Memory (Loss)

By Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch

Human activities become inscribed within a landscape such that every cliff, large tree, stream, swampy area becomes a familiar place. Daily passages through the landscape become biographic encounters for individuals, recalling traces of past activities and previous events and the reading of signs – a split log here, a marker stone there (Tilley 1994:27).

Much has been written and said about the symbiotic relationship between memory and landscape. Some studies have drawn attention to the ability of landscapes to act as storage and prompter of memories, while others have been more concerned with how landscape features long gone are preserved in memory. In this article I aim to discuss a few aspects of the relationship between memory and landscape by introducing a third element – that of movement.

Travelling and moving have always been part of human existence. However, in modern times there seems to be an ever increasing number of people in transit, including immigrants, refugees, migrant workers, tourists, and international businessmen. In an article dealing with the ambivalence and tension that can be a part of transnational travel, Tom O'Dell (2004) uses the term *cultural kinesthesis* as a way of exposing the moral frameworks and interpretations surrounding mobility. Travel and mobility, O'Dell argues, are part and parcel of daily life and identity production. This emphasis on our sense of motion, I believe, is crucial to understanding the manifold ways in which we construct basic ideas of home, belonging, and purpose. However, my intention in this article is not to look at transnational movement but to deal with movement in the "micro" perspective of place.

Locality does not equal stasis. In fact, motility is an essential way of perceiving and of developing a sense of locality. Movement makes us aware not only of our bodies but also of how our bodies interact with phenomena in the environment. The ability to find one's way and to know how to move within a place are significant factors for feeling at home and feeling attuned (Österlund-Pötzsch 2010). The geographer Edward Relph (1976) talked about this condition as feeling *inside* a place, i.e. a sense of being enclosed and at ease. The feeling of outsideness, on the other hand, is marked by strangeness and alienation. As individuals experience varying combinations and levels of insideness and outsideness, different places take on different identities for them.

In his seminal article "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time" (1996), the philosopher Edward S. Casey distinguished three kinds of bodily motion pertaining to place. The first case is *staying in place*. Here the body stays in one place with only the minimum amount of movement, such as a slight rotation of the head. The second case of *moving within a place* entails movement within a circumscribed space, such as walking around in a room or a courtyard. Thirdly, *moving between places* denotes travel between different places (Casey 1996:23). It is the second instance of movement that is my predominant interest in this article. Even though the examples discussed here mostly concern places larger than a single room, they can still be considered as cases of movement *within* a place. The sense of being-in-a-place is not solely connected with small localities, but may also refer to larger areas, as might be experienced

when taking a walk in a vast forest. Neither does an intimate experience of locality need to be connected with the vicinity of home or everyday life, as is often presumed. We may even travel great distances in order to experience one particular locality.

Motion indicates change. Wanting to experience new places is a powerful motive for travel. But we also travel to remember – we return to places connected with our past or visit places of collective remembrance or touristic nostalgia. It is not necessary, of course, to travel far in order to experience change in landscape. Even if we live our whole lives on the same street, a time span of fifty years might have changed our neighbourhood almost beyond recognition.

In this article, I will discuss a few eclectically chosen aspects of the ephemerality, as well as the traces, of moving in different landscapes of memory. My examples stem from my own fieldwork on walking practices[1] as well as a selection of artistic and literary sources. I will look at how walking can connect us with the historical layers of places, how landscapes in some cases are deliberately charged with meaning, and how the spaces "in-between" may offer opportunities for personal interpretations and leaving of traces. My aim is to acknowledge how the physical act of walking may create landscapes of memories, how we experience and remember our surroundings from the unique perspective of our own bodies, and how bodily memory is essential for both individual and social memory. I am also interested in cases of change and loss – such as the loss of memory, failing bodily capabilities, as well as the loss of, or radical change of, places. The point of departure is the premise that, through our spatial practices, we create and recreate landscapes and that landscapes are always multidimensional. In addition, walking in landscapes involves the weaving and telling of stories, not least biographical ones.

Catching the Ephemeral

Those walks did now like a returning spring
Come back on me again. When first I made
Once more the circuit of our little lake
If ever happiness hath lodged with man
That day consummate happiness was mine.
From *The Prelude* (Wordsworth 1805:132).

In artistic expression, the act of walking has been a source of inspiration, a method of working, as well as a motif in itself. Perhaps this was most remarkably the case during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, when a particular sense of walking became a prominent feature of the aesthetics of the time. Thinkers and writers such as Rousseau, Goethe, Wordsworth, Coleridge, De Quincey, Hazlitt, and Keats, to mention but a few, were not only dedicated walkers but also wrote dedicatedly about their walking.

Wordsworth, in particular, has become associated with a peripatetic mode of Romantic literature, in which the walker is placed in the same ideological rural landscape (previously) inhabited by the farmer (Wallace 1993:11, 166). A popular motif in Romantic writing was a return to landscapes of the past. In poems such as Wordsworth's "Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey" and Coleridge's "This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison", the poet-walkers find joy and strength in their vivid memories of land-

scapes they have previously traversed (see e.g. Poetzsch 2006:144).

A related and likewise dominant theme of Romantic poetry is the reconciliation of nature and person. The physical act of walking, here, works as a reconnection with nature as well as a reconnection with a communal past (Wallace 1993:17). Poetry for Wordsworth is a landscape of memory, as the literary critic John Elder observed. It is within this landscape an individual may discover a circuit of reconciliation (Elder 1985:10). The actual process of walking connects the physical reality with the imaginary:

> Just as the wastelands and the wilderness are reconciled through the earth's circuit of soil-building decay, the landscape and the imagination may be united through the process of walking. The mind's flicker of attention from the earth to its own associations seems on one level to have an inescapable binary quality. But mental sunlight and clouds are also born out under a larger sky in the meandering circuit of the poet's walk. Walking becomes an emblem of wholeness, comprehending both the person's conscious steps and pauses and the path beneath his rising and falling feet (Elder 1985:93).

The idea of walking as a way of communicating and becoming one with nature was not confined to the works of English Romantic poets. That someone would suddenly be overcome by wanderlust and consequently set course into a primeval forest was a common scenario in contemporary German literature. Walking was considered a paramount means of engaging in the sublimity of nature as well as the material traces of history, both central concerns of the Romantic Movement. In art, the motif of wanderers admiring a spectacular waterfall or a gloomy ruin gained notable popularity. Perhaps this theme was interpreted most poignantly by the German artist Caspar David Friedrich, whose well known paintings often depict a solitary wanderer, or wanderers, seen from behind as they direct the viewer's gaze to the landscape they are contemplating (Siegel 1978:13f., 24f., 26).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, walking as a mode of artistic aesthetics emerged again. However, this time the landscape was decidedly urban. In the 1860s, the flâneur was described by the Parisian poet Charles Baudelaire as a detached observer of city life. Over a half a century later, the literary critic Walter Benjamin saw the flâneur as a figure of the past. Nevertheless, by tracing the geography of flânerie he came to develop a similar method of observing and registering the layers of past and present city life (Tester 1994). Benjamin and other flâneuristic chroniclers of the rapidly changing society of the 1920s and 1930s held a deep fascination for the cityscapes they explored through their meandering. Anke Gleber has suggested that "the flaneur is the precursor of a particular form of inquiry that seeks to read the history of culture from its public spaces" (Gleber 1999:4).[2]

The relationship between landscapes, memory and walking has continued to be a source of inspiration and investigation in contemporary art. One of the best-known representatives of this is the English artist Richard Long, whose work, covering over four decades, has walking in nature as its main theme. One of Long's first and perhaps most famous works of art is *A Line Made by Walking* (1967) in which the artist had walked back and forth on a grassy

field until a clear straight path appeared. In other works, he has in various ways documented his walking in different types of landscapes. Circles of stones or twigs are a recurrent geometrical theme. Long himself describes his art as consisting of "the very act of walking itself" (Careri 2002:122). However, in his works it is the traces of his walks that we behold. Still, in the eye of the viewer, these traces manage to capture the ephemeral act of walking, since, in the words of the anthropologist Tim Ingold, "thanks to their solidity, features of the landscape remain available for inspection long after the movement that gave rise to them has ceased" (Ingold 2000:198).

Leaving Traces

While walking is in itself a transitory act, it does at times leave traces. Certain landscapes are more visually revealing in this respect than others. Thick mud and wet sand, for example, will show the footprints of traversing walkers for a while, whereas a concrete pavement usually tells us very little (litter and graffiti excluded) of who has traversed it. With a snowfall everything changes. In a landscape covered in snow it becomes very clear what routes people favour and where someone has chosen to take a shortcut or walked off-road. In places frequented by many pedestrians, pathways will soon form that most people subsequently will conform to

In a snow-covered landscape both popular pathways and individual routes will clearly show. Photo: Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch.

for easier walking. Snow gives us away, it tells stories. But these are narratives that melt away. As with the footprints in the sand, a rain shower will soon erase all tracks.

There is something intriguing about footprints and their evidencing of someone having walked by (cf. Ingold 2004: 333). The allure extends to the common image of walking in someone's footsteps.[3] This imagery is often evoked in the context of old pilgrim routes, not least in the revived and increasingly popular pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, *el Camino de Santiago*. The example of the Camino might seem to concern travelling between places towards a goal. However, for pilgrims the Camino constitutes a separate space apart from the world "outside" (Peelen & Jansen 2007:79, 81).

Ulrica, a young woman from Helsinki, commented on her Santiago pilgrimage experience by saying, "the goal was not paramount for me, but the actual road where I walked and what I experienced en route". In this, she reflects a general tendency among present-day Camino pilgrims to emphasize the act of walking rather than the arrival as the "true" goal of the pilgrimage. Not all Camino pilgrims make the pilgrimage for religious reasons. Nevertheless, in interviews many modern pilgrims still described the awareness that they were walking a medieval pilgrimage route as powerful. Siv, another Finnish Santiago pilgrim, remarked that to her one of the most fascinating aspects of the pilgrimage was thinking about the many people who had done the same before her. Some pilgrims even felt that walking in the footsteps of previous pilgrims created a bond through the ages that lent the act of walking a spiritual dimension (Österlund-Pötzsch, fieldwork material 2007–2011; see also Schrire 2006; Peelen & Jansen 2007).

The Camino is a landscape of memory. The idea of connecting with pilgrims past as well as pilgrims future is a central theme of the pilgrimage. Many pilgrims wish to leave some kind of physical trace of their own walking, for example by building a pile of stones as a route marker by the road or by adding a stone to an already existing marker (Peelen & Jansen 2007:83). Rituals such as this reconfirm the Camino de Santiago as a unique space, which entails movement through historically *layered places* rather than movement from one place to another.

The ubiquitous shell iconography found along the pilgrim route to Santiago enhances the experience of the Camino as a space of its own. In the photo, the feet of a group of pilgrims in Sarria, about 118 km from Santiago. Photo: Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch.

Often walked routes in nature not only make footprints but visible footpaths, which stand as clear declarations of habitual patterns of movement. The practice of continually walking a path is simultaneously a way of securing one's right to use that path. In common law, and other customary laws, active pedestrianism has the power to maintain a public right of way. Subsequently, the practice of walking may preserve parts of old landscapes against change and can serve as a way to maintain traditional borders (Wallace 1993:10; Adams 2001:192; Olwig 2008:87).

Performative acts of walking, such as processions and inspection rounds, are often used to ritually demarcate borders. In Britain, and elsewhere, there are old customs pertaining to walking along boundaries, such those of parishes, as a way of keeping the memories of the boundaries alive – an important matter in times when maps were rare. Traditional perambulations, known as "Beating the Bounds", are still carried out in some English and American parishes annually, mostly during Rogation Week or on Ascension Day (Hole 1944:57f.; Ryden 1993:26ff.).

Territorialization of social control is exercised by the police patrolling boundaries but also, employing the same strategy, by gang members striving to exert their influence over a neighbourhood (see Gieryn 2000:480). Marching "traditional routes" as a means to maintain or contest borders and make political statements is not uncommon in places of conflict. During the controversial annual marching season, Protestant parades are routed through Catholic districts in several Northern Irish towns. The parades, which have been arranged since the eighteenth century, have frequently sparked riots and violence between Protestant and Catholic groups. The marches are justified by their proponents as a demonstration of cultural heritage. The anthropologist Dominic Bryan has pointed out that the parades are in themselves a fighting ground for political ambitions. The symbolical and political function of the marches has changed throughout the years depending on the interests of different participating factions (Bryan 2000:6f., 155).

Another recent example of where walking along and across boundaries has become part of political rituals can be found in the Basque country. Nationalist and pro-independence movements have arranged large marches to cross the French-Spanish border as a symbolic statement regarding the unity of the greater Basque country. As a way of counter-demonstration, the authorities similarly use ritual as a marker of territorial sovereignty. Biannually the boundary stones along the Pyrenean borderline are checked in a rite involving state representatives from both the French and the Spanish side. This regional demonstration refers back to the traditional Basque ritual of walking along the village limits as a reconfirmation of boundaries (Leizaola 2000:41ff.). Through the physical act of walking, specific visions of a landscape may be reinforced. The performances and footprints of ritual movement act to keep memories alive while at the same time effectively confirming place identity.

Remembering through Landscape

To at least some extent every real place can be remembered, partly because it is unique, but partly because it has affected our bodies and generated

enough associations to hold it in our personal worlds (Bloomer & Moore 1977:107).

In her study of the classical art of memory, the historian Frances A. Yates (1966) discussed how skilled public speakers in antiquity created striking images in their minds which they then visualized in familiar environments such as a specific street or a building. By mentally moving through these places and regarding the envisioned scenes, chains of associations would appear which helped the rhetor to recall speeches and orations of great length. The method is described in detail in the manuscript *Rhetorica ad Herennium* from the first century BC.

The art of memory is a highly developed cognitive mnemonic method. However, the same basic principles that ensure its efficiency are at work when an ordinary stroll suddenly becomes a trip down memory lane – details in the landscape arouse associations with narratives and concepts. A similar technique was used, for example, by sixteenth-century Italian landscape architects, who created grand villa gardens saturated with allegorical messages contained in statues, fountains, and monuments. Substantial learning was required by the visiting strollers to interpret and associate correctly while making their way along the garden path (Schama 1995:275). In a much less coherent manner, this narrative effect is often aimed for in the creation of city spaces. Monuments are intended to give testimony about important people and events in the city's history, and the architecture of official buildings conveys messages of power and function. City spaces are strategically created to be admired and, to act as a thematic commentary on the city while simultaneously providing mnemonic access to a collective past (see Zerubavel 1994:94). The narration is aimed at visitors as well as the city's inhabitants. As these types of environments are best experienced on foot, it is hardly surprising to find that attempts to increase pedestrianism have become part of developing the social and cultural capital of many cities. Certain districts, such as "old towns" and gentrified harbour areas, often tend towards the ultra-performative and take on the qualities of large open-air museums.[4]

M. Christine Boyer has described the contemporary city as the City of Spectacle, reduced to the play of imagery connected with the selling of lifestyles. Following Maurice Halbwachs, she contrasts history, a uniformly fixed past, with collective memory, i.e. the multiple memories that exist as long as they are part of living experience of a group or individual. Our personal memories of places visited, Boyer contends, arise from a horizontal juxtaposition of different images, not one synthetically produced vision (Boyer 1996:32, 51, 66f., 375).

Urban architecture and monuments are not the only features of landscapes that take part in processes of remembrance. The Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup has studied the Icelandic landscape as a part of local memory and a sense of Icelandicness. She points out that, more so than material structures, it is mental imageries and social practices that link modern Icelanders with their ancestors who walked along the same paths. The social and the natural world constitute a whole (Hastrup 2008:53, 73).

Moving in the landscape on foot physically connects us with the earth and cre-

ates an "emblem of wholeness", to refer back to the words of John Elder. In motion, the kinaesthetic interplay of tactile, sonic, and visual senses fuels the perceptual engagement of emplacement (Feld 2005:181). A strong sense of place is likely to influence our memory of events. This would be supported by neurobiological studies that show long-term memory and spatial navigation both to be connected with the same part of the brain, the hippocampus. Experiments that measure the way in which memories of places that are formed during exploration of an environment and then later retrieved have demonstrated that memory of place is not composed of isolated locations but rather sequences of connected locations (Sternberg & Wilson 2006:239f., 241). Therefore, it is perhaps in the act of walking that we most vividly realize the decisive role of place for memory and the embodiment of memory.

Places connect the body with memory (Casey 1987:182). Even our appreciation of landscapes seems to be longer lasting when connected not only with aesthetic pleasure but also with memories of human incidents (Tuan 1974:95). Memories become tied to specific landscape details. In this way, places, and the patterns of movement connecting them, become linked with the creation of personal biographies. But places also develop their own histories based on the events that have taken place there (Tilley 1994:27, see also Lewicka 2008:213).

Not even in the human-made landscape of cities can every aspect be officially controlled and managed. The city is where people live their lives and, consequently, constitutes the stage for subjective memories and storytelling. Seemingly neutral buildings, streets, signs and other objects in the cityscape are inscribed with multiple stories. However, the messages are ambivalent and may be interpreted and read differently by different people. How we experience places is largely dependent on our previous knowledge, collective memory, and personal history. Places are always understood in relation to each other (ibid.:27). The longer we have lived somewhere, the more we become aware of the palimpsest-like quality of that place. Knowledge and memory can help us read some of the layers of stories inscribed in the landscape, even layers no longer visible (cf. de Certeau 1988:108f.).

Are memories always part of our everyday movements? In fieldwork on everyday walking practices in the city of Helsinki, most of the interviewed walkers felt that whether a walk became a "walk in memory" depended on the setting, the company one had, and one's mood. Thea grew up in central Helsinki in the 1940s but has lived most of her life in a residential area in the western part of town. She walks daily and mostly in the vicinity of her home. Although she has lived in the area for over forty years, she does not connect her neighbourhood with memories. "History is new here. It is the old things that one prefers to remember," she explained. However, certain places where she lived as a child always make her recall things: "It is still the case that if I go walking in the southern parts of town I have my memories there." Vivi, who also has moved away from her childhood environment in central Helsinki, feels the same. She regularly meets up with an old friend to walk around the

The landscapes of our childhood tend to hold special importance for our reminiscing. Here, two young boys in a Helsinki streetscape in the early 1900s. The Folk Culture Archives, The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland. Photo: Gustaf Sandberg.

Kaivopuisto Park. "It is terribly nostalgic. I like walking there very much," she commented. The experience that our childhood tends to create the strongest images in memory is observed in the mnemonics guide *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. "Things immediate to our eye or ear we commonly forget, incidents of our childhood we often remember best," the anonymous author of this classic work stated (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III, xxii).

However, places that are tied to periods relatively close in time may arouse nostalgic feelings and memories if they stop being part of our everyday lives. Henna, a woman in her mid-thirties, described how she had walked through a residential area she and her husband had moved from a year previously:

> Then it hit me very powerfully that we used to live here – and now we don't […] and suddenly I remembered a lot of things about what it was like to go to the playground with my two-year-old daughter. Then it just felt like "we are exhausted and we have to go to the playground", you know, the drudgery of everyday life. Now it all of a sudden took on a golden shimmer as I was walking there. It was like a closed chapter.

Revisiting places where we have lived not only makes us aware of the passage of time, but often also involves a meeting

with a former self – connected with a certain time, place and set of circumstances (see Wilson 1997:128, 131). Environments in which we move on a daily basis do not seem to evoke memories to the same extent as places revisited. As we go about our everyday lives, the historical layers of landscape may be present in our minds but are not always foregrounded unless something draws our attention to them. In these cases our place memory works first and foremost as tacit place knowledge (cf. e.g. Gardiner 2006), in other words, an awareness of matters such as where to best cross the street, where we can take a short-cut across a backyard and what park trails tend to get flooded in heavy rain. Although necessarily dependent on our ability to remember, everyday know-how is seldom perceived as memory. If we are separated from the environment in time and space, this taken-for-granted place knowledge may receive memory status, and may even become tied to specific events and develop into narratives.

Gaps, Loopholes, and Porosity

"There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in," reads a lyric by the Canadian singer-songwriter Leonard Cohen.[5] Cracks, gaps, loopholes and the spaces in-between have fascinated many observers of movement in urban spaces. In the essay "Naples", which Walter Benjamin wrote with Asja Lacis, the term porosity is used to describe a lack of borders the authors experienced during a visit to Naples. They found a tendency of dissolving borders between the old and the new, between finished and decayed buildings and between the private and the public (Melberg 2005:106). However, one should be careful not to turn porosity into a picturesque vision of authenticity, warns the literary critic Svetlana Boym. Porosity exists in any city, reflecting time and history as well as techniques of urban survival. Boym describes porosity as a spatial metaphor for time. Because of the improvisational character of porosity, attempts to create total visions of the city always aim to destroy it (Boym 2001:77, 80). In modern city planning there is a tendency to produce gentrified and sanitized city spaces. In this aesthetic framework, the downgraded, the devalued and the disturbing become a nuisance and are expelled from sight and social sensibilities (Boyer 1996: 411f.).

But even the most well-planned cities contain cracks and openings. Certain aspects and places are disregarded, while others are not used in the intended way (Saltzman 2009a:12f.). The Swedish ethnologist Katarina Saltzman has studied the everyday life that takes place in urban fringe areas. Saltzman notes that fringe areas tend to be seen as mundane to the point that they often are completely overlooked as landscapes. However, peripheral places may have great significance to individual people and be closely connected with life stories and memories. The fact that fringe areas often do not have any designated function opens these places up for an array of different activities and interpretations (Saltzman 2009b:24, 26).

Due to the attempts on the part of city authorities to control public spaces and create city density, many people have come to perceive in-between and overlooked places as "free-zones", filled with potential for creativity and change (cf.

Saltzman 2009a:14; Zintchenko 2009:83). Individuals thus take advantage of the porous, multidimensional aspect of cities and make their own traces in the landscape. The way people organize their own lives while moving around in their everyday environments has been described by the ethnologist Elisabeth Högdahl among others. Following de Certeau's theory of how people use their everyday practices tactically, she outlines how people in two very different places, Malmö in Sweden and Cape Town in South Africa, use loopholes in order to negotiate city space. In a lucid way, Högdahl's study show how city landscapes are made through an intricate interplay between material conditions, prevailing rhythms, and people's memories and knowledge connected with the place (Högdahl 2003).

A city is always more than its official surface. The literary critic Rita Paqvalén, co-author for a cultural-historical city guide to the Helsinki of women (*Kvinnornas Helsingfors*, 2010), points out that the city consists of a multitude of layers and voices, even if many of them are suppressed or marginalized (cf. Zerubavel 1999:84). Getting to know a place and moving in it is a way to become aware of the gaps. Paqvalén underlines: "The more one learns, the more one sees that there *are* layers, and that there is always something seeping out from beneath the present official façade" (interview 12 May 2008; see also Österlund-Pötzsch 2010).

The marginalized may find refuge in the porosity of landscapes. Porosity contains the graffiti on the wall, the warehouse that is no longer in use, and the old barn that has not yet been torn down to make way for new development. This is the dimension in which random historical evidence might unexpectedly turn our city walk into a visit to a landscape of memory.

The artist Heidi Lunabba leaving an ephemeral trace in the form of a portrait in flour as part of a guided walking tour based on the cultural-historical guidebook *Kvinnornas Helsingfors* ("Women's Helsinki", 2010). Photo: Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch.

The Fluidity of Landscapes

"Now where is Regulus, or Romulus, or Remus? The previous Rome stands only in name, we hold bare names,"[6] remarked the twelfth-century Benedictine monk Bernard of Cluny rhetorically in his satirical poem *De Contemptu Mundi*. What is in a name? Is the name the only thing that is eternal about the Eternal City, or would Rome by any other name still be Rome? While Karl-Marx-Stadt likely is perceived as the same town as Chemnitz by its in-

habitants, the previous city of Königsberg can arguably be said to share little more than geographical location with the present city of Kaliningrad. If one visits Place de la Bastille in Paris one finds an opera house and a large roundabout centred on the July Column but no remains of the old fortress intimately connected with the city's history.

Names are an attempt to fix things. The act of naming a place is a means of controlling, organizing, and exhorting power. Bestowing an official name is consequently a highly political act, reflecting contemporary ideals and conditions. Moreover, place-names are often used to commemorate. The street, square, or park that is named after a specific person, or other phenomenon, is simultaneously transformed into a space-as-monument. But we also use place-names to orientate ourselves in landscapes. Colloquial naming practices often reflect local history and place identity. In a fundamental way names create landscapes, the archaeologist Christopher Tilley observed. Place-names become captured in social discourses and act as mnemonics for the historical actions of individuals and groups (Tilley 1994:18f.; see also Hastrup 2008: 61). We relate to place-names on many different levels. Michel de Certeau gave the example of how our walking can be controlled by proper names by referring to a friend who during his visits in Paris found himself drifting towards street names that reminded him of his home town (de Certeau 1988:104).

The Second World War caused drastic changes in the European social landscape. Places not only changed names, they changed populations. During the war, people were killed on the battlefield, in death camps, or as civilian "casualties". Individual buildings and whole districts were razed to the ground. An extensive displacement of people was another of the many profound consequences of the war. Many people had their houses destroyed or were otherwise forced to leave their homes behind as national borders were redrawn. One of the areas heavily affected by forced migration was the region of Silesia in present-day Poland, which up until the end of the Second World War had a substantial German population. The Silesian Germans were among the approximately 14 million ethnic Germans displaced from their homes in Eastern Europe to be resettled in either of the two post-war German states. In many parts, the resettlers were unwelcome and seen as foreigners (Lewicka 2008; Lundén 2009). The previous German communities in Silesia were for the most part repopulated by Poles from the eastern parts of Poland who had lost their homes through the Soviet takeover. The Polish migrants arrived in houses and farms organized in a strange and unfamiliar way. There was an extensive cultural gap between the new settlers and the land. This gap was not easily bridged as the German communities, who could have acted as mediators to the technical and symbolic meanings of the landscape, were gone. Moreover, there was a prevalent belief among the settlers that the territorial changes were not final and that it did not pay to invest in the present home. The first generation of settlers thus failed to reconstruct their communities in the new territory, which resulted in "non-communities" marked by a general feel-

ing of indifference (Mach 2001:68; Lewicka 2008:209). The memories and attachment to the land was missing, the landscape devoid of meaningful layers.

The sisters Marta and Anna were born in the small town of Strehlen (Polish Strzelin) in the Prussian province of Lower Silesia in the 1930s. The family, consisting of the parents and eight children, was forced to leave their home twice, the first time in 1945 and the second time in 1947, when they left for good to be resettled in GDR. The old house was taken over by a Polish family whose home had been destroyed by the Soviet army. Marta and Anna returned to visit Strehlen in 1980 and then a second time together with their brother twenty-eight years later in 2008. Anna was too young to have any personal memories of the old house, but she had seen it in small black and white photos. Her impression on the first visit was that the house looked just like in the pictures but completely dilapidated. Marta concurred; the first visit was a great disappointment. "They had done nothing to stave off the decay," she said. "Nothing had changed, it seemed like even the curtains were the same. No paintwork." However, the second visit turned out to be a pleasant surprise. The second generation, the children of the family, had now taken over the place and had done extensive reconstruction and renovation work. "It was as if they had won the lottery and invested it all in the house," Marta remarked. Many memories returned as she stood watching the old house. She remembered how as a child she had followed her grandfather and father in building the veranda of the house. Every now and then they had walked out to the street to check that the construction was straight and she had happily trundled along.

Seemingly contradictory, the first revisit to their old home was perceived as tragic because *nothing had changed*. The traces of human interest and maintenance were lacking and the house was in decay. The home was no longer cared for and the spirit of the place was seen as missing. The second visit, on the other hand, was described as a positive experience precisely because there had been change. In a manner of speaking, things had now reverted to *how it used to be* – the home was seen to be in good hands and taken care of. Despite describing their old home as a "closed chapter" in their lives, seeing the house in good condition still made the sisters happy. Marta was reminded of a time as a child when she witnessed the house being built – thus connecting her old memories of the house with the present owners' reconstructions.

When Marta returned to her childhood home thirty-three years after having left it, her first reaction was that everything seemed like a miniature. Their old house was smaller and the distances between the houses in the street were much shorter than she remembered. The place was familiar but also strangely dissimilar.

Bodily Memory

> All experiences in life, especially experiences of movement and settlement in three-dimensional space, are dependent on the unique form of the ever present body (Bloomer & Moore 1977:37).

Returning to a place we have not seen since we were children often gives us a sense that everything in that place somehow has shrunk. The big hill we used for sledging is no more than a slight incline,

and the enormous tree that offered a spectacular view of things below turns out to be a very moderately sized maple. While our body memory of the place is vivid, the change in perspective makes it simultaneously the same and a different place.

It is through the perspective of our own body that we meet the world. We adapt to moving in different environments. A person who has spent all her life in a large city with concrete surfaces will probably find walking in the uneven terrain of a mountain forest initially very challenging. Contrarily, someone used to walking steep mountain roads tends to overcompensate by lifting his legs too high and leaning forward when newly arrived in a flat street landscape.

Our ability to perform specific body movements can improve with training that involves integration of proprioceptive signals. Proprioception is our unconscious perception of movement and spatial orientation arising from stimuli within the body itself. In other words, it is the sense that makes it possible for us to execute movements without constant visual cues – such as being able to move in the dark. In studies where participants were asked to locate landmarks using only visual information (while sitting) and through a combination of visual and proprioceptive information (while walking), it was demonstrated that participants pointed to landmarks more efficiently when walking, as they then could access the proprioceptive information about the environments (Yamamoto & Shelton 2005:140f.). Thus, our skill in negotiating and moving in different landscapes is dependent on our sense of proprioception, and, moreover, our sense of proprioception improves our ability to remember details about our surroundings.

However, motility is not a self-evident quality. Loss of mobility will radically change our interaction with the world and cause profound disruption of time and space. Not being able to walk and maintain an upright position will not only diminish one's autonomy but also how one is treated by others (Toombs 1992). In some cases of amnesia, the ability to navigate previously familiar environments might be impaired even if the capability to walk and move is intact. Memory loss and disorientation problems are characteristic of dementia, and people afflicted often show "wandering behaviour", i.e. movement without purpose.

An ethnographic research project regarding people in the early stages of dementia, conducted by the Spanish Red Cross, explored how the patients' freedom of movement could be enhanced by using a tracking system via mobile phones and GPS to determine the position of a subject and in this way being able to monitor whether the patient was moving within a "safe zone". For people in the initial stages of dementia the new technology offers an opportunity to recover autonomy and to avoid institutionalization and locked doors. One of the greatest benefits of the project was found to be the possibility for the patients to inhabit their neighbourhoods once again, thus facilitating the persistence of social and affective relationships (Tirado et al. 2009). Being part of a community means inhabiting a space of familiar practices and continuing everyday use of space (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1998:148, Tirado et al. 2009). In this, maintaining pat-

terns of movement emerge as a key aspect of dwelling.

In some cases our body memory remains when other memory capacities fail. The life-writing scholar Nicola King relates the case of a man with Alzheimer's who forgot where he parked his car but was able to get back home by walking, as his body remembered the route although he could not remember the address. King (2000:27f.) points out that different events are remembered in different ways and that some seem to be remembered only "in the body". "The centrality of our body memory comes home to us most vividly precisely when such memory fails us", as Casey (1987:146) stated. Habitual body memory is deeply orienting. It is our habituating actions which help us in "getting the lay of the land" and situating ourselves in different landscapes (ibid.:151).

Since bodily movements are accompanied by sensations, embodied practices provide a particularly effective system of mnemonics, claimed the anthropologist Paul Connerton. Body memory is not only vital for personal memories but also for social memory. Embodied memory is transmitted through social interaction such as community rituals and social habits, which, in turn, work as legitimating social performances. The body is also essential for the capacity to remember landscapes. In fact, human spatial memory is powerful exactly because it has bodily self-awareness as its frame of reference. Because our bodies are already constituted with directionality (up–down, left–right, front–behind) we are able to remember the life spaces we are emplaced in as oriented in certain directions (Connerton 1989).

Conclusion: Movement as Dwelling

> [T]he lived body is conterminous with place because it is by bodily movement that I find my way in a place and take up habitation there (Casey 1987:180).

The point of this article has been to give a few examples of how our sense of movement, O'Dell's *cultural kinesthesis*, is a vital dimension of dwelling and everyday life. Taking a walk means having to physically respond and adapt to our surroundings. However, the way we relate to the landscape through which we move obviously also takes place on a mental level. Through our senses we are constantly interpreting the milieux we encounter. Familiar as well as unfamiliar details may give us associations or awaken memories. Consequently, it has often been recognized that walking has a narrative dimension (see e.g. Solnit 2000). Whereas "narrative" in this context should not be perceived as the production of full-length coherent stories, one can clearly distinguish a poetic form of narration embedded in the process of taking a walk – a fragmentary, episodic, and disjointed narrativity, which at times links up with larger and more complex stories.

Place and memory are in constant dialogue. Walking is one basic way of interacting with place. It is through movement that we primarily organize and perceive places. A walk through a familiar landscape holds a potential for identity confirmation. If we have a personal relationship with the places we pass on our perambulations, a walk may even take on the characteristics of a self-biographical narrative. Walter Benjamin stated that a description of a city related by a person who has grown up there will doubtlessly be remi-

niscent of a memoir (Benjamin 1999:262). A physical walk can thus be accompanied by a walk in our inner selves. As pointed out by Orvar Löfgren (1997:35), among others, physical and mental landscapes always overlap as we cannot separate memories and associations from our present movement in a landscape.

By moving in places we also come across gaps, borders, and restrictions, and while potentially delimiting, these may offer opportunities for personal creativity as we find ways to deal with them. "What the maps cut up the story cuts across," de Certeau claimed (1988:129). By the nature of its subject, this article has, quite deliberately, been a rambling excursion in a rich field. In the end, the conclusion arrived at is simply this: aspects of movement, landscape, and memory, taken together, constitute a very powerful triangulation to our sense of self.

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Notes

1 Fieldwork 2007–2011, for the research project "Space, Rhythm, Ritual" within the joint research project "Nordic Spaces in the North and North America: Heritage Preservation in Real and Imagined Nordic Places" (see www.nordicspaces.org/ & http://nordicspaces.com/). The interviewees (about 30 persons) have been found through recommendations and snowball sampling. The persons quoted in the text have been given pseudonyms. All quotations translated into English by the author.

2 Walking as a critical tool was further developed by the Situationist International in the 1950s and 1960s, and later by the Italian Stalker urban art workshop, among others.

3 The motif of footprints is popular in folk legend. A variation on the theme of magical footprints appears, for example, in the English Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas". On the night of St Stephen's Day, the noble King Wenceslas is walking around giving alms to the poor. When his page complains of the cold – "Sire the night is darker now. And the wind blows stronger; fails my heart, I know now how, I can go no longer" – the king simply answers, "Mark my footsteps, good my page, Tread thou in them boldly; thou shalt find the winter's rage freeze thy blood less coldly." And, indeed, when the servant walked on in his master's footsteps he found heat emanating from the ground the saintly feet had touched.

4 The experience of walking in a museum and in a "themed" town district is often strikingly similar: not least in how the visitor's walking is directed. In galleries and museums, the visitor is led by the placing of walls and the shape of the building (Unwin 2000:135). The walking in popular tourist areas in the city is guided by arrows and signposts; some places even have recommended routes marked in the street surface. Through signs and placement, the visitor's gaze is directed towards the star sights. Besides touristic entertainment, a walk in an old neighbourhood, as well as a visit to a museum, may also be a way for someone to establish a quasipersonal contact with their collective past (see Zerubavel 1999:94).

5 Lines quoted from "Anthem" on the album *The Future* (1992).

6 *Nunc ubi Regulus aut ubi Romulus aut ubi Remus? Stat Roma pristina nomine, nomina nuda tenemus*.

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Film Ethnography

A Sociocultural Analysis of Feature Films

By Rikard Eriksson

Introduction

Feature films embody a complex sociocultural significance that, with thorough and systematic analysis, can offer knowledge about personal identity, social interaction, societal structures and individuals' ways of living (Aervold & Huus Larsen 2009). It is this recognition that forms the point of departure for this article on the methodology of film ethnography. Feature films can be understood in different ways and regarded as having a duality in the nature of their impact. On the one hand the plot and narrative structure of a feature film is transparently *exposed* to the audience on a direct level without the demand of any reflection on the part of the audience as a prerequisite for understanding, and where the purpose is simply to gain enjoyment from watching the film and, for a period of time, to be transported away from the here-and-now. However, on the other hand, feature films can also, at the same time, and on a more indirect level, *expose* different types of personal identities, patterns of social interaction, societal structures and lifestyles (Bell & Hollows 2006; Brodén 2008). In order to be able to access sociocultural conditions in feature films on a more indirect level, a reflective scientific analysis is required. The aim of this article is to propose and outline a research method – film ethnography – that can be employed for the generation of knowledge about sociocultural conditions in feature films (cf. Barsam 2004; Bolas 2009).

In the article the research method that is proposed combines components from Clifford Geertz's ethnography with a range of aspects from film theory. The ambition has been to create a research methodology that is both coherent with and closely related to the characteristics of film production but that, at the same time, permits the identification and analysis of the cultural patterns that are enacted in films. Thus, whilst an ethnographic approach sheds light on the social practices and cultural circumstances embedded in a film, technical aspects in the creation of the film, such as, for example, staging, lighting and editing are examined from the perspective of film theory. The underlying rationale in combining ethnography and film theory is that the more technical aspects of film production have a decisive role to play in determining how ethos, world views, cultural patterns, pathos and lifestyles are acted out on screen.

The purpose of the article is to present the outline of a research methodology that can be used in the sociocultural study and analysis of feature films. It is important to differentiate the proposed method, "film ethnography", from other approaches to the study of film, such as "the ethnography of film", "film as ethnography" and "visual anthropology", all of which involve the researcher initially filming the object of analysis and, thereafter, employing ethnographic methods as a means of revealing cultural patterns in the reality captured on film (e.g. Crawford & Turton 1992). Instead, film ethnography uses feature films as its empirical material and has the explicit aim of combining film theory with ethnographic analysis in its examination of the cultural patterns that are embedded in the film. The method outlined in this article can be used by ethnologists, film theorists and researchers interested in how feature films both mirrors and create social and cultural dimensions in everyday life.

Ethnography and a Sociocultural Analysis of Feature Films

The compounding together of "social" and "cultural" is based on the notion that social interaction always takes place in a cultural context that is comprised of artefacts and the natural environment, and in which the later contributes by forming the character of person-to-person interaction. If this rationale is applied to the ambition to combine ethnography and film theory into an integrated research methodology, then it follows that the meaning attached to the norms, values, attitudes and approaches that the actors in a feature film give expression to will always be a consequence of, and gain a depth of significance in relation to, the mise-en-scène, clothing, automobiles, buildings and other artefacts that the audience are presented with on the screen. At the same time, the characters whom the actors portray also gain identities by means of the camera angles and movements that have been deployed, the lighting set-ups chosen, the ways in which the actors' portrayals are pieced together in the cutting room and, indeed, the styles of music and sound effects that the characters' presences in the film are juxtaposed with (Barsam 2004).

Sociocultural studies of, for example, advertising, science and feature films often seek out implicit or explicit expressions of ideals, norms and values that are, to differing extents, indicators of that which is regarded as the "right" or "good" way of living in the contemporary or historical context that is in focus. Such analyses can, for example, reveal what a good, healthy, sound and normal life comprises. The ambition of such analyses is, not infrequently, to make transparent the preferences that relate to the ways in which people should be and should behave or, in other words, how the individual should live her life and conduct herself in social interaction with others. Thus, in essence, this type of analysis involves putting into words the often implicit perspectives on individuals and society that, alongside the primary purpose of product marketing, explaining reality and entertainment, are inherent in advertising, science and film (Qvarsell & Torell 2005; Söderberg 2002).

The sociocultural aspects of feature films can be studied in a meaningful way by means of ethnography's agenda of close scrutiny and attention to detail. The ideas of anthropologist Clifford Geertz are rooted in notions of the performativity of language. He employs a linguistic approach in his analyses and argues that the purpose of an approach based on the study of language is to provide access to the conceptual world of representations through which phenomena are brought to life. This thus makes it possible to understand how individuals and groups conceptualize and understand their world and their actions. Thus in film ethnography study is directed towards the ways in which actors and actions are brought to life in a film. Specifically, the focus of the analysis is on the ways in which the characters in a film conceptualize and understand their world and their actions. However, whilst the focus of Geertz's ethnography is on written and oral language, film ethnography encompasses a wider spectrum of discursive elements, such as, for example, sound effects, digital animation, the use of colour, photography, camera angles and sequencing that are more cine-

matographic in nature. A fundamental belief of particular importance in film studies is that a film's cinematographic character, along with its narrative structure, plot and intrigue, together comprise its meaningful content. With the adoption of a more ethnographic approach, one could argue that a film's cinematographic character contributes in the formation of the conceptual world of representations through which phenomena and events are brought to life on screen. The use of film ethnography as a method by which to study social and cultural aspects in feature films thus involves not just a focus on roles, dialogues and environments in the form of interiors and exteriors, but also has an additional focus on how cinematographic technologies create the meaning content of a film. This broader spectrum of discursive elements of a cinematographic nature, together with the casting, script and setting of a film, constitute a cinematographic discourse (Bodén 2008).

As Geertz makes clear, the determination to make experiences meaningful and to endow them with content and logical consistency, are features characteristic of modern societies in the Western world. In order to cloak experiences in meaning and to position lived situations in an overarching experiential structure, people, as linguist Kenneth Burke's explains, make use of symbols. According to Geertz symbols, in the form of metaphors, contain meaning. Symbols function in a manner that encapsulates knowledge about what the world is, and what it means to be a person living in the world. Systems of symbols are drenched in the meanings people experience, interpret and understand and are used both to express experiences, as well as functioning as guides by means of which actions are regulated. These systems form repositories in which future sources of information that can be used to discern, understand, evaluate and indeed manipulate the world can be stored. It is against this backdrop that film ethnography approaches film as a system of symbols drenched with meanings that the characters in the film experience, interpret and understand, and which they use to express their experiences and guide their actions. Film ethnography focuses thus on film as a system of information in which the lives of the characters are portrayed. It also studies how characters conceive of this verisimilitude – the reality of the film – that they populate, as well as how they understand, evaluate and manipulate it.

Ethos and World View in Feature Films

Two central concepts in Geertz's theoretical approach are *Ethos* and *World View*. Geertz uses the term "ethos" to encapsulate the moral, aesthetic and value-related aspects of a culture, whilst its knowledge-related aspects are captured in the term "world view". A people's ethos is the tone, quality and characteristics of the lives that are led. It is the nature of a people's collective moral and ethical demeanour. Ethos includes the attitudes that a people have towards both themselves, and the world that their lives reflect. World view, in contrast, reveals how things are in a truer form of reality. It comprises conceptions of the natural world, what it means to be a person, and the fundamental qualities of society. Thus world

view encapsulates a people's most cohesive ideas about order and logical consistency.

Geertz argues that a system of holy symbols relates a clearly defined understanding about what the world is to aesthetics and morals. Further, he suggests that the totality of holy and culturally cohesive symbols will, in any culture, always be limited. Further, despite the fact that it is thought to be theoretically possible for a people to create a values system without an antecedent ontology it appears, however, never actually to happen. Instead there is a dominant tendency to synthesize ethos and world view. Between the tried and tested ways of living (ethos) and the presumed understanding of the structure of reality (world view), lies the representation of a simple and fundamental consequentiality. Together ethos and world view function so as to make each other complete as well as lending meaning to one another (Geertz 1973). In film ethnography it is therefore of central importance to both analyze and describe those aspects of ethos and world view that a film projects. It is also important to study how those attitudes, value judgments and morals that the film encompasses are related to the way in which the film portrays the characteristics of the natural environment, the society and the people that populate it.

The Bringing to Life of Cultural Patterns in Feature Films

Geertz broadens the scope of his argument about the nature of systems of symbols by introducing the notion of *sacred symbol complexes.* According to Geertz, systems of holy symbols synthesize people's ways of living with their perception of the fundamental nature of reality. They summate a people's collective knowledge on what life is about and, in this way, form patterns in a culture. Cultural patterns are described as systems of integrated symbols, as figures of collaborating entities that are historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied. The difference between types of cultural pattern lies in the symbolic strategies that are used within such respective patterns as a means of defining and differentiating the situations that they represent. By making use of different cultural patterns, such as, for example, religions, sciences, philosophies and ethics, humans, according to Geertz, create order and meaning in the events and circumstances encountered in daily life. They form templates for the organization of interaction between people and provide a systematic and cohesive map of what, in many instances, can be a problematic and complex social reality. Cultural patterns form a matrix of collective consciousness.

In studies of film using a film ethnographic methodology it is thus of central importance to analyze how a film forms, and gives expression to, moral, ethical and value-related aspects of life which, in turn, involves the study of tone and quality together with the nature of the characters, their roles in the film and the ways in which they live their lives. Equally important is the need to analyze the world view that the film gives expression to. This involves studying the ways in which the film portrays the characters' identities, the characteristics of the society in which the film is set and conceptions of the natural environment. Further, a third central area of focus for a film ethnographic methodol-

ogy is the study of relations between ethos and world view in a film. Such a focus involves scrutiny of the relation between the way of life that the film portrays and the assumptions and understandings about the structure of reality that are also conveyed. Film ethnography can, thus, be said to involve the study of the ways in which cultural patterns are brought to life and given expression in film.

Film ethnography can be used to generate knowledge about the ways in which, as a form of cultural expression, films portray people's lives and personal identities. The method can also be used to analyze ways in which the world is perceived, understood, evaluated and manipulated by the characters in a film. Further, it also makes it possible to describe how film can function as a tool by which people living in modern Western societies can create meaning and order in the events of their lives. The method can be used to describe how film can function as a blueprint for organizing social life and human interaction (Sigurdson & Axelsson 2008; Brodén 2008).

An important point of departure for film ethnography is that a film can be ascribed a significance and importance that extends far beyond its creators' artistic intent. Films that are analyzed are regarded as cultural force-fields, or indeed cultural repositories, in which a range of different societal circumstances and conditions are portrayed and find expression (cf. Eriksson 2005). The ethnographic study of film can thus be compared with the discourse analysis of texts in that it involves a "close reading" of the "what" and "how" of the narrative. It therefore involves the study of paradoxical situations where something as fictive and constructed as a feature film creates, among the audience, the powerful feeling that the action taking place on the screen has an inherent verisimilitude. One important question that needs to be addressed concerns the characteristics of this perceived reality and the ways in which this can be accomplished by means of the analysis of the devices used to mediate the narratives, characters, values, rules of conduct, identities, interactions, situations, feelings, emotions and intellectual representations in the film. Film ethnography also encompasses a contextualization of the film that is studied, and which involves its being related to social, political, moral, ideological and aesthetic aspects within the contemporary social reality in which it is produced. The perception of the film as an object of study additionally encompasses cinematic contextualization, which means that the film must be analyzed in relation to other films that, stylistically or thematically, are closely related to the production in focus. Such cinematic contextualization can also encompass attempts to articulate perspectives as to its creators' artistic intentions (Bolas 2009).

Pathos – Feature Films Generate Emotions

Together with Geertz's concepts of ethos, world view and cultural patterns, the category of *pathos* needs to be understood as being of central conceptual importance in film ethnography. The category of pathos is of importance in the sense that, as form of empirical material, film is unique in at least one sense; namely its capacity to strikingly portray and mediate different emotions. The total design of a film can mediate a feeling or atmosphere that, in

conjunction with feelings, forms a central aspect in what here has been introduced as the fundamental emotional tone of a culture. The method has, as its central ambition, the study and description of the feelings and emotions that are expressed by the film and which constitute important components in different cultural patterns. It also involves the study of the impact, tone and the nature of emotional expressions in feature films. The study of a film's impact and its tone do not simply concern the music as such. Rather, it involves the analysis and description of the overarching atmosphere that contributes in creating the expression of the film which, in its turn, generates feelings. *Elephant Man* directed by David Lynch (1990) can be regarded as an example where the black and white photography, a sound characterized by the grinding of industrial machinery and a dim, misty twilight, all contribute in the creation of a dystopia that envelops the film. This, in its turn, generates feelings of alienation and loneliness that are central to our understanding of the film's narrative and its protagonist. Feature films also have the capacity to portray and mediate different feelings *to* the audience. At the same time, feature films also possess a striking emotional intensity that can mean that emotions are generated *in* the viewer. Thus in film ethnography, both impact and tone, as well as emotions and emotional expression, are seen as central foci of study in the overall ambition of identifying and describing cultural patterns.

Feature Films Expose Lifestyles

A central concept in the research methodology of film ethnography is lifestyle (Sobel 1981; Lööv 1989; Chaney 1996). The concept of "lifestyle", in the sense that it is used in the method, involves both moral and aesthetic preferences. Lifestyle also encompasses perceptions about appearance and presentation, as well as notions about how people ought to live their lives and how they ought to conduct themselves in social situations. Geertz's concepts of ethos and world view can, together with pathos, be grouped together in the concept of lifestyle if, that is, the characters' actions are also included in the analysis of the lifestyles that are portrayed on the screen. The psychologist Alfred Adler coined the term "lifestyle" at the end of the 1920s as a means of providing a concept that embraced an individual's occupation, living accommodation and family. Adler's ambition was to try and sum up a person's way of living by means of a description of his or her lifestyle (Adler 1929). In globalized late industrial society the consumption of different products forms a central component in the cultural construction of the different lifestyles that are possible for the individual. Consumption of different products makes it possible for the individual to create, modify and thus individualize personal identity (Wheaton 2004; Shields 1992; Jansson 2001). Different consumption behaviours and the ownership of commodities can be regarded as catalysts for different lifestyles. Further though, in addition to the fact that commodities fashion individuals' personal identities, they have also gained an important existential significance: the consumption and ownership of artefacts provides meaning to the lives of people in the Western world. The analysis of lifestyles concerns the study of relations be-

tween consumption and the ownership of products, everyday occupations and personal identity (Söderberg 2002). Coupled to Geertz's concept of ethos, which is concerned with the morals of groups and individuals, the concept of lifestyle is of importance in that the lifestyle of any individual is often regarded as mirroring the person's values, attitudes and manner of acting (Bell & Hollows 2006). A person who has a specific lifestyle can, based upon the type of life that he leads, be ascribed a template of values, moral and political opinions (Blyton 2010). Lifestyles thus concern the relationship between an individual's external attributes such as, a) behaviour and habits, housing, place of residence and social relations, and his/her internal qualities, such as, b) values, ideological stance, morals and attitudes. Films can be regarded as central exponents for different possible lifestyles, and a film ethnographic analysis of lifestyles thus focuses on how relations between a character's external attributes and inner qualities – and the development of such – are portrayed in a film.

Techniques of Film Production Create Sociocultural Meaning

Having described how a film ethnographic methodology is informed by the central ethnographic concepts in the work of Clifford Geertz, such as ethos, world view and cultural patterns, as well as pathos and lifestyle, a number of other important concepts drawn from film theory, and are equally as important as foundations of film ethnography as a research methodology, will now be introduced. The guiding principle of combining ethnography and film theory is rooted in the notion that sociocultural aspects of a feature film gain form and content via cinematography, sound design, editing and other associated techniques of film production. The way in which a feature film is produced in technical terms in the sense of the use of different camera angles, lighting, colour, scene-length and the mechanisms by which scene-shifts are accomplished creates meaning in the film. Thus the form is more than a mere coating that holds the feature film together. Rather, it has a direct function in creating meaning that is inherently related to the film's intrigue, characters and narrative (Dix 2008). In the adoption of a sociocultural analysis of feature films it is therefore imperative that technical aspects of the film's production such as (a) *cinematography, (b) form and narrative, (c) mise-en-scène* and *(d) editing*, and the ways in which such techniques – whether directly or indirectly – mediate ethos, world views, cultural patterns, pathos and lifestyles in the scenes that are played out and the characters that are portrayed on screen, are carefully studied.

(a) *Cinematography*

What though is cinematography? An important aspect of cinematography is the photographic techniques that determine the way in which the film is shot. This includes the length of the takes, the camera angles, camera movement, zooming-in and zooming-out, and the lighting set up. It concerns the type of visual language that the makers of the film use to develop and maintain the narrative and create meaning in the film. Issues involve whether the photography contributes to

the telling of the story, and the ways in which lighting, camera angles, camera movement and the transitions between scenes support and/or contribute to the narrative. It concerns the way in which sequences in the film are related to lighting, lens type and whether the film is in black and white or colour. It also involves the way in which a take is visualized, its composition and depth, the camera angles that are chosen and the way that the camera moves when shooting the scene. Cinematography also encompasses the speed and length of a take, as well as the types of special effect that are added in post-production. Here focus is on the ways in which camera angles, camera movement and lighting form explicit or implicit meaning (Barsam 2004).

(b) *Form and narrative*

How is the narrative of a film structured? Is it, as in *Pulp Fiction*, directed by Quentin Tarantino (1994), fragmented, non-sequential and constructed of what appears to be a non-linear chronology or is it, as in Tom Tykwer's movie *Run Lola Run* (1999) a reversed chronology that begins at the "end" of the narrative? The relation between form and narrative concerns the ways in which the intrigues in the film provide form and structure to the manner in which the "story" is told. Is it the case that elements of the intrigue recur and, if so, with what frequency? And in what way can the film be understood based on these recurring elements of intrigue? Form and narrative also concern so-called "flash-backs" and "flash-forwards" that are used to create meaning in a film. Another central aspect in the relation between the structure of the film and its narrative is the way in which the cast of characters in a film and their inter-relations convey meaning in relation to the film's intrigue (Barsam 2004).

(c) *Mise-en-scène*

The entire world of reality in a film consists of events, characters, objects, scenes, light and lighting. The analysis of a film's reality can be made by looking at its mise-en-scène, a term which, in French, means "putting something on a stage", and in film theory refers to a film's "staging". In terms of the production and analysis of film, the mise-en-scène consists of everything that is placed in front of the camera during filming and how these different elements are arranged. It also includes light and lighting, whether the film is shot in colour or black and white, and the tones that are chosen. The practical arrangements that form the mise-en-scène include the actors' costumes, hairstyling and make-up, as well as their positioning, body, manner of speech, posture and movements. Another important aspect contributing to the forming of the mise-en-scène is the contextual positioning of the stage, which includes the environment in which it is situated, as well as the spatial arrangement of, for example, walls, furniture, lamps and other aspects of the interior (Van Sijl 2005). It is also about the types of environment that are utilized in the film and the ways in which such settings contribute to the meaning that is conveyed in the narrative. The entirety of the different aspects of mise-en-scène that together form a film can be termed the film's design and this encompasses, in ad-

dition to environments, artefacts and actors, the lighting and the colour schemes that are used in the film. The question of analysis thus concerns the ways in which a film's design can contribute to the unfolding of the film's narrative. It thus involves the study of the relation between design and narrative.

An important aspect of interpretive film analysis is the need to study the sum total of a film's forms of expression, its style, and the totality of its methods of portrayal. The totality of the different modes of expression encompasses, to a greater extent, the composition of scenes with regard to lighting, sound, camera angles, camera movement and the transitions between scenes, rather than the substance in the circumstances that make up the film's narrative. A central question thus involves the way in which the totality of a film's modes of expression and its design contribute in providing a narrative of events. This therefore involves an attempt to describe the relationship between the film's narrative and its design. It also involves the ways in which the totality in the design of the film contributes in making the environments in the film appear as real and credible and, thus, address the question as to how verisimilitude is established. The totality of a film's expression is, thus, more about *how* the narrative is presented to the audience than *what* is said.

(d) *Editing*

When it comes to the editing or the post-production of a film, when all of the takes are fused together to create a whole, and when sound and perhaps computer animations are added post-production, the question is how the editing of a film creates visual and emotional connections between what can be perceived as things that bear no direct relation to one another. This involves the study of how spatial, temporal and visual relationships are created between takes. It also involves the analysis of the film's rhythm, which, in turn, can mean directing focus to the tempo between different scenes. A central part of the analysis of how a film is edited involves the way in which relations between takes create atmospheres and feelings. Furthermore, in an extension of such an analysis, it becomes possible to study the relationship between atmospheres and emotions that editing creates, and the film's narrative (Barsam 2004).

Concluding Example – Roy Andersson's Cinematography and the Exposure of Depth in the Individual's Existential Situation

The underlying rationale in combining ethnography and film theory, as suggested in this article, is that the more technical aspects of film production have a decisive role to play in determining how ethos, world views, cultural patterns, pathos and lifestyles are acted out on screen. The approach adopted by the director Roy Andersson is an example of how cinematographic techniques play an active part in creating sociocultural meaning in a film. Andersson is often highly preoccupied by the use of images and is less concerned with complicated dialogue in the films that he directs. His view is that an interesting scene in a film ought to be regarded as what could be termed a "living still". In such a scene the characters do not need lines since their presence alone in front of

the camera is wholly sufficient in ascribing meaning to the event. Such a scene is carefully constructed in the positioning of the actors in relation to the framing provided by ceilings and walls. If the actors are properly positioned within the room then this alone is sufficient to convey meaning. If the actors are captured in the right way by the camera, the scene can say something about the situation without a word needing to be uttered. Andersson is thus dedicated to portraying the individual in the room or environment in which she finds herself. The spatial spheres that people occupy during their lives can, as Andersson sees things, reveal much about their situation in the world. According to Andersson, the environment colours the person and, in a sense, "captures the decoding of the person". By allowing what might otherwise appear to be trivial dialogues to be performed in highly complex environments, Andersson illuminates the deeply existential dimensions, or what he calls "the unconscious in the dialogue", in the scenes that audiences are presented with on the screen. The specific cinematographic arranging of the spatial context of the scene can reveal the unconscious elements of the dialogue which, according to Andersson, means, in its turn, that the characters in the scene are "unclothed". Thus, in Andersson's films, people are unclothed by culture and convention and appear openly, in a minimalist fashion, and with an archaic existential vulnerability that, primarily, conveys suffering and loneliness. Suffering and loneliness also appear to be central themes in the films *Songs from the Second Floor* and *You, the Living* (Andersson 1995, 1997). Thus film ethnography, which takes specific account of cinematographic elements, as exemplified by the way in which Andersson views his film-making, involves the analysis of the ways in, and means by which, the "unclothing" of culture and convention takes place, as well as describing what it is that is unclothed and how this is involved with and relates to other situations. Within film ethnography it is therefore of the utmost importance that existential dimensions that are expressed either directly or indirectly by the actions of the characters on screen become the subject of analysis.

Supplement – Research Questions for Film Ethnography

Set against the backdrop of the presentation of an agenda for film ethnography above, a number of research questions of central importance that involve an interpretive film analysis with a focus on social and cultural aspects can now be formulated. These questions engage with themes such as personal identity, the fundamental characteristics of social relations and society's emotional keynotes.

1 What moral values do the characters in the film give expression to?
2 What aesthetic preferences are given expression by the characters in the film?
3 What is the nature and tone of the lifestyles that the film's characters give expression to?
4 What attitudes do the characters have to themselves, social relations and society?
5 What personal identities are mediated in the film?
6 What lifestyles are mediated in the film?
7 What ethos and pathos does the film as a whole give expression to?
8 What world views are expressed in the film?
9 What characterizes the verisimilitude and the reality that the film presents?
10 How is the "mise-en-scène" presented to the audience?

11 What is characteristic of the cinematographic structure of the film?
12 What is characteristic of the film's overall method of presentation?
13 What is characteristic of the film's ideological context?
14 What feelings does the film convey and how are they conveyed?
15 What are the emotional keynotes of the culture that is portrayed in the film?
16 How does the film tell the story that the audience are presented with on screen?

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Biographical Notes

Carl Jacob Gardberg 1926–2010

When the state archaeologist emeritus Carl Jacob Gardberg passed away on 31 May, the Finnish museum world lost one of its pillars. C. J. Gardberg began to work at the Historical Museum in Åbo as a 19-year-old and took part in the work of restoring Åbo Castle. His work resulted in the doctoral dissertation *Åbo slott under den äldre vasatiden* in 1959. In the course of his research he established a wide-ranging network of contacts with the Nordic countries, Poland, and Estonia. One important teacher was the Estonian in exile, Professor Armin Tuulse in Stockholm.

In 1960–72 Gardberg was director of Åbo Historical Museum. In winter 1963–64 he took part in UNESCO's Scandinavian project in Nubia, where certain areas were investigated and ancient monuments were moved so that the Aswan Dam could be built. In 1965, on Polish initiative, in preparation for President Edward Ochab's state visit, an exhibition about Katarina Jagellonica was mounted at Åbo Castle. The exhibition opened a small crack in the Iron Curtain: it subsequently became possible for Polish researchers to visit Finland. When Kristján Eldjárn, president of Iceland and former director of Iceland's National Museum, made a state visit to Finland in early 1972, Gardberg and his wife were asked to act as hosts.

In 1961–72 Gardberg was associate professor of Nordic Cultural History at Åbo Akademi and in 1969–72 also at the Finnish-language Turku University. He was a popular lecturer who reached out to both language groups.

In 1972 he was appointed director-general of the newly founded National Board of Antiquities. His task was to reorganize the Finnish museum system and create a regional museum administration. Gardberg had the experience for this. In Åbo Historical Museum expert help was given to museums in the region long before this. When he retired in 1992, Finland had a full network of provincial museums.

C. J. Gardberg filled his time as a pensioner by writing. He jokingly said that writing for him was a continuation of the work of a guide: to explain things so that people will understand. Together with the photographers Kaj Dahl and P. O. Welin he published several popularizing works. His pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain led to a book about medieval roads and journeys there, but linked to his own personal experience. His participation in the anniversary publication for Åbo Cathedral in 2001, *Nationalhelgedomen*, made the Middle Ages and the Dominicans in Åbo topical again. This led to the book *Veritas – sanningen* in 2005.

Right up to his death he was active in various museum organizations, the Finnish Museum Association, ICOM, and particularly the Scandinavian Museum Association, whose meetings and excursions were so important for him that he did not miss a single one.

Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, Åbo

Per-Markku Ristilammi, Professor in Malmö

Per-Markku Ristilammi (born 1958) received his training at the Department of Ethnology in Lund. He has developed into a highly innovative researcher. His research has focused on the suburb as an expression of modernity and marginality, on urban spatiality and specific spaces in different periods, on various kinds of movements, events, and technological phenomena.

His doctoral dissertation *Rosengård och den svarta poesin: En studie av modern annorlundahet* (1994) set the tone for his future research. This study of modern alterity in the Malmö suburb of Rosengård comprises the theoretical knowledge that was emerging then, but Ristilammi takes the discussion further by rooting the ideas in his empirical material. In the article "Memento Rosengård" (2006), written twelve years after the dissertation, he pleads that the individual in modernity, in the name of purity and equality, freed from his or her social inheritance and ethnic background, cannot serve as the basis for a strategy of alterity; this should be done through the use of things like hybrid identities, with the emphasis on movement and the idea of evolutionary development.

Per-Markku Ristilammi takes a great interest in concepts, metaphors, and their polyvalent uses, as he has shown in several articles on urban ethnology proceeding from different aspects of gaze and motion. In his latest book on the limits of the city, *Mim och verklighet: En studie av stadens gränser*, he twines many of the threads from this earlier research.

His experience as a researcher has also led him to the things created by the new Öresund region, where he focuses on the events that symbolize the coming of a new era to the region. With today's interplay of surfaces and backdrops, where it is difficult to grasp the underlying reality, Ristilammi's method is to focus on currents in the economy and global phenomena in an attempt to get at impenetrable features of our culture. His distinctive brand is an unusual capacity for combination and an ability to find strange phenomena and tackle them in a fruitful scholarly way.

After gaining his doctorate, Per-Markku Ristilammi was research assistant 1994–1998 at the Department of Ethnology in Lund and external lecturer at Copenhagen University until the end of the 1990s. Since 1999 he has been lecturer in ethnology at the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations at Malmö University, and sub-dean of the section for Culture and Society at Malmö University since 2008.

He was appointed professor of European ethnology at Lund University in 2010, but turned down the position in favour of a chair at Malmö University in the same year.

Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

Thomas O'Dell, Professor in Lund

Tom O'Dell grew up in the USA and studied anthropology before he came to Lund as a Ph.D. student. His dissertation *Culture Unbound: Americanization and Everyday Life in Sweden* was defended in 1997. It is a fascinating study of how ideas about and experiences of the USA have created a platform in Sweden for utopian and dystopian images of the future since the late eighteenth century. In his book he shows how the label of Americanization hides very complex and contradictory cultural processes. He looks at how images of America gradually became a part of everyday life, especially during the twentieth century – in everything from jeans to American cars.

After working as a teacher and researcher in the Department of Ethnology he took up a position in the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmö University, and later moved to the newly established Department of Service Management at Campus Helsingborg, a part of Lund University. Here he had a central role in building up research on tourism.

Much of his earlier career was presented in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 2009 when he was made professor at Campus Helsingborg. As Tom O'Dell returns to his old department and the Lund chair in European ethnology, he brings with him his experiences of migration and globalization studies in Malmö as well as research on tourism and economy and culture in Helsingborg.

Mobility has been a constant theme in Tom's research. More recently he has worked on one of the most mundane but also neglected forms of mobility, that of the daily commute. Another central field has been the study of what has been labelled "The Experience Economy". Among the several books he has edited on this theme is *Experiencescapes: Tourism, Culture and Economy* from 2005. His latest book is a study of a rapidly growing industry: *Spas and the Cultural Economy of Hospitality, Magic and the Senses* (2010).

In a current project he is looking at the ways in which ethnography is used in different settings, inside and outside Academia, and together with Robert Willim he is editing a special issue of *Ethnologia Europaea* (2011:1) on "Irregular Ethnographies".

Tom O'Dell returns to Lund as a researcher who has constantly widened his research field but has also been active in organizing new forms of interdisciplinary research and opening up new sectors of the labour market for ethnologists. He is full of creative energy and enthusiasm. It is good to hear his highly contagious laughter in the department corridors again.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

Cecilia Fredriksson, Professor in Helsingborg

Cecilia Fredriksson was promoted to professor of ethnology at Campus Helsingborg, Lund University, in 2010. She was born in 1961, took her doctorate in ethnology at Lund University in 1998 and gained the title *docent* in 2007. She is head of research at the Department of Service Management, where she was lecturer until her promotion. Fredriksson's main theoretical interest is in cultural aspects of consumption. Her dissertation, *Ett paradis för alla: EPA mellan folkhem och förförelse* from 1998, examines the era in the construction of the welfare state when consumption became a leisure pursuit and an excursion to the department store became a tourist attraction. She skilfully highlights consumption as an important experience in the acquisition and construction of modernity, dealing with themes such as the spaces, categorizations, tempo, and aesthetics of consumption. This well-written dissertation was awarded a prize in 1998 by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture. Fredriksson has followed up her interest in consumption, taste, and aesthetics in a number of elegant smaller works, in her own research projects on fashion, and in her design of a special course on fashion and trends at Campus Helsingborg. She also has much experience of research on cultural aspects of genetics and gene technology, having stimulated the study of how the boundaries between nature and culture are blurred with the aid of new technology in ways that are sometimes ethically dubious. Fredriksson has extensive interdisciplinary experience, and her involvement in cross-department development of education and research deserves special mention. She has great scholarly curiosity and has enthusiastically approached new research areas such as organizational culture, commerce, and sustainability. The running themes are retail trade in relation to experiences and value-creating processes, and research affirming the social and cultural dimensions of consumption. At present she is leading the projects "Future Clusters: Sustainable Development in Coastal Communities", a major Nordic collaborative venture, and "Sustainable Shops", about the creation of value for "green" products.

Cecilia Fredriksson is a pioneer in ethnology. Ever since her dissertation she has played a central part in the development of the cultural theory of consumption, emphasizing in particular the links between consumption, production, aesthetics, and experience. She is also one of the trailblazers in the work of formulating research on trade by cultural scientists with the focus on design and the retail trade.

Helene Brembeck, Göteborg

Birgitta Meurling, Professor in Uppsala

Birgitta Meurling received her Ph.D. in European Ethnology at Uppsala University in 1996, where she has been teaching and doing research since 1997. In 2003 she was appointed *docent* in Ethnology at Uppsala University and in 2007 *docent* in Folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University, Finland.

Her main field of expertise is gender, and without doubt, she is one of the pioneers of the field in Nordic ethnology. She has published both monographs and articles and edited several volumes. Several of her books are used as textbooks in universities, including some outside Sweden. Many of her numerous administrative tasks include improving teaching in various ways.

Meurling's Ph.D. dissertation, *Sarons liljor? En etnologisk studie av prästfruars könskonstituering* (1996), introduced a new path in Nordic ethnology. Theories which were very fresh at the time were combined with strong empirical material. The past and present were dialogically opposed, as is typical of ethnological research. In addition to a theoretical discussion of gender, she touched upon reflexivity in a way that was quite new at that time in Nordic ethnology. In 1997 she received a prize from the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture for her dissertation.

After the Ph.D. she widened her perspectives in a praiseworthy way. The multidisciplinary textbook she edited, *Varför flickor? Ideal, självbilder och ätstörningar* (2003), includes her introduction dealing with socio-cultural perspectives on eating disorders and the body and her own article on anorexia nervosa. Here she was again covering new ground. She continued studying eating disorders in another volume she co-edited, *Nytänkande och eftertankar: Kön, kulturella föreställningar och livsvillkor* (2006). Meurling has also combined her interests in gender with museum studies. She co-edited a volume, *Det bekönade museet: Genusperspektiv i museologi och museiverksamhet* (2005). Lately she has broadened her perspective to include education. She is a co-editor of a book *Skolvardag och framtidsambitioner: Etnologiska perspektiv på utbildning* (2009), to which a wide range of authors, including some from outside Sweden, contributed. The idea of the book is excellent, combining cultural analysis and the study of education.

Birgitta Meurling has also been active in writing reviews and popular articles and giving talks aimed at the general public. From the 1980s onwards, she has reported about her research results in radio programmes. Several museums have benefited from her input of gender perspectives, as she has evaluated their collections and/or representational practices from a gender perspective.
Hanna Snellman, Jyväskylä

Ella Johansson, Professor in Uppsala

Ella Johansson received her Ph.D. from Lund University in 1994. She served as research assistant at Umeå University, and in 2001 she was a research fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in Uppsala. She was appointed associate professor at Lund University in 2003. During the years 2002–2005 she held the Dag-Hammarskjöld-Gastprofessur at the Nordeuropa-Institut, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. In 2005 she moved on to the post of research director at the Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka. She was appointed professor of European Ethnology at Uppsala University in the spring of 2011.

A large proportion of Ella Johansson's research concerns modernity and social change, with a particular focus on masculinity, landscape and nature. She has been a member of several interdisciplinary research groups working with these topics, and was herself the leader of the project "Flexibility as tradition: Culture and subsistence in the boreal forests of Northern Sweden". This project covered a time span of 1,000 years, brought together a large group of Swedish and Nordic researchers from various disciplines, added an international network of scholars, and set high ambitions to involve the local population in the area under study.

In her dissertation *Skogarnas fria söner* (Free sons of the forest: A study of masculinity and modernity among loggers in Northern Sweden 1860–1940, 1994), as well as in her contributions to the collections of essays *Skogsliv* (Life in the forests, 2000), *Periferins landskap* (Landscape of the periphery, 2002) and *Män i Norden* (Men in the Nordic countries, 2006), Ella Johansson combines a thorough command of general social and cultural theory with a profound knowledge of pre- and early industrial culture in the boreal district. Adding her keen eye for ethnographic detail and her creative analytical skills, the results are bound to be innovative and highly original.

In her position at the Multicultural Centre, Ella Johansson expanded her research towards the study of migration and ethnicity. Her studies in this field include topics like the managing of identity among women from the province of Dalarna working in Stockholm in the nineteenth century, national connotations of the art of swimming, and the issue of relating to nature. Her publications also include papers on the theory of science and methodology.

A considerable amount of Ella Johansson's work has been published in international journals and collections of essays, from early on in her career. Her network is well established among international as well as national scholars and includes long-term relationships with the sector of museums and heritage.

Barbro Blehr, Stockholm

Fredrik Nilsson, Professor in Malmö

Since spring 2011 Fredrik Nilsson has been professor of ethnology at Malmö University. He took his doctorate in Lund in autumn 2000 with the dissertation *I rörelse: Politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft*, an innovative study of how people are linked together and achieve political change. The aim was to find answers regarding how different possibilities for political action are shaped. The time is the first half of the nineteenth century and the place is that of Scandinavianism (the student movement in Copenhagen, Lund, and Uppsala), as well as that of the peasantry in Skåne. People were bound together in various processes by strategic communication technologies, which Nilsson interprets with the aid of different theories, including Virilio's concept of vector. He is thus able to show the overall significance of communication, movement, and boundary crossing for political action.

By 2003 Nilsson had already published a new book, *Aktiesparandets förlovade land*, as the result of a research project that also led him to a visiting research fellowship at the University of Edinburgh. This book focuses mainly on the present day, and the politics, movement, and communication now takes place among small savers in the IT society. In recent years he has left these research fields and headed into completely new ones, such as rock'n'roll, smuggling, and respectable women. He has just finished the book *I ett bolster av fett: En kulturhistoria om övervikt, manlighet och klass.* This study has a temporal perspective of 200 years, showing in a surprising way how a phenomenon like overweight can shed light on the changing meanings of masculinity, on the creation of social deviants, and on how perceptions of health and well-being have changed in recent centuries.

Nilsson's research initially concerned the cultural dynamics of boundaries and how global flows are reflected in local everyday life. He then developed several new areas concerning popular music and gender formation, both male and female, and has touched on topics such as religion and health. A recurrent theme of his research is what modern society has meant for people's lives and how different cultural processes shape their identities. In a number of works he has expanded on his critical perspective on society with a theoretical and methodological awareness that shows great familiarity with new angles on the ethnological research field. His research is broad in scope, ranging from the classics of ethnology to the significance of political action in history and problems of integration and boundaries.

A theme running through all of Nilsson's works is his interest in understanding and explaining political processes and people's capacity for action and change, the potential of democracy, solidarity, and boundary crossing from the perspectives of cultural analysis. He obtained his empirical material during his previous career in the Öresund region, but he has since tackled completely different fields. With his analytical historical perspective, he alternately asks questions about the past and the present.

Nilsson is one of the too few Swedish ethnologists today who do research in cultural history and are not afraid to interpret historical source material.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

Reviews

New Dissertations

Besieged People – Besieged Places

Urban Ericsson, Belägrade människor – Belägrade rum. Om invandrargöranden och förorter. Etnologiska avdelningen, Uppsala universitet, Etnolore 30, Uppsala 2007. 192 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-506-1919-5.

■ Based on Swedish newspaper articles and interviews/e-mail correspondence with publicly known Swedes of immigrant descent, Ericsson sets out to deconstruct Swedish notions of immigrants and suburbs.

The author convincingly shows how the concepts of "immigrant" and "suburbs" are embedded in a complex power relation founded on fantasies, fears and senses of superiority. However, this relation, it is argued, is far from being only visible or explicit. On the contrary, Ericsson argues, it is often expressed through a haunting absence.

What is absent in the Swedish media representation of immigrants and suburbs are matters of belonging. In extreme cases references to Sweden are even deliberately removed. As an example Ericsson illustrates how a picture of a Turkish male immigrant sitting next to a Turkish and a Swedish flag in a Swedish suburb was edited in such a way when it was used in a newspaper that the Swedish flag did not appear in the picture. The consequence of this removal is an image which, according to the author, appears aggressive and challenging to Swedish readers.

Deliberate, distorting and misrepresenting as it is, this kind of editing is easy to criticize and dissociate oneself from. What is much more subtle are the many cases where not even the editor is aware of the fact that something is being left out. Through a number of examples Ericsson shows how journalists, when asking sport stars, artists and TV hosts about their ethnic and cultural background, are not only asking questions but implicitly questioning the respondents' relation to Sweden. This happens, for example, when a football player who was born in the Swedish suburb of Rosengård is asked if playing against the Croatian national team is particularly difficult for him, or when a hostess on a national television show is admired for doing her job despite the fact that her parents immigrated from Greece and that she grew up in a suburb with a relatively high concentration of immigrants.

In all the cases presented by Ericsson, people who are acknowledged and celebrated for having personal skills are at the same time, and often through the very same comments constituting the celebration of their skills, contextualized by the media as being questionable citizens. In other words, it is consistently indicated by the media that it is because of their extraordinary personalities that they have managed to leave the suburbs and gain not only personal success but also membership in the Swedish community.

In his analysis Ericsson refers to a wide range of poststructuralist thinkers whose approaches and conceptual frameworks enable Ericsson to convincingly articulate his argument. However, this reviewer sees a paradox in the fact that all the people referred to in the thesis, due to their public success, constitute an exposed presence rather than an absence. Furthermore, the people mentioned all have strong statements and responses to stigmatization and speak from a position where their responses can be uttered with a certain authority.

The reason for this paradox is most likely to be located in the choice of methods. Adding participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork to interviews and discourse analysis might be a way to include also the mute stigmatized people in a future research project.

Mark Vacher, Copenhagen

Reproduction of Contemporary Monarchy

Mattias Frihammar, Ur svenska hjärtans djup – reproduktion av samtida monarki. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2010. 214 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7331-328-5.

■ Mattias Frihammar defended his doctoral dissertation in ethnology at Stockholm University on 11 June 2010 – just eight days before the celebration of Crown Princess Victoria's wedding in Stockholm. There is speculation as to whether Frihammar is kicking himself for not including this spectacular event in his dissertation about present-day monarchy, or was he perhaps glad to be able to mark the end of his study before this massive and long-planned event took place? Like it or not, the royal family is a never-ending story, and every day sees new stories being invented and new angles on old stories being found. The wedding celebrations

could of course have been included as an element in the dissertation about the reproduction of contemporary monarchy, but Frihammar's focus is not on what the royals get up to, but how royalty is always created through complex cultural processes and in very different contexts. The reader therefore does not feel the absence of the wedding in the book, which instead gives us new tools for understanding the diverse forms in which royalty is expressed.

The study of royalty has long been in the situation of falling between different stools: Either it was the historian's domain to study the monarchy and the changing political significance of royal persons in different social systems, or the focus was on the sensational press with its inquisitive interest in the doings of these elevated figures. In ethnology there has been virtually no research about royalty. But that is corrected with this dissertation, which not only has the ambition of analysing the many expressions of royalty but also of explaining the role it plays in many people's everyday lives and in today's society. Royalty is viewed here as a construction, a process, which is constantly reproduced through different forms of practice. How is royalty filled with meaning in relations between people, institutions, and artefacts in different contexts in Sweden? The dissertation thus deals with the ways in which royalty always has to be translated into actions, reflections, and objects if it is to become a reality.

In recent years the documentation of royal events has begun to occupy some Nordic researchers. In connection with the wedding of the Norwegian Crown Prince in 2001, an interdisciplinary team collected material about the celebrations and about what people did on that occasion. Video recording of parades and tributes in the streets and of private parties in the home to watch the television broadcasts were supplemented with questionnaires, children's drawings, and so on. This material gave insight into the complex emotions expressed by many Norwegians. Inspired by this project, a great many museums and cultural institutions in Denmark joined to document how the wedding of the Danish Crown Prince was celebrated in 2004 in public, private, and virtual spaces. Here too, the focus of the study was not on the royals but on the staging of the celebrations in various contexts, where the court, the media, and the general public each had a part to play. Over 2,000 diaries were collected on that occasion, where people described how the day would be spent, and what thoughts they had in connection with the wedding. It was characteristic that people reflected on their own feelings, which often involve both ironic detachment and profound fervour, whether people were sitting in front of the television or standing along the route of the royal coach in Copenhagen. In 2010 it was time for the Swedish museums to pick up the baton, initiating studies all over Sweden in connection with the wedding of Crown Princess Victoria. Here too there was collection and documentation. It may be hoped that it will be possible in the future to compare the material from the different Nordic projects and continue working on the topic in theoretical and methodological terms. With Mattias Frihammar's dissertation the relevance of the topic has been placed on the agenda in a new and convincing way.

At the centre of the dissertation the author wonders about a significant paradox: that the widespread popularity of the monarchy challenges the democratic ideal of equality in a Nordic welfare state. How can this anachronistic social phenomenon, with inherited privileges and a constitutionally established hierarchy, arouse such strong positive emotions? And how can it be explained? The main problem posed by the dissertation is thus to investigate and explain what people do with royalty, and what royalty does to people.

The title of the dissertation, *Ur svenska hjärtans djup* ("From the depth of Swedish hearts"), alludes to the first line hailing the king in the Swedish royal anthem from 1844. The strong position of the royal family is by no means solely a Swedish phenomenon; it can be found in many Western European democracies. Even in countries that lack a monarchy, royals in other countries are a popular subject of media interest. The dissertation considers how different actors outside the royal sphere help to create the framework around royalty and thus fill it with meaning. Through penetrating and empathetic fieldwork, Mattias Frihammar is able to bring out what is taken for granted, and also the great meaning of small things. What makes the book so interesting from an ethnological viewpoint is the combination of many different types of material and many different analytical levels. Frihammar himself has produced his material systematically, proceeding

from the overall problem he set himself, through qualitative interviews and especially participant observation, part of it in a municipality that was preparing a whole year for a royal visit. He attended various events and performed fieldwork, for instance, in a royalist club and also in a republican one, took part in the celebration of the Swedish national day at Skansen, in the king's birthday, the opening of parliament, and Victoria Day on Öland. In addition he has used material in the form of questionnaires, radio and television broadcasts, yearbooks, articles, and in particular artefacts. Frihammar also emphasizes the flexible element – or "the mobile searchlight" to use a classical ethnological expression – as a deliberate analytical strategy, when an opportunity was offered to capture unexpected and unpredictable moments.

The result is an outstanding document, taking the temperature of a contemporary phenomenon that cannot be explained exclusively as tradition, but must be viewed as a constant process. With humour and a sense of detail, the author leads the reader through analyses of individual and private contexts, towards more collective activities and public performances. After an introduction comes a chapter on "Materialized royalty", devoted to the study of artefacts that are associated in one way or another with royalty. For instance, Frihammar describes the custom of having the king's portrait in the outside toilet; he also looks at the objects in the home that people have kept, for one reason or another – objects that carry stories of meetings and contacts with members of the royal family. For instance, cigarettes and handkerchiefs that the king has used become significant souvenirs, elevated to the status of relics charged with royalty. In the third chapter, "Meetings and rehearsals" we see how a municipality makes ready for a royal visit. Frihammar follows the preparations step by step, recording in detail the deliberations of the actors. At the centre is the detailed planning that takes account of all the possibilities that can arise during the royal visit. The fourth chapter, about "The nation's bodies", is centred on official arrangements with royal participation on the national day at Skansen, Victoria's birthday, and divine service in connection with the opening of parliament. The royals have to be there, in a purely physical sense, but otherwise there is no particular royal contribution to these events, which follow a rather stereotyped programme. It is priceless to read about the way people deliberate about discreetly arranging toilet facilities for the royals during their visit.

Mattias Frihammar concludes the fifth chapter, the title of which is another line from the royal anthem, "A united and simple song", with a discussion of concept such as monarchy and royalty, of relations between royalty and everyday life, and ends by reflecting on how one can explain the stability of the monarchy in today's society not as an anachronism but as a rational adaptation.

From a Danish perspective there are many points of similarity in the way the royal dynasty functions, and in the massive cult of the royal family, but there are also some differences from the situation in Sweden. In this respect the dissertation can also be read as a contemporary ethnography of everyday life, where we follow everything from the royal palace to the outside loo at the summer cottage. It is the great merit of the dissertation that it is able to analyse complex cultural processes, and that it convincingly combines the elevated with the banal, the large and the small, all as parts of the same structure. The ethnological stance makes it possible to bring many different phenomena together – rituals in the public space, objects hidden away in the home, and so on. By taking Bruno Latour's actor-network theory as his starting point, Frihammar is able to bring the study of power relations and meaning creation into the network of actors – human and non-human – around the monarchy. Simple things derive their meaning from the extraordinary, just as magic derives its meaning from the commonplace, the framework signals the extraordinary, and so on.

The dissertation is brilliant reading, well written and full of humour, besides all the knowledge and insight it coveys. Despite its limited and specific premises, the dissertation not only puts modern life in Sweden into perspective, but also other welfare states with monarchies. And one can ask oneself whether the very fact that we have monarchies with special privileges is the exception that helps to confirm the cohesion of the rest of society. Not least of all, the dissertation shows how cultural scholars can contribute new insight into society through the study of the banal and overlooked things, and how even the most insignificant object acquires its meaning in the context. Last but not least, the dissertation is praiseworthy for analysing how the study of the reproduction of the monarchy ties various relations

and processes together in an insightful way. With Mattias Frihammar's dissertation we learn about where the monarchy is headed, but we also learn something about ourselves. What seems trivial and banal is held up as a social phenomenon and a cultural process. It is majestically done!
Lykke L. Pedersen, Copenhagen

History and the Ongoing Process of Interpreting the Past

Anne Heimo, Kapina Sammatissa. Vuoden 1918 paikalliset tulkinnat osana historian yhteiskunnallisen rakentamisen prosessia. (Rebellion in Sammatti. Local Interpretations of the 1918 Finnish Civil War as Part of the Social Process of History-Making.) Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1275, Tiede. SKS, Helsinki 2010. 295 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-952-222-192-6.

■ Anne Heimo's study, entitled *Rebellion in Sammatti,* is devoted to multi-leveled reporting on the Finnish Civil War of 1918 and is based on events in the Sammatti region of South Finland. The point of departure for her study is social historian Raphael Samuel's view of history as a social form of knowledge. Based thereon, the treatment of history is not simply limited to academic studies or educational literature, but the creators of history can include all members of society. The (current) dominant perspective in society determines the policy for the treatment of the past. The author stresses that the social process of history-making is not limited to the presentation of facts. The process of reinterpreting the past is ongoing, and it finds expression in various presentational forms (studies, memoires, museum exhibitions, art, etc.). The author's attention moves from historical events and their interpretation to the interpreters – what are the goals, means of expression, skills, and cultural backgrounds of the interpreters, as well as the relationship between the presenters of history and their audience and vice versa. In the Finnish scientific context, Anne Heimo positions her study in the fields of folklore studies and *muistitietotutkimus.* (The Finnish-language concept of "*muistitieto"* refers to the knowledge based on memory [*muisti* – memory, *tieto* – information, knowledge]). Internationally, it is related to radical oral history and memory studies.

Anne Heimo's research sources include the material she has gathered during her field work (primarily interviews conducted between 1988 and 2000); written contributions to archives; the recorded interviews of individual interviewers and dialect collectors, as well as notes from family archives related to the events of 1917–1918; documents related to the topic in public archives; and academic as well as non-academic studies. The multi-levelled nature of the research sources allows the author to compare the various means of presenting common historical knowledge – testimonies of eyewitnesses, notes from the period, studies, narrations based on memories, etc. For instance, in connection with the events of the Finnish Civil War in 1918, she asks how the study thereof differs from narration; which traits are common to academic and non-academic studies and which differ; or what are the particularities of local knowledge in the general historical context.

Finnish *muistitieto*-studies are associated with both memory studies and the study of popular images of history. The emergence of this trend in Finnish folklore studies in the 1990s was based on methods that were previously used simultaneously in various scientific fields, as well as on international scientific trends such as cultural memory studies, popular memory theory, oral history research, and ethnohistory. However, interdisciplinary and international co-operation in the 1990s has resulted in a situation where researchers using the same keywords often do not understand each other (especially if they based their activities on traditions formed within the framework of different scientific fields) while scientists with similar research interests may not use the same terminology (e.g. researchers of memory and popular history). [A similar problem is faced by researchers of memory-based interpretations of the past in Estonia. This has created the need for interdisciplinary research projects, including the project entitled '*Practices of Memory: Continuities and Discontinuities of Remembering*' (ESF 8190), which is financed by the Estonian Science Foundation, in which ethnologists, sociologists, historians, and folklorists are participating and the objectives of which include the comparison of internal methods and terminologies of the scientific field in

the interdisciplinary context.] Anne Heimo has seen a need to explain the mutual connections between the similar concepts and research trends, and she has subsequently positioned her study into this rather complicated research picture. She does not consider where and under what circumstances one or other research trend got started to be important, but rather how and under what conditions these various research means start to converge.

For the purposes of research, the author divides the textual material being analysed into three levels. Firstly, the same topic, e.g. the women killed in 1918. This is further divided into subtopics, e.g. the stories about the women who were killed from the viewpoints of the parties to the conflict, the so-called Reds and Whites. The second principle is to differentiate the types of source texts, e.g. contemporary entries in calendar-notebooks, the press and fiction, memories, answers to questions, etc. This forms the basis for separating the material into chapters. The third is the means of depicting the events, e.g. the winner and the loser as depictions of certain roles, "us" versus "them", the stereotypes of enemies and heroes, etc. Culturally set schemes are used in these descriptions, and therefore, the given means of depicting the conflict are related to the depiction of conflicts generally. The common trait for all three levels is the differentiation of the viewpoints of the parties to the conflict – the Reds and Whites. For instance, in their stories, the Reds try to show the arbitrariness and cruelty of the Whites as the victors. The Whites try to explain why things occurred and what situation provoked the actions.

From a comparison of academic and non-academic research, it appears that both strive towards objectivity. Facts are found to confirm the argumentation of one's statements. However, academic historical research is differentiated from other modes of research by the use of a significantly broader source base and the diversity of the research methods that are employed. Yet, if the interpretation of the past is based on memory (e.g. recollections of those who participated in the events or other subjective genres), in this case the ways of influencing the listeners differ from those used in studies. What is remembered, what is concealed, what is believed – these aspects begin to affect what past events can be studied through narrations. The author demonstrates that the analysis of the influence levels of narration (e.g. silence, emphasis, etc.) support the comparative analysis of various types of sources.

The conflict that appears in the local identity deserves special attention – on the one hand for local residents the place identity of Sammatti is related to harmony and the idyllic, because Sammatti is the home of Elias Lönnrot, the creator of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*; on the other hand, the gravity of the events of 1918, when Finns did so much harm to each other, must be recognised. Anne Heimo shows that when explaining the violence related to the events of 1918 in Sammatti, the concepts of "us" and "others" are sharply differentiated. Brutalities are associated with the actions of those who came from elsewhere, thereby persuading the listener that their own people would not act in this way. This opposition (*us vs. others)* as a possible means of depicting the conflict is an attempt to restore the balance in the feelings related to place identity.

Anne Heimo's treatment of history is more philosophical than historiographical. Her approach assumes that history is culturally created in social intercourse, or rather an interpretation of the past that is being continually created. Such an approach suits the multi-level nature of the sources and is somewhat inevitable. On the one hand, the historical presentations and images of history being examined are not independent phenomena isolated from each other; rather they are mutually related. On the other hand, quite a large number of special studies have been devoted to the different aspects of the Finnish Civil War of 1918 in the past fifteen years. Therefore, Heimo's decision to focus less on historical presentations and more on the mutual connections of these presentations is justified and timely.

A large amount of space in Anne Heimo's monograph is devoted to the story of the development of the given scientific trend. Firstly, this refers to the emergence of this research trend in Finnish folklore studies and her treatment can be understood to be a summary of a research period. Secondly, by forming an overview of the research trends in memory studies and (popular) history in the second half of the 20th century, Anne Heimo also puts the international scientific landscape in

order, by pointing out the connections between the various trends in the context of the Finnish scientific space.

Tiiu Jaago, Tartu

Feminine Possibilities

Karin Högström, Orientalisk dans i Stockholm. Femininiteter, möjligheter och begränsningar. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in Ethnology 4, Stockholm 2010. 302 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-86071-34-9.

■ In this dissertation submitted to the Department of Ethnology at the University of Stockholm, Karin Högström explores the appeal of Oriental dancing for women of Swedish or other Nordic descent. How do they "seek, create and defend values such as femininity, authenticity, empowerment and respectability in and through their dancing?" How does the dance change them? The book is based on ethnographic research among Swedish dancers in Stockholm, where she has conducted participant observation in dance classes, shows and festivals, and interviews among the dancers. Also, she uses her own experiences as a dancer as a starting point for further exploration.

In the first chapter Högström creates the theoretical and methodological setting for the study. Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of habitus as socialized and often unreflected norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking works as the starting point for Högström's analysis. With the concept of habitus it is possible to highlight the interplay of structures and agency that takes place in Oriental dancing. To emphasize the subjective side of the dance experience and to show how dancing transforms the body and its dispositions, Högström turns to Maurice Merleau-Ponty's idea of Body Schema. When dancers learn new movements in dance lessons, they simultaneously modify their Body Schema according to the visual, aural, kinaesthetic and emotional aspects available in the dance class. By learning a new style of moving and also experiencing one's body in a new way as hyper-feminine, for example, one's habitus may gradually change.

Femininity or femininities are understood as constructions not necessarily related to biological or anatomical sex. These ideas concerning gender are drawn from Simone de Beauvoir, Toril Moi and Judith Butler. As de Beauvoir and Iris Marion Young have argued, the female body in a male-dominated society is defined as the Other, and women do not have the same access to subjectivity, autonomy and creativity as men. According to Young, women often experience their bodies as being more fragile or open to objectification. However, objectification can have enjoyable sides, if the situation is otherwise based on equality and respect, as the philosopher Martha Nussbaum claims. Högström illustrates both sides of being an object/objectified and an active subject in her analysis.

Femininities – and in some cases masculinities – that are performed and experienced in Oriental dancing are seen as aspects of habitus, and also as modes of cultural capital. The sociologist Beverley Skeggs has written on class and gender, and Högström draws on her concept of respectability to valorize the ambivalence concerning the value of femininity performed in Oriental dance. The Oriental dancers in Sweden are mostly middle-class white women with a good education and an established position in work life, while Oriental dancing with its glittery and often revealing costumes, flirtatious gestures and sensual movements has connotations of "cheap" working-class femininity, or even of sex work. Thus seeking for respectability in their dancing is an issue for many, even though these women's respectability is not threatened in their everyday life.

In the second chapter, the author guides the readers through the world of Oriental dancing as it has been described and researched by previous scholars, and explains how Oriental dancing is practised in Stockholm. The following chapters are based on the original ethnographical material and Högström's descriptions, analysis and interpretation of it.

Chapter three focuses on the Middle Eastern dance class, and we can read how the beginners work hard to learn the appropriate movements, expressions and attitudes. The gradual transformation of the dancers' habitus and Body Schema is well-documented and argued, and this aspect makes it the most exciting part of the work. The dancers see Oriental dance as a profoundly feminine practice due to its movement qualities, the body parts used and the emotional expression. However, it is not just one kind of femininity that is performed or expressed, but many. The teachers transmit these qualities of expression and movement by showing

and verbally by using a lot of metaphors. The dance lessons are experienced as free zones from the daily duties and the objectifying male gaze.

The fourth chapter brings us from the intimate dance class to the student shows, where dancers of all levels show their skills in a safe and supportive environment. In the student shows it is easier to experience oneself as an attractive and hyper-feminine dancer and even play with the fantasies of the Orient than in more public and professional venues. For example, the Oriental dancers performing in restaurants emphasize their professionalism and want to keep their private persons separate from the role of Oriental dancer. They also think that there is a need to defend themselves against prejudices concerning Oriental dance, and the educational work that the dancers have done has succeeded at least up to a point.

With her rich and detailed ethnographic material, Högström shows that Oriental dancers in Stockholm need to balance on the one hand with the view of belly dancing where the performing dancer is seen merely as a sex object, and on the other hand with the dancer's own view and experience of the dance form as an empowering and fun way of moving, which makes them feel like active, strong and beautiful women with subject status. This ambivalence is dealt with by various strategies: downplaying those aspects of the dance that can be interpreted as sexualizing and objectifying, emphasizing the authenticity of the dance as an ancient tradition in the Middle East or distancing oneself from the hyper-feminine or sexual aspects with irony and playfulness.

In the fifth chapter, Högström demonstrates how Oriental dancers often become more interested in Middle Eastern cultures as they become more involved in the dance practice. In Stockholm this attraction can be catered to in various Middle Eastern restaurants, which offer regular belly dance performances, and in clubs with Middle Eastern dance music. These venues create space for a performed Orient with exotic decoration, food, music and dance, where the idea of Orient as exotic, warm and mysterious can be consumed without the risk of being confronted with unintelligible cultural differences. These venues may also fail in not being Oriental enough; too much light, not enough glamour, too skinny a belly dancer without the right kind of expression. The "real" Middle East is also encountered when dancers meet people with a background in the Middle East or when dancers travel to Egypt, Lebanon or other countries where belly dancing is practised.

The ambivalence created in the encounters with potentially conflicting views, for example, concerning the position of women in the Middle East, is handled with several strategies. One of them is to generate alternative explanations for such behaviour that does not fit with one's own values. Accordingly, a common tactic is to relativize the practices under suspicion by comparing them with practices taking place in Sweden, as in the case when honour-related violence is aligned with other types of violence in Sweden. A central concept of the research is positively loaded Orientalism, which also serves as a way to cope with differences. It may include positive and stereotyped views of the other, such as highlighting the warm communality of the Middle Easterns. Simultaneously, one's own society is considered to be a cold community with lonely individuals. Thus, Orientalist attitudes actually say more about "Swedishness" than about the Other.

The dissertation creates a complex view of the values of Oriental dancers, which Högström describes as a continuum between fantasies, hopes and needs concerning the ideas of the Middle East or Orient and experiences and "facts" of the realities of that area. The picture is completed in chapter six by taking a look at Egyptian dance, which is a dance style very different from Oriental dance. Egyptian dance was developed by London-based Suraya Hilal and it shares some movement qualities and expressive elements of modern dance. Egyptian dancers distance themselves even more from the Orientalist figure of belly dancer than Oriental dancers, for example, by wearing simple, covering dresses with a headscarf. This contrast brings the class aspect to the study: the femininity that is represented in the Oriental dance is rated by Egyptian dancers as too glittery or superficial, which is interpreted as bad taste when compared with middle-class femininity with a certain dignity, class and style.

Even though the study under review is very convincing in its argumentation, its range of empirical material and the output of the rich, even contradictory values and views that the Oriental and Egyptian dancers hold, one must add a critical note about the theoretical outline of the dissertation. There must be a good reason for Karin Högström not to explicitly

position herself in any well-established schools of thought such as phenomenology or feminist theory. What is explicit is that the central theoretical concepts come from certain thinkers (Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu, de Beauvoir, Young, Skeggs, Nussbaum), but the theoretical linkages between those concepts and the line of thought are implicit.

For example, a more thorough examination of the relationship between Bourdieu and phenomenology would have given strength to Högström's argument about how to balance the view of the human subject as an intentional, conscious agent and the view of the powerful hold of structures on human subjectivity.

The writer seeks to make a contribution to the understanding of gender, or more explicitly the construction of femininities in the field of Oriental dance. Well-known feminist writers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Toril Moi, Susan Bordo, Iris Marion Young, Beverley Skeggs and Judith Butler work as a reference point for understanding the gendered character of dancing, but feminist theory is hardly mentioned in the book, which I read as a decontextualizing and dehistoricizing act. According to Högström, some feminists (or the feminist movement, in the singular) put too much emphasis on the negative and repressive sides of women's possibilities to act as subjects and resist the patriarchal system. However, I find Högström doing sophisticated feminist analysis in her dissertation, as she critically takes into account the gendered character of dancing.

Högström explains her theoretical choices explicitly only when discussing post-colonial theory. In the first chapter she tells how post-colonial theory at first seemed like a suitable and interesting framework for this study, but after doing fieldwork the theory did not seem to fit with the "reality". According to Högström, post-colonial research puts too much emphasis on the repressive and negative aspects of othering, exoticizing and negative Orientalism. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, in *Touching Feeling* (2003), calls this tendency in queer studies paranoid reading, which seeks to uncover oppressive systems such as sexism, homophobia and racism. This is what I see that Högström seeks to avoid. As a response to such repressive readings, Högström follows Magnus Berg's view of positively loaded Orientalism. Sedgwick suggested that we should search for reparative readings that would also take seriously the positive and enjoyable aspects of the phenomenon we study. I would agree with Sedgwick that we must not lose sight of the possibilities of transformation and change in affective and emotional encounters – of which Oriental dancing is one example.

The book thoroughly covers the ideas and values that dancers relate to their activity, and the more descriptive phases interlace beautifully with the more theoretical interpretations of the studied phenomenon. The argumentation is easy to follow, and the bodily aspects of dancing really come to life. Högström writes in a respectful way about her research subjects but is also able to keep a critical distance to the views the dancers present in the interviews and other dance-related events.

I would recommend this study to students and scholars interested in embodied and kinaesthetic aspects of human lives, who seek to understand cultural change on an individual level. This book is a good example of ethnography, where the author is able to make the studied phenomenon alive and moving without losing her analytical grip of the subject.

Anu Laukkanen, Turku

Imaginary Weaving

Anna Jakobsson, Experiencing Landscape while Walking. On the Interplay between Garden Design, Sensory Experience and Medical Spa Philosophy at Ronneby Spa. Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Alnarp 2009. 228 pp. Ill. Swedish summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-576- 7414-2.

■ Ronneby Spa and the garden surrounding it in the south-east corner of Sweden is the pivotal point for this doctoral thesis from the discipline of landscape architecture. Using Ronneby Spa as an example, the main objective of the thesis is to contribute to a widening of knowledge about spas, about garden design in the late nineteenth century, and about the constituents of landscape heritage. The approach is multidisciplinary, including cultural history and ethnology but also the history of garden design and medical philosophy. The main research question is how the past experience of Ronneby Spa can be analysed and described and how the medical spa philosophy and ideas of garden design of the late nineteenth century interplayed when it came to the design and use of the landscape.

This doctoral thesis is a heterogeneous affair in

form, layout, and contents. The main corpus of the dissertation is a discussion (70 pages) based on four already published articles. These four articles, of which two are in Swedish and two in English, are included at the end of the present publication in their original layout. After a general introduction to the history of Ronneby Spa and to the methodological and theoretical inspirations for the thesis, the discussion follows, supplemented with summaries of the four articles in several versions of varying length throughout the dissertation. On top of this comes a framework appendix including three previous studies that have been part of Jakobsson's master and licentiate thesis.

The articles focuses mostly on the actors affecting the design of the spa landscape: the doctor, the landscape architect and the gardener and also the spatial organization of the spa environment and the everyday practices of the visitors "ruled by routine and ritual" in taking the waters and walking in the garden and the surrounding landscape. With inspiration from the phenomenological tradition as promoted by Merleau-Ponty and Ingold, the discussion focuses on the sensory experience of the visitors and its interplay with the contemporary ideas about garden design and medical treatment and health in the heyday of Ronneby Spa in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

As the articles are fine examples of cultural history, the focus in the discussion moves towards the question of how to work with the historically situated bodily and sensory experiences of the visitors to the spa. As such the empirical rich material and the theoretical inspiration become means for "recalling" past experiences. Here the intuitive and empathic competences of the researcher are called for. The ambition of reconstructing or imagining the past sensory and bodily experiences of walking is enacted in what Jakobsson, with inspiration from Collingwood, calls "imaginary weaving". This consists of a 15-page description written in the first person, as if by a young lady visiting the spa in 1899. The person is fictive but she is typical of the visitors in that period. The text describes her actions and sensations during a visit to Ronneby.

The wish to be able to "creep under the skin" and experience the past or a present from "within that culture" is very understandable and probably shared by any ethnographer or cultural historian. But this is not – at least to my taste – the way to do it as it creates a lot of new paradoxes and discloses all the dimensions we cannot know and sense about other people. My first objection to the chosen strategy is that the language in the description certainly not is the language of a young Swedish lady in 1899. Not only is it in English, it lacks all the "flavour" of the past that you would find in any empirical source from the period. Secondly, everything is described with equal attention – even things that in those days would have been taken for granted. Also, the genre of the text is very vague. Neither a diary nor a letter genre – which would naturalize a detailed description – is chosen. As such the text is flat and dead since no reader is implied but the reader interested in cultural history, and this kind of reader risks becoming irritated because of all the small details that are missing. One's own historical imagination is more or less spoiled.

On top of this, it is paradoxical that the sensory experiences beyond the visual – which Jakobsson wants to recall via the imaginary weaving – are in fact very limited. This probably has to do with the fact that such experiences are seldom textualized either in current or past texts. Sensory experiences are most often tacit knowledge and there is a lack of concepts to describe them. Thus it is not surprising that Jakobsson's experiment does not work convincingly. More successful is the visual imaginary weave of Ronneby Spa that covers the publication. This weave consists of a collage and thus an integration of two different pictures of the same view of the landscape at Ronneby: a picture from 1877 and a recent photo taken from the very same angle. The weave displays an image of the populated past simultaneous with an image of the unpopulated present. To see them both at the same time means understanding the heritage and the change of the landscape at Ronneby Spa, Jakobsson argues. Together with the rich empirical material and thorough analysis of the cultural history of Ronneby Spa presented in the book, this picture sets the historical imagination free. Though the dimension of materiality might have been integrated to a higher degree in the discussion, the thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of landscape experience and how important it is to incorporate bodily movement in any analysis of past practices.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Danish in Fashion

Marie Riegels Melchior, Dansk på mode! En undersøgelse af design, identitet og historie i dansk modeindustri. Danmarks Designskole/Kunstindustrimuseet/Kunstakademiets Arkitektskole, København 2008. 257 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 87-92016-08-1.

■ "Today I was dressed in Danish design as a tribute to Danish fashion and Danish women! There seem to be many Danish brands in Swedish shops – thanks! And you might think that there isn't such a big difference between us Scandinavian countries, but I would claim that there is! I think I can see greater variation in clothes between women in Denmark than you do in Sweden (or is it just that the group of librarians is more varied in Denmark than in Sweden? Although I thought there was a difference in the city too…?). I still think that clothes are more different and daring in Ålborg. For instance, I tried on a pair of trousers from Bitte Kai Rand that looked really snazzy on the shop assistant – I had to fold, button up, and pull into shape… Well, they didn't look so snazzy on me (although I suppose you can't blame the trousers for that) … but the thing is, the assistant was of my age and it didn't look artificial – they were simply snazzy trousers for ladies of my age. I like a lot of the Swedish designs, but the fact is that most of it just doesn't work for a lady of my age … well, Anna Holtblad perhaps, but she is not exactly snazzy… I'm simply jealous of all women in Denmark!"

This is how a woman in the Swedish "Malin blog" describes her love of the mature Danish fashion a few years into the 2000s. I found the blog during my reading of Marie Riegels Melchior's dissertation about Danish fashion, when I did a search for this topic on Google. Danish fashions can undoubtedly defend their place in Swedish women's wardrobes.

As a teenager in the late 1970s I often went to Copenhagen to look for the radical aesthetic that we on the Swedish side of the Sound associated with Denmark. "Danish" represented simplicity and functional design, bright colours, and no great distinction between male and female fashion. It was natural and authentic as well. I particularly remember how genuine it felt as I wrapped those soft cotton scarves with different accent colours around my neck or over my head. (It was said that these were white Danish cloth nappies which had been dyed, but that information, if anything, reinforced the physical sense of intimacy.) For us radical young women, Danish fashion was also velvet, exotic patterns, and embroidery. It was above all individual, and of great assistance in staging personal identity and style.

The art of representing the interior through external expressions is an expanding sphere of knowledge. There are many works in the field of fashion studies describing how personal or cultural identity is shaped with, or against, the changing practices of fashion.

Marie Riegels Melchior's dissertation, "Danish in fashion! A study of design, identity, and history in the Danish fashion industry", is nevertheless relatively free of the psychologizing explanatory models that are often used to describe the relationship between individual and structure. It focuses instead on Danish fashion as a phenomenon over time in a national and trade context. In its eight chapters the dissertation describes and analyses what is characteristic of Danish fashion and how a "transnational phenomenon" like fashion is *made* into something specifically national through the practice of different actors.

Riegels Melchior is inspired in part by actor-network theory and the way in which this theory is expressed by Bruno Latour, Annemarie Mol, and Jon Law. By studying how Danish fashion has developed since the 1950s – and how this is represented in the trade press and the media – and by studying fashion in the present, for instance by doing fieldwork with Mads Nørgaard-Copenhagen, the author makes a convincing presentation of the complex construction of the phenomenon that is *Danish fashion*.

The impact of fashion is no longer regarded as a strictly regulated relationship between centre and periphery. The *centralization* of fashion, that is, when trends were set in Paris and then spread over Europe and the world, has been replaced today by *decentralization*, and many fashion theorists say that different kinds of fashion arise in different places and different contexts. (And the task of trend analysts is to go out and *discover* contemporary fashion so that production can keep up.) Riegels Melchior defines this as a *multicentric system,* with several fashion centres coexisting on a global market. The Danish example can thus be generalized as a reflec-

tion of an international tendency in the fashion business. By describing and analysing how the multicentring of fashion is concretely expressed in the everyday practice of the fashion industry, she seeks to contribute to "a more nuanced insight into the phenomenon of Danish fashion".

The dissertation deals with the part of the Danish fashion industry that produces ladies' and gentlemen's clothes, and the evidence consists of historical source material, interviews, and participant observation. The study proceeds from Danish fashion as a socio-material actor network in which both things and people are important actors. In the empirical study the author outlines the history of the Danish fashion industry and how Danish fashion has been described in the trade press and newspaper articles. We follow the exciting fieldwork at Mads Nørgaard-Copenhagen and learn how fashion and design are interwoven with different actors' practice and ideas.

An interesting section in the dissertation is the sixth chapter, "With or without sequins – challenges and opportunities in a Danish fashion-design expression", where the author analyses a specific version of Danish fashion: bohemian individualism. Here the sequin serves as an analytical metaphor and an important actor: "This little, often glittering, circular object of plastic or metal, decoratively sewn on to cloth and recognizable especially from the dress of women from the Middle East and Asia, thus proved to be an eye-catching little thing in Danish fashion." The sequin became a symbol of individualistic and bohemian design in the late 1990s and early 2000s. But in what way was it actually Danish? Marie Riegels Melchior describes with analytical acumen how this design expression was interwoven, both in her interviews and in the public discourse, with specific values ascribed to "Danishness". The link between Danish national identity and values such as democracy, accessibility, and diversity found concrete expression a few years later in the foundation of the Danish Fashion Institute in 2005.

Design and fashion have become important key words today for describing the production of goods and services. Politicians are hoping that the design, lifestyle, and experience industry will generate strong growth in the economy. In Sweden, for example, 2005 was proclaimed as "Design Year" by the government, one of the aims being to show how design could contribute to cultural development, economic growth, social welfare, and ecological sustainability. Drives focusing on design are often a result of strategic collaboration between culture and business, and in the light of what we today call *the new economy*, they can also be interpreted as a symbolic union of culture and economics. The new economy is often defined as a *cultural economy*, but has also been described as an *economization of culture*. The talk of design propels the encounter between the traditional outlook on work and new ways of representing production.

The Danish fashion industry today is a globally oriented export industry that simultaneously requires a definition of the "identity" of Danish fashion. The political project that is the Danish Fashion Institute is therefore trying to extract the "DNA" of Danish fashion in order to establish Copenhagen and Denmark as the world's fifth global fashion centre.

Marie Riegels Melchior's dissertation is an important contribution to research on current fashions and the fashion business. The industry needs to develop its knowledge of the significance of fashion for society, its organizational processes and the situation in this business with its demanding working conditions, where many dreams and hopes are invested. To meet society's demands for sustainability and political expectations, the capacity for self-reflection and quality assurance should be top-priority competence. Riegels Melchior's dissertation is close to the practice of the fashion industry and will hopefully provide the necessary insight.

Fashion studies is a new theoretical academic field that calls for constant development of knowledge and legitimacy. Riegels Melchior's work supplies important theoretical perspectives on several of the paradoxes of fashion. One of the most useful, perhaps, is the analytical ability to demonstrate the complexity of fashion and the limits that can result when fashion is reduced to a single (national) design expression. Danish fashion, after all, is much more than a small town in Jutland.

Cecilia Fredriksson, Lund/Helsingborg

Viewpoints on the Sixties

Katja-Maria Miettunen, Menneisyys ja historiakuva. Suomalainen kuusikymmentäluku muistelijoiden rakentamana ajanjaksona. Bibliotheca Historica

126. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2009. 306 pp. Diss. English summary. ISBN 978-952-222-155-1.

■ The subject of Katja-Maria Miettunen's doctoral thesis is the image of the Finnish Sixties. It is a dissertation in history, and the source material consists of published memoirs, autobiographies, autobiographical novels and interviews published in the media. In all, the material consists of the published reminiscences of 139 individuals. The diligence of the work becomes concrete, for example, in the index of names, which will help the reader to find specific figures of interest.

Miettunen conceives an image as a general conception of what some past matter was like and what significance it may have for the present. The starting point of the study is that such images are important because they mould conceptions of the past and its significance. One's conception of the past has an impact on how one views the present and the future. The aim of the study is to find how the image of the past is formed and what its relation is to real past events.

Images of the past are not formed contingently but through the activity of actors with motives of their own. Miettunen's standpoint is that in seeing the past, an individual is not projecting the present on the real past but on the image of the past that she or he has conceived. The significance of past events is in the meanings attached to them at different times. 'The Sixties' is not a reference to the decade 1960–1969 but to a kind of mental landscape which is not necessarily bound to the calendar. In the image of the past the reality may be arranged in ways other than chronologically.

Miettunen has grouped the reminiscences into three parts. The radicals, the popsters and the writers all have their own ways of making Sixties theirs from their own perspectives. For the radicals, radicalism and the Sixties are so closely connected as to be virtually synonymous. The ideas that the radicals associate with the Sixties include pacifism, tolerance of difference, solidarity with the Third World and the new leftism. The popsters claim that pop culture had an impact on many spheres of life and made the Sixties important. Both the radicals and popsters claim that Finland had been an isolated country and present the phenomenon that they themselves represent as an important factor in ending this isolation. The writers differ from the radicals and popsters in that each writer recalls the Sixties mostly from his or her own point of view. For the writers, their common profession is the overreaching aspect.

All three groups associate cultural change with the Sixties. The radicals concentrate mainly on theatre, and the writers recall debates sparked by certain books. The popsters create their own picture of the cultural change with music at the core and phenomena such as fashion, stardom, fan culture, and alcohol and drugs. Out of line with the radicals and writers, popsters mention things such as the contrast between the urban and rural and media culture. Miettunen points out that the narratives of the radicals, popsters and writers leave most of the young people of the 60s out of their reminiscence. "The mass" of young people is left grey on the margins of their image of the Sixties.

One component of an image of the past consists of events. The popsters and the writers describe the events of the Sixties as incidents that happened to take place at that time. The radicals' accounts differ from those of the other groups in that for them, certain events have become moments. A background and meaning is provided for these moments, and they are characterized as important turning points for both radicalism and the Sixties in general. The moments are events which the narrators claim to have felt particularly strongly about. The great moments in the image of the past are those events interpreted to be so significant that they ought to be unforgettable.

An important device in building an image of the past is legitimizing one's role as a constructor of that image through personal experiences. The narrators claim that only those who have experienced the Sixties should tell about it. Still, having lived in the 60s is not the same as having experienced the Sixties. According to the narrators, the decade cannot be understood unless one has oneself experienced it, and in the right way. The narrators link the concept of experience with the events in a straightforward manner: they claim to recount the real past when they describe their own experiences. For the narrators, their experience is something that has actually happened, and they seem to believe that the memory of it has survived unchanged in their minds.

Miettunen's research shows that narratives about the Sixties are connected to life in the present. They shed light on the particular present by showing what has been considered to be worth remembering. The

reminiscences participate in the building of the image of the past as a part of a larger whole. The reminiscing cannot be understood unless it is viewed as a process in which each single text has its own particular role to play.

The image of the past is a whole, and Miettunen's method has been to study it by breaking it up. According to her, the image must be broken into its components in order to grasp it. The narrative of the Sixties becomes concrete in the answers to questions such as: When did the Sixties begin? How did it manifest? What were its significant moments? Where did it end, and what did it signify? Words such as novelty and change are keywords in the image of the Sixties. According to the radicals, the Sixties reshaped values and modernized Finnish society. The popsters put the emphasis on what the Sixties meant to them personally. The writers, like the radicals, talk mainly about the changes in values and attitudes, but whereas the radicals stress the permanent nature of these changes, the writers often present them as transient.

In exploring the margins of the image of the past, Miettunen points out how the image of the Other is constructed. In the reminisces, the underground movement, the hippie movement and Maoism are relegated to the margins of the image, but nevertheless belong essentially to it. Also, phenomena such as the structural change in Finnish society, the sexual revolution, the change in the position of women and the liberalization of the alcohol policy are left aside. An important way to give meaning to the Sixties is to compare them with later periods and conclude that they were better by all accounts. The narrators compare the Sixties especially to the Seventies, which are remembered as being dismal in all respects. The radicals have perceived certain features of the Sixties in later phenomena, for instance, in various grassroots movements. According to Miettunen, the wish to bring the Sixties back demonstrates how the object of reminiscing is above all a mental epoch. The real decade cannot return, but the Sixties of the image of the past can.

The dissertation excellently brings together the extensive and conflicting views of the 1960s, but would have benefitted from a more profound theoretical deliberation. The concepts of nostalgia and identities are very briefly covered. For example, the ideas of Maurice Halbwachs and Jacques Le Goff are mentioned only in the very end of the dissertation, but are not woven into the analysis from the beginning. The English title 'The Past and the Image of the Past' is evidence of the author's not completely developed theoretical thinking. The title implies that there is 'a real past' even though in the text Katja-Maria Miettunen writes that the past is but different views and representations of the past.

Tytti Steel, Helsinki

Men's Violence against Women

Gabriella Nilsson, Könsmakt eller häxjakt? Antagonistiska föreställningar om mäns våld mot kvinnor. Institutionen för Kulturvetenskaper, Lunds universitet 2009. 275 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-6287-843-6.

■ "It's an everyday occurrence that boys make a pass at girls. There is no doubt that it is not all right to have intercourse when the girl says no. Of course one should not commit assault, but it must be permitted to continue the flirting." A Norwegian lawyer was quoted as saying this in the newspaper *Verdens Gang* (8 October 2010). He was in the court of Sør-Trøndelag, defending his 25-year-old client who admitted that he had undressed and had intercourse with a 24-year-old woman whom he had driven home from the town one evening two years previously. The client, however, said that it could not be defined as rape because he stopped when "the inebriated woman did not want to have sex with him in the back seat of the car." The lawyer pleaded for his client's acquittal based on the quotation above. This statement shocked people, including the leader of the Crisis Centre Secretariat, who thought that the lawyer was trying to make rape seem trivial. The lawyer, however, thought that "the feminists have monopolized the debate about rape in the media", and he said that "prominent forces in the women's movement have won this debate", but that he was willing to engage in discussion of "a difficult topic" (*Adresseavisen*, 8 October 2010).

This case was in the Norwegian media at the same time as I was reading Gabriella Nilsson's dissertation in ethnology, the title of which means "Gender power or witch hunt? Antagonistic ideas about men's violence against women" (2009). It illustrates a central theme of her study: notions of male sexual liberty, women's responsibility for their own behaviour, the power to define, antagonisms

between explanatory models of the connection between gender and violence, including the perception that "feminists have closed up the debate" – themes that are valid and relevant far beyond the Swedish context that is the focus of Nilsson's dissertation.

The starting point for Nilsson's study is the controversial question of how to explain men's violence against women. In this issue there is an antagonism between perspectives that study violence in relation to gender and men's power over women, and perspectives that tone down the gender issue in favour of other explanations, for example biological, psychiatric, and individual psychological perspectives. Nilsson studies this antagonism as a struggle for the preferential right to define what violence is. With the aid of thorough text studies, she shows how the understanding of violence that is allowed to dominate can be significant for the way society handles violence both via professional practice and in jurisprudence and legislation.

Nilsson's dissertation is not just about rape. It also deals with incest and abuse. She thus underlines the potential of the cultural sciences to study not only culture as an expression of "good order" and uncontroversial matters, but also topics that are relevant to contemporary society and arouse debate. Nilsson's study is one product of the network "Gender and Violence: Historical and Cultural Perspectives", led by Inger Lövkrona at Lund University and financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers' research programme "Gender and Violence in the Nordic Countries" (2000–2004).

The dissertation consists of an introduction, analysis, and conclusion. The introduction provides an account of methods, analytical strategies, and central theoretical premises. The analysis is divided into three parts: part 1 concerns the debate about rape in the period 1975–1977, part 2 deals with incest (1982–1996), and part 3 looks at abuse (1988–2000). Each of these three parts consists of three to four sub-chapters, and each part concludes with a summary of the chapter. Each part also begins with a statement of the focus of the chapter and the kind of sources to be used. These statements work well, and are perhaps even essential for the reader, for this is a dissertation with many actors – so many names, debates, and inquiries are studied that it can be easy to lose track. The dissertation is dense and can sometimes be perceived as somewhat heavy in its language and thus not wholly accessible. In part 4, the concluding chapter, Nilsson sums up parts 1–3, rounding off with the following question: What does it mean that violence is accepted as a part of many male practices but is not considered acceptable for women? Is there a link between this "legitimate" male violence and men's violence against women?

The dissertation is a study of texts from the Swedish debate about the three phenomena of rape, incest, and physical abuse of women. We are introduced to scholarly texts and academic debates, popular science, official inquiries, parliamentary bills, reports, debate articles, and interviews in the media. The point is not to categorize the texts in specific genres, but to use them in order to see how they are related to each other intertextually, and to ascertain how the antagonism can be found regardless of boundaries between disciples and genres. Nilsson thus studies the function of these texts as tools in the struggle for the right to interpret violence. The knowledge she produces is thus what can be obtained through a close-up reading of these texts: the sources can say how someone describes the situations being studied, but they give no insight into what it was "really" like, according to Nilsson. From the point of view of cultural studies, this seems like a reasonable argument for demarcating the source material; we study the media precisely as an important source for folk ideas about a particular phenomenon. In addition, cultural scholars have had a fondness for the research interview – talking with the people that the texts are about could possibly have brought us even closer to the research field. Nilsson could therefore have chosen to interview the actors that the texts concern. This could have given interesting nuances and greater depth, but it would have required a broader approach to data collection and analysis. And who really believes that interviews bring us closer to "the truth"? Nilsson thus had good, solid arguments for her decision to concentrate on texts.

In the introduction she formulates the problem(s) and the aim of the study cumulatively. Nilsson reasons her way to the questions she can ask about the study object by connecting it to central analytical starting points: cultural analysis, discourse theory, the gender perspective. "How are ideas made about men's violence against women?" (p. 17), "How are ideas about men's violence against women made through the struggle for the preferential right of interpretation?" (p. 18), "How is hegemony estab-

lished or maintained in the outlook on men's violence against women through challenge and resistance?" (p. 19). She then formulates the aim of the dissertation: "to study the practice in which antagonistic ideas about men's violence against women are articulated as challenge or resistance; how these ideas are made through the struggle for the preferential right of interpretation and the establishment of hegemony in a particular gender order" (p. 20).

From a reader's viewpoint, it may be objected that strewing research questions in this way is an obstacle to quickly grasping a more clearly demarcated problem for the dissertation. At the same time, this way of pursuing the research questions, by constantly linking back to the empirical point of departure for the study, illustrates and emphasizes the method of cultural analysis through which the problem is driven by the empirical material. Yet Nilsson also has a clear premise for the dissertation, namely "the view that men's violence against women is shaped in a context where gender and gender differences are understood as a gender order that legitimizes and defends certain actions" (p. 20).

The introduction also states the methodological and theoretical starting point for the study: Discourse analysis and cultural analysis are central methods, and theories of discourse, Bourdieu's field theory, and gender are presented as important perspectives for the interpretations Nilsson makes. What makes this dissertation *cultural studies*? What can the chosen perspectives contribute in this field? Nilsson herself claims that it is the focus on *practice* that characterizes cultural analysis, with a micro-perspective that opens one's eyes to something more than just *what* is said: *how* is it said, and *why*? Asking such questions also enables studying any changes in the field.

Other central concepts for the analysis of the struggle for the preferential right of interpretation are *resistance* and *challenge*. Here it is worth noticing that the term resistance is not employed in the way we are used to – to describe activities that marginalized groups perform to oppose the ruling power, but in the reverse direction. Challenge is used here to study the actions that are intended to bring about change, while resistance serves to study the reaction that comes to the challenge. Resistance is thus studied as actions and strategies to prevent changes and preserve the established order. The concepts work well, but surely Nilsson could just as well have spoken about (dominant) discourse and counter-discourse? In that context the concept of *subject position* becomes central: from what position are ideas about violence articulated; how is this position ascribed to or by the actor?

The first analytical chapter centres on a series of articles in the newspaper *Expressen* and the debate about the report of a government inquiry into sexual crimes (*Sexualbrottsutredningens slutbetänkande*, SOU 1976:9). Nilsson shows how commission members, expert positions, and science collaborated in sense-making about rape and how it should be understood. We simultaneously gain insight into how the commission to perform the inquiry was an opportunity for criminology as a discipline to strengthen its position in the scientific field in relation to forensic psychiatry and gender politics. We then see what happened when the commission's view of rape was challenged (and defended) in the ensuing media debate. The liberal vision of sexual freedom had been a goal in the context where the commission started its work, but when it finished the inquiry the climate had changed: the report was viewed as taking a disparaging view of women, having prejudices about gender, and following an old-fashioned pattern of gender roles. The women's movement united in a protest which was submitted to the Ministry of Justice. Nilsson shows how these events led to the rise of an antagonism in the outlook on rape in the mid-1970s: the liberal vision was challenged by a gender perspective. Rape became a women's issue. It is interesting to see the report as a catalyst for the ability of the women's movement to achieve unity and formulate a critique.

Since Nilsson says in the introduction that she uses discourse analysis, one might expect this perspective to be made more obvious and employed more actively as an analytical tool. One could envisage, for example, that she might analyse the actual concept of "rape" as a *fluid signifier,* a sign that is particularly open for different meanings, which different discourses struggle to fill with meaning. It is possible that it could have had a more unifying effect on the analysis, especially since she also does this in the analysis of incest and abuse. By studying the matter in terms of resistance and challenge, special emphasis is placed on the processual aspect, which is interesting for Nilsson who wants to see whether there are changes in the fields she studies. But by also studying rape,

incest, and abuse as fluid signifiers it would be possible to shed light on the struggle to define the meaning, a struggle that Nilsson wants to capture, and studying what is omitted versus what is permitted in the *discursive field* would be a very suitable tool for studying change.

In the second part of the analysis, about incest, the media contribution is likewise central. The chapter begins with a Swedish TV1 programme about incest. Two people, one from the women's movement and one from Save the Children, are central in the recent incest debate in Sweden. Much of the debate concerns the question of incest as a women's issue or a children's issue. Nilsson demonstrates in interesting ways how incest as a women's issue is perceived as a different social issue from incest as a children's issue. The adult women's needs were not considered urgent, but by choosing the children's perspective, the focus was shifted to incest in the present day, which called for rapid action. The actors' perception of their own subject position in relation to the right to express oneself and to be perceived as professional is also considered. In the analysis of rape there are examples of the opinion that not having personally been a rape victim was important for being perceived as objective. In the debate about incest, on the other hand, the representative of the women's movement was concerned with the fact that she was acting in her position as a victim of incest.

The fact that the children's perspective had priority in the interpretation of what incest was, meant that the issue of gender was of subordinate significance (except in the critique of what was subsequently called the "hysteria" about incest). Nilsson interprets this as meaning that the children's perspective does not challenge in the same way as the gender perspective. She nevertheless claims that the consequences were the reverse: the focus on the children gave an opportunity for gender politics. The underlying gender conflict in the incest issue was concealed because on the surface it ended up being about urgent measures to help vulnerable, innocent children. But in the hunt for urgent measures, masculine freedoms and rights could be restricted in a way that would not otherwise have been possible.

The third and final part of the analysis is about physical abuse of women. This is not just an interesting analysis, but also an informative description of the controversies about scientific perspectives, gender studies, politics, and the women's issue. First Nilsson gives a good description of the division in women's studies between the focus on social work and the vision of gender politics. She also provides a good introduction into the background to things that have aroused great attention in the Norwegian media as well: the question of women's/gender studies and the ties to the design of policy and the production of ideology. A central figure in Nilsson's analysis is Eva Lundgren, who is portrayed as a central actor both as an opponent *ex auditorio* in 1988 during the psychiatrist Bo Bergman's oral defence of his dissertation on domestic violence, and in the critique of another central pioneering study on the abuse of women, Margareta Hydén's study in social psychology from 1992. Nilsson also analyses the work of the commission on violence against women that was set up by the then centre-right government to inquire into public measures against domestic violence, and how this derived inspiration from Lundgren's research, especially the theory of the normalization process that violence underwent. Did this perspective become an "institutional truth"? The opposition that the directive encountered, with the result that it had to be adapted to suit the judicial field, meant that its potential to challenge the gender field in many respects disappeared. It is an interesting analysis that Nilsson undertakes when she asks – on the basis of the term "state feminism" – whether the fact that the gender-political analysis of men's violence against women was something the government supported became a limitation more than an opportunity to implement directives. The controversy about Lundgren's research and her alleged links with the women's shelter organization ROKS, makes interesting and illuminating reading. This chapter is not only of concern within academia but also has the potential to interest a broader audience.

Nilsson then sums up her three thematic analyses. Have there been any changes in society's view of men's violence against women in the period (1975–2000) she has studied? The debates about rape, incest, and abuse of women all started as "dramatic revelations", with good assistance from the media, of the dark and hushed-up sides of society. The way in which these topics came into public light provoked reaction and debate.

Nilsson finds that *the use of science* is a shared factor in the struggle for the preferential right of interpretation in the field. This is the subject position

the actors wish to occupy. Science has been used as an argument both to establish and to challenge hegemony in a field; it has connotations of objectivity, rationality, and "truth". Even within the gender-political project, science has been used as an argument, for example when people have questioned individual scientific contributions, as Lundgren did when she pointed out serious weaknesses in Bergman's dissertation about domestic violence, or when witness psychologists in the incest debate argued that their methods were scientific.

Nilsson finds that there has not been any radical change in the direction of a gender-political understanding of men's violence against women in the period she has studied. As she has shown through her analyses, there has been a political will to change. In the sense of discourse theory, change is always possible, and the very fact that there has been some *movement* in the field can be interpreted as a change – even if it feels like going back to the beginning again. Nilsson nevertheless has to ask a new question: Why has nothing happened?

Nilsson finds evidence in her material which suggests that it could be the actual gender-political perspective that provokes. Perspectives that understand the reason for men's violence against women as an expression of differences in power between the sexes tend to create separate groups: victims/women and perpetrators/men. This perspective ignores the view of the violent man as deviant, sick, alcoholic, or of a different ethnic background; the perpetrator of violence can be "any man at all". This group thinking about men is probably perceived as negative and unfair. The antagonism when it comes to the issue of men's violence against women should therefore be understood as more than disagreement about particulars, Nilsson says; it must be understood as a fundamental conflict between men and women.

The relationship between resistance and challenge in the outlook on men's violence can therefore also be interpreted as an expression of a fundamental opposition between women's and men's *scope for action*, according to Nilsson. This opposition means that, if the scope for one of the categories increases, the scope for the other one decreases. Nilsson is thus able to explain that the struggle for greater legal security for women was followed by a defence of men's legal security, that the struggle for women's sexual integrity was followed by a defence of men's sexual freedom, and so on. Can the *resistance* to the gender- political outlook on men's violence that Nilsson detects in her sources be understood as a defence of men's freedom of action? That is Nilsson's conclusion. She thinks that the struggle against men's abuse of women was a struggle over the demands that could be achieved without too much restriction of men's freedom of action.

Nilsson also concludes that both women and men, both challengers and defenders of the hegemony, have contributed to this kind of adaptation. The struggle for the preferential right of interpretation has always taken place within the framework of the prevailing gender order, not as a revolt against it. The actors have always submitted to the rules of the game. Here Nilsson talks of *heterosocial action* and *adaptation to the structure of the demand system*, claiming that the challengers in the field have thus contributed to reproducing the gender order and the power relations they have sought to change. This is particularly clear in Nilsson's analysis of the subject position in which the actors in the field wish to stand: "feminist" is a position that the actors find disqualifying, even the women who are active in gender politics.

Nilsson's dissertation is detailed, based on rich and multifaceted source material. In a review it is difficult to cover all the many interesting analyses and interpretations found throughout the dissertation. In my opinion, this is a dissertation that should be of interest to more than just cultural scientists – in jurisprudence, politics, and the professional assistance system – for its analyses of how ideas of gender can affect the way in which society handles the problem of violence against women. When Nilsson, for example, shows how the debate about rape and incest became more legitimate and asks whether it may have to do with the fact that the greatest emphasis in the debates was not on the gender issue, this should give us pause for thought. The consequences of the desire to use science in politics, and the fact that science can also become ideology, are other crucial insights.

The dissertation is, of course, written within a Swedish context. In the use of textual evidence, Nilsson has chosen to make room for the debates about rape, incest, and physical abuse of women. For a group of readers not familiar with the entire Swedish debate and central figures in Swedish public life, one could occasionally wish that Nilsson had shown a bit more from her sources, for example,

if she could have given more insight into some of the texts and thereby also showed the reader how she has analysed them. This could have given more depth and insight into the basis for the interpretations she makes. But this would probably have forced her to choose just one of the three topics, which would have been an obstacle to the comparison and the investigation of changes that is one of her aims. It would also have been good to see a more detailed discussion of the relationship between politics and media. The British criminologist Maggie Wykes has studied this relationship as an "intertwined discourse". Wykes analyses news texts about gender and violence in British media in relation to concepts such as "news value" and "values" in British society. She shows how the media discourse and the political discourse are in symbiosis or interaction, as the cases can be held up against the prevailing political forces. Perspectives like this could perhaps have been highlighted in this study.

Nilsson positions herself as a cultural scientist and feminist in her dissertation. I have read this interesting study with another thought in mind: What is the contribution of the cultural scientist? What makes Nilsson's dissertation a dissertation in ethnology, not sociology or anthropology? Would it have looked different if she had written it in some other subject? The British cultural theorist John Smith says that in post-modern times it has become common to perceive the cultural scientist as a kind of interpreter, whose role can be to generate dialogue and reflexivity between and within different social spheres. This is connected to the perception of the cultural theorist as a "bearer of discourses", a supplier of ideas and reflexive critique. In my opinion, Nilsson's analysis of whether we have witnessed "gender power or witch hunt" is a dissertation that fits Smith's optimistic view of the potential of cultural studies.

Sidsel Natland, Oslo

What Finished off the Sepra Trade?

Raimo Päiviö, Mikä tappoi seprakaupan? Suomalaisten ja virolaisten harjoittamasta vaihto- eli seprakaupasta, sen hiipumisesta 1800-luvun lopulta ensimmäiseen maailmansotaan ja sen loppumiseen 1920- ja 1930-luvuilla. Turun yliopiston julkaisuja, Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Sarja-Ser. C, Scripta Lingua Fennica Edita, Osa-Tom. 287. Turun yliopisto, Turku 2009. 319 pp. 165 appendices. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29- 4055-4.

■ The doctoral dissertation of Raimo Päiviö, completed at the Department of Ethnology at the University of Turku in Finland, is an important piece of research focusing on a special rural economic phenomenon in several parishes both on the Finnish and the Estonian side of the Gulf of Finland and also on the large islands in the middle of the Gulf of Finland.

Focusing in particular on the area 200 kilometres east of the parish of Koivisto and to the west as far as to Porvoo, Sipoo and Helsinki, fishermen used to transport their surplus catch over to the Estonian coast to the comparably long area east of Tallinn and sometimes also to the west to Paldiski and some smaller locations. On the Estonian coast the Finnish fishermen met their trading partners, Estonian farmers, who also had some surplus grain. The salted fish was exchanged for grain, mainly for rye, and it was essential that both parties got what was necessary for their households. It was a reciprocal act which included certain traditional manners, such as shaking hands, serving some ready-made fish and taking a drink of milk from a bottle or some spirits or beer.

The word 'sepra', used for this partnership, originates from the Baltic languages and means a very good friend, sometimes also a relative, society or guild. This tradition took place from the early Middle Ages until as late as the 1920s and 1930s. The trading partners usually met twice a year, the first time just before Midsummer and the second time in the middle of September. Some of the islanders who had a shorter crossing sailed sometimes a third time in the middle of November, and sometimes, during a bad year, the fishermen could cross the Gulf of Finland very early in the spring, already at the end of April. There were also other provisions to be exchanged; for instance, Estonian potatoes were imported by Finns since the 1860s and Estonians since the 1870s and some firewood was exported to Estonia. The Estonians also fished on the Finnish side of the Gulf of Finland.

Päiviö approaches his subject from a historical point of view, which he had found to be the best way to conduct research on a heterogeneous group of fishermen living in a very wide area and farmer-fishermen, fishmongers and workers who engaged in fishing as a complementary source of livelihood.

The most important question is expressed in the title: why did the traditional reciprocal trade die out? Päiviö continues by asking what kinds of factors were supporting the traditional structure of this trade before changes at the macro and micro level started influencing it and ultimately destroying it. In a wider perspective, he is focusing on traditional rural economic self-sufficiency and changing over to a monetary economy. One of the interesting questions is: did the sepra trade change form during the centuries?

The empiric material – Finnish and Estonian custom diaries, interviews and previous research on the subject – is approached very statistically. The author synthesizes the material through a process of argumentation, which is one of the characteristics of the historical method and also connected to a causal interpretation and explanation.

Päiviö begins by discussing the origin of this partnership trade. First, he focuses on the history of the population in his research area, and he finds out that when the Swedish inhabitants settled in this district at the beginning of the second millennium only the barren coastline was left for them and the exchange of fish for grain was the only prospects they had for earning a living. It also seems that exchanging supplies with a partner had become established by the 17th century.

The bond between the partners was tight; for instance, people from Koivisto and also other parishes used to carry their fish to the same traditional small harbours on the Estonian coast. Sometimes the market price of fish and grain would have been more favourable in Tallinn than in the small harbours of Toolse, Mahu and Purtse. However, at the same time, the coastal inhabitants used to sail over to Tallinn or Narva in their fishing boats and sell their fish, furs and other supplies to the merchants. This information is verified by documents from the 14th century, when this so-called peasant sailing was regulated for the first time by the state, and also in documents from the following centuries. From the state's point of view, there were many uncollected taxes sailing away with these boats and there was also a danger that these peasants would illegally engage in commerce with foreign goods, which only the bourgeois city merchants were allowed to do. Not only the supplies were regulated, but also the size of the boats, which could be no more than two lasts.

Political changes during the 18th century did not alter either of these rural trading systems, although the border between Russia and Sweden was drawn towards the west, and in the 19th century, when both Finland and Estonia were part of Russia, the importance of Tallinn increased. People from Finland's west coast, the south-western archipelago, the Åland islands and of course the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland sailed their surplus supplies and firewood over to Tallinn. In explaining the reason for the popularity of Tallinn, Päiviö considers the politics of Swedish customs and the high rates it charged, which the islanders could not afford to pay because of the lack of money in their households.

The rapid growth of St. Petersburg not only offered to the fishermen and islanders an opportunity to sell their ordinary products in the city, but also an opportunity to practise shipping. Since the early 19th century some of the fishermen took advantage of this opportunity and began to transport stone for the builders of the city. In return, they brought rye meal. Shipping to St. Petersburg was busiest from the 1860s to the beginning of the 1890s. Afterwards, larger ships were built and the number of skippers decreased.

Finally, in the last and summarizing chapter, Päiviö gives answers to his hypothetical questions. The 'sepra' trade declined beginning in the 1860s, first in the western part of the research area, in the Finnish mainland parishes of Pernaja, Porvoo, Sipoo and Helsinki, and during the next decade in the east, in the mainland parishes of Koivisto, Virolahti, Kymi and Pyhtää. In spite of this, the people living on the islands continued the trade until the First World War. One of the reasons for the collapse of this trade was the new industrially made fishing gear used by the Estonian fishermen and Finnish islanders. There was an opportunity to earn one's living by fishing and selling the catch to Estonian markets and via Estonia to Russian markets. Päiviö also points to the industrialization of the Kymenlaakso region, to the railway connection with St. Petersburg and to the growth of the city as factors influencing the trade. People from Koivisto and Virolahti found it profitable to transport firewood, sand and stone to St. Petersburg, and winter fishing became particularly profitable. They did not have to take care of marketing the fish; the fishmongers came to their fishing grounds and transported the catch to Vyborg or St. Petersburg.

In 1917, the Russian border was closed and it was necessary to find markets for fish within Finland.

The monetary economy was introduced among the fishmongers in the 1870s. When the industrial processing of fish increased, more and more fish were needed and the Estonian fishmongers came to the Finnish coast and archipelago to buy fish. The tradition had changed. Until the First World War salted Baltic herring could still be exchanged in a traditional manner with a 'sepra' partner, but also sold for money to other private partners or the fishmongers.

In his research Päiviö is focusing on the volume of transported fish and grain. He shows little interest in explaining such macro level processes as the liberal ideas in politics, education and legislation which affected society in the 19th century. For instance the people were given the right to carry on any craft or trade, and the peasants had practised shipping on the Baltic Sea since the 1830s which gave them new opportunities to fulfil their economic and material needs. From the maritime point of view the monetary economy was in fact introduced even earlier than at the fishmonger's in the 1870s as Päiviö states.

In his last and summarizing chapter, referring to Helena Ruotsala's research on reindeer management, Päiviö comes to the conclusion that the new ways of using and spending money changed society, patterns of ownership, home furnishings and the need for education, but his line of deduction remains unclear for the reader. However, if Päiviö had also paid more attention to the ethnographic material, he would have been able to verify how the macro level processes changed the local community, rural economy, life and manners and affected the 'sepra' trade. Looking at the changes of 'sepra' trade from the point of view of a local community would have opened a whole new perspective on the subject.

Ulla Kallberg, Turku

Tailors, Seamstresses and Fashion

Pernilla Rasmussen, Skräddaren, sömmerskan och modet. Arbetsmetoder och arbetsdelning i tillverkningen av kvinnlig dräkt 1770–1830. Nordiska museets handlingar 136. Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2010. 311 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7108-538-2.

■ Pernilla Rasmussen's doctoral dissertation is an impressive work: well researched, well written and well illustrated by fine art paintings as well as hand drawings of cutting patterns and sewing techniques.

It is not always the case that, when you are obliged to read a book on textile and manufacturing techniques, you find yourself eager to continue reading without tiring of the endless detailed instructions. Yet in this case, Rasmussen has written not an explanatory instruction book, but the story of tailors, seamstresses and fashion in Sweden in the period 1770–1830. She calls it a textile and cultural history, but I would suggest adding, as a minimum, fashion history; all three perspectives are seamlessly interwoven in this dissertation. This enables Rasmussen to tell the behind-the-scenes story of what happened when female fashionable dress changed so dramatically in style and construction around the start of the nineteenth century. This is a well-known phenomenon to anyone who has turned the pages of an illustrated fashion history book: a late eighteenth-century *robe à l'anglaise*, complicated and richly detailed and made of heavy cotton, is followed by a simply cut, early nineteenth-century empire-style dress made of light materials such as gauze or muslin. This is particularly notable for a time long before the speed of fashion cycles as they change today!

What Rasmussen pursues is a closer understanding of why and how female fashion went from being made by male tailors to being made by female seamstresses at the same time as fashion changed. This question of gender and the organization of work is of the highest relevance, as it has the potential to explain why, at the same time in history, fashion started to be perceived as a female matter. Just two decades ago, this was still an obstacle for the legitimization of the field of fashion studies beyond just being banal " female stuff."

To achieve this understanding, Rasmussen has consulted a vast archive of historical material (including handbooks of tailoring and diaries of fashion consumers explaining the process by which they procured their clothing). But what makes the story so interesting to read is its inclusion of the actual dresses that constituted the female fashion of the period. From the collections at the Nordiska museet in Stockholm, Kulturen in Lund and the Textile Museum in Borås, Rasmussen has studied numerous dresses, their construction and how they were sewn. Based on this, and on material sources that cover female dresses produced by both professionals and

amateurs and made for both aristocratic and bourgeois women, Rasmussen has assembled concrete evidence that conclusions drawn in previous studies (based on British and French sources) do not apply to the Swedish case. The changing organization of labour and the increased division between male tailors making menswear and female seamstresses making women's wear cannot be explained by changing fashions and lower requirements for technical skills.

Instead, Rasmussen shows that in Sweden, the changing organization of work was due rather to the changing conditions for the training system of tailors. Until the early nineteenth century, it was not uncommon for a woman to a have a divided wardrobe, meaning that her outer dress (the fashionable dress) was made by male tailors and her linen under-dresses by female seamstresses. When the male tailors lost their monopoly on the training in cutting and pattern construction, it opened the way for the training of female seamstress in a vital area for the creation of women's fashion. Most interestingly, Rasmussen further sheds light on the fact that in Europe, although at the time tailors were able to communicate easily across national borders, there were at least two different traditions for the making of women's fashion. The English-French tradition was based on simple methods of cutting and sewing, while the German tradition was founded on a much more complicated way of cutting and sewing. Since Swedish tailors did not normally travel further than Germany for their training abroad, it was not surprising that the German tradition shaped Swedish women's fashion to a much larger extent. In other words, it did not become technically easier to produce women's fashion when women entered the field of fashionable dressmaking in Sweden. However, their knowledge and technical skills improved through their training. This is a key point made by Rasmussen in the dissertation, leading her to conclude that this insight challenges the perception of the development of fashion as aesthetically and technically homogeneous in a European context. At least Rasmussen has her doubts.

The dissertation demonstrates very clearly that a material cultural perspective, the inclusion of objects, and the knowledge required to handle and understand the craft of dressmaking, are essential research components with the potential to clarify our understanding of our complex past. The danger arises when the material objects are turned into evidence – into concrete proof. Current material culture studies have provided different solutions to this problem. Generally, the point is that the object is never the answer, but can comprise parts of the answer. Rasmussen is clearly aware of this and therefore always clarifies the context as she progresses through her analysis. It could have been rewarding, though, to undertake a more theoretical approach and discussion in order to tighten the arguments and many important points made throughout the dissertation. However, the book is recommended reading – in my opinion, particularly for scholars interested in the field of fashion (and what lies behind its glossy scene).

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

At the Hither Side of the Future

René León Rosales, Vid framtidens hitersta gräns. Om maskulina elevpositioner i en multietnisk skola. Mångkulturellt centrum, Botkyrka 2010. 342 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-86429-03-4.

■ An article in *Expressen*, a Swedish tabloid, functions as starting point for the ethnologist René León Rosales' dissertation. The issue of the article is the low educational outcome among boys in the countryside and boys with immigrant background living in multiethnic suburbs. The article gives a simplistic picture in which ethnicity and gender play a central role. In the introduction, Rosales shows that this is a widespread picture among Swedish authorities, e.g. the National Agency for Education, who have a great impact on the production of knowledge in society through the educational system. Rosales is critical of the fundamental approach, since a lot of research shows that the most obvious factors for low and high results in school are socioeconomic. By describing and analysing the everyday practices, Rosales wishes to make the picture more complex. Therefore, the aim of the dissertation is "to highlight central conditions, norms and values, which enable the staging of certain masculine pupil positions and hinder others, at a school located in the northern part of the municipality of Botkyrka in the Greater Stockholm region during 2004–2005" (pp. 16 and 318).

Primarily, Rosales chooses to put his questions to the boys in school. How do they describe their posi-

tion as pupils? What do they think of their teachers and school? What is their opinion of education? This is followed by more general questions: What kind of structural conditions in society have an impact on their position as pupils? From what kind of normative standpoint do the boys act and shape themselves as pupils in everyday school situations?

Chapter 1, "Introduction", continues with a presentation of theory, methodology and material. Rosales writes that he uses "tools from Foucault's toolbox" (p. 19). By using these "handyman" metaphors Rosales also introduces a culture-analytical approach which is fundamental in the study but is neither described nor explained. It might not be important to further explore this immanent cultural analytical understanding in this dissertation, but in other situations this ethnological "tacit knowledge" definitely has to be made visible.

It is a long time since I read such a well-formulated description of the central concepts, their meaning, and the analytical potential of the philosopher Michel Foucault's scholarly works. Central concepts are power, knowledge and subject, all closely related to institutions and science. Elaborating on this, Rosales uses the philosopher Louis Althusser's theories about interpellation, truth and apparatus. Also important is the way power works through governmentality, techniques of discipline and techniques of the Self.

The main aim is to understand the position as pupil and Rosales deepens the understanding by analysing the role of gender. Rosales uses theoretical approaches close to Foucault, the philosopher and queer theorist Judith Butler's concept of performance and the gender theorist Raewyn Connell's discussion of "a culturally exalted form of masculinity".

In order to understand ethnicity, Rosales takes a postcolonial perspective. Following the postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak, Rosales underlines that he is not giving voice to the boys in the text. He gives the reader an account of what he believes he has learnt from the children he has had the privilege of meeting and interviewing. Rosales fulfils this ambition through the text by using expressions like "I think", "I believe", "I interpret", to manifest the way he handles the interviews. Sometimes, though, this creates a feeling of uncertainty and even speculation which is troublesome.

At the end of chapter 1, Rosales describes his fieldwork. He has chosen a "typical" area where a lot of families with immigrant background live, and therefore the school has a multiethnic pupil population. Rosales has conducted participant observation and interviews among boys in two classes during their school year four to six. Rosales gives the reader a glimpse of being in the field and the awkwardness and feelings that are involved. How do you explain your role and your purpose to those whom you are studying? Later in the text Rosales gets back to this and highlights its complexity in a situation where he is placed as an invigilator at a formal test and the pupils start cheating. Should he act and report this or not? Rosales' answer is that it is this kind of interaction among the pupils he wants to learn about and he cannot interfere.

The following Chapter 2, "The state as an interpellating apparatus", contains an analysis of the governing document, the Curriculum for the Compulsory Education System (Lpo 1994) and statistics from the National Agency for Education. Rosales distinguishes six different characteristics of the ideal pupil: democratic, independent, culturally competent, well-educated, curious and expressive. In the statistics he finds a problematic categorization into "pupils of foreign origin" and "pupils with a Swedish background" which tends to normalize a discursive homogenization of the discursive figures "Swedes" and "non-Swedes". The purpose of the chapter is to frame the concept and meaning of "pupil" and how it is formed by authorities, and consequently, what kind of space is given the young boys to stage the position of the pupil.

Chapter 3, "Scenography", continues with descriptions of the material conditions, rooms and places where the boys act as pupils. We get to know Kärbo School, the surroundings, classrooms, the furniture and even the noise in classroom. Every inch of the school functions as a "sorting machine". In the classroom, for example, class 6a is sorted from class 6b. At the toilets girls are sorted from boys. On the notice board an article about low results among pupils with a foreign background sorts "Swedish pupils" from "non-Swedish". Rosales also looks upon clothes as gendered and examines how masculinity is formed by different kinds of collective practices among pupils.

Chapter 4, "Choreographies", investigates the impact of ethnic and gendered hierarchies within society, school and among peers. Rosales elaborates

the idea of Kärbo as a place where ethnic segregation is characteristic. In interviews the boys express knowledge about this. Individually they state that they are Swedish, but they do not recognize their peers as such. Being Swedish is related to a "proper" language. Rosales scrutinizes movement and gesture in the classroom and at breaks, where football dominates and seems to be important in performing masculinity.

Chapter 5, "Teaching", deals with the core activity in school, teaching and learning, from the perspective of the interviewed boys and from Rosales' observations. The reader also gets the explanation of the title: "At the hither side of the future". Among teachers, principals and pupils the expected outcome of school is "to become something" in the future.

In chapter 6, "Language", Rosales discusses languages and their different status with the boys. There is a special language spoken among young people in Kärbo, with special word order mixed with Swedish, Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic, which is important in peer relations but might be a disadvantage in others.

Chapter 7, "At the hither side of the future", concludes the results. Rosales gives quite a gloomy picture of how the conditions, norms and values work in society and school. They diminish the space of movement and development among boys with a foreign background. The structural conditions can be seen as the border behind which the boys act "at the hither side of the future".

Rosales places his dissertation within three established research fields, IMER (international migration and ethnic relations), studies of masculinity and gender in school environment. What is the contribution of Rosales? The chapter that deals with the curriculum is interesting, but since much has been written already in the years around 1994 when Lpo 94 was launched, it seems a bit out of date and redundant. Another problem is the choice of theories which have been used in many studies about school and education. The discussion of governmentality and techniques of the self is predicable. The composition of the dissertation could be more focused and the language sometimes gets unnecessarily complicated.

To sum up, the dissertation deals with an important topic approaching inequality in the educational system. Rosales makes many contributions. Most important is the analysis of the *pupil position*. He shows how this position is shaped by governing documents, authorities and purposes, but also how this is a position enabled among peers. Little research has been done about the peer-centred relations from a power perspective. Yet, it has an immense impact on the pupils' experiences and everyday situations in school. Rosales gives the reader many "tools" to understand collective processes among pupils and how the pupils themselves formulate and reflected on them.

Finally, Rosales is unnecessarily pessimistic in his conclusions. He has convinced me, as a reader of what he has learned from the boys, that they are self-confident and completely capable of managing their position "at the hither side of the future".

Kristina Gustafsson, Lund

Narratives of War in Finland

Sofie Strandén, "I eld, i blod, i frost, i svält". Möten med veteraners, lottors och sjuksköterskors berättande om krig. Åbo Akademi, Åbo 2010. 427 pp. English summary. Diss.
http://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/66195.

■ Sofie Strandén's dissertation proceeds from narratives of the war in which Finland-Swedish war veterans, women's auxiliaries, and nurses tell of their own experiences. She has material from ten informants of each sex. The origin of the project is interesting: a study of how people relate to *Fänrik Ståls sägner* ("The Tales of Ensign Stål" by Johan Ludvig Runeberg) triggered "spontaneous" narration of people's own war memories. This became the topic of the dissertation, which thus proceeds from the informants' experiences and narrative repertoires rather than from the premises of the research community.

The dissertation is divided into four parts. A brief introduction is followed by part II, "The Interview as a Meeting", which describes how the interview material came about and discusses the significance of the interview form. Part III, which fills most of the book, is entitled "Encounters with the War", and presents the empirical material grouped by certain themes. Part IV, entitled "Mythologizing Narratives about the War", is a general discussion.

The introduction states the aim of the dissertation: "to study the narratives that veterans, auxiliaries, and nurses told me about their experiences of

war". Strandén is thus inscribed in the aim as the primary recipient of these narratives.

Oral history is then presented as the research tradition that Strandén applies. The growth of that orientation is described along with its characteristics: the aim to be "bottom-up history", the emancipatory ambition, the relationship between individual and collective memory. Her analytical premises are stated here: the reflexive analysis of the interview interaction and the thematic analysis of the interview material. This leads to the formulation of some questions: What is the encounter like between interviewee and interviewer? Which actors occur in narratives of war? Why do people find it important to talk about war, in other words, what function do war narratives have? What do people not want to talk about? Are men's and women's narratives about war similar? Can "a different narrative" about war be heard in the interview material?

Part II is about "The Interview as a Meeting". Here Strandén first presents the background to the project. She began the work as a commissioned project from the Swedish Literature Society, to interview men born between 1920 and 1960 about their relationship to *Fänrik Ståls sägner* on the eve of the bicentennial of Runeberg's birth in 2004. It turned out that the first interviews easily led to narratives about personal recollections from the Second World War, and she decided to let this be the topic of her doctoral dissertation. She wanted to include women's narratives and therefore looked for informants with experience of the women's auxiliaries in the Lotta Svärd organization. There is a chronological list of interviews, with each informant separately and a comment on the distinctive features of each meeting. In the group as a whole there are not only combat soldiers and women's auxiliaries but also an army chaplain and two nurses. With reference to the way of listening and taking part in the dialogue, she calls her approach an *empathetic interview*. This involves mutual trust as an essential condition for the narration: who the informant is as regards ethnicity, gender, age; profession, and social context (the shared contacts that arranged the meeting).

She then goes on to discuss power and "unpower", reasoning about the power relations that exist between the interviewer and the informant, in the interview situation, in the transcription phase, and in the phase of analysis and interpretation. This leads to a discussion about the anonymization of informants and people who are talked about. This is a problem when narratives are about known individuals, who sometimes are shown in a poor light in these stories compared to how they tend to appear in public. Here Strandén chooses to let the well-known individuals be called by their real names, but she emphasizes that they appear as narrative figures, as constructions in the narration, and that the stories are retold as stories and not as statements about the people with these names.

The next chapter is about emotions in the interview situation. One approach to this is through the interviewer's own emotions, *vis-à-vis* the informant and the events and experiences told in the narratives. There is a lengthy discussion about the tendency of the interview narrative to take on a therapeutic function, and of the position in which this puts the interviewer. The concepts of "thought contact" and "emotional contact" are introduced to deepen our understanding of empathy.

Part III is where the author presents her empirical material, the narratives that emerged from the interviews. It consists of an introduction and four chapters, each dealing with different kinds of encounters: with the military service, with the body, with the Other, and with the time after the war. (The metaphor "encounter" (*möte*) is used both in the title and in the divisions of part III, which gives a unified expression yet also a slight vagueness, since these are meetings between people and also meetings in a more figurative sense.) The introduction places the dissertation in relation to earlier research, which in this context means in relation to the trends of "new military history" and oral history, and in relation to folkloristic research on folk narratives of war. This is followed by contextualization in the form of a historical survey which considers the Civil War, the White Guard, the Lotta Svärd organization, the Winter War, and the Continuation War, and specifically the two Finland-Swedish regiments, 13 and 61, how wartime medical care was organized, and the patriotic idea as it was conveyed, for example, by learning *Fänrik Ståls sägner* in primary school. The last two sections are largely based on the informants' statements.

The chapter about the encounter with military service ("Meeting the comrades" or "Meeting in community" would probably have been a more adequate title) is specified as dealing with how commu-

nities were constructed, and hence also how boundaries were drawn. Comradeship is the first major heading. This includes youth community, gender boundaries – here about the women's encounters with men – and the nursing training, as represented by two informants. Shared language and home district, the horse as a comrade, religion and ideology – here the national ideology – are other themes included under comradeship.

"Equality and personal responsibility" is the next major heading, under which the author considers the polarity between individual and organization. Themes here are respect, trust, hierarchy, the ideal officer, and personal responsibility. The conflicts of Lotta soldiers with nurses, sexually coloured confrontations, and the people who ran away from military service are three themes that come together under the heading "Threats to community".

In the chapter "Meetings with the body" Strandén uses two metaphors – the body as a tool and the body as an obstacle – as perspectives on the material. Hunger, extreme cold, vermin, and exhaustion were among the strains that reminded people about the presence of the body. Other themes are the risk of injury or death, sight and hearing as important senses, incurring injury, treating people with wounds and injuries, looking after the dead, and commemorating and honouring the fallen.

The chapter about "Encounters with the Other" is about ethnic others: Finns, Germans, and Russians. For most of the informants, service in war involved leaving a Swedish-speaking district to fight in other parts of Finland, cooperating and being confronted with Finnish speakers, and encountering both national community and Greater Finnish repudiation. The German soldiers that the informants met seem like the opposites of the Finns in several stereotyped versions: as rivals for women, as enemies, as an inhuman war machine, or as wimpish soldiers who could not endure the hardships.

"Encounters with the Russian" is the longest section in the book. It spans older traditions about Russians, aspirations for independence, the Russian landscape, meeting Russians in battle, taking prisoners, the Russian army as a whole and as the superior enemy in the closing phase of the war. The presentation of all the nationalities is embedded in a historical and political context.

The chapter "Encounter with the time after the war" deals with the transition from wartime back to civilian life, what is called "the silent time". Important themes here are the weapon-hiding movement, the prohibition of the White Guards and the Lotta Svärd organization, individual after-effects of the war, the period of left-wing critique of Finnish participation in the war, the period of redress that began in the late 1970s, veteran activities, rehabilitation, and public remembrance.

The last part of the book begins with a summary of the conclusions in part III. The author then deals with "narration as teaching". Here the interpretation is that storytelling through certain recurrent typical figures conveys values, a kind of folk morality. Strandén constructs about twenty typical figures in all. The most common female types are the virtuous Lotta (with the *whore* as a counter-image) and the wicked stepsister/nurse (with Florence Nightingale as the counter-image). The most common male type is the steadfast soldier, with the cowardly deserter as the counter-image. Two ambivalent figures occur: the cunning and the honest trickster. The ultimate moral lesson conveyed in the narratives are the defence of the home – the home as goodness, stability, and security. The home is also a metaphor for the fatherland.

This is followed by a discussion about lacking stories that are worth telling. The majority of the women and a minority of the men did not have so much to tell, they thought, which Strandén interprets as a consequence of the fact that it is chiefly men who have been given space as tellers of war memories and that their experiences have thus been in focus and served as a model for the form a war narrative ought to have. Also, the women's experiences were not as dramatic and thus not so appropriate for retelling in a public context.

Finally, under the heading "War narratives as oral history or cultural heritage?" the author discusses why war narratives are considered so important. Strandén's answer is that war stories are a mythologizing narrative about the united nation and have therefore been set up as important cultural heritage. Her interpretation of oral history is that the concept captures non-accepted narratives; it need not be the losers' stories, but the point is that historical events are viewed and described from a subordinate perspective, and war narratives are therefore different from the official historiography.

It is thus a well-filled dissertation that Strandén has accomplished, with many positive sides. The

empirical material has an intrinsic value as documentation of emotionally charged storytelling with a powerful presence in societal life. The presence of the interviewer in the empirical material is not just a sign of authenticity but is also used analytically: she cites her own comments in the interview situation and reconstructs what they were based on in her interpretative world. Both in the interview situation and in the written discussion, the analysis of the role of her own emotions and prior knowledge is a means to clarify the pedagogical character of the narration (old to young) and what the official history has conveyed to her generation. The focus of the narrative analysis on typical figures serves as a tool in the cultural analysis. The dissertation gives room for women's experiences of war and discusses gender differences in the narration.

The dissertation also gives rise to many questions. She mentions briefly that that she chose not to use performance analysis but reflexive and thematic analysis instead (p. 390). But I do not see this as a matter of either/or: the perspective of performance analysis could have strengthened the dissertation, even in its existing arrangement, on some points.

The long part III (270 pages) is organized in the form of four overall themes. Here it would have been good to be informed why these themes were chosen: the last one is in the questionnaire used for the interviews, but the other three have emerged from the analysis. Furthermore, I wonder whether all the identified relevant themes and sub-themes are presented, or if there was a selection according to some criterion such as quantity, epic weight, or agreement with established historiography. I likewise wonder on what grounds Strandén selected the narratives, quoted directly or indirectly: did the overall themes precede the selection, or was it the other way round? (On p. 308 there is a clue: she mentions that several people told about the final battles, but that these narratives were omitted because the theme of the section is the encounter with Russians.) Is it perhaps stylistic features in the performance (the pitch of the voice, introductory phrases, and evaluative comments, the recollection of body language) that marked which narratives were most emotionally charged? In certain cases it looks as if there has been what Dell Hymes (1975) called "breakthrough into performance" when some long narratives are quoted, for example, on pp. 168–172, 187–192, 205–208, 331–335.

The stories are about historical events that all Finnish citizens are expected to know of, which gives the dissertation its special character. The large empirical third part is arranged so that the narratives of personal experience are contextualized with the aid of existing historical research. Strandén has written the introductions, excursuses, explanations of words and the like, which puts the individual narratives in a historiography that is presumed to be well known, and that she does not problematize to any great extent. I get the feeling that there is a "heavy discourse" of official and academic historiography that is difficult to avoid: the informants' narratives become statements about Finnish history, and must therefore be harmonized with the generally known narrative. Her justification (p. 109) is that a knowledge of the historical-political background is necessary for understanding what the informants were talking about. The decision to choose collective themes as an organizing principle, rather than the individual narratives as wholes/performances, also places the international history in the foreground.

There is also a tension in the relationship between general statements about the war years and the personal experiences specific to each individual in the group of informants. (On pp. 183–185 there is a good discussion of how the individual's history need not coincide with that of the collective.) The long "Historical contextualization" in the introduction to part III, summing up the history of the war, is based on historical research, but in the final phase she uses her informants' narratives about field hospitals and national sentiment as part of this contextualization. This is relevant information for the continued reading, but it leads to methodological unclarity: do these particular narratives have a different ontological character from those subsequently presented under the four main thematic headings?

At the same time, there is an awareness of war stories as an established genre – one section is entitled "Folk narration about the war", but it is rather short and chiefly geared to earlier research as a starting point for the author's own study. That telling war stories is a collectively marketable theme is mentioned in several places: on pp. 237f. we hear narratives about Veterans Day, the Day of the Fallen, and the National Day as situations where war narratives arise. Veterans Day was also close in time when some of the interviews were conducted. On p. 319 we read that the informant had written articles

in *Vasabladet* about the very recollections that had just been related in the interview. This is thus storytelling that also has an outlet in more public situations. It is also storytelling that is situated in the present, which is evident in a need to contextualize recollections, as on p. 265, where the informant explains how the retold events could have been interpreted at the time. This could have been stressed more clearly and linked to the meaning of the historical context of 2004 for an understanding of the narratives – now all that is explicitly stated is the context "1940s and earlier".

Strandén has identified the interview material as "oral history", which has consequences for the dissertation as a whole. There is an ambiguity in the term "oral history": it is used as a designation for narratives on "historical" themes generated through interviews or other situations, in a more general sense, and it also stands for an originally Marxist-inspired strategy for historical research intended as both supplementary and corrective/ alternative knowledge. Strandén cites (p. 9) Michael Frisch (1990), who calls these tendencies, respectively, "more history" and "anti-history". (It may be added here that there is also great potential for developing "meta-history" through interviews about historical events.)

Sometimes it feels as if Strandén is waging a polemic against dogmatic oral history – exegesis that long since ceased to be productive. Strandén maintains that she has not interviewed a group that is defined as working class or left-wing sympathizers, which was the main tendency in classical "oral history". The dissertation also gives clear examples of how storytellers can find themselves in different subject positions and how this affects the possibilities for telling stories; during the war participants in the great national narrative, for several decades after the war in a subordinate position as bearers of shameful memories, in recent decades vindicated once again and able to talk in public without problem.

At the same time, in the spirit of classical "oral history", there are several clear examples of how oral narrative expresses a critique of the official line, for example, p. 134: "This is not Finland" – a reaction to the crossing of Finnish troops into the Soviet Union in 1944; p. 163: "you shouldn't obey the people in authority", p. 182: the famous national hero appears as a drunkard inclined to rape, p. 190: officers who refused to kill Finnish soldiers, p. 236: critique of *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, p. 240: critique of the concepts of "heroes, heroism, hero's grave". These critical outbursts could have been discussed together, and in relation to the parallel tendency to identify with the national narrative as it is explicitly expressed in digressions about patriotism as a unifying force (pp. 132–135, 247), quotations from *Fänrik Ståls sägner* as comments and as reported speech.

In the final chapter the question returns, what war stories mean, posed as a question of "oral history" or cultural heritage. It is a pity that the term cultural heritage is introduced so late, and with so little substantiation: there is a large amount of research and theoretical perspectives that could have enriched the discussion. Instead of viewing it as a matter of either/or, the perspective could have been: how is oral narration a force that affects what is defined as cultural heritage?

The dissertation asks questions that can help to develop the trend of oral history. What are the interviews supposed to provide? More details? "The folk perception" – if so is it something that everyone expresses? How frequently does a theme have to recur to be brought up with reference to a quantitative criterion?

To sum up, the dissertation treats a rich corpus of empirical material about a topic that is of great intrinsic weight as socially marketable narration. Strandén handles the risk that the material might take over, by emphasizing its specific origin and by searching for underlying folk values that make the narration meaningful. One strength is the pronounced awareness of the character of the interviews as interaction, not just on the linguistic but also the emotional level. There is an insightful discussion of interviewing as a practice in culture studies, and her own feelings and prior knowledge become a useful aid in the work. The dissertation also links up with the field of oral history. Here one can ask: What is the specific contribution of folkloristics to the study of narratives about the war – or other phenomena that are defined as interesting in terms of history? One answer is: folkloristics can put this into relation to folk narration in general, as regards form, themes, morals, and tendencies, use and situational dependence. The dissertation is capable of doing all this.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Stories about Drunks

Susanne Waldén, Berättad berusning. Kulturella föreställningar i berättelser om berusade personer. Etnolore 34, Uppsala universitet, 2010. 210 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91- 506-2131-0.

■ Susanne Waldén deals with a quite rewarding and entertaining topic in her thesis, stories about drunken people. The purpose of the study is "to investigate social and cultural meanings of narratives about intoxicated people and how they reflect normative knowledge and experience" (p. 12). The focus, in other words, is on the stories as expressions of society and culture, not the stories themselves.

Waldén is inspired by various theoretical traditions and researchers, e.g. Albert Eskeröd's thoughts on folklore, structuralism, Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas about the carnival, Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and the gender researcher Robert Connell (now Raewyn Connell). It may seem as if the thesis is driven by conflicting epistemological ideas, but the theoretical apparatus is used in a way that does not interfere with the readability. Whether it is the most appropriate theoretical assemblage is another matter, however.

The basic data are drunk stories taken from archives, collected through interviews and with the use of a survey. The secondary material consists of media material, stories from the Internet and a television programme. The author also mentions that she has used her own experience, and that it is therefore important to problematize pre-understandings. However, it is not obvious how this problematization is performed.

After a couple of extensive introductory chapters Waldén presents a vast array of stories. There are, for example, older stories about a drunken priest, a constable and a sheriff, who violate the rules of behaviour appropriate to their position. Waldén finds stories about more recent rulers in various media. Boris Yeltsin's escapades are well-known examples of this. Drunken politicians, police officers and municipal officials are also featured in the media.

Waldén writes about gender as a category, and how media reports of intoxicated people in power depend on whether they are men or women. Women's intoxication is associated with problems in the family and emotional life. Drunken male rulers, however, are depicted without such allusions, and without sympathy.

The author also discusses stories that maintain a social order and those which challenge it. Examples of the former are warning stories that indirectly convey notions of the "right" life by reflecting how terrible things can happen to those who drink too much. The following story (narrated by Britt, 25) contains a cautionary element and also expresses ideas of age (differences): "P awoke in the morning after a whole evening of drinking, blinked and stretched (shows how he stretches his arms and peers with screwed-up eyes). He wondered where he was and what had happened. Where was he? He found he'd gone home to his parents and was lying sleeping between them in the bed. He's twenty-seven years old!" (p. 129).

Features of provocative stories, according to Waldén, are that they challenge the prevailing hegemony, create emotions and can lead to cultural change. However, the author is cautious in her opinion about the subversive character of these stories: "Is the hegemony maintained in the narratives or is it questioned. I think that provocation is at the centre of these stories, there is no explicit vision of the future. Their aim is to entertain, which does not make them particularly threatening" (p. 156).

It is an extensive corpus of material that Waldén has collected and presents. Especially the discussions about the old stories seem to be built on a solid empirical foundation, and the author can give many examples of drunk stories. This is also one strength of the thesis. There is a lot of knowledge to be gained just in assembling of all these stories in one book. The study also makes it possible to understand how many different norms and values these kinds of stories can (re)produce. Drunk stories are, in other words, much more than just stories about drunk people. The entertainment value should not be underestimated either. It is quite fun to read about the bizarre experiences attributed to drunk people – even if some stories are also quite dramatic.

On the other hand, the principles for the selection of material are not entirely clear. For example, when Waldén writes of stories about drunken contemporary rulers her data come from the newspapers *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*, during the period 1996–97. The justification for this is that: "Certain topics were current in the media at that time, such as the many credit-card affairs where people in power had misused taxpayers' money for personal gain" (p. 71). However, despite this (temporal) empirical restric-

tion, Waldén performs (indirect) comparisons with the older archive material and arrives at the following conclusion: "Stories about drunken priests are not as interesting today" (p. 71). Waldén is aware of this somewhat lame comparison, but she nevertheless makes it.

The integration of theory and material is not always obvious. For example, Waldén discusses on a theoretical level how the meanings of masculinity depend on both class and time aspects. However, when she deals with concrete drunk stories some "traits", e.g. the ability to drink a lot, seem to be more general signs of (a positive) masculinity, both past and present (p. 86). To what extent this drinking habit really is a class- or age-bound behaviour is not discussed in direct relation to the presented empirical data. This despite the fact that Waldén shortly after, referring to a story on this theme, writes: "The way in which the drunk is portrayed varies depending on the person's sex, age, social position, sexuality and nationality" (p. 86). In other words, the way in which some of the stories actually depend on categories like these remains uncommented. The effect of this is that the rich theoretical apparatus is not fully used to improve our understanding of the material.

However, there are also examples where Waldén successfully combines theory and the material in an enriching way. This is most obvious when she performs a kind of reasoning where she allows "traditional" ethnological and cultural analytical thinking to permeate the text. One example is when, with the aid of archive material, she discusses what is unusual about drunken children: "Children thus become attractive motifs for projections of the most important and most shocking things. They trigger norms and values as regards sexuality, alcohol, drugs and other things that can be compared to ethnological dynamite" (p. 92). This example also reflects another aspect of Waldén's handling of theory. She "recycles" older ethnological thinking, and sometimes she does it in an interesting, independent and bold way. At a time when many ethnologists are turning to social scientists and others for inspiration, this is well worth noting.

Unfortunately there are a lot of unnecessary repetitions in the thesis. Perhaps the author has had the ambition to help both the reader and herself with the structure and becomes a bit too "pedagogical", or maybe the repetitions are traces of old scaffolding in the writing process. Starting chapters (see e.g. pp. 105 ff) by briefly presenting the content under the chapter's main headings before going into the detail of each heading, may seem somewhat over-ambitious.

However, despite some scholarly and structural shortcomings, Waldén's theses is well worth reading. As mentioned above, it is entertaining and can be viewed as a solid review of a variety of stories about drunken people. It can also serve as an inspiration for how other types of stories can be understood regarding their social and cultural impact.

Bo Nilsson, Umeå

Things that Matter

Margrit Wettstein, Livet genom tingen. Människor, föremål och extrema situationer. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2009. 155 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7139-831-4.

■ What roles do objects take on in the process of dealing with sorrow in extreme situations? This is the central question in Margrit Wettstein's doctoral dissertation. Her study is based on individuals' experiences of traumatic situations which have changed their lives forever. Wettstein's interest is focused on how these individuals try to organize their lives afterwards and how everyday objects of no great monetary value can become invaluable to them in this process.

The material for the study consists of eleven people's stories of grief and loss. The stories are grouped around two human tragedies that irrevocably changed history and the lives of millions. The first group of stories concern people who survived the Holocaust or were forced to flee Nazi persecution. The second group consists of people who lost relatives in the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001. Both situations brought about profound personal tragedies as well as a long-lasting collective sorrow. However, in the present work very little is said about general or collective grief, here the focus of attention is on how individuals deal with personal feelings of loss.

The fieldwork behind this study stretched over a period of four years, 2004–2008, and covers a wide range of materials such as interviews, conversations, fieldwork notes and observations, correspondence,

archive materials, art work and literature. The author's account of her fieldwork process is thorough and constitutes an important part of the study as a whole.

The dissertation is divided into an introduction and four chapters. The chapters are called "Movement", "Loss", "Pain", and, finally, "Re- creation". The theoretical perspectives are not contained in one specific chapter but are interwoven into the text throughout. Two concepts, "Rite of Passage" and "linking objects", are discussed already in the introduction and referred to on several occasions. Wettstein is especially interested in the transitional stage of rites of passage, the stage referred to as "liminality" by the anthropologist Victor Turner. She points out that people's progress through this passage is not always smooth or, sometimes, not even completed – some might remain in the transitional phase or experience a series of transitions. Another important concept is the idea of transitional or linking objects (Winnicott 1971/2003). As the author later demonstrates, the "linking object" can be imaginary or a memory of an incident.

The chapter "Movement" deals with some of the drastic changes the September 11th attack and the Nazi persecutions gave rise to. Traumatic changes throw people into a state of uncertainty in which they have to find their footing. This is the theme of the following chapter, "Loss", which contains the individual case-studies and is by far the largest chapter. We are introduced to eleven people, five who survived or fled from the Holocaust and six who lost close relatives in the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001. Nine of the people the author met herself, two of the portraits (Nelly Sachs and Thomas Mann) have been written based on archive material and literary sources. The portraits are of somewhat uneven length. The personal portraits of Holocaust survivors Nelly Sachs, Lenke Rothman, Thomas Mann and Roald Hoffman are more detailed, whereas some of the accounts by relatives to victims of the WTC attack are more succinct. It is clear that the author has been highly sensitive to the degree of which her contributors have been willing to expose themselves and their feelings.

In the chapter entitled "Pain", the concepts of transition and linking objects are discussed more in depth against the background of the life stories introduced in the previous chapter. In the final chapter, "Re-creation", Wettstein underlines that in this context it is the owners who instill the objects in question with value – it is the owner's interpretation of the object that make it act as a link between the past and the present. At the end remains the question of what happens to these objects after their owners are gone. Is it possible for someone else to perceive the power of a personal "linking object"? The author leans towards the conclusion that it is difficult to transfer the feelings for the object to the next generation.

The real strength of this dissertation lays not so much in its theoretical advancement as in its methodology, the integrity of the fieldwork and the insightful close reading of people's personal stories of loss. In this the author has been sensitive to the character of her material. By not opting for distance and clinical analysis Wettstein's study opens doors otherwise closed. In the same manner as a good museum presentation makes us see objects in a new light, this study both asks questions and gives answers but also lets objects and stories speak for themselves.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Helsinki

The Voice as an Instrument

Ingrid Åkesson, Med rösten som instrument. Perspektiv på nutida svensk vokal folkmusik. Svenskt visarkivs handlingar 5. Svenskt visarkiv, Stockholm 2007. 354 pp. Ill. English summary. CD. Diss. ISBN 978-91-9770-131-0.

■ Ingrid Åkesson's doctoral dissertation surveys the situation of vocal folk music among active singers in today's Sweden. As a broader context the dissertation sheds light on the way Swedish folk song has developed from the days of peasant culture to the revitalization movement of the 1960s and 1970s and on to part of our post-modern media culture, where "folk singers" are musicians with varying degrees of professional training who perform music on stage, record CDs and cross musical boundaries. Åkesson identifies three phases in the development of Swedish vocal folk music: the first is what she calls "tradition"; the second was the revitalization in the 1960s and 1970s, inspired by the international folk music revival, and the third phase, which she calls "the vocal wave", began in the second half of the 1980 and is still in progress. The vocal wave, according to Åkesson, is characterized by an emphasis on distinctive musical fea-

tures (hence the title meaning "With the voice as an instrument") and influences from other musical genres. In practice it is often a question of crossing boundaries. The same processes have affected all spheres of folk music, since institutionalization, professionalization, and medialization have also contributed to the vocal wave, during which folk ballad singing has developed into the versatile form of music-making that the author calls "vocal folk music". Today's vocal folk music comprises, alongside ballads, many kinds of musical expression, from lilting fiddle tunes to herding calls and experimental use of the voice in the subculture of folk music. The aspects that still link today's vocal diversity to the old tradition of folk song, according to Åkesson, are the way songs are passed on by ear and the melodics and performance practice of traditional music as ideals.

The book begins with an introduction to the topic and a theoretical background. To succeed in carrying out the study has required clarifying a number of multifaceted scholarly concepts, such as tradition, folk song, revitalization, the establishment of genres, musical paths, subculture, creativity, cultural heritage, and canon. Most of these – usually ambiguous – concepts are well explained. I particularly liked Åkesson's way of handling the term "tradition", which is so difficult that my own teacher once recommended completely avoiding it. Åkesson says that "the tradition" is both a discourse and a cultural heritage in the form of material factors, tunes, repertoire, singing styles, and role models. The use of the word "discourse", however, does not lead to a strict discourse analysis of the material, most of which consists of interviews. The concepts she describes are not all of equal value in relation to the research problem; for example, the concepts of canon and cultural heritage do not ultimately occupy such a central place in the analysis of the empirical material.

This is followed by a brief description of the development of folk music in Sweden from the collectors in the early nineteenth century to their genres, arenas, functions, performers, and their repertoires in different settings from the nineteenth century to the 1960s. This account is based on earlier research, and the focus is on vocal folk music. The author then has a 35-page "historiographical sketch" of the vocal wave from the 1980s to the present day. In this chapter Åkesson also proceeds from her own experiences in the field of folk music. This chapter offers background information about the history of the vocal wave which is very interesting for a reader who is outside this context. According to Åkesson, however, the chapter is only a "sketch for a history", since it does not apply the historian's source criticism or methodology. I would have preferred it if this otherwise good chapter had been based solely on reliable, critically scrutinized information.

The fact that Åkesson herself has been active as a singer, arranger, and archivist in folk music since 1987 – thus during the 20-year period that the vocal wave has existed – gives her a great deal of inside knowledge, which strengthens the relevance of her research on this wave. The reader gets the impression that Åkesson knows from personal experience exactly what she is writing about. She could also have included herself in the group of informants and done analytical auto-observations of her own career and changes in her music-making. At the same time, Åkesson's close position to the research topic has made it more difficult to write a report whose many dimensions can be assimilated by readers without prior knowledge of the field. I would have liked to see a clarification of the role of "the performer's perspective" in her methodology.

The subsequent analytical chapters deal with empirical material from fourteen present-day folk singers. The informants were chosen to give a fairly equal representation of two different generations of Swedish folk singers: the older ones, most of whom were born in the 1950s, started during the folk revival, while the younger ones, born in the 1970s, have been active only during the current vocal wave. Åkesson has interviewed these singers and analysed their recorded repertoire. She considers their choice of repertoire, their singing style and other vocal techniques, their way of adapting lyrics and melody, and their performance and arrangement. The book also includes descriptions of each informant's discovery of and career in folk singing, which enables the author to fulfil her aim of analysing how the practitioners' musical background is significant for their attitude to the tradition. For an outsider like me it is difficult at times to know what kind of singers she is writing about. I would have appreciated some information about the individual informants and their background; this could have been presented in tables, which would have made it easier to follow the discussion of the singers' way of relating to the tradition.

Ten of the fourteen singers are women, which the author says corresponds roughly to the proportions of female and male practitioners. According to Åkesson, Swedish vocal folk music began to flourish chiefly as a female pursuit, as it has also been in the past. She compares the situation with that in Finland, where it is likewise mostly women who are folk singers – with the notable exception of Heikki Laitinen, who has been the best known folk singer in the country in the last forty years. Although Åkesson does not explore in depth why it is mostly women who sing, by considering their impact on the position of vocal folk music in Sweden, nor whether the Swedish gender structure (inequality, power relations, attitudes, gender roles) plays any part in folk music, I think that the role of gender in Swedish folk singing is examined well within the framework of the questions asked in the study. For some unfortunate reason, it is only when a study concerns a female pursuit that it is customary to presuppose that the gender aspect is treated somehow. It is still not automatic to presuppose a gender analysis when a study concerns only men.

The study focuses on investigating the attitude of the selected singers to the folk music tradition. This is also the main problem that the study seeks to answer: how these performers choose, arrange, and perform their musical material, and what guides their choices.

The dissertation builds on a research model that regards the musicians' attitude to tradition from three perspectives: recreating and reshaping what is called the tradition, and innovating within it. The research model "recreating-reshaping-innovating" works fruitfully in the study. It is no doubt useful and will be employed by other scholars in the future. One good aspect of this research model is that it guides the researcher's gaze towards the details of the music-making, in this case the song and the singing.

The analysis – especially of singing styles and vocal techniques – is conducted as comparisons between the two different generations, the singers of the revival and of the vocal wave. At the same time, the individual perspective is very strong in the dissertation: the author considers what she calls the subculture of vocal folk music primarily as the project of the individuals. The singers each decide whether or not to follow the tradition, they reshape and renew it. According to Åkesson, it is sheer musical curiosity and delight that guides the singers in their way of recreating, reshaping, or innovating. But how free are the individuals in their action? To what extent is it the culture and society that makes music through them? The discourses and evaluations of folk music no doubt affect an individual's choices. Yet one may assume that medialization and professionalization have affected the distinctive character of the vocal wave. The expectations nourished by the audience and the music industry, and the need that professional musicians feel to arouse interest in the media, to win listeners and names, most likely play a part as well. The field of folk music has its own gatekeepers (we have them at least in Finland), people who have more power than others to decide what should happen in folk music and can thereby influence the popularity of certain developments. And finally: in what way has Sweden, as a nation with its culture policy and music education, affected the development of vocal folk music during the studied period? When viewed from these angles, the field is perhaps not as free for singers to do whatever they like, for the sheer joy of making music.

It can be said that all kinds of music – with the exception of ritual music – are somewhere in between tradition and innovation. This is part of the character of music, whether it is a question of art music, traditional music, that musicians simultaneously must operate within the framework of the genre and search for new modes of expression. What varies from one genre to another is how people relate to innovation. Different genres permit, encourage, or perhaps even require innovation to varying extents. As Åkesson notes, creating something new or reshaping something old need not in itself mean freeing oneself from the rules, especially not in traditional music, which is often learned by ear.

This otherwise praiseworthy book, which is also Åkesson's Ph.D. dissertation, lacks a summary of the research questions and a discussion of the findings in terms of the conceptual, methodological, and contextual premises of the analysis. Although the answers to the research problem can be found in the chapter containing the analysis, I would have liked to see a final chapter dealing with what the performers' generation and musical background mean for their attitude to tradition, and whether the relationship between stability and change in today's vocal folk musicians is different from the revival generation of singers.

According to Åkesson, the word "Swedish" in the title of the dissertation refers to a linguistic definition of Swedishness. The dissertation looks at characteristics and trends in Swedish vocal folk music in Sweden (if there are any immigrants who sing Swedish folk songs, they are not included) and in passing also among Swedish-speaking people outside Sweden. Although Swedish minority groups in Finland and Estonia are mentioned, the dissertation is basically only about the situation in Sweden: the informants are Swedes and the findings about their attitudes to the tradition also concern Sweden only. Swedish-language folk singers in Finland and Estonia do not take part with the same intensity in the subculture of folk music in Sweden; for example, the medialization and professionalization have taken place at a different speed in the other countries.

As a whole Ingrid Åkesson's study is an important Swedish addition to the research on the development of traditional music in Europe in recent decades. It is highly informative, describing a fascinating subculture and a phase in Swedish musical society in an interesting and thought-provoking way. The book also includes a CD that illustrates very well the musical aspects that the author writes about. The presentation shows that Åkesson has a profound knowledge and understanding of her research topic. The text is well-written and logically structured, although there are a few perhaps unnecessary repetitions. The author describes and justifies all her choices thoroughly, and reflects on her own position as a researcher. The study identifies similar tendencies in Swedish vocal folk music to those found, for instance, by Britta Sweers (*Electric Folk: The Changing Face of English Traditional Music*, 2005) in England and Juniper Hill (*From Ancient to Avant-garde to Global: Creative Processes and Institutionalization in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music*, 2006) and Tina Ramnarine (*Ilmatar's Inspirations: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Changing Soundscapes of Finnish Folk Music* 2003) in Finland. At the same time, Åkesson presents features that are distinctive for the development of Swedish vocal folk music. Judging by this study, for example, it seems that singers in Sweden have greater appreciation for the continuity of the tradition, while in Finland one can also speak of a break in the tradition – at least in the circles influenced by the folk music department of the Sibelius Academy.

Pirkko Moisala, Helsinki

Book Reviews

The Gendered Museum

Det bekönade museet. Genusperspektiv i museologi och museiverksamhet. Inga-Lill Aronsson & Birgitta Meurling (eds.). Skrifter utgivna av institutionen för ABM vid Uppsala universitet 2005. Vol. 1. 265 pp., Ill. ISBN 91-631-5547-8.

■ Why is feminist scholarship almost absent from museum and heritage studies? That question has puzzled the editors of this book. Feminist theory and research have influenced myriad academic fields over the past few decades. It is remarkable, therefore, to note that feminist scholarship is almost absent from museum and heritage studies. The authors explore various indications of that absence in very different museum settings, rather than seeking to find possible reasons for it. The goal of the authors of this edited volume is to transfer understandings from gender studies into the museum field by addressing discussions about gender, and pointing out the complexity of gender in relation to the museum, based on observations and experiences from museum visits and work experience. In the chapters the authors move from gender representations to a consideration of gender as an object of museum exhibitions and studies.

It is not their aim to offer an overview of museum history, but rather to point to particular meetings that involve relations of power, expressed through gender, or to biased construction of "male" and "female" in different museums practices. Themes of gender equality run throughout the book, which seeks to bridge the gap between topics as different as activism, social inequality and education. The seven chapters in this volume each propose a different and non-exhaustive approach to gender studies and the prospects for that subject in the museum field.

Besides an analysis of gender and gender perspectives (supplemented by a bibliography of literature relating to gender, museums and cultural heritage in an appendix), the introductory chapter discusses why it is important to understand that museums are gendered. According to the editors, the purpose of the book is to "decode and deconstruct the museum field and its organization". They note that gender imbalance within the museums is still not regarded as a relevant issue, which is strange because the museums are part of the structure of society and therefore should represent and reflect society. In society as a whole, gender issues are included in policy on many levels. The museum branch is characterized by female-dominated jobs, which means that one should expect that gender issues would have gained ground in the daily museum work. On the contrary, the editors wonder whether museums, with their many female employees, become custodians of the patriarchal structures in which women are seen as natural caregivers, even when it comes to collections and artefacts. Museums seem to reproduce the patriarchal structures when they really should make them visible and challenge them.

The first article by Katarina Ek-Nilsson is about the images of Selma Lagerlöf and August Strindberg that are produced when these authors become heritage. She clearly shows how values of femininity and masculinity have determined the image of the two authors, rather than what they really were like or what their writings convey. The article is a well-written introduction to the writers as well as their museums.

Wera Grahn, in her article "From everyday artefacts to museum facts", writes about a project on homeless women in Stockholm. Grahn clearly shows how a museum's collections and texts easily reproduce categorical images of sex, which is an insight that all museum employees should carry with them in their daily work. Her inspiration mainly comes from Latour's writing on modernity.

In the article "Gender and identity in South African museums", Juliette Leeb-du Toit inserts the gender perspective in a somewhat greater context of power and ethnicity or race, as she shows how museums in South Africa have challenged the apartheid regime by contributing to an indirect criticism of the apartheid system. Many familiar approaches and perspectives have been rephrased or completely disappeared, and new ones have arrived. Thus, the museums have come to play a more explicit political role when the exhibitions deal with narratives of gender and different ethnic groups. Already in the 1960s, museums began to collect artefacts from different ethnic groups in the country, which contributed to more equality between black and white artists.

Graziella Belloni focuses on the more modest but not less important educational activities in museums. Especially museum educators have opportu-

nities for gender-constructivist work, when they teach young children about gender as a historical rather than a natural category. In the article "The whole story?" Mary Ahlsén, Johanna Berg and Kristina Berg pose 20 sets of questions to those designing an exhibition or those examining an existing one. This is a tool to create awareness of the values that are shaped, and as such is a tool that one can apply in all kinds of museums. Eva Persson, in the article "Towards gender thinking", reports on exhibits that touched on gender issues during her years in the museum sector. She is especially interested in developing new visual means to shape gender consciousness. The concluding article is a conversation between the book's two editors and Catherine Kallings Nilsson about the process of building a prison museum in Gävle.

The book as a whole raises the question whether one should solve the gender debate (or the lack of a debate in museums) by focusing just on women and their histories rather than that the gender perspective should permeate the museum. Even though the examples are informative, it would have added to the value of the book if the discussions had also touched upon more general issues of gender politics. It is a fact that new heritage policies serve to promote gender equality and that gender equity, through heritage and culture, is today acknowledged, as a lever for development in international policies. The title of the book is politicizing, which means that one would expect a critical analysis of museums and activities. The articles, on the other hand, help to demonstrate that heritage and museum policies and practices can only claim to be inclusive and comprehensive if they recognize and initially take into account the specific involvement and position of women at all these levels. The result is a series of articles that are interesting, although not always about gender. It is an open question whether the editors want the museums to work in a more action-oriented and politicizing way. Should museums become the new battlefields on which to fight for gender equality?

Lene Otto, Copenhagen

Baby-boomers and Food

Ju mer vi är tillsammans. Fyrtiotalisterna och maten. Helene Brembeck (ed.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2010. 208 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-298-1.

■ Between 2004 and 2007 the Centre for Consumer Science at Gothenburg University ran the project "The Multidimensional Food Consumer: Values and Behaviour of Consumers 55+". An interdisciplinary group of researchers studied how the baby-boomers, born in the 1940s, view food and meals, and what they expect of their imminent retirement. A series of reports have been published, and now this book, which rounds off the project and presents it in a freer form where the informants are also allowed to speak.

"The 1940s people", as the baby-boom generation is known in Sweden, account for a good million of the total population of nine million, so the generation is interesting if only for its size. But there is more to it than that. This was the generation of liberation, the first who became teenagers, the first who grew up in a consumer society, and the generation that represented rebellion – not all of them, of course, but the ones who set the tone had such an impact that nothing remained as it had been before. Consequently, their entry into life as a pensioner must be different from that of previous generations. It was also a happy choice to focus on something as ordinary as food, and to proceed from meals, which intertwine so many threads: enjoyment, socializing, nutrition, health and illness, economy, environment, and so on.

The study comprises about 70 households divided into three groups: city dwellers, new Swedes, and villagers. The many informants have been interviewed individually and in groups; they have kept diaries and in different ways documented their everyday life. Each person has been followed from childhood up to the life they lead today, thus illuminating how historically conditioned our food habits are. The book is thus about the food history of the last half century, which has seen great changes from self-sufficiency to the global food market.

All through the book there are descriptions of the informants' outlook on tradition and innovation, on gender roles, family and communities, on new technology and new purchasing habits. The affluence that came to Sweden in these years, and the opportunities this gave the individual, is also described here, but also the negative side in the form of pollution, health problems, and worries about illness. The chosen methods prove to be highly fruitful, as the authors go through the themes citing individual narratives told by people who stand out as complete

persons with a past, a present, and desires for the future. This paints a much more nuanced picture than what can be shown in marketing studies and trend surveys.

The study is ethnological but it also brings in nutrition, domestic science, technology, economy, design, and marketing studies. Unfortunately, the branch of scholarship known in the Anglo-Saxon world as "culinary history" has not yet reached Sweden. This could have enriched the project, since it proceeds from the kitchen and from concrete analyses of the culinary art, its taste and style, to open up the meal and bring in all the social activities that are necessary to create it (see Kenneth F. Kiple (ed.), *The Cambridge World History of Food* I–II, 2000, II pp. 1367ff).

Else-Marie Boyhus, Maribo

Reprint of an Old Hunting Dictionary

M. H. Brummer, *Försök Til et Swenskt Skogs- och Jagt-Lexicon.* Kungl. Skogs- and Lantbruksakademien, Stockholm 2010. 159 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-85205-95-0.

■ The snipe is "rather desirable for its tasty meat"; the wolf not only causes "considerable damage to the farmer's stock, but also chases and kills a great deal of elk and deer" and should therefore be shot off by the game-keeping staff; squirrel meat "is eaten in some places, is said to be tasty, very like chicken"; and "Each autumn a couple of Royal Hunters come over from Denmark to Halland to hunt falcon there."

These are a few random but interesting quotations from the head gamekeeper Magnus Hendric Brummer's "Attempt at a Swedish Forestry and Hunting Dictionary" from 1789, a classic among hunting literature, now reprinted in slightly modernized language. It is entertaining reading. There is, of course, much that is of interest for anyone who wants a glimpse of eighteenth-century attitudes to game of all kinds. Ownership, legislation on hunting, and forms of trapping are treated under various headwords. Moreover, the entries for "Allmänning" (common land) and "Allmoge" (common people) provide a useful introduction to the society of the time. On the subject of dogs we read that without them "a hunter cannot achieve anything". A great deal of space is in fact devoted to dogs of different breeds, and evidently with Linnaeus as a source. Brummer discusses their usefulness for different forms of hunting. He presents the "partridge dog", a pointer used for hunting partridge and other young fowl. The most docile were almost white in colour, we are told. The greyhound was best suited for plains, where it could be sued for hunting hare and fox. The dachshund-like "hans" was used for hunting fox, otter, and badger. Bird dogs barked at the fowl, but could also be used to chase hare. The hunting dog, finally, can vary in appearance, chases all manner of animals, and should never be allowed to run loose. Brummer urged hunters to look after their dogs well. It was entirely the hunter's own fault if the dogs were incompetent and unsuitable. Instead they should have good food, adequate care, and be trained from an early age. On cats, by contrast, he had nothing to say. This indoor hunter with its taste for mice and small birds was of no interest to Brummer.

This reference book is not only about hunting. As the title indicates, the forest is also covered, with information about different kinds of wood and uses for the forest. Alder, elm, birch, beech, oak, fir, spruce, and so on are treated in varying degrees of detail. The introductions to this reissue, written by the author Kerstin Ekman, along with the forest ecologists Roger Bergström and Kjell Danell respectively, provides the required biographical information and the background in the history of ideas.

It is pleasing that books of this kind, which can be tricky, albeit not impossible, to find in antiquarian bookshops, are made available to a wider audience, and we may hope for more reprints like this, now that the Academy seems to be in spending mood. The value of these references works as sources is perhaps limited, since they are often compilations of other people's work, rather than based on the author's own experience, but they nevertheless give some insight into the way people back then viewed the landscape. The format makes them handy as introductory literature. Read the entries in Brummer's dictionary about deer parks, about places where animal corpses were laid as bait, or about the gun trap used for hunting bear. These give fascinating insight into aspects of cultural history about which we know little today. Handbooks by Brummer and people like him are of course highly valuable for anyone interested in the ideas behind

the land-based industries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If nothing else, they are good as general education. The book belongs to the category of useful reference works to have close to one's desk.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Folk Art in Gudbrandsdalen

Tord Buggeland, Figurmaling i Gudbrandsdalen fra Roma til Vågå. Andrésen og Butenschøn, Oslo 2009. 194 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-82-7964-230-9.; *Tord Buggeland*, Folkelige tresnitt som kistebrev i Gudbrandsdalen. Årbok for Gudbrandsdalen 78, 2010.

■ Research on folk art has had a stronger position in Norway than in the other Nordic countries. For a couple of generations there has even been a chair of this subject in Bergen. Norwegian folk art is primarily association with wood carving, but also with painting. The term *rosemaling*, literally "rose painting", has been a counterpart to the genre of *kurbitsmålning* or "gourd painting" in Sweden, referring to the free representation of vegetative elements. What is less known is that Gudbrandsdalen also had a rich tradition of figure painting, copied from copperplate engravings and lithographs. This form of decorative painting sought to keep as closely as possible to the originals. In the Academy of Art in Christiania (and its predecessor), copying was an important part of the education, and the same was true of the *laugskonst* or "guild art", the painting done by craftsmen. From there it spread to decorative painters in the countryside, especially in Gudbrandsdalen.

Although conservative by nature, Gudbrandsdalen had a geographical location that made it easier here than in other parts of Norway to adopt features from urban art. Another powerful contributory factor was the prosperity of the peasant culture here, which in turn left its traces in a highly developed architectural culture which also gave work to interior painters. People in Gudbrandsdalen also traded in cattle and other commodities, resulting in further contacts with Christiania.

The largest group of figural motifs are pictures from the New Testament, along with portraits of royals. Figure painting depended on the availability of models in the form of woodcuts and copperplates, that is to say, imported originals. Individual painters kept every picture they came across, and through inheritance and purchase they could accumulate large collections. One example is the Visdal collection in Vågå, from which several generations of painters copied. From this collection the former conservator at Lillehammer Museum, Tord Buggeland, has sifted out various layers of pictorial originals, either in the form of free-standing motifs, or as assembled picture sources. The latter include G. Hertel's edition of Cecare Ripa's famous work *Iconologia* (originally published in Rome in 1592), later published in Augsburg around 1760. Of the 200 copperplates, 34 belong to the Visdal collection. A later stratum of originals is the lithographs produced in three large picture factories in Neuruppin north-west of Berlin. No less than 22,000 motifs, most of them biblical, were spread from there. This was greatly assisted by the fact that the texts were printed in Danish and Swedish. The foreign lithographs in the Visdal collection constituted the foundation for figure painting in Gudbrandsdalen, according to Buggeland.

To the extent that it has been possible, the author has demonstrated how these continental originals were copied in Norwegian paintings. He also goes into greater depth by examining some of the most prominent painters in Gudbrandsdalen: Peder Olsen Veggum (1768–1813), Rasmus Garmo (born 1800), Syver Valde (1821–1898), Hans Sokstad (1829–1894), and Ola Jakobsen Kvam (born 1810). Of greater general interest, however, is the closing chapter of the book, with a large number of paintings and their originals. The book is printed in a beautiful, picture-friendly format with a large number of colour illustrations.

A special category of picture is the "chest prints", hand-coloured single-sheet prints intended for pasting on the inside of chest lids. A double sheet combining Jesus and the ten lepers with the ten virgins belonged to the Visdal collection. Perhaps this was why Buggeland, alongside the study of the figure paintings, started an inventory of these woodcuts in Gudbrandsdalen. A total of 63 have been registered to date. In *Årbog for Gudbrandsdalen* for 2010 there are reproductions of 29 of these, and the rest will be published in subsequent issues of the yearbook. Of these woodcuts, 24 were printed by Johan Jørgen Høpffner in Copenhagen, who worked in the period 1720–1759. The other five were published by Tho-

mas Larsen Borup, who was active 1756–1771. Several of Høpffner's prints were not registered by V. E. Clausen, so Buggeland's catalogue is a valuable complement. Unlike the case in Sweden, however, these chest prints were not copied by folk painters in Norway, which is why Buggeland has not included them in his book, instead publishing them separately. Through his catalogue, Tord Buggeland shows that the Danish chest prints also had a significant market in Norway.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Materiality and Cultural Analysis

Materialiseringer. Nye perspektiver på materialitet og kulturanalyse. Tine Damsholt, Dorthe Gert Simonsen & Camilla Mordhorst (eds.). Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Århus 2009. 204 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7934-493-8.

■ One rainy day in summer I stepped into the tourist information office in Karlsborg. The staff recommended a visit to the huge fortress that was mostly built in the nineteenth century. They said it was best to join a guided adventure tour, which would be both exciting and informative. But if I had any claustrophobic tendencies or might be disturbed by smoke or the noise of cannon fire, I should refrain! The warning, however, enticed rather than deterred me, so the following day I joined a group of other tourists in the adventure. With agile steps the guide led the group into the dark, cramped passages in the walls of the mighty fortress. Dummies with old-fashioned wigs and uniforms from the nineteenth century were placed at points along the route, speaking to us from hidden loudspeakers. In one room there were mechanical rats scurrying across the floor. There was a little smoke and cannon fire along the way, but there was scarcely and cause for worry. Even though no such emotional reaction was provoked, the participants were affected in other ways. When we got back out into the daylight, smiles could be seen on some people's lips, while others asked the guide intelligent questions about the history of the fortress. Something had evidently happened in the darkness. With this experience fresh in mind, I began to read this fascinating book about materiality, the title of which means "Materializations: New perspectives on materiality and cultural analysis".

In the last decade materiality has played an increasingly prominent role in ethnology and culture studies in a broad sense, although an interest in material culture has always existed in this field. In *Materialiseringer* a group of Danish researchers with backgrounds in ethnology, cultural history, and museology make interesting contributions to this research tradition. The volume is ambitious in its approach: the authors want to present new theories of materiality, and also to provide concrete examples of how these can be used in analyses of different kinds of empirical material. Apart from this, there is the aim that the book can be used in teaching. Do they succeed in this?

In the introduction the editors emphasize that the volume has been written using a special "lens": the participating authors apply a process perspective according to which materiality is assumed to do something with the world and at the same time materiality is something that is done in specific cultural and historical contexts: "This book, in short, is about materiality as something that is mobilized, translated, stabilized, joined, or incorporated in networks – without any sovereign creating or acting subject behind it" (p. 15). The term *materializations* underlines the processual perspective that permeates the volume as a whole; it should be understood as an "active verb" (p. 15).

The editors begin, as they should, by placing the volume in its context in the history of scholarship. The papers are shaped on the basis of a theoretical field that is introduced under the headings "Materialization as process and agency", "Materialization as relation, network, and rhizome", and "Materialization as performativity". The editors admit that these concepts cannot be entirely separated, but they direct the focus towards different problems. Authors such as Arjun Appadurai, Daniel Miller, Donna Haraway, John Law, Bruno Latour, and Judith Butler are discussed in the introduction and are also used in the analyses, mostly in a lucid and stimulating way. The papers inspired by Actor Network Theory (ANT) deserve particular praise here, as they convincingly show that ANT can be fruitful in cultural analysis.

In concrete terms, the papers range over several different and seemingly disparate empirical fields, or should we say spaces? For the papers are spatially rooted while simultaneously problematizing to some extent how spaces are created. In a highly

stimulating chapter, "Airspace", the historian Dorthe Gert Simonsen shows how the establishment of the aeroplane in the early twentieth century affected the formation of national airspaces and how this formation followed different cultural logics. Simonsen asks how air could become space, and also how these new spaces affected the organization of "geographical land". In "The geography of wine" the ethnologists Jon Frederik Høyrup and Anders Kristian Munk investigate how the liquid properties of red wine are shaped, stabilized, and negotiated in relation to space, *terroir*: "Following the bottle of wine is as much a question of seeing it change as of seeing the world change around it" (p. 73). In the ethnologist Tine Damsholt's auto-ethnographic contribution, "In the Hamam", we follow a group of conference participants into a Turkish bath. This is a fascinating and sensitive description of how gender is constituted and negotiated situationally in relation to different spaces, and also in relation to things such as towels and seats. In "Museums, materiality, and presence" Camilla Mordhorst analyses an exhibition at the British Museum. She focuses particularly on a "pill table" that shows the quantity and variation of tablets that a man and a woman consume during a lifetime. An important point in this paper is that the exhibition is able to create a sense of different dichotomies coexisting in the materiality, and that the visitor (the author) cannot maintain a protective analytical distance to the exhibits. The exhibition is about "ourselves and not 'the others'" (p. 137). In the paper "The inconvenient cultural heritage of communism" the ethnologist Lene Otto also approaches the museum world, but with her interested directed towards the awkward cultural heritage. Based on a number of examples from Eastern Europe, Otto analyses how the communist heritage (such as statues of Lenin and other prominent leaders and heroes) are used and presented in a kind of politics of memory, and the reactions and emotions aroused by the cultural heritage. She examines carnivalesque activities as well as vandalism and more contemplative practices. Her main theoretical point is that materialities function as both artefacts and actors. Finally, in "The materialization of time", Astrid Jespersen and Torben Elgaard Jensen discuss how time is materialized, stabilized, at present-day doctors' offices. The authors work with two concepts of time: finished and unfinished time. These exist in parallel and are related to different materialities and performative actions.

Well, do the authors manage to steer the boat safely into port? Does the content match the initial ambitions? There is always a risk that edited volumes like this give a disparate impression and that the contributions are of varying quality. In the book the editors have succeeded in minimizing this risk. It is true that a considerable number of theories, metaphors, and concepts are presented, but they are used in a thought-provoking way and generally explained lucidly. The book can well be used in teaching, and it also deserves to be read by established cultural scholars, whether or not they have left the linguistic turn behind them.

Karlsborg fortress was never finished. It was proclaimed outdated at the start of the twentieth century. Today it seems like a materialization of an incredibly expensive and meaningless investment in defence; interestingly, this failure seems to be anything but an inconvenient cultural heritage. Materializations never cease to fascinate.

Fredrik Nilsson, Lund/Malmö

Who Invented the Single-Family Neighbourhood?

Peter Dragsbo, *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret? Forstaden har en historie. Plan og boligbyggeri i danske forstadskvarterer 1900–1960*. Museum Sønderjylland, Haderslev & Danish Center for Byhistorie, Århus 2008. 274 pp. Ill. ISBN 987-87-88376-09-8.

■ In this book the ethnologist Peter Dragsbo tackles the task of describing the history of Danish suburbia. Proceeding from a number of suburbs that Dragsbo has studied, the book seeks to paint an overall picture of the development of suburbs in Denmark in the period 1900–1960 by illuminating the central guidelines in urban planning during this time and the most prominent housing environments in the suburbs, in the form of estates built by housing associations, garden cities, social and municipal construction projects, and the typically Danish residential neighbourhoods consisting of single-family detached houses (*parcelhuse*). The author has chosen to define the term suburb (*forstad*) from an ethnological/anthropological perspective, as a function of the way industrial society draws a boundary be-

tween home and work; the suburb thus constitutes a specific type of urban environment.

The book begins by focusing on the growth of urban planning from the start of the twentieth century. Even before the Town Planning Act of 1938, which is often considered to mark the start of modern urban planning in Denmark, Peter Dragsbo shows that there was extensive planning in Danish towns. From the 1890s to the outbreak of the First World War, there were urban engineers in different parts of Denmark who, influenced by the German theorists Joseph Stübben and Camillo Sitte, laid the foundation for modern urban planning in Denmark. The basic idea of the modern urban plan is the division of towns into different areas which separate industrial buildings from housing, the creation of green spaces and playgrounds, and the organization of traffic flows through radial roads and ring roads. In addition there were aesthetic elements such as the construction of boulevards, avenues, and monumental buildings. In the 1930s Danish urban planning gained momentum, led by modernist architects, the labour movement, and the Social Democratic Party. In many towns the local authority bought up land to use for green spaces and public institutions. The Town Planning Act of 1938 ruled that all towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants had to draw up general town plans, and the period from the end of the 1930s to the start of the 1950s has been perceived as the heyday of Danish town planning, as exemplified in the book through descriptions of the development of several Danish towns in this period.

The second part of the book focuses on the different types of buildings in Danish suburbs. In the twentieth century the development of new housing areas was characterized by two types of private construction, in the form of detached houses/small houses and multi-storey blocks, especially as working-class housing. Collective building at the start of the twentieth century was characterized by the formation of housing associations that started providing workers' housing in the form of small-house neighbourhoods, influenced by English garden cities. At the end of the First World War the municipal authorities also started acting as building contractors because of the housing shortage that had arisen in the war years. The typically Danish single-family neighbourhoods were a development of the use of allotment gardens by less well-off people on the outskirts of towns in the early twentieth century. When the people who had leased allotment gardens were able to buy the land as private property, they then began to build small houses in these allotments. This then gained momentum after the First World War. After 1945 this kind of construction was increasingly regulated by the local authorities, while home owning simultaneously spread to a broader spectrum of society. Concepts such as "detached", "owner-occupied", and "single-family" house thus became merged in Denmark in the second half of the twentieth century. The development of the *parcelhus*, according to Dragsbo, can be regarded as the conquest of urban environments by the middle class. Similar observations have been made about the development of housing in Sweden and Finland by Leif Jonsson in his book *Från egnahem till villa: Enfamiljshuset i Sverige 1950–1980* and by Kirsi Saarikangas in *Model Houses for Model Families: Gender Ideology and the Modern Dwelling. The Type-Planned House of the 1940s Finland*

Peter Dragsbo says that the history of the suburbs can also be viewed as a struggle between the different social classes for dominion over the urban space. The development has gone from a bourgeoisie dominating both their own and the workers' housing, to a working class increasingly trying to create its own domains with a design marking a breach with the capitalist town, and together with urban ideologists establishing a new ideal in the form of the welfare town. Peter Dragsbo points out, however, that from the 1970s there has been a re-evaluation of the suburb, which has been criticized for lacking history in comparison with older neighbourhoods in the town centres.

In this book the author seeks to refute this view by showing that the suburb actually does have a history of its own. The book gives a detailed description of the development of the suburbs in terms of social policy, with many examples from different Danish suburbs. In addition, it is richly illustrated with photographs and maps of the neighbourhoods discussed. In that respect the author succeeds in his endeavour to present the history of suburbia. What I miss, however, is the grass-roots perspective that is so typical of ethnology. The book is based on copious material from what Michel de Certeau would call the structural level, that is to say, Peter Dragsbo describes how the suburbs have been constructed as an urban space from a municipal and societal perspective. In my opinion, however, this is only half

the story. The suburbs are also created by the people who live in them, through the inhabitants' practice, which does not always have the same purpose as the structures and institutions that create the urban spaces of the suburbs. The inhabitants of Danish suburbs remain anonymous in this book. It would be interesting to let these people's voices be heard in order to get an idea of the impact they have on the design of the suburbs and the meaning they ascribe to the environment in which they live. This would require further studies of the Danish suburbs, which we may hope will result in more publications about suburbs and their inhabitants, in Denmark and in the other Nordic countries. There is no doubt, however, that Peter Dragsbo has done thorough work in this book by charting the growth of the Danish suburbs and their significance as a distinct urban space.

Christina Haldin, Mariehamn/Åbo

The Use of History

Negotiating Pasts in the Nordic Countries. Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Memory. Anne Eriksen & Jón Viðar Sigurðsson (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2009. 314 pp. ISBN 978-91-85509-33-1.

■ History is constantly changing, because we are constantly asking new questions about it, and using it in new ways. While history still means looking backwards, our backward vision changes all the time, for it is determined by the purposes we have for history here and now – and in the future. History has a Janus face, pointing both backwards and forwards.

In recent years history has been changing its face more than ever. In "the old days" history meant documenting, understanding, and explaining. Today it also means investigating issues such as: Who uses history? Historians, novelists, politicians, journalists, schoolchildren, and Mrs Johansson in Söderköping? What is history used for? To pursue conflict or to bring about unity? In what contexts is history used? Is it for a scholarly article, an "interesting" biography, a film for cinema or television, popular enlightenment, a computer game – or as a justification for going to war? These and other major questions are considered in this book.

The use of history concerns not only the way it is used in scholarship, as exemplified in this volume. Other aspects of the total history culture also produce, employ, and communicate history. In a time when the fascination with history is greater than practically any time since the Second World War, this non-academic use of history is of particular interest, not least for the way it can illuminate how history tacitly functions as a reference point for identity formation, both as life-history and in cultural communities. The personal and identity-seeking relation to history is crucial here, with an expansion in commercialized and mass-media experiences of history and increased investments in history by both states/regions and businesses. This takes place, for instance, in the form of events in what is called the experience economy: historical festivals, tourism, the design of the urban space, and marketing and "branding", for example, in music, food, literature, personal life-staging, regionalism, nationalism, transnationalism, and internationalism. These initiatives entail certain research challenges, for example, with regard to other types of communication than the written word and oral narrative tradition.

Normally the use of history is synonymous with the struggle for history and is thus associated with a conflict perspective. History is thus used when particular groups in set situations and times seek to create a special awareness of history in the recipients. The use of history is then synonymous with a selective, relevance-determined use of unsystematized history with a view to creating order, exegesis, legitimacy, and opportunities for identification. The latter can concern either an individual or collective identity in a person, a region, or a nation.

Whether it takes place in an institutional framework or more or less casually, what is highlighted or omitted in the use of history will be linked to a specific awareness of history, which can be coloured by the use of history in earlier times. This is the dialogic principle, which along with the conflict perspective has such a central place in this book.

In the Nordic countries, research on the use of history is most highly developed in Sweden, with Denmark and Norway as runners up. Finland is a special case in that it has been dominated by three major problems: the Swedish heritage, the civil war of 1917–18, and Finland's actions before, during, and after the Second World War.

In almost every instance it has been a matter of a struggle for history, and a struggle for the right history. Whoever controls the view of the past also

controls the present and the direction of development into the future. The conflict perspective has thus predominated.

It is – implicitly – a response to this conflict trend that we see in this volume. The idea behind it is fruitful: to adopt a dialogic attitude to history. History is negotiable. When challenged either by direct antagonists, by a tradition handed down from generation to generation, by a collective mentality that has crystallized in a "basic narrative" or a normative prescription, one engages in a dialogic negotiation about and with history, where one nuances, modifies, and reflects. This is the concerted outlook envisaged by the papers in this volume. It starts with an article by the Norwegian Helge Jordheim, which serves as a common foundation by setting the agenda for this alternative way of looking at the use of history.

Jordheim's article is clear and unambiguous, demonstrating his thorough familiarity with Reinhart Koselleck's view of the use of history, on which Bernard Eric Jensen also relies heavily in his contribution to the volume. Jordheim's article, with its analytical acuity, is of such quality in general terms that it could be included in many studies of historical awareness and cultural encounters. On the other hand, despite the Koselleck heritage, we are not spared the use of Axel Honneth, the unofficial European champion in "sweetness", who has even been able to turn 1848 into a "sweet" happening.

In this context, however, Jordheim's article does not work so well. Most of the other papers make a desperate attempt to relate to the negotiation perspective that he applies. Very few succeed in doing so. Yet in the articles that are most independent of him, his basic outlook proves to be particularly inspiring. Among these I must single out the papers by the Norwegians Kyrre Kverndokk and Erling Sverdrup Sandmo. Both these articles are problem-conscious, provoking thought and debate, even if they do not answer all the questions that they raise directly and indirectly.

Kyrre Kverndokk analyses the result of the obligatory trip to Auschwitz undertaken by Norwegian schoolchildren, and he is successful in his elucidation of this delicate subject, which appeals to a specific attitude to the Holocaust, with considerable normative dimensions; pupils are expected to be emotionally affected, and preferably brought to tears. Without questioning in any way the need to be constantly reminded of the Nazis' bestial crimes, Kverndokk nevertheless questions the felicity of this enterprise, and he could have gone one step further and pointed out that Auschwitz has attained such a position in the history of memory that there is a risk of forgetting the other murder camps in Central and Eastern Europe and the victims who were killed there.

Erling Sverdrup Sandmo's article about, a place deep in Sognefjorden in Western Norway, likewise concentrates a great deal in its pages. His family has had a summer house here for generations; both Kaiser Wilhelm and King Oscar II stayed here, and this is one of the great *lieux de mémoire* in Norway, with roots going back to the legendary sagas of the Middle Ages. Otherwise they are best treated in this volume by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson's fine article about how the Icelandic aristocracy used this type of saga as a way to position themselves *vis-à-vis* Norway, to establish a negotiating stance with historical roots in relation to the Norwegian kings. This is very well done.

Sandmo is, as always, an elegant stylist in his article, but he also tries to juggle too many balls at the same time. He makes a distinction between, on the one hand, an official history that is constantly open for negotiations and challenges, and on the other hand a closed, private, and defensive history, based on authenticity and permanence, but he simultaneously shows that the relationship between these two approaches is constantly in movement. At the same time he brilliantly demonstrates the major issue of whether history is definitively dead and left behind us, or continues to live amongst us. Fortunately, we are not given an explicit answer to this tricky question, but by posing the problem he is able to indicate a field of study that is not present in Jordheim's article: whether the use of history brings obligations or is only for decoration and intended to be placed on a plinth or in a museum. In other words, the old Nietzsche classic. This problem is also present in Bernard Eric Jensen's article, but unfortunately it is not taken up again in the editors' otherwise sensible Afterthoughts.

Among the other papers, I find it thought-provoking that the best articles in the volume are by those that do not use Jordheim's negotiation perspective, but instead the classic hegemony approach. Here I am thinking primarily of Karen Skovgaard-Petersen's and Anna Wallette's well- written essays

about Danish and Swedish historiography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which both adopt a conflict perspective and thus ascribe less weight to negotiation than to struggle. They demonstrate in precise and well-considered terms what a conflict outlook can achieve in exposing efforts to influence people and protect one's own interests. When viewed in this light it is vexatious – and puzzling – that the term hegemony is only introduced very late in Jordheim's article.

The strength of this book is its challenge to a tradition of Nordic research on the use of history. The editors have been ambitious, and the result of their efforts is a highly readable book. It is not completely successful, however. This may be due to genre conventions: that it is difficult to make a collective volume coherent, but it may also be an effect of the topic being too calculated and sophisticated. But there should be no doubt that it the book can be recommended as a supplement to the prevalent tradition – especially for advanced readers.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

An Introduction to Cultural Production

Kulttuurituotanto. Kehykset, käytännöt ja prosessit. Maarit Grahn & Maunu Häyrynen (eds.). SKS 230. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2009. 362 pp. ISBN 978-952-222-173-5.

■ Maarit Grahn and Maunu Häyrynen have edited this excellent book about a multi-faceted topic of cultural production and the research of it. Structurally, it includes fifteen articles and three chapters, each of them concentrating on different topics and points of view.

The first chapter, "Framework of cultural production", includes theoretical and social articles from cultural politics to Pierre Bourdieu`s very popular field theory and cultural change to regional development. The article by Risto Turunen deals with one of the most current issues of culture and cultural production today. 'Book production and cultural change' is concerned with the dominant position of literature in culture and those challenges which new forms of media and digitalization bring to the field. Turunen writes from a national-historical point of view about how the position of literature has changed in Finland, but also about how book production has changed strategies throughout history. Turunen uses the theories of Bourdieu, Latour and Münich to show more than just the surface of this side of cultural production.

In the second chapter, "Produce cultural heritage", attention is focused on the cultural environment, saving and branding different culturally special places and ideas around them. The article by Sami Louekari, 'Satakunta as a presentation of landscape', draws a picture of landscape as a form of cultural production. The article introduces landscape as a subjective idea and as representations. It analyses how and from what kinds of starting points landscape is produced as a physical subject as well as different cultural representations. Identity is one of the key elements in this text. Louekari emphasizes the communicational aspect of identity in his analysis of what and how the websites are representing rural districts via pictures.

The third chapter, "Cultural production and digital community", deals with the subject of digital culture from community games to game theories and aspects of individual participation and affection for Eurovision Song Contest voting. The article by Pauliina Tuomi, 'Taking a part, making a difference? Eurovision and possibilities of interactive media technologies', is also a very current topic. Tuomi writes about interactive technology, especially the alliance between television and mobile phones. This article is a critical turn in speaking about the possibilities and illusions of affecting real change through the use non-free phone and MSN voting systems in popular television shows. Tuomi uses qualitative content analysis as her analytical approach. The article is also an introduction to typical themes in the subject of digital culture studies.

This book is a suitable reader for anyone interested in cultural production. It is especially useful for students, since the book offers numerous examples. It links many topics and points of view to larger questions and phenomena of society, history and contemporary life. It does not construct an entire history or serve as a theoretical guide for a topic. Its purpose is to introduce the topic of cultural production and put it on the map of important contemporary phenomena, and to pose new questions to readers and researchers. In its entirety, this book is works well and is an informative collection of interesting articles.

Tiina Käpylä, Turku

A Swedish Peasant's Diary

Anders Gustavsson, Bondeliv på 1800-talet. Med utgångspunkt i en bondes dagböcker och brev. Novus Forlag, Oslo 2009. 136 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-535-6.

■ Peasant diaries are a favourite source for many ethnologists with an interest in cultural history. In Scandinavia, especially in Sweden and Denmark, we have a wealth of these diaries, whether of the traditional type with records of the weather, the day's work on the farm, and special events such as births and deaths, or the slightly later, more personal diaries, which often contain reflections on everyday life, political matters, and occasionally even what it is like to be a (Christian) human being. For a cultural historian looking for something deeper than mere records, peasant diaries are often one of the few sources available. Elsewhere in Europe scholars, particularly those working in the tradition of micro-history, draw attention to the Scandinavian sources from time to time.

It was thus with high expectations that I started reading Anders Gustavsson's book on "Peasant life in the nineteenth century". This is a brief, contextualized, richly illustrated publication of one source, the diaries and letters of the Bohuslän peasant Jakob Jonsson (1795–1879). The topics of the diaries and letters are divided into what the author calls "cultural themes", which serve as the headings by which the book is organized. For example, there are chapters about outdoor work in the course of the year, gender differences and social division of labour, the farm economy, the relationship between local and regional, and so on. But according to the author, the purpose of the book is not to publish a source; as he says on page 14, his aim is "to elucidate the question of how a collection of diaries supplemented with letters can help cultural scholars to penetrate and analyse the way of life and conceptual world of a bygone time". The aim is thus (also) cultural analysis. And on the illustration pages the expected photographs of place, family, and scenes from everyday life are mixed with paintings of folklife by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson, a Swedish painter with whom the author already has a close relationship through other editions and studies of Bernhardson's work.

As suggested, I see three aims in this book; although these are not necessarily mutually exclusive, in this case they do seem to get in each other's way. In such a short publication, 136 pages in all, there simply is not enough space for all three purposes: the analysis, which is perhaps primarily intended for Gustavsson's own students; description, which is perhaps aimed most at a broad readership; and illustration, which perhaps most of all either expresses a fondness for Bernhardson's paintings or concerns the publication of yet another source: paintings as a source, although this matter is not addressed. Of the author's stated analytical purpose, for example, very little is delivered, only some concise introductory passages about peasant diaries, micro-history (virtually only as a word), and the Scandinavian tradition of ethnological study of diaries, mostly mentioning the collection in the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, and Swedish editions, with a brief reference to the existence of Danish parallels. The large, multifaceted Swedish and perhaps especially Danish work on peasant diaries is mentioned only sporadically, the extensive English research is totally absent, and not a word is said about the "the dissolution of the old peasant culture", a debate that was the subject of many ethnological congresses and projects for a period of nearly thirty years, based partly on diaries from the nineteenth century. This would of course be all right if the sole stated aim had been to publish a source with commentary. But with the stated purpose, what is delivered seems somewhat meagre.

The idea of mixing illustrations from the time with the paintings is something I do not understand. I think that Bernhardson's paintings disturb the style of the book, besides which they are not particularly close to the world of the diary as such; most of them were painted in the 1920s. This is not improved by the fact that the book itself is not very attractive. Yes, I know that aesthetics is a matter of taste, but I shall express my opinion anyway: The pages are sometimes made up with violent clashes of colour, and the text is constantly broken up by irritating italics. The practice of referring to the diaries by stating the page number in parentheses referring to an earlier, incomplete edition of the material is not particularly reader-friendly; a simple, old-fashioned note would surely have been more suitable here. If the aim is to reach a broad audience by publishing the paintings, this layout is not successful, but in an edition of a source for study purposes, then of course scholarly stringency requires all these paren-

theses. The person responsible for the layout is not named, but Novus Forlag could be expected to do better.

Despite these critical remarks, I fully understand the reason for publishing the diaries and letters. It may be stigmatized work to undertake source publications, but they certainly facilitate further research. Diaries and letters are rarely the easiest kind of sources to read, so for that reason alone a book like this relieves a researcher's work on the primary material. In that part of this book's purpose one can feel secure in Gustavsson's hands. In addition, the book could be used as source material in seminar exercises for students, but a teacher will need other texts to explain the genre. And I also understand, acknowledge, and support the ambition that ethnology should still be a discipline that is capable of both historical and contemporary studies.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

Death As Reflected in Culture Studies

Döden speglad i aktuell kulturforskning. Anders Gustavsson (ed.). Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi CVII. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Uppsala 2009. 214 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-85352-80-7.

■ Death is everywhere. The topic can be approached from any number of angles. This volume contains twelve articles about how people have dealt with the processes of death and funeral rituals, especially in bygone Nordic culture. The articles go back to a symposium held at the University of Oslo on 22–24 October 2008, with lectures by representatives of different subjects, such as ethnologists, historians, cultural historians, scholars of religion, sociologists, and theologians. Although a great deal of culture-historical material is presented here, the articles do not cover all sides of the topic of death. We learn almost nothing, for example, about the history of cremation, or of how dissidents and members of free churches have been buried over the years. Yet there is a great deal of interesting knowledge to be found here. Unfortunately, I cannot summarize all the articles in detail, so I shall highlight some themes that I consider important.

In his introductory article, Michael Hviid Jacobsen gives us a brief history of death. He shows how death was a very common theme in pre-modern society, and how it then declined somewhat in the twentieth century, but has begun to attract attention once again in recent years. When modernity gained momentum in earnest in the middle of the last century, the handling of the dead was crucially rationalized, as were burial rituals. Most of this was closed away in the private sphere and professionalized by undertakers. The recent new focus on death is presumably connected to the fact that terminal care has become a subject of attention. A proper survey of research history is provided by the grand old man of ethnology, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, in his article about his sixty-year study of the topic. We learn a great deal here about the cultural history of funeral rituals over the centuries, right up to modern times.

In the next section we can read two articles about death in the Middle Ages. Stina Fallberg Sundmark writes about the host, holy water, oil, and candles in theology and popular piety in the Middle Ages. Although the Reformation changed a great deal, it is interesting to see how certain actions and ideas survived for a very long time. Audun Kjus writes about death and punishment in the oldest Norwegian laws.

The third section in the book is about death in early modern society. Anders Gustavsson paints a vivid picture of how a farmer on the west coast of Sweden experienced death and burial around the middle of the nineteenth century. He does so by analysing this farmer's diaries, a unique source material.

Birgitta Skarin Frykman writes about working-class funerals in Gothenburg. Here we get an interesting survey of what burials as social markers have looked like for more than a hundred years. In the past it was important to have a decent public funeral with a lot of guests. When the economic status of the Swedish working class rose in the early twentieth century, they copied the funerals of the better-off people. Workers now had to have a hearse, a procession, a large gathering of friends and acquaintances, and a lavish feast. The more prosperous people subsequently reacted by adopting something that had been considered shameful before: strictly private funerals. Today it is quite common to have quiet funerals with only the next of kin present. Few people retain negative perceptions of private funerals. Generally speaking, funerals have become more private and individualized.

In her article Ilona Kemppainen analyses death notices in Finland from the nineteenth century to the

present day. Death notices became common at the start of the twentieth century, and the cross was a frequently used symbol in them. In Finland the cross still seems to be more common than in, say, Sweden. The rule that the family does not write the obituaries printed in the newspapers seems to have been relaxed in recent years. Today we find that sons and other close relatives can describe the deceased person. The rule that only prominent figures in society get obituaries also seems to be changing. Now virtually anyone can have an obituary, at least in the local press.

The fourth section in the book is entitled "Death in a multicultural and changeable society". Eva M. Karlsson writes here about the dying body in terminal care. Mirjaliisa Lukkarinen Kvist discusses who is supposed to tend the grave after a death. Migrants to Sweden from Finland often seem to prefer to be buried near their new home in Sweden, despite otherwise strong ties to their childhood home and its local culture. An important question in this connection is who looks after the grave. Proper care is best ensured if one is buried in the place where one's children and grandchildren live and work.

With the increased immigration of Muslims, the question of burial places for them has also become topical, not to say acute, in our Nordic societies. Cora Alexa Døving writes in her article about the establishment of a Muslim cemetery in Norway. We find more about cemeteries in Anne-Louise Sommer's article about graveyard culture in Denmark. Ingeborg Svensson concludes the book with her article about national mourning. She states that collective grief after major disasters – the tsunami in Thailand and the sinking of the *Estonia* – creates a collective community that unites different groups in society, at least for a time.

I find the book important in many ways. People need to have some perspective on death and burial if they are to have a correct perception of today's trends. The entire theme is a good reflection of tendencies and changes in society at large. It is slightly surprising that there is no example of research on this theme by any sociologist of religion, given the existence of that subject in Sweden. As it is now, the articles provide "tasters" of different themes associated with death, but one is left with the feeling that the treatment is sometimes a little too short and summary. In dealing with these themes, a firmer grasp of sociological theories would be desirable, but perhaps that will come in a subsequent, more concerted study.

Nils G. Holm, Åbo

Temporality Unsynchronized

Tidens termik. Hastighet och kulturell förändring. Anna Hagborg, Rebecka Lennartsson, Maria Vallström (eds.). Boréa Bokförlag, Umeå 2009. 211 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-91- 89140-62-2.

■ *Tidens Termik* (The Thermals of Time) is a collection of essays on speed and cultural change written by Swedish ethnologists. It covers many subsets of temporality, including travel and mobility, memory, loss and destruction, progress, stress and inertia, spatial, material and embodied transformations, to mention just some of the ways these essays approach the main theme.

"Perhaps speed is the foremost sign [signum] of our times", the editors propose in the introduction (p. 19). In that case it is curious how little work has been done on this topic since Modernist and Futurist celebrations of speed swept the turn of the last century. Radical developments in transportation and communication throughout the twentieth century have no doubt accelerated the pace of modern life, but this seem to be the taken- for-granted point of departure for cultural studies of technology, cosmobility, migration, media, etc., rather than a topic in itself (but see Hartmut Rosa, *Beschleunigung: Die Veränderung der Temporalstrukturen in der Moderne*, 2005, and John Tomlinson, *The Culture of Speed*, 2007). Paul Virilio's *oeuvre* readily comes to mind, with its analysis of speed as absolute power, as destruction of spatial extension and temporal duration, and with Virilio's prophecies of doom as absolute speed merges with the weapons of war. But apart from Virilio's "dromology", ubiquitous speed has received only scattered comments in sociology *classic*, à la Simmel and Bauman.

Hence this collection of sixteen essays on speed and social change is a welcome publication. Generally, the essays are well written and suggestive in their analysis of various temporal phenomena in a modern Swedish setting. Arranging the essays in clusters to review their joint contribution, however, is a rather hazardous endeavour. The cases, questions, periods, theories and results in these essays stand wide apart, defying an organizing principle.

Gendered, ethnic or national identities are on the agenda in some of the essays. The change in male identities suggested by Agneta Lilja through a collection of obituaries of Swedish engineers throughout the twentieth century, or by Birgitta Meurling's micro-historical analysis of two brothers in a landed noble family navigating industrialization and technological development in the 1930s, shows the ambivalences of change as the men honour progress at the same time as being the shepherds of tradition. Gendered ambivalences and difficult navigations are also predominant in the protagonists of Lena Gerholm's narrative of male immigrant workers in Sweden, where the relations between change and stability are caught up in other parameters as well: tenacious ethnic identities, spaces of economic and religious affiliation, and the place of women supported from afar in transmigrational families.

We need to think globally and develop concepts that can differentiate between men's and women's lives in a transmigrational world, Lena Gerholm concludes. Perhaps we also need to take into account the national habitus in academic reflections usually allergic to the outbursts of "banal nationalism". Jonas Frykman's embarrassment at the occasion of a self-congratulating Swedish sports team, singing the national anthem on board an aeroplane, is an example of the imbalances of power between different countries' national templates. While these two interesting essays obviously relate to transnational spaces and movements made possible by speedy communication, they do leave the reader guessing about their inscription in the main topics of the volume, as do some of the other essays in the book.

Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren treat the subject of speed and change more directly through variations on temporality and movement. Ehn reflects on temporality through the rhythm, pace and embodied practices of different temporal segments – a moment materialized in sculpture, a ten-minute make-up ritual, an hour-long walk through the city. Orvar Löfgren discusses the tension and excitement in travel, the nervousness caused by being in transit both physically and mentally, as manifested in the central hubs of transportation: the train station and the airport. The historical changeability, the traveller's "fantastic capacities of simultaneity" in the management of movements, feelings, fantasies, huge crowds and a reluctant body (p. 173), and the hyperspaces of travel, constructed by the multiplicity of individual and social intentions and experiences; it all adds up in the concept of travel fever.

As already indicated, the range of issues studied in this volume is broad. A non-exhaustive addendum to those mentioned above could be: the instant decisions that have to be made at auctions; the change of a forest after a storm; the history of a Swedish glassworks; the memories of Fanny Falkner who was a mistress of August Strindberg. They all also connect to the question of change in a broad sense. But granted that nothing escapes time, all phenomena – from things to feelings, form concepts to spaces, and from bodies to experiences – are temporal. They change, at one pace or another. Nothing can be excluded from this scenario. The broad heading leaves the reader with the eerie feeling that the volume could also be about, say, "Space and Identity" without notable changes to the selection and content of the essays.

From the introduction to *Tidens termik*, it is never clear what the relations are between speed (the acceleration of movement through space) and the concept of change (a relational difference between two or more states). Are they invariably linked? There is not mention of whether, or indeed how, we are to consider the relations between mechanical time to be measured by the watch, and existential time to be experienced by subjective memory and expectation, though the essays refer to both indiscriminately. The editors explicitly do not want to give an account of temporality (p. 19), nor, it seems, did they want to focus and sort the essays out. Perhaps we need to ignore the promises of the title and instead enjoy the volume for what it is: "a cross-section of Swedish ethnology today, presented in an accessible form that lets the writing flow" (p. 20). When viewed as such, we have 16 essays by accomplished ethnologists introducing contemporary Swedish ethnology in interesting and creative ways through the study of a broad range of phenomena. They are of necessity temporal, though neither synchronized nor thematically restricted by the caption.

Dorthe Gert Simonsen, Copenhagen

Swedish Ethnologists and Folklorists

Svenska etnologer och folkloristers. Mats Hellspong & Fredrik Skott (eds.). Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Uppsala 2010. 296 pp.

Ill. (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 109.) ISBN 978-91-85352-83-8.

■ On the 6th of November 1932, three hundred years after the Swedish King Gustavus II Adolphus fell in the Battle of Lützen, the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy (Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademien) was founded in Uppsala, Sweden. This academy is one of eighteen scholarly academies in Sweden. The members represent several universities, archives, and other institutions dealing with folk culture, and they come from different areas of academic disciplines covering the study of Swedish folklife. Ethnologists and folklorists are obvious, but students of dialects, folk art, folk music, history, and so forth, also have their representatives in the academy. It publishes the periodicals *Saga och sed* (1934–) and *Arv, Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* (1946–), *Ethnologia Scandinavica, A Journal for Nordic Ethnology,* and, since 1996 also *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* which originally, since 1904, was published by the Archives for Dialect and Folklore Studies in Uppsala. Moreover, it gathers specialists for projects on specific topics which are reported in separate publications.

One of these is a biographical handbook about Swedish ethnologists and folklorists. The initiative came from one of the Grand Old Men of Swedish ethnology and folkloristics, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, a former professor at Lund University in Sweden. It is true that a couple of biographical books were published in the 1970s and 80s, and monographs about certain individual scholars have been written, the most recent being Bringéus's about Carl Wilhelm von Sydow in 2009, as an issue of FF Communications. I also suppose that the comprehensive Swedish biographical dictionary, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* mentions several of the persons of interest here as well. However, this is a handbook specifically for representatives of the two disciplines of ethnology and folkloristics, which makes it possible to describe everyone's contribution in more detail and with relevance particularly to the field of research. The reason for this book is the opinion that, for the sake of identity, it is important to know how one's discipline grew, developed and was profiled through the achievements of active individuals. In our time, when ethnology and folkloristics have rapidly changed and the number of university departments has grown so that there are quite a few people dealing with matters of interest here, it is often regarded as almost impossible to be updated, to say nothing about keeping an eye on history. Consequently, a book like this is valuable.

Thirty-five scholars from Sweden, all deceased, were chosen for this biographical collection. The editor admits that it is possible to question who was important enough to be selected, but the principle was that the entire field of folklore and folklife studies should be represented. Consequently, we find pioneers from the nineteenth century, even before there was a university discipline for these fields of research, we find university professors from the twentieth century, people who worked at museums, and people who led their active lives as archivists. The first biography is about Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889), the last one is about Bengt R. Jonsson who died in 2008, so the book covers some 170 years of Swedish folklore and folklife matters.

Each biographer worked according to set directives. Each biographee's life, education and employment, his/her scholarly works and their reception are common topics in all articles. It is a good thing that the biographers have assessed their forerunners' achievements and contributions in relation to the time in which they were active. How often we read and listen to anachronistic critique of former scholars! The authors have had the opportunity to give their contribution a personal colour. Certainly this was possible and fruitful in those cases when the biographer knew the biographee personally.

The biographical collection is almost consistently arranged chronologically according to the birth date of the person in question. This way of organizing the articles gives an overview of how ethnology and folkloristics have developed in Swedish scholarly history. The articles are quite short, just a couple of pages, but still more comprehensive than generally in biographical handbooks. Thanks to the principles by which the material is arranged within the articles, they give the reader more information than just some points about a person's academic career.

I found the book interesting to read. Perhaps I was more captivated by the general, implicit description of Sweden as an academic country than by the different biographies. This certainly has to do with the needs a reader has. I was not looking for information about different persons, but I had to arrive at an opinion about the book as such. I appreciated

getting a brisk overview of the kind of persons who became academics during two hundred years, and what the prerequisites for an academic career were. I enjoyed seeing how the topics of interest within the disciplines have changed. There were also descriptions of the kinds of privation young academics had to suffer. In other words, I got an impression of how academic life was arranged and how people reacted and reasoned when they felt unfairly treated and how they overcame their problems. This book is not only a collection of separate biographies. It is also a document of matters of Swedish cultural history, the history of two academic disciplines that were always closely connected to society and environment.

Each article contains a portrait of the biographee and references for further reading. The authors of the biographies are presented briefly as well. I miss an alphabetical list of the biographees' names. It might have been practical to be able to look, for instance, for Louise Hagberg, the first woman to be mentioned, by the first letter of her surname, H, instead of reading the list of contents and finding her between Nils Keyland and Martin P:n Nilsson because her date of birth was between the dates of those two gentlemen.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

European Cultural Processes

Kulturelle processer i Europa. Indlæg fra den 29. Nordiske etnolog- og folkloristkongress. Flemming Hemmersam, Astrid Jespersen & Lene Otto (eds.). Etnologiske studier, vol. 13. Museums Tusculanums Forlag, Københavns universitet 2010. 294 pp. Ill. Mixed English and different Scandinavian languages. ISBN 978-87-635-0505-5.

■ Some of the contributions from the 29th Ethnology and Folklore conference in Helsingør (Denmark) in spring 2003 have now been published in this volume. It is inspiring reading and it raises questions about the contemporaneity of ethnology. The conference was held in 2003, just two years after 9/11, and also at the time of the US-led invasion of Iraq. This affects the contributions and conclusions.

The book is divided into three parts with different texts: plenary lectures (7 texts), session papers (11 texts) and an appendix with the conference looked at in the rear-view mirror (3 texts). In the foreword one of the organizers, Lene Otto, explains that the idea of the conference theme was to highlight different aspects of the ongoing European development projects and to discuss ethnology as a curriculum in relation to the supra- state levels that are now emerging in Europe, with the EU and its influences on economy, politics and culture. The theme underlines that political processes are closely related to cultural processes, and another aim was to stimulate a debate about European integration since the Second World War. However, the participants' ambition to lift ethnology from a national level to a European context was tentative and unaccustomed, and it is much easier to say "I analyse a subject from a European perspective" than to prove it in arguments and reflections. In spite of the EU's aspiration for unity, cultural diversity in Europe is not vanishing and we are very much studying cultural processes in the making. The organizer therefore sought to highlight what the concept of process means, and by extension what a European process means for us as ethnologists when we analyse and synthesize. At the end three senior researchers have given their perspective on the conference and looked at it in retrospect. These parts of the book are the best, although too short, only 25 pages, and it would have added much value to the book if it had been extended instead of having the brief, postcard-style form it has now – especially since several of the conference contributions have been published in different journals. For example, contributions to the session on "Knowledge Institutions" can be found in the Swedish journal *Kulturella perspektiv* (no. 3, 2003) and contributions to the session "EU – Unity and Plurality" have been published in the journal *NordNytt* (2004). Since this book reprints 18 different contributions, it is not possible in this review to comment on or mention them all. For a reader, eight years after the conference, however, the contemporary expression in the contributions is visible and I therefore choose here to look at this and the three retrospective texts.

The conference contributions discuss different phenomena in Europe, but this does not imply that European cultural processes are discussed in the conference papers. Even if a presented example is taken from a European context or area, it does not mean that it is an expression of a European process. One gets the impression that findings from a local context are taken and pressed into a European concept box, but could frankly be placed in any cultural

box, with the aid of just a few changes to words or headings. An idea for future conferences would therefore be to force the authors to sum up in 10 or 20 lines how the conference theme is relevant to the text they have just presented. An impression is that the conference listener in 2003, like a reader today, must find out on his or her own in what way the presented text is an example of the theme of *European cultural processes*. This is of course not satisfactory.

Approaches that obscure the analyses of European processes are evident in ethnology's love for concepts and definitions related to culture which sometime makes the texts get stuck in a swamp of cultural, discursive, postcolonial and other concepts. Culture is sometimes discussed as a form, shape or expression, sometimes as an idea and value, and a question can be raised whether ethnology is a semiotic science and not so much interested in how people think, relate and make things. As a delegate at the conference, and now as a reader, my impression is that the different texts obscure the overall theme. But it is perhaps impossible to watch, analyse and discuss a cultural process when you're right in it?

In three new texts three senior researchers sum up the conference, and it is clear that the conference themes relating to political science cry out for discussion. The EU's strong interest in culture and what culture can do for the EU forces ethnology to relate to policy making. Anna-Maria Åström from Finland writes that the congress should have originated more from a local perspective instead of letting the EU hover above the conference, since the people-related processes in Europe are under way at a local level. The conference's vagueness in the European theme is discussed by Birgitta Svensson from Sweden, who argues that the conference raises just one question, whether Europe is close to or far away from us. From Denmark Lene I. Jørgensen sums up and emphasizes that ethnology is at a crossroads where the question of the curriculum's usefulness is highlighted, pointing out that the processual thinking can shift the subjects' direction towards a more economic and political perspective.

A feeling that lingers is that the conference took place in a fateful time. It is clear that that ethnology not only does contemporary research but also uses the subject to make contemporary comments. As a cultural researcher, one may ask if cultural conflicts should be regarded as a problem or if, on the contrary, they create an interesting research field for us. Aren't we all scavengers of cultural clashes, receiving our pay cheque from cultural conflicts? This book shows that ethnology is slowly, but unconditionally, drifting/moving to investigating what political science, the supra-state systems and management buzz words do to the individual's values, thoughts and deeds in relation to a new European society. That is new; it is exciting and needs to be further discussed in a more explicit way.

Richard Tellström, Grythyttan

Danish Views of Food and Drink

Syn på mad og drikke i 1800-tallet. Ole Hyldtoft (ed.). Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 2010. 296 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-635-3264-8.

■ The major Danish research project "Food, Drink, and Tobacco in the Nineteenth Century: Patterns of Consumption, Culture, and Discourses", led by Ole Hyldtoft and Arne Astrup at Copenhagen University, has now published its second volume. In my review of the first publication, *Kost og spisevaner i 1800-tallet*, I wished for more analyses of the discourses about food and meals. My plea was evidently unnecessary, for this publication about outlooks on food and drink was already nearing completion.

The essays in this volume deal with themes which all concern the ongoing struggle between groups in society and between individuals to define what a proper healthy meal should consist of. The first theme to be focused on is health. Guided by Signe Mellemgaard, we follow one of the pioneers, the dietician and physician J. C. Tode, who became an influential writer in the 1770s. Tode had strong views about what was healthy food. Some of his recommendations, such as not eating too much, too fatty food, or too late at night, can be recognized from present-day magazines. Other advice, such as his claim that duck, goose, and spices are unhealthy, feel more alien to a reader today. Like other writers and advocates of healthy food at that time, he showed an almost obsessive interest in digestion. This brings to mind the Kellogg brothers on the other side of the Atlantic a few decades later. Few foodstuffs were healthy or unhealthy in themselves; it was their combined effect on the digestion that was significant, and the most important thing of all was regular bowel movements – the proof of a healthy diet. Tode stands out as a typical representa-

tive of the bourgeoisie that was growing in strength and importance at this time. This also applies to his infatuation with the good wife and housekeeper. She guarantees a healthy life by ensuring that hygienic, well-cooked, simple, unadulterated food is served to the master of the house and the servants.

Anita Kildebæk Nielsen then gives a survey of Tode's successors in the nineteenth century. Several of them were clearly influenced by the idealization of nature in the romantic era. The cause of many of people's problems was that they had distanced themselves from nature, and the solution lay in getting back to a natural way of life. Farmers and artisans were the ideals, since they differed from the bourgeoisie and the nobility by suffering fewer health problems associated with eating. Sticking to what was produced locally was another theme of this critique of civilization. Meat was suitable for Danes, but exotic fruit and spices were not – they could exert a negative influence on the balance of the body. It is difficult to avoid drawing parallels to today's debate about diet and health, since both natural food (whatever meaning is attached to that concept) and locally produced food are held up by leading health debaters as the path to better health.

Besides ideas about what we should eat, the book also focuses on ideas of how food should be cooked. Here too we see an increased interest during the nineteenth century, made possible by the spread of books among all strata of the population. A not insignificant portion of these publications were cookery books, which are examined in two articles by Carol Gold and Caroline Nyvang. Carol Gold sees a development from books aimed at professional cooks to books for home cooking. In the latter category she sees two genres, those which explicitly seek to educate housewives in good domestic science and those which lack moral overtones, merely wishing to share good recipes. Cookery books changed during the nineteenth century. Gold finds three main reasons for this: the changed role of women; the emergence of a Danish national identity, and the loss of the empire. The changed role of women was closely associated with the firm link that the bourgeoisie established between woman and the home – an institution that was portrayed as one of the foundations of society. Whereas cookery books in the early nineteenth century were often concerned with emphasizing the role and duties of women, the later books are less so. Gold's interpretation of this is that the role of the woman as the gentle ruler of the kitchen and the home was then taken for granted so that it no longer needed to be said. The emergence of the national identity is noticeable through the constant talk of what is considered palatable to Danish to and foreign taste buds. When recipes for foreign dishes are given, it is not uncommon for the author to make them more Danish. The author of the Danish housewife's culinary catechism, *Den danske Husmoders Køkken-Katekismus*, for example, justifies the existence of the book with the fact that other cookery books seek out foreign dishes rather than trying to achieve Danish tastes, and that many Danish dishes are omitted. The loss of the "empire", that is, Schleswig-Holstein and Norway, also had an impact on the dishes. The clearest effect is the reduction in the use of spices when the loss of the Norwegian merchant fleet made them harder to obtain. Here we glimpse how the Danes made a virtue of necessity: the supply of spices was diminished, so they were classed as non-Danish and therefore unnecessary and distasteful.

Caroline Nyvang, in a partly overlapping survey of Danish cookery books, notes a transition from a pioneer phase at the start of the century to a golden age for housekeeping books in mid-century. Then, at the end of the nineteenth century, the flow of cookery books stagnated since the market was saturated. It can also be observed that general household handbooks gave way to books containing nothing but recipes. The growth of knowledge of nutrition and chemistry in the nineteenth century is evident from the cookery books. The chemical kitchen is an interesting subgenre that was popular in the mid-nineteenth century, a counterpart to today's molecular gastronomy.

The struggle for the preferential right to interpret what was good food also concerned individual constituents of the meal. In the concluding empirical examples, Svend Skafte Overgaard lets us follow "the battle of the sauce". What should be the consistency of a proper sauce, and how large should a helping of sauce be? The popular notion that a sauce should be thick enough to stick to the potatoes, and that there should be a lot of it, was contrasted with the ideas of the French-trained gastronomists, who preferred thin sauces in small helpings. The position of sauce is undeniably inter-

esting from a structuralist viewpoint. Since a proper Danish meal consisted of meat, potatoes, and sauce, the sauce was the substance that tied the components of the dish together. The sauce was more than an accessory; it was a guarantee of the cohesion of the food culture. These are truly tenacious structures. Discussions of the thickness and character of the sauce were just as inflamed during my time in restaurant kitchens in the 1980s as in the hundred- year-old source material cited by Overgaard. The thin sauces of the new French cuisine, preferably without flour, were recommended by most cooks with any ambition, but there was a popular resistance in favour of the creamier consistence of thickened sauces. The thickening method was also a topic of heated debate in the nineteenth century. Should the flour be mixed with butter, or with milk or water? The debaters were convinced that the choice of method affected digestion and thus health. Here the old domestic science teachers' experience clashed with the new debaters who invoked new scientific findings in an attempt to introduce a new view of the role of sauces in Danish food culture. And the debate has continued since then.

In an afterword the Belgian Professor Peter Scholliers surveys new tendencies in European historical research on food. Scholliers says that the disciplines of economic history, history, and ethnology separately pursued successful historical studies up until the 1980s, but that they very seldom used each other's findings. The 1990s saw more cross-fertilization between the disciplines when historians took a greater interest in cultural dimensions. This collection of essay is in itself proof of what Scholliers says. It brings ethnologists together with historians and intellectual historians as well as the historian of chemistry Anita Kildebæk Nielsen, who works at the Technical University of Denmark. It augurs well for future food studies that the interdisciplinary approach that has become so successful in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of food studies has now begun to make an impact on Scandinavian research.

Håkan Jönsson, Lund

Colour and Clothing

Maja Jacobson, Färgen gör människan. Om färg, kläder och identitet från antiken till våra dagar. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2009. 308 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-252-3.

■ Maja Jacobson's book is a solid and richly illustrated work about the language of clothing and about clothes as a mirror of culture. Since the book is not an academic dissertation, little space is devoted to theoretical discussion, the presentation of current research, or the like, although the author highlights studies by the historian of colour Michel Pastoureau, the historian of costume François Boucher, the textile-dye researcher Gösta Sandberg, and some other researchers. Yet scholarship is ever- present, with source references and background discussions, with explanations of the concepts used and the purpose of the research. In addition, Jacobson not only has a doctorate in ethnology but also a background in the clothes world, having a technical education in the field and experience of working with tailoring and textile education; this was obviously a great asset to her when she wrote the parts of the book dealing with the twentieth century.

Maja Jacobson has also written two previous works about the symbolic language of clothes, *Kläder som språk och handling: Om unga kvinnors användning av klädseln som kommunikations- och identitetsskapande medel* (diss. 1994) and *Gör kläderna mannen? Om maskulinitet och femininitet i unga mäns bruk av kläder, smycken och dofter* (1998). These deal with clothes in our own time, with retrospective glances at earlier years in the twentieth century. her most recent book, the title of which means "Colour Makes the Man", on the other hand, takes us on a longer journey in the history of ideas, with ample scope to put fashions into their historical contexts, both far back in time and in recent decades.

With the colour of our clothes, the author observes, we send different messages to the people around us. How we choose to dress affects the first impression we make and the way we are received. The language of clothes and colour is symbolically charged communication which evokes emotions and signals economic, religious, and social status and belonging, and in some cases also gender. Jacobson considers colour from a more physiological perspective, showing certain biological factors that affect how colours are perceived. But she also shows how the availability of material, which is regulated by

things like climatic or economic factors, by trade contacts or dyeing techniques, has had a significant influence on the use of colours and the way they are valued in different periods. Society's laws and the church's attitudes, creating taboos and ideals, are other factors that have regulated the colour of clothes.

The book offers the reader a wide perspective on the cultural history of colours and clothes, their role in society. The author has an interesting and knowledgeable analysis of how clothes, colour, and identity are interlinked, and how fashion and colour can characterize different periods and ethnic groups. As Maja Jacobson also points out, the associations aroused by a particular colour are not the same in the West as in Asia. This is one factor that influences how films can be exported over the world and to what extent the same pictorial message functions in different cultures. Yellow is not the same thing in ancient China as in European history, black is not the colour of mourning in every culture, and a man in colourful clothes is not perceived in the same way today as during the Renaissance. We cannot even be too sure that everyone in the same community reads all the codes in the same way, or that the interpretation is the same in different contemporary generations or groups in society.

By linking knowledge about relationships between material, society, and different groups in society, we can both broaden the perspective on life in different historical periods and find a new way to view clothing signals in the society around us. After reading this book in depth, I feel equipped to regard old church murals, medieval jesters' clothes, and today's fashion trends in a new way. It is also interesting to be able see a pattern in the way that trends change over periods of varying length: colours and styles often occur as reactions to each other, and a style often acquires its meaning in relation to the distance it has to a previous trend.

I found it especially interesting and informative to read Jacobson's description of the nineteenth century as a period that shaped many of the things that are "old truths" for us today. That was when men in authority started wearing dark suits, and the colourful men's clothes that had once been the norm now became a deviation. Before the nineteenth century a man could have a gaudy silk outfit, but then the discreet and uniform style caught on, remaining so strong today that it is still controversial if a man chooses excessively conspicuous accessories to go with the virtually obligatory dark suit. More decorative clothes simultaneously became a female preserve when the woman's role was changed as well. Many parallels can be drawn here to the books written about women's role in the nineteenth century. I think that Maja Jacobson's book is an interesting complement, particularly because it gives slightly more emphasis to the man's role, not just as something taken for granted in relation to a woman's role that is the primary object of analysis, but as something that was also clearly in development and is worth a study in its own right. At the same time, one can also glimpse in the book the role played by class differences in the nineteenth century, even though the perspective here is less striking than for the previous centuries.

This is a book about colour, especially in clothes. Yet to me it feels even more like a book about how the differently dressed people we meet or can study in historical source material communicate with us – both consciously and unconsciously.

Maja Jacobson's book offers the reader a fine opportunity to consider clothes and colours from many, partly parallel, perspectives, skilfully tackling a broad and demanding subject. If the book perhaps does not entirely succeed in answering the question it asks, about how people have judged clothes colours in different periods and how this reflects society and Zeitgeist, it at least succeeds in making me, as the reader, take up the question as an analytical tool and a new way to regard the phenomena. All fashion and all clothes colours, as the study shows, may be seen as important expressions of their society and their time, and by analysing changes in the use of clothes one can also learn more about movements and development in society as a whole.

Maria Ekqvist, Åbo

The Ambivalence of Home

Homes in Transformation. Dwelling, Moving, Belonging. Hanna Johansson & Kirsi Saarikangas (eds.). Finnish Literature Society. Helsinki 2009. 386 pp. ISBN 978-952-222-088-2.

■ The book *Homes in Transformation: Dwelling, Moving, Belonging* was set in motion in the interdisciplinary research seminar Gender and Space at the Christina Institute, University of Helsinki, between

2000 and 2004. The idea was concretized within the research projects Social production of space (2000–2002) and Representing and sensing nature, landscape, and gender (2007–2010), both funded by the Academy of Finland.

The writers approach the ideas of multilayered, lived space through the notion of home. They discuss home as a spatially open structure that changes over time instead of as a spatially demarcated and fixed structure. The essays in this book explore home both as an idea and location in a variety of contexts. *Homes in Transformation* focuses on home as a site of daily familial life – although the understanding and combinations of family vary. Each chapter addresses the transformations of home and its meanings through a particular combination of materials, methods, and theoretical definitions.

The chapters bring forth the inseparability of belonging and moving in the processes of homing. From different angles, they analyse how homes and their meanings are formed in representations, thoughts, social and emotional relations, daily routines, habits, gestures, and movements from material to immaterial spaces. While all the chapters are voices in one discussion and the lines of connection between different chapters might have been drawn in a number of ways, our choice has been to group them according to four themes: 1) the ideals and meanings of home shaped by and through representations, 2) processes of and the agency in homemaking, 3) familiar and unfamiliar elements at home, and 4) negotiation of the boundaries of home.

In the first part, "Representing and Constructing Home and Domesticity", the contributors focus on the constituting nature of home in different visual and textual representations and discourses. Through analysing Finnish interior decoration and popular magazines, Insurance advertisements, furniture, and other home items, the essays here explore Western domestic ideals from the late 19th century to the early 21st century. Both the middle-class home ideal based on the heterosexual nuclear family model and the separation of private and public reached their peaks during the 1950s and early 1960s. Having the analysis of the nuclear family ideal as their starting point, these essays explore the genealogy of the nuclear family model as a unit of habitation. They also analyse the ideologies of homemaking since late 19th-century bourgeois society. In addition, these essays explore the disentanglement of the nuclear family ideal by analysing the shift from the active housewife ideal to the wage labour motherhood of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the representations of queer families at the turn of the 21st century. The writers examine how the ideas and practices of home, homemaking, and domesticity are constructed both by the repetitions of representations and by silences and invisibilities, the things that are left hidden.

Minna Sarantola-Weiss analyses both how modern life came to be materialized in the Finnish home and how it was narrated through the texts and visual imagery in the interior decoration magazines of the 1960s and 1970s.

Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen explores how even as insurance was promoted as a way to control and govern the border between private and public life, and safety and danger, home insurance still laid private and public spheres reciprocally together. In Finland the 1950s was largely characterized by the reconstruction effort after the Second World War, but it was also the time that welfare state gained a foothold and the new economic subject, that is, consumer subject, was born.

The milestone discussed by Anna Moring is the notion that homosexuality was decriminalized in Finland as late as 1971. Her article "Domestication into Heteronormativity. Figurations of the Queer-Inhabited Home in Finnish Magazines and Papers between 2002 and 2005" shows that at the beginning of the 21st century, queer homes were discussed more openly, albeit that the viewpoints of heteronormative nuclear families still governed the discussion.

The second part has the title "Homing, Moving, Belonging". Here the contributors outline the complex meanings of home and home place by exploring the movement between homes in time and place. They also juxtapose the points of view of different agents, such as suburban inhabitants and outside experts, the partners of young couples, and children and adults. They raise questions concerning the agency and the active and creative aspects of homemaking.

Kirsi Saarikangas explores lived suburban spaces by analysing inhabitants' written remembrances alongside the public debate and the visual features of the suburban environment of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area from the 1950s to the 1970s. She discusses how suburbs have become multilayered and

meaningful home places – a feature that has been rarely connected with suburbs – as well as the role that women and children have played in the creation of social networks in the new environment and in the processes of homing. The viewpoint challenges the dichotomy between the active production of space by planners and its passive consumption by users, arguing that inhabitants, too, are creators of their environment and its meanings.

Monique Eleb explores how heterosexual couples negotiate the differences between each other's conceptions of home and interior decoration as they establish a common home in France. She approaches home as a prism which allows the observation of the inhabitants' relationship to the world as well as their values, dreams, and aspirations. The negotiations and tensions between differing tastes and one's own space at home are connected with the couples' personal histories, social and cultural backgrounds, or habitus. Home is both a place to affirm one's identity and to slowly transform it.

Artist Lea Kantonen depicts cultural encounters in the children's art workshops that she conducted together with her husband Pekka Kantonen in the late 1990s. She asks what kind of meanings and values children from different cultural backgrounds (Finland and Estonia) attach to home and how the spatial practices, cultural meanings, and representations of home are encountered in children's narratives.

Laura Huttunen discusses the meanings of the diasporic home through ethnographic fieldwork carried out among Bosnian refugees living in Finland. She states that the Bosnian refugees' notion of home might be best described by their relationship to multiple homes and houses. The ruined and later reconstructed family houses in Bosnia are homes in the symbolic sense of belonging. Simultaneously, the refugees have established a homelike relationship to their new apartments, which provide the contexts of daily life in their new home countries.

The contributions in the third part, "Strangely Familiar Homes", consider homes as contradictory places in which meanings are not fixed beforehand, but are constantly negotiated. The border is seldom clear between home and outside of the home or between privacy and publicity. Home as a safe retreat, as a space of belonging, can suddenly turn out to be ominous, dangerous, and full of violent moments and acts, which engender a strange oscillation between belonging and unfamiliarity. Home, its borders, meanings, and structures are constantly in a state of constituting, changing, and becoming.

Minna Ruckenstein considers everyday homemaking and violence against women in Finnish homes by analysing interviews with the victims of domestic violence. She focuses on the processes and moments that disrupt, rearrange, and reject the continuous spatial meanings of domestic space.

Hanna Johansson approaches the gendered notion of home and spatiality by analysing the oeuvre of the Finnish artist Outi Heiskanen (b. 1938). In Heiskanen's works the notion of dwelling is continually present. They put into question several long-termed binaries such as matter and form, ground and structure, inside and outside, presentation and representation, art and life, nature and language, feminine and masculine; all concepts that have served Western metaphysics.

In his article "Exilic Life and the Space of Belonging" James Tuedio sees both home and homelessness as central philosophical motifs and essential concepts in the intellectual debate of the late 20th century Critical Studies movements. He starts with the idea of home as a shelter and eventually draws the reader into the uncanny and exilic dimensions of home and identity.

In the fourth part, "Moving Boundaries of Home", contributors discuss the transformations of the ideals of home at the turn of the 21st century and the blurring of the boundaries between home and work, the shifting of the idea of home from the inside and the outside and gendered meanings of these changes. Computers and new information and communication technologies in general form a point at which the changes and the blurring of public/private relations converge. Simultaneously, the borderline between private home space and public space is eagerly protected in the practices of daily life. Computers and laptops have also changed the meanings of home and helped to create new rooms of one's own, spaces within spaces.

Irene Cieraad compares the domestic ideals of the late 1960s and early 1970s radical student generation to those of their offspring at the turn of the 21st century. In contrast to their parents' rural ideals, the current student generation prefers a city apartment as their near future home. Most students imagine themselves as part of a heterosexual family with children, living in the countryside.

Susanna Paasonen considers the domestication

and familiarization of the Internet, which is most clearly visible in terminology such as home pages, guest books, and virtual homes. In addition to the spatial metaphors of travel and analogies with the settlers, the figure of home is central on the Internet.

Eeva Jokinen examines how computers and the Internet rearrange homes and even generate new spaces of one's own and new common public places. Mobile phones have changed the logic of security and engendered constant border crossing between home and the world outside. While domestic space is still most often considered and idealized as a secure and private space, the demands of being constantly available and the constant stretching between intimacy and publicity define both home and work spaces. Through mobile phones and the Internet, inhabitants are within the reach of work life even at home.

Anyone concerned with matters of home and dwelling will find several interesting angles in this study as well as a glimmer of hope that many issues which may seem insoluble at the moment can be resolved with the passage of time.

Teppo Korhonen, Helsinki

Media and Monarchy in Sweden

Media and Monarchy in Sweden. Mats Jönsson & Patrik Lundell (eds.). Nordicom, Göteborg 2009. 154 pp. Ill. 978-91-89471-77-1.

■ After having been virtually choked with royal stories in both visual and print media when Crown Princess Victoria of Sweden married Daniel Westling, it required an extra effort from me to tackle this collection of articles about the symbiosis between monarchy and media in Sweden from the fifteenth century to the present day. Luckily, it proved beneficial and interesting!

Researchers in different branches of cultural studies have joined here to analyse the relationship between royalty and the media in Sweden. Not surprisingly, the initiative results from the massive contemporary media interest in European royalty, at a time when the institution of the monarchy has practically no political importance. The authors represent disciplines such as history, media studies, ethnology, and political science, which gives a variety of perspectives and methods.

By using Peter Burke's and Asa Brigg's definition of media as "the communication of information and ideas in words and images", extended to cover all types of sources that say something about a person, in this context a royal, it is possible to display a broad spectrum of centuries of interaction between monarchy and media. Additionally, this approach shows how our narratives about a topic are built up and constituted in general terms.

The articles are loosely arranged in chronological order, but the perspective changes depending on the author's discipline. This confirms that the relationship between royalty, the media, and the people is complex, as is particularly evident from the Norwegians' relationship to their royal family, with commoners achieving the rank of queen and crown princess. Instead of commenting on each article in the volume, I have chosen to focus on the concepts of values and power that I see running through all the articles.

A perspective that is applied in several articles is that of national values. The historian Magnus Brodell considers many monuments erected to Swedish kings in the nineteenth century. Through the analysis of what the different monarchs represent, he shows that it is not just a matter of mediating values of the past but also modernity and innovation. The monuments are a part of the nation-building that created shared histories and a shared platform for the future. Another aspect of the nation-building project is patriotism and national honour, values associated with masculinity. That is the topic of the article by the historian and film scholar Tommy Gustafsson, who analyses the interest that the Conservative Party and the military had in furthering such values in the years after the First World War, when the Social Democrats were reducing the Swedish armed forces. The author uses the film *Karl XII* to show how these values were illuminated through the portrayal of the warrior king.

National values are closely connected to identity and community. The film scholar Mats Jönsson examines how the media in the 1940s built up the relationship between the royal family and the ordinary Swedish family. This was done by presenting the royal family intimately, by focusing on home and family, by showing that the royal family is "just like us". In the 1940s it was important to encourage the sense of community against the external threat of war, and to be able to defend Sweden and the welfare state in a critical time, money was needed. A

campaign was started to collect money for a defence loan, for which the royal house of Bernadotte also acted as surety.

Gender is the perspective in Tommy Gustafsson's article about patriotism and masculinity. Cecilia Åse looks at femininity as it appears in royal families. She uses the media presentation of Queen Silvia as an example, showing how it is a conservative ideal of the woman's role and place that prevails. Here it would be interesting to glance across the border to Denmark and how Queen Margrethe has performed her dual role as both monarch and woman. It would also be interesting to see how Sweden's crown princess will perform hers!

"Any exercise of power requires the production of meaning that conveys and confirms the legitimacy of that power. Power must take a form before it can be conceived and understood; it must be symbolized before it can be acknowledged and respected," writes Patrick Lundell. This perspective could also be applied to Louise Berglund's article about Queen Philippa and her altar in Vadstena Abbey. Here it is religion and morality that are the important values, values on which there is too little emphasis, in my opinion. In Norway we have seen in recent years how these values are discussed in public as regards Princess Märtha Louise's courses teaching how to communicate with angels, and Crown Princess Mette-Marit's religious interests. This is not Lundell's perspective, however. He points the searchlight at how the monarchy and the press legitimate each other. After having read both his article and the two articles by Mattias Frihammar and Pelle Snickare, it feels natural to conclude that the power over mediation no longer lies with the royal family but with the media. Whereas the monarchy today has symbolic power, the media and journalists have established and are constantly extending their power base. Journalists act like family members conveying great events (such as weddings) to the public and making the public a part of a family event. Through modern technology, the media conquer and consolidate their power basis. They do so by being present and showing off the major royal events in the most modern way. Kristina Widestedt continues this theme in her article about royal weddings when she writes: "Rather than satisfying the royals' demands for respect and subordination, the media increasingly strive to simultaneously create and satisfy a public demand for rapid and stable access to newsworthy events, such as royal weddings".

There are many more perspectives in *Media and Monarchy in Sweden* than those I have taken up here. This is a really interesting book! What I miss is a greater focus on the public, on ordinary Swedish citizens and the interaction between monarchy, media, and the average Svensson. For it is he/she that is the consumer of the presentations of royal personalities. Which individuals or groups sustain which values, and why? In my opinion it is extremely interesting in a time when European monarchs no longer have any political power, but when ordinary citizens nevertheless support their monarchy.

Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred, Oslo

Transcultural Music

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Från Wantons till Wild Force. Nya sound i en gränsstad. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2010. 503 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7844-797-8.

■ This is a *tour de force* as memoir. For those of us who sat in Fondis's Cellar in Vasa on the west coast of Finland in the early 1970s, sipping *Lahden Erikois* beer, before we carried on down to the water to do modern dance in the Strampen pavilion or over the Vasklot Bridge to Hotel Rantasipi, where there was a Polish band with a poster from Solidarity hanging behind the drummer, this book about musical life in and around Vasa *c.* 1960–1990 is a find. We were young and in love, with a bold outlook on existence, believing that life and history belonged to us in an almost Hegelian hybrid. We were forever buying records in Lindroos's music shop in Handelsesplanaden and then sat listening to them with good friends and sweethearts. History and life history were merged in an exalted, optimistic union. For us there was no great difference between Tasavallan Presidentti from Finland, Arbete och Fritid from Sweden, Juice Leskinen from Juankoski in Savolax, the Animals and Chris Barber from England, and Swedish dance-band music, which was best for dancing to. It all led forwards. Only a small minority of us also listened backwards, to Brahms and Bach.

It is this universe, with a special focus on popular culture, that Sven-Erik Klinkmann tackles in this

book. He is very well equipped to do so. He is of the right age to study this period, Vasa is his home town, and he is interested in music and knows the subject as well as anyone. And let it be said right from the start, that this is an extremely good book and a magnificent analysis of the overall subject: music and youth culture in a town that is (culturally) on the border between Sweden and Finland. The author then divides this into a series of themes which can be further personified through portraits of and interviews with some of the typical and prominent figures in Vasa's popular music life, especially in the 1960s and 1970s.

He begins with the later. In long transcripts of interviews with musicians and arrangers of all kinds we gain insight into the music culture of the time, the preferred tastes, the forums, and the social setting. This fills roughly the first half of the book. It is intense, informed, micro-oriented, and rich in memories. Some of these interviews were conducted and are recorded in broad Vasa dialect. There is a huge amount of detail to immerse oneself in, with a local flavour all the way down to street level, as we are shown around the different parts of Vasa, with a certain fondness for the old working-class neighbourhoods of Kappsäcken, Vöråstan, and Brändö, with lovely old wooden houses, eccentrics, and football heroes from the time when IFK Vasa were big in Finland. It is here that Klinkmann's book has its greatest local interest, probably functioning best as a Christmas present for Grandfather.

Of more general interest in this first – stereotyped – section is the dimension of material culture surrounding the radio waves: how people could spend all night turning the dial on the radio to find Radio Luxemburg or somewhere else that was playing *A Whiter Shade of Pale*.

On the meso level where the author considers the different themes, the vision is further extended. One of these themes is the diachronic development of musical taste and style in Vasa. Even though the book is somewhat disorganized, one can clearly gain an impression of the development from the 1960s ragbag, when nuances were not important. Remains of swing jazz had no trouble coexisting with Paul Anka and Elvis, Cliff Richard and Bobby Darin, Swedish family pop, Finnish hits, and the new "barbed-wire" music. A stylistic *pot au feu*, which by the 1970s and 1980s was gradually differentiated into more regular styles: rock and beat, Swedish top ten, American west coast – and not least a heavy emphasis on rhythm & blues as a distinctive feature that a great many of the local bands were particularly fond of.

The synchronic aspect is also well represented in this section – and it is probably here that the book has its greatest value in terms of cultural analysis and theory. Klinkmann has a truly observant eye for culture in general and music in particular in a transitional borderland like the Finnish Österbotten, with Vasa as the local capital. There are several contrasts: between Swedish and Finnish, between British and American on the one hand and Finnish and Finland-Swedish on the other. In places these contrasts are portrayed rather dramatically, as when bands from Vasa travelled east into the Finnish-speaking parts of Österbotten with a repertoire of dance-band music from Sweden, which was so familiar to themselves, and were met with angry calls to "play some Finnish tango for God's sake". Elsewhere in the book the presentation is more low-key, as when we are informed that Finnish music as a rule was less suitable for dancing, with more radical and "freaky" lyrics – at times with polemical attacks against Swedes. One of Klinkmann's great merits is that he points out how Swedish-Finnish relations in Finland are characterized by harmony on the personal level at the same time there is a latent conflict that can break out at any moment. As a researcher he does not have a romantic notion of consensus.

One good point here is that the author covers not only Vasa but also brings in the whole field of Finland-Swedish dance and music culture. The subordinate themes here include the culture surrounding the dance floors at the beaches of Österbotten, such as Karperö, Åminne, Rörgrund, Fagerö, etc. Young Finland-Swedes made the pilgrimage in "dance buses" to the events arranged here by the vigorous youth clubs along the coast. Another theme is the difference within the Swedish-speaking part of Finland as regards (musical) culture; it is clear that Stockholm is not the capital for Finland-Swedes in Helsinki and Åbo as it is in Vasa, and that Sweden does not serve as a reference in southern Finland as it does up in Österbotten.

On the macro level, which focuses on the music and youth culture of this borderland in a broad sense, the author with his firm grasp of the empirical evidence and his immense knowledge both of the local musical scene and of global youth culture, is

able to tackle significant issues: cultural encounters and border problems.

As regards the first, he has page after page of expressions of cultural encounters between the local and the global. Perhaps cultural encounter is not the right word, if it entails a perception of these cultures as closed systems. Klinkmann does not fall into that trap; on the contrary, he has a sharp eye for the diversity that characterizes any "culture" even before it meets another so-called "culture". He views cultural encounters as hybridizations and processes that can be either conflictual in character or zones of cultural understanding.

These hybridizations – and here he approaches the second major problem – are connected to the fact that the borderland studied here has open and porous boundaries, accepting both similarities and differences. Besides identifying certain border typologies, he argues that boundaries do not mean enclosure and control, but also, in certain conditions, can give grounds for self-reflection and broader affective horizons, thus helping to make a territory, that is, an abstract space, inhabitable. Boundaries sharpen one's sense of difference, while simultaneously having a societal and social centripetal force. In reality it is quite banal: without boundaries there can be no boundary crossing, nor any boundlessness.

In the light of this, one may wonder whether Vasa and Österbotten constitute a marginal area in Finland or in reality one of the most central places in this nation, in that the border here is open. It is therefore sad that the author is forced to observe – correctly – that the region is rather invisible in relation to the Swedes in Sweden, to the Finns, "and even to some extent to the southern Finland-Swedes" (p. 415).

There is yet another theme concerning the macro level. Using a term borrowed from the folklorist Matti Kuusi, Klinkmann describes popular music culture as an expression of a special genre that could be called "poplore" – in contrast to traditional folklore. This highly interesting topic, which ultimately concerns the interface between folk culture and popular culture, would deserve more elaboration. Where is the switch from one to the other? Who are the agents? Are there special institutions in the two categories? Are mass communication and medialization the decisive factors, or is something else involved? Here one could have wished for a deeper treatment of a problem that is of interest for history, ethnology, and folkloristics; the author is well equipped to elucidate this.

This does not affect the overall judgement that this book is highly readable, with an enormous breadth and multiple layers, which means that it can reach several different readership segments and different branches of scholarship. In some respects it is about 200 pages too long and ought to have been heavily edited if it were intended chiefly for an academic audience. At the same time, it must be stated that the author's sense for in-depth empirical evidence – the reason the book is so long – simultaneously gives the work its scholarly weight. The author's consistent outlook on borderlands and cultural hybrids is presented with immensely weighty arguments.

On the other hand, it can hardly be denied that the characteristic verbosity that dominates the book is simultaneously what prevents it from seeming like the scholarly masterpiece that it ultimately is. It is in the top European class in cultural studies of borderland problems, an impressive masterpiece with far-reaching perspectives not only for Vasa and Finland, but also for Europe with its many borders. It would be a pity if it were to end its days as a coffee-table book. It ought to be translated into English or German – but what would happen to the amusing Vasa dialect? That would not be easy to render in a different language, and in the final analysis that is perhaps what makes this book so subtle: that it refuses to make a rigid distinction between particularism and universalism.

The invisibility that the author mentions with regard to popular music in Österbotten will no doubt continue even after this work, at any rate when viewed in global perspective. Although we often hear talk nowadays of globalization, it is mostly only hot air, which raises the question of how global globalization really is. When all is said and done, it is hardly anything other than an Anglo-Saxon monopolization of culture, which excludes anything not written in English, and therefore finds it easy to praise ideals of boundlessness. Just as we witnessed a flourishing growth in the phenomenon of cultural democracy, especially in Britain, at the start of the 1990s, today one can consider the same problem with regard to cultures that do not use English. Even relatively large languages like Swedish, Hungarian, Polish, Fulani, etc. find it hard to make themselves

heard on the global scene. Years ago a book about borders appeared in Finland, with a constructivist discourse that was typical of the time. It became internationally famous, and it is still cited. It was in English. Sven-Erik Klinkmann can hardly reckon with similar success, even though he has written a far better book with much richer empirical evidence. This is deplorable, particularly when his book is viewed in the context of the generally high level that is characteristic of Nordic research on popular musical history, as is clear from reviews on this topic in this journal in recent years.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Dairy Training in Denmark

Linda Klitmøller, Som en skorsten. Mejeribrugets uddannelse i Danmark 1837–1972. Landbohistorisk Selskab, Auning 2008. 268 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7526-214-4.

■ The title of this book, meaning "Like a Chimney", refers to the fact that Niels Pedersen, who started the first theoretical education for dairy workers in Denmark in 1887, formulated this metaphor for a good dairy worker. The author investigates how the training of dairy workers developed. Since the end of the nineteenth century, dairies have been an important part of Danish agriculture, and hence of Danish industry as a whole. Despite the fact that all those who were active in various ways in dairying were well aware of the importance of effective training, it took a long time to agree on the forms. The disagreement had both cultural and economic causes.

Professional training of dairy workers was unsatisfactory at the end of the nineteenth century. Theoretical knowledge was lacking, and practical training was very limited. Dairy workers also attained a prominent position in the local community, for example, as leaders of various associations, and in this role it was also important to have a good general education. The theoretical education was never in dispute, but it was difficult to reach agreement about common rules for the practical training: should there be free training under the auspices of the dairies themselves, or should there be vocational training in accordance with the Apprenticeship Act? It was not until 1972 that agreement was reached.

The industrialization of dairying led to a male takeover of what was originally a woman's pursuit. Dairy work on farms was mostly done to meet the needs of the household. Making cheese and butter was the housewife's responsibility, but it was an unprofessional process and with deficient hygiene. Butter was stored for a long time and became rancid.

Dairying was developed during the nineteenth century to become an independent activity alongside farming. The Danish manors were the first to introduce dairies on the Dutch pattern. In these dairies, which made products for sale, there were special milk rooms that were clean and cold. The workforce was female, "dairymaids". The Danish manors introduced convertible husbandry in agriculture and the interest in stock raising increased. Experienced dairymaids were brought from Holstein, laying the foundation for the good reputation of Danish manor butter. The dairymaid's work entailed great responsibility, and this was reflected in her pay. In the 1870s it was four times higher than a serving maid's wages and two to three times what a farm labourer earned.

Between 1837 and 1875 the Royal Danish Agricultural Society provided training for dairymaids, with manors as the base. The Agricultural Society was aware of the significance of the dairy trade for Danish agriculture. Above all it was essential to improve the quality of butter so that it could compete on the British market. In 1861 the Agricultural Society employed Thomas Riise Segelcke (1831–1902) as dairy consultant, and he became a figurehead of Danish dairying. It was important to develop scientific methods. Industrial production could not rely solely on experience, sensory impressions, and personal feeling. Artisanal operations had to be made rational and factory-like. He believed that men understood science and rational production better than women. The aim was that men should take over the managerial role while dairymaids took care of the practical work.

In 1878 the separator was invented, making it possible to process milk from different suppliers simultaneously. Thanks to the separator, milk that was to be skimmed to give cream could be transported over longer distances. The separator paved the way for private dairy companies and cooperative dairies. Technical and entrepreneurial development strengthened the position of men as leaders of the dairies. The technical development increased the

need for research, which was centralized in 1882 in the newly opened Agricultural Research Laboratory. One important study concerned how the fat content in milk should be calculated to ensure that the producers got the right price and that the milk was not diluted with water. The calculation was complex, which required training for the dairy workers.

The idea of the folk high school was raised in the 1830s by the Dane N. F. S. Grundtvig, who wanted an institute of higher education for young adults. This form of education was intended to further the spiritual liberation and social development of the peasantry. Teaching was based on free oral lectures by teachers and dialogue with the pupils. Pupils boarded at the school and mixed with the teachers every day. For the men there was a longer winter course and for the women a shorter summer course. The agricultural schools and folk high schools had the same ideological roots, which set their stamp on tuition in the dairy schools.

Denmark's folk high schools, ever since the first one was opened in 1844, had taught agriculture. This was then taken over by the agricultural schools. In 1882 the Ladelund agricultural school, founded in 1867, was attached to the Agricultural Research Laboratory. Research in the laboratory led to new findings that made theoretical education increasingly important. In 1886 Ladelund started control courses to measure the fat content of milk. In the following year a five-month theoretical course for dairy workers was introduced. Two years later a comparable summer course was started at the agricultural school in Dalum, which was the second school to provide training in dairying in Denmark. It was intended to nurture vocational skills and personal education improvement in the spirit of Grundtvig. Practical experience was to be enhanced with theoretical knowledge.

The dairy schools did not award certificates. Instead there was a leaving examination with external examiners. Development led to the requirement of training for anyone wishing to become a dairy supervisor. Several pupils studied first at a folk high school or agricultural school and then went on to take the dairy training. Pupils were separated from the students of agriculture in the schools, despite the fact that dairies were a part of farming. Courses for men were given in the winter and those for women in the summer, but the latter were later discontinued because there were too few female applicants.

Although men increasingly took over dairying, dairymaids could become dairy supervisors if they were unmarried. The work with machines was considered to be a man's domain, and female supervisors employed men to look after the boiler. At the manors, the dairymaids retained their position until the First World War. It was common for dairymaids to make the butter at the new cooperative dairies as long as the process was manual. The dairymaids' professional competence was respected, and women were believed to have a better sense of cleanliness than men. At one time there was a dairy school in Ribe with theoretical education for dairymaids who wanted to become dairy supervisors, but the school did not have the same good reputation as the two big ones, and thus found it difficult to fill the courses.

The Danish Dairy Workers' Association was founded in 1887 to support its members in practical and economic matters. It started a members' newspaper, *Mælkeritide*, which is still being published. Most of the members were dairy supervisors. The junior dairy workers founded their own association in 1907. They had become a special occupational category since not everyone could expect to become a supervisor. They wanted recognition as professionals and better employment terms. To achieve this required regulated apprenticeships in which they would not be exploited as cheap labour. The association was like a trade union but it was non-political.

In 1910 the dairy schools in Dalum and Ladelund established a shared theoretical eight-month course. The free form of the education did not give formal competence, but in practice the students became dairy supervisors. The course continued to be taught until 1962, when it was replaced by training for dairy technicians. To be admitted required practical experience of dairy work.

The parties in the dairy industry found it difficult to agree about the form of practical education. In 1912 it was decided to introduce a four-year apprenticeship which would be voluntary for the dairies. It failed because the majority of dairy supervisors continued to employ apprentices on personal contracts. In 1915 the Danish Dairy Workers' Association and the Dairy Association of 1907 failed to draw up a wage scale for the junior dairy workers, which led to union unrest and strikes. At the suggestion of the minister of social affairs, a council was set up with representatives of employers and employees. The

council would admit apprentices, deal with complaints, issue certificates, and draw up suggestions for the content of courses. Antagonisms led to the dissolution of the council eleven years later. There was growing interest in forming trade unions in the same way as in other industries. In 1919 the Dairy Employee Association was founded to look after the members' union matters and economic interests.

The antagonisms exposed the conflict between the unionized urban dairy workers and the freedom-loving rural dairy workers. Many dairy employees remained unorganized. In 1923 the Danish Rural Dairy Workers' Federation was founded as a non-political trade union. A difficult problem was that the dairy supervisor ran the business on contract. He in turn employed staff and paid their wages.

The apprentice, in accordance with the ideal of the folk high school and the peasant tradition, was supposed to be treated as a member of the family, with food and lodging, a furnished room of good standard, washing facilities, and a place to study. Working hours were not regulated; as in farming, work had to be carried on until it was finished. The apprentice had few days off and was to be taught the value of cleanliness, punctuality, and thrift. The supervisor's wife provided food and served dinner to the board of governors at their meetings.

The dairies belonged to the agricultural industry but the employees did not perceive themselves as industrial workers. The dairies were rooted in agriculture and owned by farmers. Working conditions and employment terms resembled those in agriculture.

In the course of the twentieth century, more and more apprentices focused on using the education as a way to get them out of farming rather than to become dairy workers. In the inter-war years more people received dairy training than there were jobs for. In the middle of the 1940s there was instead a shortage of trained dairy staff. Many left because of the low pay. At the end of the 1950s it was suggested that apprenticeship rules with an aptitude test should be introduced, and that the dairies should be of a certain size in order to admit apprentices.

In 1962 a nine-month course was introduced, based on apprenticeship rules from the start of the twentieth century. This course did not suit the big dairies that had resulted from the ongoing rationalization. In Denmark in 1940 there were almost 1,700 dairies, but only 619 in 1969. Milk production remained constant, around five billion kilos, and new products such as fermented milk were introduced. In the 1960s and 1970s it became difficult to find apprentices. Other occupations attracted young people, especially in the towns. In terms of culture and education, Denmark was divided between town and country. The apprentices became dairy workers, who could hope at best to become middle managers in a big dairy.

To deal with the problems, it was decided that the practical training should also be given in the dairy school. To this end, a workshop dairy was to be established, which required a major investment. The Ladelund dairy school was closed in 1972. The Dalum school was separated from the agricultural school and given its own principal. It was transformed into a technical school on an equal footing with other vocational schools. This ended the long association between dairy training and the educational ideology of the folk high school.

The book focuses on the Danish training of dairy workers. For a Swedish reader it is interesting partly because many Swedish dairy workers were trained in Denmark. The book includes a brief comparison of dairy training in the neighbouring countries. In these it was the state that took the initiative for the education of dairy workers. The author believes that the training started earlier in Denmark because the business itself was more involved and took the initiative. The significance of the ideological difference in the outlook on the educational system between town and country in a growing industrial society is one of the important findings of the study. The other is the presentation of the factors that led to men taking over the profession from the women. The analysis of the content and organization of the dairy courses and suggestions for training is comprehensive and presented in detail.

The author's sources are extensive, drawing on official documents, business archives, dairy schools and professional associations, including correspondence, but she has also interviewed a number of dairy workers who were apprentices before and during the Second World War. It is the official goals of the dairy schools, the dairy workers' associations, and the educational system that stand out most clearly here. Without losing the focus on the scholarly aim, the study would have gained by citing a larger number of personal narratives and opinions. The book reflects how the development of the dairies

was led by people with a strong ideological conviction.

Göran Sjögård, Lund

Following the Last Traces of the Finnish Parsonage

Marja-Terttu Knapas, Markku Heikkilä & Timo Qvist, Suomalaiset pappilat. Kulttuuri-, talous- rakennushistoriaa. [Finnish parsonages. A cultural, economic and architectural history.] Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1238/Tieto. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2009. 231 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222- 096-7.

■ Studying parsonages has been quite the same as building research, and they have been considered to represent a very specific kind of building heritage. But the aim of this book is to get closer to the phases of development of this phenomenon as a whole. The book situates parsonages within their larger environments and the social complexity of local human life. The articles focus personal and social history as well as on architecture.

Parsonages are, in their present state, beautiful and dignified old buildings. Nowadays, when only half of the existing parsonages are still used as homes for clergymen, they stand out in the rural landscape as empty examples of quality architecture. They might be used for a totally different purpose than their original purpose. There has been serious concern about their vanishing cultural history and context. Although they have played such a crucial role in the centre of ecclesiastic life in parishes, there are only a few traces to follow when trying to revive the whole spectrum of existence.

The story of the Finnish parsonage is a pleasant reading experience. Readers all over the country can find very interesting background information in the book. It can be used to find details on ancient family members or to follow family lines. The focus is on persons, not on the parishes. And of course quite a few of the buildings themselves are presented in the summary of Finnish parsonages.

This book tells the story of the clerical estate, not so much the story of 'common people'. Nor are the upper classes mentioned. There is some variation between the writers in the ways they chose to get closer to the parishioners, but, due to a focus primarily on written sources, the big picture is very traditional. It seems that some of the most interesting perspectives have been found through a narrative of the milieu and family networks of clergymen and their families. In fact, the bibliography presents an appreciable amount of Finnish literature written by writers with their roots in parsonages.

Parsonages have their origins in the medieval period. Being able to sustain the priesthood was an elementary requirement when the church was considering establishing a new parish. Building a church and a parsonage, as well as paying certain maintenance fees, were a burdensome responsibility for the parishioners. The church had its own system of taxation at a very early stage and parsonages were an important part of this system.

The earliest phases of Finnish parishes had simple parsonages, which struggled with problems such as sparse settlement and long distances. The peculiar protestant parsonage culture took shape gradually after the Reformation.

Legislation and historic and social changes were milestones when following the story of parsonages and their especial way of life. Living between the lower and higher classes provided the priests and their families many contacts. In this special position parsonages were supposed to act as messengers spreading new ideas. Curiously enough, it seems even the women of the households played a role in this process.

Most general histories dealing with parsonages focus on the Enlightenment period in the 18th century up until the beginning of the 19th century. During this time, many parsonages developed into innovative farmsteads for their enthusiastic keepers, thus allowing for the spread knowledge about the ways in which new crops and methods could be introduced to the common people. Parsonages also played a central role in church based folk education. They achieved results in improving health, literacy and living conditions in general. Lutheran parsonages played a significant role as centres of social care and in supporting everyday living.

The gradual formation of significant family networks of clergymen and their families was an important element in the cultural history of parsonages. These networks gradually shaped themselves into be an institution that gained strength during the ensuing centuries. Some 53 families survived and stayed in power until close to the present day. In fact, it was

not until after the Second World War these strong networks began to break down.

From the local perspective individual parsonage houses have sometimes been seen as special and unique. This book offers another point of view, one in which parsonages belong to a larger, homogenous phenomenon.

The reader gets an overall look at the parsonage construction of parsonage and the surrounding buildings. The authorities have exerted strong control concerning the layout of official houses. Design was restricted, and even the outbuildings were limited. Building orders installed parsonages between noble estates and lower class houses.

The stately parsonages had still a great influence on other buildings in the area. The design was copied – but not always. One example of locals rejecting the parsonage design was the stone buildings of the 18th century. The state strongly recommended using them, but the local people, who were used to timber houses, never accepted them.

There was not much information about the actual use of the houses. It would have been most interesting to read more about how parishioners used the parsonages. For example, how parishioners preferred parsonages to churches. People liked to visit them and have some of their sacraments there. This seems to have happened at least when baptizing babies, especially during the cold winter season. The parsonage was warm and cosy compared to the unheated and even untidy church.

And local people also used the parsonage to get married. Nowadays there seems to be a certain misunderstanding about the church wedding being an old tradition. In fact, it seems that the church wedding was even avoided when possible. One possibility was getting married in the parsonage. The ceremony could be kept simple and it was also affordable for everyone.

The birth of Finnish gardening culture in a wider sense is presented through parsonage gardens – parsonages were so very important in this development. The improvements in gardening and courtyards introduced many innovations and new customs into daily life. But the picture may seem somehow misleading, too. Most often there must have only been common courtyards, sometimes even shared with cattle and other domestic animals. The article is describing an era when even the smallest amounts of every possible feed was collected to help cattle survive the harsh winters – not to mention the needs of large families and their workforce.

Still, the overall image given by the book is somehow posh. There are some examples of European style, or better still, applications of it. The very first attempts to follow fashionable styles are noted. This might give, in some respects too positive a conception of the overall situation. At the same time, the research for this chapter has been accurate and extraordinary in all respects.

Gardens and gardening are studied parsonage by parsonage. The effects of structural innovations are told by means of a cavalcade of parsons, each with a green thumb. The background for new customs can be connected, in several cases, to enthusiastic persons and their activities. The story of new plants and better nourishment spreading outwards from the parsonages to the surroundings is touching. Although the growing season is extremely short, it seems to have been extended in significance through these efforts. A set of lovely pictures strengthens this conception. The photographs were taken from early spring through the late summer. And even in the text, the winter season is mentioned only when describing disasters. Persistent attempts to reach for something better are described even when there has been misfortune.

Though primarily consisting of literary research, the story of the Finnish parsonage is told in pictures. Several museums and private collectors have contributed to the book releasing previously unseen picture material.

The picture research seems to have been carried out extremely ambitiously. Sirkku Dölle has done the research with care, using every possible means to enliven the history and facts. The main part of the illustrations is from the large archives of Finland's National Board of Antiquities. But they have been supplemented by very interesting photographs from private collections. It seems that there have been persons living close to the parsonages who have taken pictures which are different from the photos often used in official documentation. Some of these contain much more information than the surrounding text.

One of the most important reasons to value these precious pictures is that they show some of the more intimate aspects of everyday life, which have been mentioned only subtly in the articles of the book. Again, we meet many influential figures from histo-

ry who either spent their childhood in parsonages or were in other ways connected to them. This book tells a proud story of early Finnish cultural history seen through the windows of the parsonage.
Sanna Eldén-Pehrsson, Turku

A Cookbook is a Message

Maarit Knuuttila, Kauha ja kynä: Keittokirjojen kulttuurihistoriaa. [Ladle and pen: cultural history of cookbooks.] Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2010. 207 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-187-2.

■ Maarit Knuuttila is an ethnologist specialized in the research of food culture. Her new book is a fresh contribution to the Finnish discussion about the history of cooking. She omits the "haute cuisine" and concentrates on ordinary, basic cookbooks, their writers and users. Among cookbooks Knuuttila accepts any books which at some level guide the reader in the art of cooking.

In addition to the introduction the small-sized hardback contains five chapters with the meaning of cookbooks for women as their main theme. In "Cookbook through the centuries" Knuuttila describes the history of texts about cooking and food since the ancient Greeks, Romans and medieval people. Ancient documents are rare, but there still exist about one hundred Latin or French manuscripts which date back to the late Middle Ages (1000–1500). Such manuscripts were spread as copies among the upper classes.

The medieval culinary manuscripts had already begun to establish rules concerning food, cooking and eating, but the printed books finally put food in its place. By the end of the 15th century they began to replace the handwritten texts, reaching a wider audience and spreading across borders. The common people, however, did not have access to the manuscripts or printed books, since they could not afford them or the raw materials needed. Besides, they could not read.

The oldest "modern" cookbook printed in German was *Kuchenmeisterey* published in 1485. It sold amazingly well and was reprinted 56 times. In the 16th century cookbooks were printed in all major European languages. Most books were not very original but copies of copies of older texts. For instance, the first English printed cookbook, *Boke of Cokery* (1500) was an elaboration of an older manuscript, which was partly compiled of even older manuscripts.

A lot of cookbooks came out in the 17th and 18th centuries and they mediated the upper class culinary customs to those who could afford the books. More and more books about everyday cooking also came out, aimed at less skilful cookers and ordinary bourgeois women and also written by women. They were published in almost every European country. Many were translated and applied to fit the local circumstances. Especially French cookbooks were frequently copied and translated. It was clear that the rising middle class needed those books.

The central European trends also spread into Nordic countries where dozens of cookbooks were published. The book, which found its way into Finnish manors, parsonages and bourgeois families, was Christina (Cajsa) Warg's *Hielpreda I Hushållningen för Unga Fruentimmer* published in 1755. But the first book on food culture in Finnish did not come out until 1834. It was a translation of a Swedish guidebook to famine food. The first ordinary cookbook in Finnish, *Kokki=kirja*, published in 1849, was translated from an unknown foreign original. Still, it gives an idea about how the gentlefolk's cooking tradition began to take written forms. The book established a cooking vocabulary and also gave information on the cooking techniques and raw materials available. *Kokki=kirja* does not describe the actual Finnish cooking, but it shows what kind of food could have been prepared.

Under the title "Modern cookbook" Knuuttila introduces the reader to Anna Olsoni's *Keittokirja kodeille ja kouluille*, which was printed in Swedish in 1892 and in Finnish in 1893. It was the most noteworthy 19th century publication on food culture in Finland. It concentrated on nutritious and economic food but can be called modern since it followed the new European trends in cooking and housekeeping: it was based on chemistry, nutritional physiology and bookkeeping. Olsoni originally wrote the book for the students of a college for domestic science teachers that she had founded in 1891, after a study trip to Sweden and England. Housewives could use the book as well. According to the book, fifteen basic "theoretical rules" should be followed in cooking, the most important of them being cleanliness. Olsoni's cookbook served as a model for many new books in the 20th century.

In 1908 three teachers of Olsoni's college edited a new cookbook which was to become a monument in the Finnish kitchen culture: in just one century it appeared in 64 editions! Knuuttila presents the book in a short chapter: "*Kotiruoka* and the century of changes". In teacher's training the book was first used together with Olsoni's book, but with its numerous recipes it was also meant for a wider audience. In addition to Finnish recipes it had many foreign and manor house recipes. Every new edition of the book tried to meet the requirements of the day, brought up new recipes, and modernized or discarded old ones. It also tried to maintain the spirit of the first book. New electric household appliances, new foreign vegetables and fruit together with new recommendations for nutrients forced the editors to renew the book. Illustrations increased and together with the content they reveal material and social changes in the Finnish kitchen culture and family.

In the two last chapters Knuuttila deals with recipes. In "Recipes, the core of a cookbook" she defines the recipe as a formula, which gives all the essentials of a dish: name, ingredients and methods. It is like a little story with a plot and a narrative strategy. Through the years recipes have changed very much and today the old ones are almost unintelligible. Today's recipes contain a lot of information. The name of the dish is descriptive; the ingredients are in a logical order; the measures are exact; the tools and cooking vessels are mentioned; the preparation methods are described, and the exact cooking time is given.

The last chapter "Cookbooks and recipes as research objects" is the most interesting part of the book. Books, manuscripts and various guidebooks form a rich material, which has been used in many fields of research, especially in gender history. Naturally, they do not depict only the food culture but also the customs and manners, ideologies, cultural models and practices. They give information on the supply of goods, harvesting, fishing and hunting as well as about festival traditions, families and communities as well as relationships between sexes. In cookbooks, the researcher can even find the ideal contemporary woman and the many meanings of food and cooking.

Knuuttila also writes about her own research interests, for instance about the illustration of cookbooks. Drawings were replaced by black-and-white photos and colour pictures, which were carefully planned and realized. They are like documentations of the preparation process or the final product. Another target of the author's attention is written materials retained in family archives: individual recipes and hand-written cookbooks and booklets, appendixes to printed cookbooks, and corrections to printed recipes. All this material narrates about the fascinating world of the kitchen.

Throughout her book Knuuttila uses quotations from her own interviews in 1996–2000 and from replies to the National Museum's questionnaire "Pappilan ruokatalous" (Food management in parsonages, 1969). They give the reader a taste of everyday cooking culture, not only of the failures but also of its joys and pleasures. In the future Knuuttila could focus more thoroughly on the influence of cookbooks in everyday food culture.

Obviously, the author has had difficulties in deciding which genre of writing to choose: a research account or a publication for a wider audience. Now the genre is mixed, enjoyable, however, for those who love cookbooks and cooking.

Leena Rossi, Turku

Textile aesthetics

Minna Kragelund, Tekstil æstetik – nytolkning af dansk kulturarv. Forlaget FiberFeber, Holbæk 2009. 223 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-92152-05-3.

■ In this new book the Danish textile researcher Minna Kragelund tackles the task of interpreting a collection of nineteenth-century folk textiles used for interior decoration. These consist of about forty white textiles in linen and/or cotton, in private ownership. Kragelund first encountered them thirty years ago, when their special "tone" appealed to her. At that time a major project was in progress, an inventory and exhibition of "Danish Folk Embroideries" under the auspices of the National Museum. But these textiles are not a part of the national canon of the foremost textile objects, materials, techniques, or expressions established since the end of the nineteenth century. They were omitted for various reasons, and Minna Kragelund's study and reinterpretation should be viewed as a contribution to the current discussion of canons that is asking questions about selection, attention, and historiography. Earlier museum builders, collectors, and textile scholars took it for granted that these textiles were not suffi-

ciently fine to belong among the select ones. The central question underlying the book is what happens, and why, if one looks closely in an attempt to understand and interpret their aesthetic expressions. But it is important to point out that this is not a historical study aiming to say something about manufacture and use, but an aesthetic investigation which asks how we perceive these textiles with their special tone today. In that respect, this is a contemporary study of old objects which have survived their original context of manufacture and use and have been moved between different places up to our times.

In six chapters the reader follows a discussion of the textiles, presented in sections based on ornament, form, pattern, and figuration. The introductory chapter highlights the problems addressed by the study, and this is followed by a chapter about the study itself. Then come the main chapters entitled "Rhythm and Repetition" and "Figuration". Between these is an "Intermezzo", a chapter dealing with problems relevant for the analyses. The book ends with a section discussing the artistic idiom of the textiles and briefly rounding off the text. Just leafing through the pages conveys an impression of the author's great fascination with the textiles she studies. This is a powerful encounter, which echoes through text and pictures alike. For this is a presentation in which the illustrations are at least as important as the words, they literally communicate what the author wants to tell about her meeting with the textiles, about the analytical process and the results. The author's encounter has strong theoretical support in the study; more about that below. As regards methodology, the question of how the aesthetic expressions are investigated is essential, and Kragelund's method draws in large measure on the arrangements created when the textiles are to be photographed. She selects and combines textiles with similar expressions, attaches them to a board, studies them, and lets a photographer take pictures of them. In this way she stages an aesthetic space of her own, where the textiles serves as starting points for analysis. Each analytical section is introduced with an overall picture which is then followed by several details and more experimental arrangements in which texture, light, and shade emerge in different ways. It is a challenge to create interesting pictures of bright, flat objects, and the result is one of the great merits of the book.

Since this is an interpretation on aesthetic premises, Minna Kragelund presents some theories in this field to which she relates. The most important, and the one she consistently uses, is the German philosopher Martin Seel's theory of the formation of aesthetic experience, which he divides into three stages: aesthetic contemplation, correspondence, and imagination. In her study, Kragelund translates these three steps into the simply worded questions: What sense impressions do the textiles make? What happens? What do the textiles stimulate? Minna Kragelund returns to these questions, putting them to all the textiles she studies. In the somewhat more elaborate form described on page 55 in the book, it is a matter of placing the observer/interpreter in the centre. In the first step (aesthetic contemplation) this is done by capturing the observer's immediate sensory impression and experience of what the individual textile looks like and what the observer notes and dwells on. The second stage (aesthetic correspondence) goes further, allowing the observer to link the immediate experience to his or her own interpretation of life, as questions are asked about what happens, whether the textiles create nearness or distance, and whether they contribute to a discussion of "the good life". The third stage (aesthetic imagination) focuses on what the textiles trigger in the observer in the form of associations, and if they have a contemporary expression. Later on in the book the three stages are quite simply translated into the three concepts of sensory experience, existential recognition, and relevance to life in the present (p. 108). Without being closely acquainted with Seel's theoretical works, I see many points of contact with a phenomenological approach in which the subject/researcher becomes an explicit co-actor in the study. This theoretical point of departure places the illustrations in an important position for being able to present the analysis, discussion, and results.

What then is the actual result of the use of Seel's theory? The analytical sections are structured in a uniform way. First Kragelund describes the category of textiles to be treated. This is followed by a list of key words, compiled to capture the artistic idiom and the aesthetic experience. Here, for example, is how she characterizes the idiom of woven textiles with net patterns: simplicity, calm, foreground and background, tension, mattness and sheen, drama, urban plan, geometry, conviction, oppositions, surface and depth, and rhythm (p. 77). This can be com-

pared with the key words for animal motifs in the form of dogs: recognizability, simplicity, calm, attention, humour, figure/ground, straight lines, symmetry, tension, and conviction (p. 116). A reader may sometimes wonder about these key words: are they specific for particular forms, or could they also be used for other forms? We are not given any real guidance as to how the key words have been formulated, other than that it took place in the author's encounter with different groupings of the textiles. After the key words, Kragelund moves close to the objects and discusses them in detail in terms of material, form, pattern, technique, with sidelights in different directions.

A recurring discussion considers different forms of patterns and their meaning (if any) in the contemporary context of manufacture and use. The problem is that there is so little empirical evidence for the way the peasantry regarded, spoke about, and used the patterns that occurred in their textile manufacture. That is why Minna Kragelund uses J. C. Cooper's widely spread and translated dictionary of symbols as support in her discussion. Although she covers herself by saying that it is not known whether the peasant women knew of the various symbolic meanings of the motifs, she draws attention to the general biblical knowledge at the time (p. 148). The historical functions and meanings of the patterns are on the agenda for several scholars. The Norwegian philosopher Mikkel B. Tin's book *De første formene: Folkekunstens abstrakte formspråk* (2007) is one of these, and Kragelund repeatedly refers to his work with its phenomenological premises, where he analyses and describes a number of forms in philosophical terms. I myself am sceptical of the idea that the people who made textiles wove, embroidered or sewed in patterns because they had a specific meaning. My research tends to indicate that patterns have a completely different function linked to craft skill and curiosity about what can be done in the circumstances (what is available in human, technical, material, economic, and cultural terms). Kragelund's ambition to analyse the textiles from a contemporary perspective, however, can have the effect that a philosophically oriented discussion seems more relevant than a historically geared interpretation.

Minna Kragelund is a veteran textile scholar with decades of work behind her. This experience permeates the book and makes it a courageous work, quite unlike other analyses of textiles. To sum up, I would say that the result is an interesting and thought-provoking reinterpretation of older material, and that a careful reading of the book is well-invested time.

Anneli Palmsköld, Halmstad

Reconsidering the Sámi Drums

Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, Bilden av universum bland folken i norr. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2009. 272 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331- 271-4.

■ The Sámi drums have fascinated many people, perhaps mainly because of their rich array of illustrations, which have been studied by several researchers. The ethnologist Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, however, is not satisfied with previous interpretations when it comes to the meanings of the pictures. Her ambition to find new ones has resulted in this book, *Bilden av universum bland folken i norr*, which is a continuation of her previous work, *Moder jord och andra mödrar* (1999).

The first part of the book consists mainly of criticism of the research tradition and of presentation of the author's starting points. As has been pointed out by some scholars, we know more about Sámi drums than about Sámi shamanism. According to Eidlitz Kuoljok, the material Swedish scholars have been using when constructing the Sámi pre-Christian religion, consisting mainly of narratives told by missionaries and clergymen and of court reports, is not good enough. In the absence of more trustworthy data, the author chooses to turn to the fieldwork material collected among various Siberian peoples by Russian and Soviet ethnologists.

By using descriptions of the drum motifs and other pictures in Siberia, given by local shamans and other well-versed persons, the author wishes to get closer to the meanings of the motifs on Sámi drums. As she points out, this is a risky method; we cannot be sure that a motif had a similar meaning in different times and places. However, according to the author, it is even more unreliable to try to guess the meanings on the grounds of the appearance of the pictures. The drum is not a key to Sámi cosmology; on the contrary, we need to know the Sámi cosmology in order to understand the drum.

The author disassociates herself from previous Western research concerning Sámi drums and Sámi pre-Christian religion. Western scholars are seldom mentioned in the book, and their interpretations are

questioned. The previous explanations given for drum motifs are often presented here as mere guesses. The author criticizes the researchers for continuously leaning on each other: what has been repeated over and over has become a truth which no longer needs to be proved, and the criticism of sources has not been applied to the authorities.

In the second part of the book, Eidlitz Kuoljok discusses the conceptions of the invisible, of death and the dead among various Northern peoples, as well as the meanings and functions of their drums. The third part concentrates on some concrete pictures, starting with a picture of the universe drawn by a Chukchi. Another picture, drawn by an Orochi shaman, describes the geography of the universe and the journey of souls after death, as well as the journeys of the shaman. The author also presents a reconstruction of a Teleut drum, with a description of its motifs, and some pictures of the universe drawn by Selkup people. When presenting these different drawings, she discusses diverse issues related to them, for example, the conceptions of the Pole Star, the elk and the reindeer as a metaphor of the sun, and the signs of the sun among different peoples.

Several established ideas concerning the world views of Siberian peoples and the Sámi are counted as scholarly myths in this book. One such myth is the notion of a tripartite universe, with the upper realm of the deities, the middle realm of the people, and the lower realm of the dead. According to the author, the world views of Siberian peoples – and probably of the Sámi, too – were more complicated. Another conception, presented here as a scholarly myth, is the notion of a world pillar holding up the sky; the author does not believe that such a notion was common among Northern peoples, nor that it was related to the conceptions of the Pole Star.

The content of the book is somewhat fragmented, skipping from one issue to another. Instead of presenting a general interpretation of the Sámi drum motifs or the Sámi pre-Christian religion, the author discusses various themes related to the world views of different Siberian peoples and the Sámi, finding parallels outside this region as well. Some Sámi drum motifs are given possible new interpretations, but many of the issues discussed are not directly connected to the drum motifs nor to the Sámi.

The author's style of writing is rather popular and the book is easy to read. The layout is simple and pleasant, with lots of illustrations. The map of the Northern peoples, though, is hidden on the last page of the book and may be difficult to discover.

This new book by Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok questions previous interpretations of the pictures on Sámi drums but does not provide many new ones. Nevertheless, it is an interesting contribution to the discussion about the pre-Christian religions and world views of the Sámi and other Northern peoples. In addition, the author highlights significant issues when emphasizing the importance of the criticism of sources and the criticism of research traditions.

Nika Potinkara, Jyväskylä

A Multifaceted Survey on Modernisation and Women's Everyday Lives in a Mari Village in Central Russia

Valkoisen jumalan tyttäret. Marilainen nainen ja modernisaatio. Ildikó Lehtinen (ed.). Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Kansatieteellisiä julkaisuja 19. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki 2010. 304 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-5667-14-1.

■ The anthology *Daughters of the White God. The Mari woman and modernisation*, is the product of a joint project of the ethnology departments of the universities of Helsinki and Turku to investigate the effects of modernisation on women's everyday life among the Finno-Ugrian speaking Mari in Central Russia. The research group was led by one of the leading experts in Mari culture, Ildikó Lehtinen. From the outset a number of Finnish students of ethnology were involved in the project since one of its aims was to revive an interest in Finno-Ugrian ethnology, a subject whose once strong position had weakened in step with a waning of interest in Finno-Ugrian studies generally. The project was also intended as a pilot study to test fieldwork in a Russian context and to co-operate with the Mari academy of science. The Mari scholars arranged contacts in the field while local authorities and villagers were responsible for all practical arrangements.

Because of the substantial contribution by the Mari participants to the field work, it is gratifying that their efforts have been rewarded by this richly illustrated, bilingual publication. It would appear that this book is also meant to contribute to a further goal of the project, the strengthening of the ethnic identity of the Mari themselves. Given the fact that

the Mari language, religion, and folk dress were stigmatised during the Soviet period, Lehtinen posits that the interest shown in Mari culture by foreign scholars contributes to the revalorisation of this culture and to the empowerment of the Mari. In the wake of the first field trip, Finnish tourist groups, foreign photographers and scholars have regularly visited the region, and there are some indications that this has led to a growing interest in Mari culture among some local and regional actors. Because of this goal, this project has a dimension of engaged ethnology, which has not been uncommon in post-Soviet ethnological scholarship, which in many places has been actively involved in the revival of old traditions. The ethnologist Tamara Molotova, who participates in this project, serves as a good example of one who practices this applied scholarship. She acts as a scientific consultant for the local workroom that designs new "ethno dresses" on the basis of traditional embroidery patterns.

Modernisation studies have often been criticised for being gender-blind. They have tended to view the modernisation process from the perspective of men thereby concealing the fact that modernisation affected men and women differently. *Valkoisen jumalan tyttäret* makes an important contribution in this field of studies because of its specific focus on women. Besides providing the women's point of view, the book also contributes to the study of modernisation among ethnic minorities in rural Russia in general since, at least at the outset, being modern was synonymous with being urban and Russian. The authors investigate from various angles what it has implied to be a woman and a Mari in the modernising Soviet and post-Soviet countryside. Various members of the research group made a total of five field trips during years 2002–2006 to the village of Untšo and its environs in the republic of Mari El. The participants have documented women's everyday life through interviews, photographs and video films, drawings and paintings. Even though some members of the research group mention language problems as an obstacle in their field work, the groups have nonetheless succeeded in producing solid, "thick descriptions" from the field.

In her contribution, Helena Ruotsala analyses Untšo as a gendered space with special focus on women's spaces and the everyday practices that take place in these spaces. She takes the home as her point of departure gradually widening the scope to the entire village and beyond the village borders. One of her important findings is that the gendering of space is not static, but has changed through time and is constantly under negotiation. Ruotsala also sheds light on the changes in Mari ethnic religion, which was traditionally male- dominated. The religious space has gradually become re-gendered and places that were once off-limits to women are now open to both sexes. Both Helena Ruotsala and Ildikó Lehtinen make an important contribution to women's studies in religion by highlighting the religious significance of women's household chores. Their studies show that ritual purity is the precondition for religious performance among the Maris, as it is in many other religions.

Purity and cleanliness were not only significant in religious contexts but, as Lehtinen's two chapters show, were central values in the village of Untšo. Her first chapter deals with cleanliness as normatised action and her second with the significance of cleanliness in women's life cycle. Lehtinen outlines the changes that the notions of purity and cleanliness have undergone in the course of modernisation. She shows how purity has been defined and upheld in various contexts at home and in the village, and discusses the role that state institutions, such as maternity clinics, played in the introduction of modern ideas of cleanliness and health. As a specialist in Mari dress, Lehtinen also analyses what the modernisation process has implied for the traditional folk dress, which earlier served as a marker of Mari ethnic identity. The folk dress that older women in rural areas still wear also illustrates regional variations of Mari identity. During the Soviet period, the Mari dress, particularly the headdress, was attacked as a symbol of backwardness. The authorities sought to put an end to its use by rational arguments: embroidering destroyed the seamstress's eyes and the headdress caused loss of hair damaging women's health. Time-consuming embroidery was also condemned as a highly unproductive activity. Besides the propaganda against headdresses, they were at some point even "liquidated" by burning. In place of the traditional dress, a national dress which would signify modernity, urbanity and industrialism was designed as a marker of common Mari identity. This "hybrid dress" combined traditional Mari elements with elements borrowed from other ethnic groups and from the uniform of the political activist. During the

post-Soviet era, some local women have developed an "ethno costume" which combines traditional embroidery patterns with a new, modern cut.

Although the book concentrates on women's everyday activities, several articles deal with festive occasions. This does not conflict with the goal of the study since household chores in any case prepare the ground for the feasts. Mari Immonen's paper focuses on the central phase of the Mari wedding ritual, namely the bride's moving to the home of her husband. Her article shows the importance of women's domestic chores for these rituals. Most of the major symbols used at the wedding are the products of women's work. In Untšo, as elsewhere, food, the preparation of which preoccupies women for days, plays a major role in the rites of integration, of which the wedding is a foremost example. Formerly, traditional weddings presents, notably scarves, towels, shirts and dresses, were woven and embroidered at home, preferably by the bride herself. Nowadays they are mostly purchased but the bride ideally embroiders some of the textiles. Through the distribution of these presents, the social bonds between the new in-laws are materialised.

Food rituals also play a central role at the celebration of *Semyk*, which is the topic of Tamara Molotova's highly interesting paper. The three- day long *Semyk* has a twofold purpose: the commemoration of the dead and the celebration of the beginning of the summer. The ultimate purpose of these rituals was to ensure fortune and health of the villagers.

Tellervo Saukoniemi's paper views women's everyday lives and the celebration of lifecycle and calendric rituals through the medium of family photographs. She studies the meanings and everyday uses of the photo collections by the local women from three different perspectives – as visual autobiographies, as works of identity and as a way of ordering reality. Cultural conventions steer the choice of topics for photographing and as in all cultures this has meant an emphasis on special occasions in the human lifecycle; consequently the pictures leave lacunae in the autobiography. As Saukoniemi mentions, the gaps in the photo collections can nevertheless be filled to some degree through narration which is often an integral part of viewing the photographs. By identity work Saukoniemi means that the photos locate a person in the flow of time and in the wider society. Family snaps predominate and the identities which thus surfaced from women's narration were their family membership, motherhood and womanhood. Women's identities as workers are invisible in the photos but, as the author points out, the results of women's everyday toil can be seen in the pictures indirectly: clean homes and clothes as well as festive tables.

Because the home and women's everyday chores have been an understudied scholarly field, presumably because of their allegedly trivial nature, this book makes an important contribution to present-day scholarship in ethnology. The anthology also contributes to the study of the Finno-Ugrian religions as it complements the one-sided picture drawn by earlier scholars, who tended to focus on male-led, exotic and large-scale ceremonies, by putting at the centre the daughters of the White God and their contribution to the everyday religion in the village of Untšo.

Marja-Liisa Keinänen, Stockholm

The Customer is King

Beatriz Lindqvist & Mats Lindqvist, När kunden är kung. Effekter av en transnationell ekonomi. Boréa Bokförlag, Umeå 2008. 280 pp. ISBN 978-91-89140-56-1.

■ In the introduction to *När kunden är kung. Effekter av en transnationell ekonomi* the authors refer to a Dagens Nyheter article from 2007, concerning the potential closing of the famous Gdańsk shipyard, the birthplace of the Solidarity. The authors then travel back in time and take a look at the shipyard 25 years earlier, at the moment of its glory, when it was the symbol of the Solidarity, the birthplace of the revolution and the beginning of the road to democracy. The history of the shipyard relates to the cultural, social and economic changes in the Baltic Sea Region, described in the book and taking place during the two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In this study two completely different worlds have collided, represented by Gdańsk and Riga on the one hand and Karlskrona on the other hand. In the book those two stories in a way became quite similar.

The ethnologists concentrate in their research first and foremost on the change in working conditions as well as "the consequences of the new capitalism for an individual", i.e. worker, in two seemingly different and unconnected worlds: a transna-

tional corporation and the area of sexual services. The selection is supported among others through the theories of Webster and von Holdt, who concluded from their research of working conditions in South Africa that the traditional division into legal and illegal work is outdated. They expanded the classification and divided work into three areas (p. 20–22). The reasons for the transformation quoted by the authors come from the general global changes driven by the elements defined in the introduction: late modernism, neoliberalism and globalisation.

The book is divided into three parts. The first one describes changes concerning the lowest level employees of a transnational corporation Flextronics, whose factory in Karlskrona moves some of its production facilities to a newly opened site in Gdańsk. The second part concerns the research of Beatriz Lindquist performed among persons involved in prostitution and persons offering help to prostitutes in Riga. The third part includes the conclusions and further discussion.

In the first part of Mats Lindquist's study an especially interesting element is the opening discussion of the Flextronix employees' situation, the comparisons between the "old" type of companies, with their roots in modernism, tradition, history and the prestige of the last name (an example given by the author is Ericsson) versus the "new" late-modern companies, which are flexible, seem to have no history, and are not supported by the name of the founder's family, an example being Flextronics. "While the modern society's industry existence is described as a state of being, the late-modern work life is presented more as a flow" (p. 80). One might say that the whole study is based on that opposition, presenting the most important difference: modernity vs. late-modernity.

The study is based on quality interviews that Mats Lindquist undertook in the years 2003–2005 with the Swedish employees of Flextronics. The interviews paint a rather gloomy and depressive image of employees of a neoliberal transnational company. They are more vagabonds than tourists, to refer to Zygmunt Bauman's theory (p. 84), despite Sweden's image of a strongly unionized country. Another description for such type of an employee, according to Bennet Harrison's definition, is "outsider" as opposed to "insider", an employee with a permanent employment contract (p. 87–88).

Who, then, is a typical employee of a factory in Karlskrona? Mats Lindqvist skilfully distils the interviews with the employees down to the most important elements of working for a new kind of capitalist employer: flexibility, learning all your life (p. 76), flexible employment, i.e. with a specific, usually short work period (p. 73–74). Perhaps the comparison to feudal peasants was a step too far (p. 118), but it is true that the image is not optimistic: with interviews describing the world of constant fear, with rumours and speculations at the end of each month, connected with layoffs (p. 115, p. 118) the globalisation does not sound like the right direction for the changes in the employees' world.

A company, which encourages its employees to (admittedly, in current situation rather short-term) commitment, loyalty and sacrifice for the company (p. 91) and tries to use the metaphors concerning family and being "in the same boat", as well as appealing to common responsibility before the customer (with a capital C), in practice establishes the arena for dividing people into "us" (on limited-time employment contracts) and "them" (with permanent employment contracts).

Some of the features of the job and the employee are also found in the second part of the book, concerning the matter of prostitution in Latvia. Although the initial chapters are devoted to trafficking and its complexities, the study is not focused solely on the matter. A further part clearly states that the women studied by Beatriz Lindqvist seldom considered themselves forced to prostitution or passive victims of poverty and poor life choices. That point of view is shared by the Latvian NGO employees working with prostitutes interviewed by Lindqvist. The undeniably strong point of Lindqvist's studies is stressing that perspective, rarely accepted in the West. The author accurately points out that such look at women selling sex often does not fit the ideologies of Western feminism, represented in the research by the Canadian, the Swedish and the Norwegian support organisations undertaking projects in Latvia.

Women selling sex are considered by the employees of Western organisations to be an especially vulnerable group in need of education and setting free from slavery. This despite the fact that, as Lindqvist shows, even the Western European approach to prostitution is not unambiguous. Lindqvist introduces an interesting division into: a Swedish "vision strongly rooted in the welfare state project

concept" and taking into consideration the participation of "social engineers", who help establish programs of satisfying human needs (p. 231). But the Norwegian and Canadian approach, according to Lindqvist, is "more liberal late-modern", where the influence of the state on the private life of the citizen should be lesser, and where the individualisation of the needs, as well as the empowerment of sex workers is stressed (p. 231, 233–234).

This part of the book ends with two pessimistic, albeit especially convincing statements. The first one concerns the discussion and the critique of "global sisterhood" or "global feminism" as an idea, which does not include in its concept of global community of submission and oppression the "cultural, social, economic and symbolic" differences between women in various parts of the world (p. 242–243). The thought can be commented upon with a quote included in the study, a simple statement of a Latvian midwife after a workshop organised by the Canadian activists: "There is so much they don't understand" (p. 238). The quote is used in the context of the diversity of experiences, strategies and definitions of commercial sex, well analysed by Lindqvist.

The studies by Lindqvists truly shine in how they ground the empirical research in the theory of global trends. I see very few weaker areas, but must mention the lack of more detailed information concerning the research method, a bit too narrow approach to research concerning prostitution (although the author stresses the complexity of the issue and the inability of hearing out all parties), mentioning the facility in Gdańsk without explaining why its employees were not included in the study. I think it would have made for a much more comprehensible approach, if the authors showed both sides of the Baltic Sea in both studies: the Swedish visiting prostitutes in Latvia, as well as the Polish side of Flextronics. However, these minor qualms do not weaken what I consider to be a very interesting and valuable book.

Maja Chacinska, Gdańsk

Dreams and Routines of a Transnational Region

Regionauterna – Öresundsregionen från vision till vardag. Orvar Löfgren & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.). Centrum för Danmarkstudier 24. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2010. 222 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-079-0.

■ For a fellow Nordic citizen this book is a surprisingly exotic read. This compilation of texts by thirteen Danish and Swedish authors reveals the scale of regional differentiation taking place within Northern Europe. The focus is on the ten-year period after the construction of the almost eight kilometre long Öresund Bridge. Here a convincing statement is made about the existence of a transnational region between Sweden and Denmark, but, in addition, this book also reflects the ethnological redirections this can mean. Although the writers have various academic and professional backgrounds in the Öresund area, the majority of texts are written by ethnologists. For these ethnologists the Öresund region is not only a vision or a dream but part of a lived reality in the area. It can be observed how the reality of everyday border crossings has been overshadowed in the way the region has been discussed in the local media and politics. Thus, while many studies come to the conclusion that a true "cross-border identity" or "region" seldom becomes a reality, this book insists on new tools for analysing the many ways such "transnational regions" can exist.

The title of the book, *Regionauterna*, originates from Tom O'Dell's earlier texts which also concern the Sound area and its "regionauts". In the articles this term regionaut functions as a common denominator for those local actors who have "learned" to use and "make" the region. The term itself is here used only by ethnologists. Thus, although the book concerns a European borderland, the actual term "borderland" is not used by the writers. It seems that it is the Öresund, a fifteen kilometre wide sound, and the Bridge that crosses it, that make this change of perspective possible. Significantly, the contributors of this book are also regionauts themselves. Being aware of this, they emphasize that this "region" should not be regarded too mechanically or as homogeneous. In the end, this regional approach is also based on a specific institutional setting where the analysis of the region is supported by the region itself. This book also celebrates the first decade of the Lund University's Centre for the Study of Denmark.

In the articles the Bridge and the ways of crossing it come into focus. On one hand, the sheer magnitude of the construction has made it an actor in it-

self, a leading character in region- building. At the same time, the regionauts (daily commuters, job seekers, students, tourists, shoppers, etc.) adopt not only the physical but also the cultural landscape. Sometimes these regionauts can realize the transnational dreams presented during the bridge construction in the 1990s, but often they find alternatives. Here, for example, some everyday practices can come to mark "national differences" (Löfgren) or the mobility across the border, its routines and bodily experience, can come to reflect and relocate the experience of "home" and homeness (O'Dell). For a recent cosmopolitan immigrant in the region who has specific competences of her own, the experience of a transnational region is rather different than for locals who remember how it was in the past (Beck). Also, the right and wrong ways of border crossing are redefined. Here car commuters and smugglers face the new tollgates and the media stories about drug couriers (Nilsson).

Orvar Löfgren notes how the tendency to regard "region" in terms of a certain spatiality easily leads to false expectations of its homogenization. In their routines and attitudes, the regionauts do not create a uniform region but rather a changing "archipelago". For the practically oriented regionauts, there is also a need for "interesting differences" that a borderland can offer. On the other hand, this "transnational region" is also rather easy to avoid, for example, as the presence of Danish cultural products on the Swedish side of the Sound is very limited (Sanders). Here stereotypes also downplay the role of diversity and it seems that for Swedes, Denmark has even become a projection of Swedes' own fears concerning migrants (Alsmark).

Also discussed in this book are forces that affect region building, namely, ideas about creativity (Tankjær). All in all, the articles by diverse regional actors are an asset as they provide different perspectives on cross-border region-building. The book also ends with two articles that put experiences of border crossings into historical perspective (Salamon) and show how the sheer scale of the construction causes memory loss about the opposition it once faced (Idvall).

The way the ethnological studies contribute here to wider discussions is something one would be happy to see elsewhere too. It seems that if a regional revolution takes place in the Öresund region, it is something to be verified especially by ethnologists. A general conclusion drawn in the book is that the Öresund region should not be understood in terms of a single "Öresund identity". The bridge has created new rhythms and routines for crossing the national border, but these are also selective opportunities. What is at stake is not the visions in projects but the way that people use, or decide not to use, the region.

In the book, some choices of terminology could have been more explicit. Not only the term "borderland" is missing but also "Europeanization". In the text, it is noted how the EU has been crucial for the region but that the EU itself also needs this transnational region as an example of European integration. On the other hand, this book also gives insight into the effects of the recent global economic crisis. Such topicality is extraordinary and seems to reflect well the processes that affect the lives of regionauts. All in all, this book is an excellent read for everyone interested in the complexities of present-day European borderlands.

Karri Kiiskinen, Turku

Emotions in Research

Känslornas koreografi. Reflektioner kring känsla och förståelse i kulturforskning. Lena Marander-Eklund and Ruth Illman (eds.). Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2007. 200 pp. ISBN 978-91-7844-735-0.

■ Emotions have become a popular topic in cultural analysis, and a recurring discussion concerns the universality of emotions or whether they should be understood as historical and cultural specifics. However, in the present book, from Åbo Academy, this discussion is not addressed. Instead researchers from the disciplines of religion, philosophy and folklore investigate the role of feelings in academic research. The general challenge is how to integrate emotions (the researcher's own and the informants') in a way that at the same time enables critical reflection. As such, the agenda of the book is self-reflexivity and inter-subjectivity as a necessary and inescapable dimension of any humanistic research dealing with people and culture.

The book consists of three parts with four articles each. The first addresses the question of how emotions have been handled in philosophy as an epistemological dimension. In the history of philosophy emotions have an important role not least in the

hermeneutical tradition where interpretation and "empathic reflection" involves the researcher's own feelings and subjective understanding. Also with regard to cognitive dimensions of understanding, bodily experiences, and the dialogic meeting between cultures, the authors discuss emotional potentials.

The second part investigates emotions – primarily the researcher's own emotions – in fieldwork. As stated in the first paper, fieldwork is much harder to cope with in practice than when described in the textbook. Participant observation often involves the researcher deeply in heavy emotional situations where empathy is certainly called for, but the ideal of an emotionally detached researcher is impossible and also irrelevant. Thus involvement is called for. Building trust across gender, generation, language, and other barriers also might succeed as a result of deeper involvement on the part of the researcher. The researcher's own emotions are thus a potential instead of a barrier towards understanding. In this part emotions are turned into a broader agenda as regards fieldwork ethics, subjectivity, inter- subjectivity, self-reflexivity, and the personal process of doing research projects. The reflections are elaborated on but do not bring anything new to the current discussions of methodology within ethnology.

The last part deals with emotions as objects of research. The scope is very broad and brings us from Christian metal rock to processes of mourning – in a single family and also how mourning can be textualized in literature. From this reader's perspective the best contribution in the volume is found in this part, by the folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund.

She argues that one physical expression contains many different meanings, and she shows how this can be investigated in her fine and concise study of how laughter becomes part of narratives of giving birth to a child for the first time.

The laugh can expose, unveil but also blur feelings in these verbalizations of bodily and emotional experiences. Marander-Eklund thus investigates the heterogeneity of emotional outbursts and the complex relationship between expression and meaning and how this complexity is enacted in narratives.

The book as a whole would have benefited from this more complex understanding of emotions. For a reader who has dealt with emotions from the perspective of cultural history it is striking how emotions otherwise are dealt with as an unambiguous and "natural" category throughout the book. What emotions are considered to be – which bodily and mentally experiences are characterized as which emotions and how they are expressed – is not a universal phenomenon beyond time, space, and social and cultural context. In the present book it is nevertheless taken for granted what the category refers to in spite of the reflexive, personal, individual, and – in short – subjective dimensions that, according to the authors, are involved in dealing with emotions in any kind of understanding, fieldwork or research. In a deep self-reflexivity like the one promoted here, the awareness of the potential ethnocentrism of the researcher's own category of emotion would have been highly relevant.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Enchanted by Spas

Tom O'Dell, *Spas. The Cultural Economy of Hospitality, Magic and the Senses.* Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2010. 160 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-85509-35-5.

■ In this book Tom O'Dell analyses the spa industry that has expanded rapidly in Sweden during the last decade. He focuses on the complicated interplay of hospitality and the magic of sensuality. The aim is to make the reader aware of how today's quest for health and well-being is combined with the cultural history of the old mineral springs and channelled into a comprehensive economic network of mutual influence.

O'Dell describes how a great many non-material values are made concrete in saleable services and products. It is a matter of launching a lifestyle, creating an atmosphere, projecting an aura, and also of generating trust in the staff and the therapy. There is much to gain from succeeding in this enterprise. Many hotel complexes have taken on a new life through the growing health industry. This applies both to places that were previously known as health resorts and to completely new sites that create their own traditions.

After a historical exposé of Swedish health resorts, the analysis is concentrated on three major spa hotels: Varbergs Kurort Hotel & Spa, Varberg Stads Hotel and Asia Spa, and Hasseludden Conference & Yasuragi outside Stockholm. O'Dell has done participant observation and also interviewed managers, employees, and guests. He has studied newspapers

and magazines, advertisements and brochures, statistics, and website presentations.

He finds that the ambition to combine hopes of medicinally effective treatment with the connotations of a luxury hotel or a Japanese bath house makes great demands, especially of the architecture. His study of advertisements and prospectuses reveals concern down to the finest detail. Arched entrances and winding corridors show the individual's passage into a world where different laws apply and new opportunities are revealed. The colour scheme of the walls is expected to create the right atmosphere of warmth and rest. Various boundary markers contribute to a sense of seclusion and intimacy, while large windows admit sun and light to indicate the proximity to life-giving nature.

Even though these spas attract many conferences and group excursions, the marketing tends to exhibit panoramic natural scenery and empty rooms in combination with pictures of individuals or couples. There were amorous and sexual elements in the image of the old spa culture, but O'Dell finds that less attention is devoted to this in the material he has collected. Nor does he find the focus on family togetherness that was a typical feature of advertisements when the home sauna and private swimming pool were launched in Sweden in the twentieth century. The effect that a spa treatment is expected to give in the twenty- first century definitely seems to be linked to the individual.

According to Tom O'Dell, the presentation of modern spa therapies, promising healing and flowing energies, can sometimes verge on the occult. Today's health magic may be largely secularized, but it is none the less hedged with rules and regulations. Spas are described as sanctuaries, dedicated to the divinities of health. Just as in a church, you can smell the incense and realize that you have to behave in a particular way, moving cautiously, lowering your gaze, talking in a low voice, and clearly showing consideration for other people. Stress is something you remove like an overcoat as you put on the obligatory dress for the cure. All worldly worries should be left behind as you walk along the corridors barefoot or in simple slippers.

The staff are expected to wear some kind of uniform and guide the guests in everything from the geography of the place to the etiquette of spa culture. They are supposed to make a friendly and serious impression, to counter the criticism that spa treatments are geared solely to physical enjoyment and basically neoliberal in character, egotistical and perhaps even hedonistic.

O'Dell uses general ideas about magic, mostly taken from Marcel Mauss's *A General Theory of Magic* (1902), to reveal what happens in connection with a spa treatment. He emphasizes the ritual aspect: the slow, repeated movements accompanied by certain words and phrases. Substances for external use – selected essences, oils, and clays – are ascribed at least symbolic healing capacity and are combined with massage of different kinds. Professional tactile therapies are available only in the right place and the right context. They are an effective form of communication, and the very rhythm of these movements is intended to release energy and affect one's emotional life.

For O'Dell it is obvious that these emotional impressions have cognitive aspects – "[affect] is a corporeally anchored way of knowing the world" (p. 96) or "embodied knowledge giving shape to the world" (p. 97) – and that the emotions gain strength by having not only biological but also social and cultural roots. Those who are not content with this line of thought can be given explanations of the effect of the cure in ostensibly more scientific terminology. There is talk of theta waves, increased blood circulation, and a strengthened immune system.

The inspiration for today's spas comes not only from the old European culture of taking the waters, with its mixture of science and religion, but also from the Orient and from various branches of the New Age movement. This is evident, of course, in the Tai Chi, Qigong, yoga, and meditation exercises on offer, and also in the aroma therapy and the background music that creates a relaxing atmosphere along with the trickling water. At Yasuragi Hasseludden they declare that the advice of a Feng Shui master was enlisted when the rooms were to be furnished and decorated.

O'Dell is careful to point out that the ambition to affect both body and soul could also be found in the old spa culture. Claims of spiritual dimensions in the treatment may have changed, but they have not been eliminated, and today, as in the past, the spas allude to the waters as the fountain of youth. Another similarity is the fact that the spa setting is dominated by women, at least as guests.

The spa industry has moreover built upon the old idea of an after-cure, a continued healthy life on re-

turn home from the spa. In its modern form, this leads to totally renovated, fully tiled bathrooms with large oak bathtubs or a new jacuzzi. Bathroom shelves are filled with various fragrant spa products, exclusively designed or easily available in the nearest food store. Green plants, peaceful music, and candles create the right mood.

One of the differences between spas past and present is the short time that is now usually available. A weekend is the rule, not a four-week stay as in the old days. The experiences therefore have to be intensive.

The sensual elements in spa treatments have an opposite side that fascinates O'Dell. Instead of bubble baths and rubs, one can be allowed to float silently and weightlessly in total darkness. Deprived of many of the normal sensory impressions, time seems to move very slowly. In this state you are expected to enjoy a special kind of rest and hopefully to find yourself.

Spa treatments somehow seem to have won a proselyte in the author of this book. He sums up: "A visit to a spa may be seen as a way of pampering or spoiling oneself, and of having fun, but in order to work, it is dependent upon a densely woven web of rituals, props, and representations that provide the spa visit with its energy, and move it that much closer to being a magical experience of sorts – and if nothing else, a homage to the Self" (p. 91).

Regardless of how this may be, in this book Tom O'Dell provides us with a number of interesting perspectives on the new spa culture, placed in a clear historical context, with an exemplary presentation of his analysis of the Swedish spa culture of today.

Elisabeth Mansén, Stockholm

Changes of Everyday Life in Gendered Rural Spaces

Gendered Rural Spaces. Pia Olsson & Helena Ruotsala (eds.). Studia Fennica, Ethnologica 12. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2009. 158 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-154-4.

■ This collection of articles edited by Pia Olsson and Helena Ruotsala focuses on analysing the countryside and its multiple meanings through gender. The main emphasis of the book is on rural spaces as gendered spaces. Place and space have been the major dimensions in ethnology for a long time, of course, and for decades it was the countryside in particular that was examined through these dimensions. As such, this anthology is firmly attached in the traditions of Finnish ethnology, but brings at the same time a fresh viewpoint to rural study through gender. The gender aspects of countryside have obviously been researched before, but as the editors note, the emphasis has been on the external consequences of gender, for example in the gendered division of work. The articles of this volume focus on people's everyday lives, and try to understand how both society and individual lives are structured by gender. One of the goals of the writers is to show the processes of how gender is produced, and the ways in which accepted gender-based behaviour has been constructed in different times and in different groups.

The authors consider space and its formation through cultural and social phenomena. The focus is on *lived space*, and its social practices. Through the incorporating of the senses, the imagination, and various symbols and utopias; places become meaningful only through the experiences and interpretations of human beings. Through the concept of space, questions of identity are also implicitly addressed: what is the relationship between space, place and identity on both the local and the individual level?

In ethnology, one of the common areas of research in recent years has been change and the strategies available to people in adapting to it. This anthology is no exception, and the authors focus on changing rural processes at a micro level, in other words on how the changes affect people's everyday lives. Life at a micro level is examined through the applying of classical field work methods: interviews, written oral history and participant observation. Analysing the material collected in this way the authors aim at mapping the life of rural people as an entity, in which their occupations, social relations and values are interconnected. The articles thus focus on a way of life and on how the pressure of change affects it, as well as the relationship between localities and individual places. The main questions are how individuals are responding to these changes, what their strategies, solutions and tactics are, and how they have experienced the process of change.

Answers to these questions are offered in eight different articles written by Ann-Catrin Östman, Katariina Heikkilä, Nancy Anne Konvalinka, Mari Im-

monen, Tiina Suopajärvi, Katri Kaunisto and the editors Pia Olsson and Helena Ruotsala. The editors have also written a good introduction, in which they define and explain the concepts of place, (rural) space and gender, and introduce the project and its goals; the articles comprising this book have evolved within a research network called Gendered Rural Spaces and are the results of seminars and meetings of this group. The authors' relationships with theories of gender vary, however the individual articles are connected in that the shared starting point has been in the occupational, structural and environmental changes that have taken place after the Second World War. The themes of the articles form a whole, nevertheless incorporating multiple time levels and spaces in both Finland and in other countries (Russia and Spain). The anthology begins with a historical account and then proceeds to address questions from a present-day perspective. The informants of the articles show how important their active role is in terms of their quality of life, and, respectively, what the consequences of potential spatial control and constriction may be.

Here I introduce few of the eight articles to give more precise picture of the content and issues of the book. The first article by Ann-Catrin Östman, "Land and agrarian masculinity – space and gender in *Finnish Cultural History* 1933–1936", discusses how peasantry was described in an exhaustive series of interdisciplinary work, namely *Finnish Cultural History,* published in 1933–1936. Östman points to the connections between the traditions of rural historiography and the formulations and understandings of masculine ideals. She argues that in the volumes in question, the material culture and social institutions of rural society – labelled agrarian – were made visible and peasants were positioned through the discipline of history, although defined in gendered terms. The cultural representations of peasantry were contradictory and ambivalent; the idealised peasants were described in terms of freedom and independence, but at the same time peasantry was viewed as undeveloped, childish and uncivilised. The same dichotomy has, one might note, labelled rural studies and the general opinion of agrarian people until our days. At the same time, a gender-differentiated rural society was depicted; women were confined in domestic spaces and were not seen as actors in the local public spaces, whereas men were depicted as settlers and colonisers of vast areas of land. In her article, Östman appropriately points out the role of early social sciences in building the ambivalent and strictly gendered image of agrarian people and their everyday life.

Pia Olsson has also a historical perspective in her article and she notes that women were tied in their home surroundings and felt their homes often as an obstacle right before and after the Second World War in Finland. Katriina Heikkilä shows the change that has taken place in about hundred years. She asks in her article "Farm space as an arena for female entrepreneurship", how female entrepreneurs on present day farms in south-west Finland make use of and reshape the rural space around them. In the transitional period of Finnish farming after Finland's joining in the European Union in 1995, the inhabitants of the countryside have had to find new means of livelihood. Many new businesses have been started, and women have been active in this process, too. Using theme interviews with women who have established a business of their own, or manage some subsidiary industry on a farm as her material, Heikkilä shows how female entrepreneurs do not just live in rural areas, but also actively create the rural space, and the images and representations related to it. Home is no more an obstacle for women, as they are now active participants in their rural environment and have been able to convert rural space into new uses through their entrepreneurial activities. An interesting point of the article is how new uses for farm space are being created in order to make living possible in the rural areas, even in the future.

Even if crucial changes have been taking place in the past few decades, the places of/for women have not in any straightforward way been completely liberated even in contemporary rural Finland. In what in my opinion is the most interesting article of this collection, Helena Ruotsala asks "Is there room for women in the reindeer forest", and the answer is both yes and no. Traditional and modern conceptions of women's space introduced in two earlier articles seem to actualise at the same time in northern Finland. Based on the evidence of her fieldwork, Ruotsala argues that women have a decisive role in today's reindeer herding: they not only make up about one quarter of all reindeer owners, but they also perform many of the necessary herding tasks; furthermore they are often wage earners and main supporters of the family. However, work in the rein-

deer forest remains predominantly in the hands of men, who hold the official power; young women are facing the challenges that arise from male dominance. Efforts to limit women's access to reindeer herding are to be seen as a form of spatial control over women and also as a form control over social identity. Ruotsala's article shows how patriarchy lives on in the rural areas in the North, also being one of the main reasons why women leave the northern countryside.

All the eight articles together give a wide and multifaceted picture of gendered rural spaces. Each writer responds to her specific research questions, introduces her methods and skilfully applies her chosen theoretical perspective. The articles proceed in a consistent and logical manner, and the same applies to the entire volume: the order of the individual texts is sensible, and they are set in dialogue with each other, a sign of competent editorial work. The topics for the articles may be quite different, which means that not all of the various questions outlined by the editors in the introduction can be answered. The sum of the collection is larger than its individual parts, however; nearly all of the authors have succeeded in shedding light on the topics of the volume from their own perspectives, and the reader will thus receive plenty of new information on gendered rural spaces, what and where these spaces are, and who uphold or resist them. The reader will learn that gendered rural spaces are both ambiguous and mutable, like all other aspects of rural life, but may also be surprisingly static in their mental manifestations; implicit structures are solid and slow to change. With the rapid changes of many aspects of life, a sense of contradiction and uncertainty may trouble rural inhabitants.

Gendered Rural Spaces represents basic ethnological research for our days; it enlightens the formation of meanings and mental processes in people's everyday lives. The volume is also tightly connected with the scholarly tradition of ethnology through its subject matter, while approaching its topic from fresh perspectives. Gender research has been topical in ethnology in recent times, but it is a rather novel approach to combine it with a rural perspective or with the discussion of space. However, I would like to see more focus on masculinity and the male perspective in gender research; this volume, too, has been entirely written by women, and most of the articles focus on the female experience. Even if it is suggested in the introduction that the collection would give equal attention to both genders, this is not the case. For rural and agrarian research in general the ethnological approach is always welcome, however, and the bringing together of the concepts of space and gender and the applying of these concepts on the everyday lives of people living in the countryside is both refreshing and interesting.

Leena Hangasmaa, Jyväskylä

Folk Culture in Focus

Folkkultur i fokus. Maj Reinhammar (ed.). No. 106 in Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien, Uppsala 2009. 156 pp., Ill. ISBN 867-91-85352-79-1.

■ To mark its 75th anniversary in 2007, the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture arranged seminars on the theme of folk culture. A total of thirteen lectures have been published, all of them illuminating this crucial concept from different angles.

The term folk culture is particularly associated with the two academic disciplines we know as ethnology and folkloristics, although many other names have been used: folklife studies, culture studies, and Swedish terms such as *folkdiktsforskning* and *folkminnesforskning*. In articles by Birgitta Svensson and Ulf Palmenfelt we can read about the central values in the scholarly activities concealed behind all these terms, and why they ultimately were not adequate as names for our disciplines. Birgitta Svensson gives an account of the development of Swedish ethnology and the watersheds in Swedish history that forced the subject to change its name. "Folk" once stood for the peasantry and "folk culture" was rustic culture, but after many turns in this long dance one may wonder whether these two words are suitable at all in the academic discourse as elements in the names of disciplines. She very elegantly looks for triads which in some way characterize ethnology through its history. *Swedish*, *folk*, and *culture* have different meanings in relation to ideas of distinctiveness, similarity, and diversity in time, place, and social setting through different forms of expression: place, narrative, and artefact. For her the perspective of cultural history is central. Ulf Palmenfelt represents this in his article about folk cul-

ture as a political power factor in the Swedish welfare state and in the Swedish university world. Later the concept of folk became problematic in the multicultural, classless, but ethnocentric Sweden. Palmenfelt nevertheless suggests continued uses for the concept: for an ethnologist or a folklorist "folk" can indicate a desire to see the world from a bottom-up perspective, with everything that this involves of questioning, everyday ordinariness, and collectivity.

That folk culture has been and still is central to the work of the Academy is clear from Bengt af Klintberg's account of the publication of Swedish folklore. This survey is valuable as an introduction to the different series, many of which are already out of print. The article also shows what has been of interest to Swedish folklorists at different times.

Even within the Academy, "folk culture" was a problematic concept. There was debate about the place of that term in the name of the Academy, but after a few years' critical thought, it was decided to retain it. Nils-Arvid Bringéus sheds light on the process surrounding this. These four articles together give a good overview of the history of research in ethnology and folkloristics, and the ideas that have prevailed in Swedish university life when the two disciplines have needed to create distinctive images for themselves.

But folk culture as a concept does not concern only ethnology and folkloristics. In the Academy there are representatives of several other branches of scholarship which also explore folk and folk culture. Bo Gräslund shows what life on a farm and in a village could be like in the Iron Age. In his very lucid article he does not make any great fuss about the different classes in society. The elite and the people are not set up as opposites. The reader nevertheless understands that the society of the time may have been as complicated as today's, albeit in a different way, and that people then had similar joys and sorrows to ours, irrespective of social background. The introduction to the article is particularly enlightening, as Gräslund lets people in a Swedish Iron Age village meet a post-modern *Homo sapiens*.

In the disciplines of history and demography too, the word *folk*, is interesting, but this is more because the Swedish word in its definite form also means "the people". Torkel Jansson shows how historical research at Uppsala University has changed over the years from a study of "kings and wars" to investigations of occupational categories, interest groups, or political organizations which concern large numbers of people in a more concrete way than, say, studies of the crown or the nobility. Bo Lindberg demonstrates how the authorities have viewed the people. The concept is rather new, only going back to the eighteenth century, but it has been ascribed many different meanings and has therefore been the subject of different kinds of interest from the authorities. Demographers view the people as something that can be counted and described. Politicians see in the people a serious potential for progress or regression. As social awareness has changed, the people have been viewed as consumers of care and education. As a romantic phenomenon, the people are also associated with a certain territory, a certain language, and hence also with a certain culture. Lindberg's conclusion is that the concept today is approaching what it meant in the eighteenth century, since it now seems to lack ideological content, standing more or less for "the masses", *vulgus*.

Lena Johannesson shows how theorists of art have viewed folk art through the ages, from something that did not have the same rank as "proper" art, via something that was admittedly interesting but difficult to handle, to something intrinsically interesting to study as art. The term *folk* has also meant different things, from the peasantry via children and patients in psychiatry to today's large mass of people interested in *global art.* It is clear that ethnologists have taken over the study of folk art, but they ask different questions about the material than those an art scholar would pose.

In the same way as in the study of art, the term *folk* plays a part in comparative religion. Anders Hultgård asks what folk religion is and cites some pairs of concepts in an attempt to pin down this non-established, non-canonical religion. He characterizes folk religion through religious actions and ideas that lie alongside the doctrines of established religion, in that the representatives of established religion do not embrace folk religion, and folk religion "has its place among the broad strata of the people". Of course there are many ways to define folk religion, from national religion to folk belief or the religion of the masses. Hultgård's main interest, however, is in showing how individual religious components are treated at the transition from having had a place in established religion to becoming a part of folk religion. His examples are the corn god

in Vånga and other stories of that kind, where the transitions described by the author take place between Old Norse religion, Catholicism, and Protestantism.

Place-name research examines how people have given names to the localities around them. Svante Strandberg shows how the life and livelihood of the folk are reflected in place-names. In dialectology too, *folk* is a central concept. Lars-Erik Edlund's analysis of some dialectal words demonstrates, among other things, how everyday work among the population is visible in some expressions, how world history is reflected, so to speak, in the way people adopt words and reshape them to suit their dialect.

It is also interesting to read how Lars-Gunnar Larsson compares the conditions for Hungarian and other Uralian folk culture. He says that the distance between folk culture and what he would call "the culture of the few" has increased the longer a people, the Hungarians, have had a place in the European context.

Evert Taube's links with different categories of people – from the folks at home in the Vinga lighthouse, the people in Gothenburg, and in school, to sailors, restaurant musicians, and Argentinian *gauchos* – are described by Olle Edström.

To sum up, it was interesting to read how varied the meaning of *folk* has been and still is. It was also rewarding to see that the term plays an important role in many of the disciplines represented in the Academy. In practice it seems as if the polarity of folk–elite still holds as a theoretical approach in many of the disciplines covered by the work of the Academy. It also seems as if *folk* in most of the disciplines, as they are presented here (in all the articles except Lars-Gunnar Larsson's) still stands for "Swedes"; it is Swedish folklore, Swedish customs, Swedish religion, Swedish dialects, and Swedish history – and perhaps the most Swedish of all that is Swedish folk, Evert Taube – that is at the centre. But this is best explained by the fact that it was the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for *Swedish* Folk Culture that commissioned this book. Several of the articles could be used as required reading on courses, since many of them are lucid surveys with general interest.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Finding a New Kind of Savo

Savo ja sen kansa. [Savo and Its People.] Riitta Räsänen (ed.) Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1192. Savon historia 7. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2008. 560 pp. Ill. Maps. ISBN 978-951-746-987-6.

■ *Savo ja sen kansa* [Savo and Its People] is an extensive compilation on the province of Savo written by six researchers. Its aim is to discuss what hailing from Savo and Savo culture are all about from different points of view, and to give answers to the following questions: what are Savo people like, how have they been described and how have they understood themselves? The book has been written by Pekka Hakamies, Aila Mielikäinen, Mervi Naakka-Korhonen, Pia Puntanen, Matti Räsänen, Riitta Räsänen, Anna-Leena Siikala and Marjo-Riitta Simpanen. The study is interesting in both structure and content, and it differs from traditional cultural descriptions. It is divided into four main sections: the Region and the People, the World of Beliefs, the World of Living and the World of Values. It needs to be noted here that these research perspectives complement each other and together provide a comprehensive and sympathetic picture of the Savo people, their way of life and its ties to nature, and their sense of community. A central position is also occupied by how Savo has been constructed, produced and interpreted literarily and visually at different times in history. The book highlights both the spontaneous originality of the Savo culture and the conscious influences through which efforts to create a culture have been made in different times and in different cultural contexts.

In their article, entitled "Savo kotimaana" [Savo as a Homeland], Matti Räsänen and Riitta Räsänen discuss the meanings of place in human life. This context highlights the connection between place and time, empiricism and contextuality. These are factors that largely regulate people's relationship to place. This context also places emphasis on emotional factors, the cultural significance of which has received little attention in research so far. Nostalgia and its existence and influence on culture is also a recent perspective and introduces its own special dimension to the text. Furthermore, attention needs to be given to the diversity of cultural characteristics revealed by the distinctive features. There is no single true Savo, as we can say that everyone in-

volved has his or her own Savo, and even that is never an established concept, experience, view, memory or image, but, rather, an idea or set of ideas created on the basis of this very moment. In this connection, a central position is also occupied by time – past, present or future – which, as we interpret culture, whether by researching and/or experiencing it, exert an influence on each other. It is quite aptly said in the text that 'The viewpoint of cultural researchers on the past is flexible – they can move in the target area along the continua of mythic, cyclic or linear time.'

In an article entitled "Arvot ja mielenlaatu" [Values and Mentality], Pekka Hakamies discusses the Savo mentality and Savo people's ideas of good and evil, of acceptable and condemnable behaviour, of qualities worth pursuing and avoiding. They always have an effect on the local culture, and this issue also highlights the diversity of the research perspective and, thus, its freshness as well. The analysis in the article is presented in an interesting way; it is well justified and opens up new perspectives on Savo culture as a whole. Hakamies examines the issue by comparing it to, for instance, similar characteristics typical of the Western Finnish cultural region. He also discusses what is typical of Savo people and culture as well as what is specific to this culture. This context highlights the concepts of national character and world view and their position in cultural research. The discussion also considers the ecological conditions and their impact on the local culture. According to Hakamies, the intellectual culture and the cultural models involved are dependent on ecological adaptation and material culture. In this connection, it is good to consider, among other things, the slash-and-burn culture typical of the Savo region which has had a crucial impact on the local way of life. We also need to remember the importance of folk belief, especially the status of the seer in his community as an approved and respected individual with exceptional powers. Individual cultural traits highlight issues such as the position of the devil in tradition of beliefs and tales, cursing and related conceptions, the vice of dancing, respect for Sunday peace, playing with death and the vice of card playing. All of them have been factors governing the way of life at certain points in time and they help to outline an idea of Savo mentality.

Hakamies also studies the problematics of the world of values and mentality through the cultural traits admired and aimed for by people. Significant issues in this sense include exceptional acts and their combination with intellectual insight and apt verbal expression. Savo stories feature three different types of heroes: strongmen, wise men and rascals, in addition to whom we may also mention famous criminals. In this connection, Hakamies also discusses the way in which Savo people use language: 'The main purpose of speaking is not to state the final truth in a clear way but rather to prompt the listener to make his or her own conclusions. When a Savo person is having a conversation with someone, she or he is constantly fathoming the other person's intelligence.' It must further be noted that it is difficult for Savo people to give a clearly positive or negative answer, as they dare not take a clear stand on anything and are thus open to various interpretations. Part of the discussion is also devoted to the joviality and antipathos typical of the Savo mentality, meaning avoidance of all kinds of pomposity and self-important displays. On the other hand, popular morality is characterized by tacit intracultural knowledge, its presence and impressiveness. There is a consciousness of orders and prohibitions, views of what is right and wrong, and even if they are unspoken, they still regulate people's everyday lives.

Anna-Leena Siikala's article "Tunteiden ilmaisu ja eroottinen huumori" [Expression of Emotions and Erotic Humor] shows in a very delicate manner how people representing different cultures speak very differently about their emotions and how important it is for people in general to express their emotional states verbally. In this way, the lived and experienced emotions – such as joy and sorrow, love and hate – are shared, they are identified and they receive a phenotype characteristic of their culture. In her article, Siikala asks a highly important question from the viewpoint of cultural research: '…what was the attitude to emotions like in the Savo cultures? Did the common people, defined by national stereotypes as folks tending to jest and use humoristic figurative language, have the ability to identify and express emotions?'

This is where the significance of folk lyricism becomes evident. On the other hand, Siikala highlights the holistic nature of culture and how sparse and often barren living conditions, the hardness and harshness of life, are directly connected with the expression of emotions. So, sadness in Savo lyric poetry does not only describe the internal feelings of

people; it is often related to the poverty of the home and concerns over livelihood. Feelings of sorrow and grief may be described very traumatically, but they are still not desirable emotional states. Through sorrow, a Savo folk lyric may thus end up in verses looking for ways to survive and even in ones that are amusing in one way or another. The 19th century concern-focused lyric poetry in Savo had no room for touching, emotionally focused expression. It also needs to be noted that emotional experiences and their expression changed in the course of people's lives. They also varied according to whether the expression was private or collective and the underlying cultural context.

In her article Siikala also discusses the background of the poem called "Jos mun tuttuni tulisi", which has been considered a top achievement in Finnish folk lyricism, as well as research done on it. One version of this poem has also been recorded in Savo – at Juva – in 1815. This poem is exceptional in that it has interested researchers internationally ever since the early 19th century. The Swede A. F. Skjöldebrand and the Italian Giuseppe Acerbi published translations of it in French and English in their travel accounts in 1799–1804. J. W. von Goethe later published a German translation called "Finnisches Lied", and the Swede C. G. Zetterberg acquired 467 translations of the poem in different languages. The poem is a love poem with strong emotional expression, erotic charge, and mythic and living figures of speech. The composer of the poem is not known. It has been generally thought that the poet was a woman, an Ostrobothnian vicarage maid, a Finnish Sapfo, daughter of snow and ice. It must be noted that the poet was not necessarily a woman and the poem does not describe only a woman's feelings.

The compilation *Savo ja sen kansa* is, as a whole, worthy of praise. It is exceptionally diversified in terms of its approaches and content. Special credit is due for the comprehensive discussion of the material and spiritual fields and impacts of culture, which is evident in the analytical sections throughout the book. It is also a good example of how a book which is scientifically convincing and well written and which has an elegant layout can be targeted simultaneously at both the scientific community and the interested public. In this sense, it also has a social meaning and impact. Everyone can find his or her own Savo in the book, allowing for interesting forms of engagement and making the reader think about the problematic of Savo in a new way.

Anneli Meriläinen-Hyvärinen, Oulu

The Spaces In-Between

Mellanrummens möjligheter. Studier av föränderliga landskap. Katarina Saltzman (ed.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2009. 250 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-064-6.

■ The title of the publication can be translated as "Opportunities of in-between spaces". Studies of changing landscapes". It is a result of an interdisciplinary project concerning the dynamics of the urban fringe, and it focuses on urban fringes, in-between spaces, places that are changing or waiting for change. In the introduction, the editor Katarina Saltzman points out that urban development processes may take time, and that some areas might be in a state of waiting for years, while decisions are being made and implemented. Examples of this can be seen in many of the chapters of this book. It has to be borne in mind, though, that such places, which are viewed by the local authorities mainly as reserves for future expansion, in the meantime are the everyday landscapes of many people. This book gives us glimpses of what goes on in such ephemeral areas, how various groups occupy them and how they change.

The book continues with Katarina Saltzman's article dealing with individual experiences of changing landscapes. Saltzman uses individual stories gathered by a questionnaire to depict activities and everyday life in the outlying areas of some Swedish cities. As most of the informants are elderly people, their memories of the environments they describe go back a long way, and they can thus give a good picture of the changes of the landscape. Saltzman calls attention to the fact that individual narratives are important links between past and present, especially in the case of landscapes that have vanished. From the narratives we can see that the urban fringe has a complex character and is in a constant state of change, and that landscapes stuck in a temporal-spatial state of in-between while waiting for a yet uncertain future are quite common. The informants meditate upon the changes of the landscapes, mainly with a nostalgic undertone, but often also with awareness of the fact that the changes from another

point of view might bring necessary improvements.

In the next article Lennart Zintchenko uses two contrasting areas on the outskirts of Gothenburg to observe how unpredictable city development has become a part of the inhabitants' everyday life. According to him, unpredictability can have many effects. It may create seclusion, develop into something attractive or generate new spatial qualities. Zintchenko has interviewed persons who inhabit or frequently visit either of the two studied areas. He says that the highly appreciated, peaceful atmosphere of the both areas is not something that has been achieved by planning, but it is rather the absence of a predictable city development that has allowed the use of those areas to develop differently from what was intended. Both the studied areas have at times been almost forgotten or threatened by powerful development interests and by the expansion of nearby activities, although in the end this has not happened. The idyll is fragile, however. Factors such as the increase in property value, the transformation of holiday cottages into permanently inhabited homes, and plans to construct new roads and buildings are now affecting the areas. But despite the anxiety about future changes, the inhabitants welcome the recent planning and regulations. After many years of unexpected changes and rumours, they value firmly established decisions about the use of the landscapes, especially if they mean that the present state can be maintained under controlled forms.

Magdalena Petersson McIntyre focuses on a place on the urban fringe that is in a state of waiting – a former military complex that is waiting for decisions about its permanent future utilization, and meanwhile serves as a marketplace during the weekends. Petersson McIntyre studies the people who visit the market as well as the power relations that are manifested through the way people talk about the place. She says that the temporary character of the marketplace creates different opportunities to practice commerce than the commercial districts in the city centre. The commerce at Rödbo marketplace is on a smaller scale than in the city centre, and a large amount of the goods for sale are secondhand. The marketplace also has a strong multicultural character, since many sellers and visitors are immigrants. Petersson McIntyre points out that, in contrast to the established commerce in the city centre, the commerce on the outskirts of the town has to be explained and understood, and it preferably has to serve specific needs. Therefore the advocates of the market have to emphasize a concept of a strong "us" when they talk about the marketplace, to highlight its social aspects. The discourse about multiculturalism also has an important role here. There is a constant power struggle about the place, since not everyone sees the market as something positive. The authorities perceive it as uncontrolled and see no value in it. There is also a common perception about stolen goods being sold on the market. Petersson McIntyre sees the authorities' negative perception as one reason for the marketplace's ephemeral character.

Most of the articles focus on areas on the outskirts of cities, but there are also some studies of in-between spaces in the city centres. Barbro Johansson, in her chapter, has studied a city planning project in Gothenburg, and focuses on how children have been made a part of the project. Including a child perspective in city planning has been justified both by pedagogic reasons and by the idea that the planning of a city for everyone needs to involve as many citizens as possible. Johansson claims that the imaginative ideas of children have an influence on the city planning by providing visions from new points of view and by moving the boundaries for the kind of suggestions that can be made. The children's possibilities to participate were not quite uncomplicated, however, because of the strong generation order that sorts children and adults hierarchically. The children could feel that they had trouble getting their ideas heard and participating on the same premises as everyone else. On the other hand, children may also be romanticized and attract attention because they are seen as something special. Therefore they may win admiration for their competence without really competing with the adult world. Johansson says that the generation order is so strongly rooted that it is hard to ignore even if you want to. The study thus shows that it is a complicated process to find functioning forms for the real involvement of children in city planning.

Joakim Forsemalm also studies in-between spaces in the city as he focuses on a district in Gothenburg called Långgatorna. The district mixes different types of buildings and has developed into what many consider an ideal combination of activities and apartments. Some buildings differ by being lower than the rest and also house activities that are unconventional, thus forming gaps of a kind in the

environment. The prevailing ideal of urban densification sees gaps like that as potential subjects for future development. The studied district now engages both inhabitants and property owners, who think it deserves to be preserved. It is especially the gaps in the built environment that are seen as something special and characteristic for the district, not only because they affect the appearance of the district by letting in sunlight, but also because of the kind of activities that are established in these out-of-the-ordinary buildings. I found it very interesting to read that the property owners rather would rent the premises to the "right" kind of activity than to the highest bidder. Forsemalm's study thus shows that it is not always the economic potential that dictates the use of the urban gaps.

The majority of the authors have been involved in the ethnological part of the interdisciplinary project that lies behind this publication, and Mattias Qviström represents landscape planning. He has studied the eastern fringe of Malmö, which for a long time has been waiting for development as different development plans have come and gone over the years. In this chapter he observes the interplay between the physical planning and the everyday activities that form the urban fringe, in order to obtain a picture of how the landscape is affected by constant waiting for a future city expansion. Qviström has compared the development of the area during the last few decades with the future visions of the planning documents. He does not focus so much on the substance of the plans as on the mere existence of them, as he claims plans can create shadows over the areas in question. These shadows may have a positive effect and create refuges for temporary activities, or on the other hand they may lead to passivity and paralyse the existing landscape. Qviström sees the future plans as a part of today's landscape, not only as something that will cause change in the future. He emphasizes that areas in a state of waiting should more often be recognized as assets in landscape planning, and that an important public resource will go missing if areas like this are ignored.

The closing article is by Gabriella Olshammar, who has studied a marina in Gothenburg. She uses Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's theories about smooth space/ striated space, and says that marinas can be used to exemplify how fixed and well defined cityscapes spread out at the expense of more loose, undefined and creative spaces. Marinas are characterized by a seasonal changeableness, as the activities vary during the different seasons. This can especially well be seen in the boat storage zones that are completely empty during the summer, when different groups can claim the space for their activities, for example driving practice. Olshammar points out the contradiction in the development when larger and larger land areas are taken into use, but at the same time the spontaneous use of these is restricted by powerful development interests. Marinas, for example, are not recreation sites for everyone; their use is exclusively for members of boat clubs. The marina Olshammar has studied is for the time being offering a somewhat smooth and open space during the summer, but as more buildings are erected, the space becomes increasingly one-dimensional and closed to alternative users and spontaneous activities.

This is quite a good collection of articles focusing on landscapes on the margin and in-between that are easily overlooked. It shows that these transitory landscapes are meaningful for many people and that the wait for future plans gives room for a number of temporary activities. The book is well put together, and although there are several writers, the articles form a good unity. It is illustrated with photographs, which of course helps the reader to gain better insight into the landscapes in question. The book can be recommended for anyone who is interested in urban development and in how people perceive and interact with their environment.

Anne M. Niemi, Åbo

A Danish Smallholder in the Nineteenth Century

Gunnar Solvang, En østsjællandsk husmand i en brydningstid. Hans Olsens optegnelser og livsforløb i Hyllestettehuset Enderslev Sogn 1849–1890. Køge museum, Køge 2010. 264 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-90299-22-4.

■ The Danish smallholder Hans Olsen spent his whole life from 1819 to 1890 on the smallholder's farm of Hyllestettehuset in Enderslev Parish on the Danish island of Sjælland. A smallholder had a dwelling with or without a small area of land to farm. Smallholders also made their living through crafts and by working for bigger farmers or on the estate of Vallø Stift in the parish. Hans Olsen had six acres of land. He can be regarded as a small

farmer compared to other farmers in the parish. In 1849, at the age of 30, he began to keep notes about important events in his life. First he briefly wrote his recollections of his childhood and youth up to 1849. Then he made notes year by year, which means that he has left us annual reports, not a diary of the kind that many Danish farmers and also some smallholders kept in the nineteenth century.

The Danish ethnologist and museum worker Gunnar Solvang, who has done extensive research on smallholders in Denmark, has published and analysed these notes. The major part of the book consists of analyses and commentary. Olsen's actual notes are printed in full on pp. 200–247. It is valuable that readers can thus peruse the original text and thereby form an opinion of their own which can be related to what Solvang says.

The book begins with the author's presentation of essential features of Enderslev Parish, its cultural landscape, buildings, and division of occupations. This is followed by an analysis of Olsen's notes, first about his home and family, then about the local community, then about Denmark as a nation, and finally what Olsen writes about the outside world. Local and national politics, as well as foreign politics, are among his great interests. He began to write in the same year as the Danish constitution was adopted. This introduced democracy and meant the end of Danish absolutism. Olsen became a champion of democratic development in Denmark. He was also involved in the Scandinavist movement in the 1850s and 1860s. In 1858 he took part in a large Scandinavist demonstration at Ramlösa in Skåne. This was his only trip outside Denmark, and he describes it in detail. He regarded the magnificent gathering in Skåne as "one of the happiest days in my life" (p. 210).

In his youth Olsen helped his father with craft work, which consisted of making wheels for spinning wheels. He got married at the age of 25, in 1844, and the couple had a son and two daughters. He took over the home place at Hyllestettehuset with its lands when his father, Ole Hendrichsen, died in 1851. The land was leased from the Vallø Stift estate, but in 1868 Olsen was able to buy the house and land. From 1860 to 1870 he leased an additional ten acres of land from the vicarage. Through his craft work, Olsen built up a solid economy compared with other smallholders in the parish.

Olsen had his first experience of local government in the 1850s. In 1855 he became parish supervisor and in 1859 parish executive officer, which included police functions and responsibility for clearing snow. In 1873 he became first a member and then chairman of the parish council. This was responsible for schools, poor relief, fire-fighting, roads, and collecting municipal taxes. Olsen then had the two top posts in the local government, which was highly unusual at the time for a smallholder. There was no payment for work on the parish council, but as parish executive officer Olsen received a remuneration of 40 kroner a year. He retained that post for the rest of his life. He had good contacts with the management of the Vallø Stift estate. When a memorial stone was to be raised to the owner, Count Frederik Georg Julius Moltke in 1877, Olsen was given the task of unveiling the monument and making a speech. This meant that there was no significant difference between high and low in the parish. Olsen also took an active part in the associations that were being formed. In 1866 he was one of the founders of a shooting club.

Olsen also commented on national politics and how the intentions of the Danish constitution were being fulfilled. He criticized the growing liberal party, Venstre, which was increasing in power. He had greater sympathy for the conservative party, Højre. He also expressed his views of Denmark's wars with Prussia in 1848–1850 and 1864. The latter was disastrous for Denmark, which had to cede Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenborg in southernmost Denmark to Prussia. Olsen wrote the following emotional comment: "I have never been in such a mood, it was almost as if one were going to die" (p. 214).

In the 1880s Olsen commented on the various changes during his life that he was glad about. He felt that he had lived at a watershed between old and new. Subsoil draining had become widespread in agriculture. In 1879 Olsen witnessed the opening of the railway through Enderslev. It was he who delivered the speech to the king, who thanked him afterwards by squeezing his hand. Olsen notes that this was such a great honour for him as a smallholder that he would never have believed it possible to experience anything like it in his life. In 1879 he received his highest award, when the king presented him with the Order of the Dannebrog in the form of a silver cross. Another example of technical progress alongside the railway, was the telegraph. What Olsen objected to at this time was the increas-

ing luxury in dress. This was not compatible with his sense of thrift.

As a whole, it may be said of Olsen's notes that political matters at local and national level are at the centre. The reader does not learn very much about the family's life, nor about farming and the weather, although there are some brief notes each year. It would have been appropriate if Solvang had made a comparison in the final chapter, looking at characteristic features of the farmers' and smallholders' diaries that are preserved from the nineteenth century and have been analysed by Danish ethnologists.

A prominent feature of Olsen's notes is his trust in God and God's help; there are open prayers to God at several places. His religion gave him security. Gunnar Solvang, unfortunately, does not comment on this inward aspect which makes itself noticeable in different phases of Olsen's life, whether they are occasions of joy or sorrow. Olsen makes no secret of his feelings about the events he describes. His notes are a fascinating source for the life of a smallholder in Denmark in the latter half of the nineteenth century, against the background of the technical and political changes that took place. They also show how a smallholder could cross class boundaries to become a political leader at the local level. The book is an important contribution to micro-historical studies of bygone times.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Discourse Analysis or Conversation Analysis?

Den väsentliga vardagen. Några diskursanalytiska begrepp på tal, text och bild. Anna Sparrman *et al.* (eds.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2009. 335 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-73331-229-5.

■ Eighteen scholars who are described in the blurb as having "a shared interest in exposing the different expressions, rules, and practices of everyday life" have contributed articles to this volume on the subject of "Essential Everyday Life". There seems to be a great scholarly interest in everyday life. I am thinking, for instance, of the edited volume *Etnografiska observationer* (2009), which sought to test new methods for participant observation and to develop methodology in research on everyday life. Another example is Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren's book *Kulturanalys* (1982) and its revised and extended sequel *Kulturanalyser* (2001), which today must surely be regarded as classics in Swedish-language cultural studies, where the authors show how one can learn to understand greater patterns in society proceeding from studies of everyday phenomena such as all the animals that occur in preschools, or how doing the laundry is organized in the home. In Finland-Swedish folkloristics, where I belong as researcher and teacher, there is an equally keen interest in everyday life, as is evident from an undergraduate course entitled "The Science of the Everyday".

It was therefore with great delight that I opened this book with the promising title "Essential Everyday Life" to review it for a Scandinavian ethnological journal. The fact that title also promised "discourse-analysis perspectives" only made it better, since no researcher in cultural studies today can stand outside this powerful research tradition, and moreover since I am constantly on the lookout for new literature to use on courses. The blurb as a whole convinced me that this must be one such book, and in the introductory chapter by the editors Anna Sparrman, Jakob Cromdal, Ann-Carita Evaldsson, and Viveka Adelswärd, I was still rubbing my hands with delight. The introduction was precisely as well written, knowledgeable, and lucid as I have become accustomed to seeing good Swedish cultural scholars write. Discourse and discourse analysis are explained here. Critical discourse analysis is highlighted. Michel Foucault is here. The power perspective too. The writers discuss essentialism versus relativism and bring in the obligatory discussion of social constructionism, referring to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's influential work *The Social Construction of Reality* from 1967. My expectations were high after all this. Admittedly, I was slightly surprised that the editors had not brought up the critique of relativism in discourse analysis, put forward by those who defend the idea of materiality, that is to say, there does after all seem to be something that is permanent, that not everything is *solely* constructed. I was also surprised that there was nothing anywhere in the title of the book or in the blurb to suggest that the majority of the content concerned children – I imagine there are other essentials in everyday life than those concerning children. I am aware that what children do has sometimes been viewed, and perhaps still is, as triv-

ial, but like Blanka Henriksson (2007), who has written about girls' friendship albums, I believe that there is a great deal to discover in what others classify as trivial.

I nevertheless thought that more interesting reading would follow about discourse analysis and power practices in everyday life, but I was really surprised when I found that the subsequent articles, above all, concerned something that I perceive as more or less linguistically oriented conversation analysis. I read on, looking for discussions of discourses and power, definitions of the concepts, or least an inquiry into how the authors have done their discourse analysis and how they relate to it. I was surprised a couple of times, it is true, by pleasant reading about how the Himba people of Namibia represent themselves when researchers ask them to do drawings, or how children in the Quechua in Ecuador look after their younger siblings, but I found that there was a great deal in the texts that could have been elaborated on from the power aspects that I assume to be central in discourse analysis. The problem for me was that I had to do these analyses myself, which I do not think is acceptable. Likewise, there are articles about everyday life in Swedish schools where the authors have gone to the trouble of making video recordings so that they can come closer to the everyday reality they want to study, instead of, as before, basing their research on questionnaires and interviews. Here too, there are aspects of power to seize on, and sometimes attempts are made at this, but I am still not convinced by what I read.

It seems as if the majority of the authors relate to the concept of discourse above all as if it were synonymous with conversation. And it seem to me that what the authors are doing in most of the articles is conversation analysis, which I recognize from my own undergraduate studies that also included linguistics. Some of the authors say that they are doing conversation analysis, and quotations from the video recordings are mostly given in the precise transcriptions that I know from linguistics, but which feel alien in ethnology and even folkloristics, which has branches with a heavy orientation to conversation analysis. The book claims to have an interdisciplinary approach, and it is possible that this is one explanation why it affects me as it does. Another may be that I want to be able to categorize a work in order to understand its context and take a stance on the content in relation to this. The book is written by researchers connected to Linköping University, which has chosen to depart from what could be called a traditional division into faculties and subjects, and instead works with departments structured according to a theme; for instance, there is one for Children and one for Communication. So I myself have to work out which research tradition the writers place themselves in.

I would highlight one of the articles as interesting, although not as discourse analysis, and that is the study by Pål Aarsand and Lucas Forsberg, which they entitle "The morality of open and closed doors – dilemmas in participant observation with a video camera". I think that they display profound insight when they critically consider the use of technical apparatus as actors in fieldwork. They discuss the camera as an obstacle in different situations, but also as a tool that makes it possible for them to gain access to situations that it would otherwise have been impossible for them to be present in. This article is an example of how good it is to problematize oneself and one's presence in all the phases of research, which is essential for reflexivity. Other authors in this volume could well have made valuable contributions to the discussion of technology as an actor and the ethical stances associated with it.

The way the concept of discourse is handled in the articles confuses me, perhaps because the word is so often missing from them and is thus not explained, defined or problematized. This is done well in the introduction, but I nevertheless think that central theoretical and methodological concepts ought to be clarified in each article if it is to be included in a collection that claims to provide discourse-analysis perspectives. I also tried to envisage the possibility that I have misunderstood the point of the articles, that the authors are perhaps above all linguists who understand the term discourse in a different way from culture researchers. In the introduction, however, we are told that the writers in the book are interested in studying discursive practices, which I perceive as synonymous with "everyday social practices", as something that is said earlier in the introduction to belong to the Foucault-inspired critical discourse analysis. On this basis, I expect the term discourse to mean more than just "conversation" to these authors too. Yet it remains unclear to me what the discourses and power aspects are that are ex-

posed with the aid of the discourse analysis that, according to the editors, is done in the articles.

There are some minor exceptions to this obvious deficit, but there is just one article that, in my opinion, stands out as regards its clarity in methodological approach and practical use of discourse analysis. The second last article in the book, "Between victim and perpetrator – talking about violence", written by Kjerstin Andersson, discusses how a young man who lives in a remand home relates to the positions of victim and perpetrator in a larger discourse on violence. Through a narrative analysis of what the young man told her about violence, Andersson shows here which discursive practices he adopts to write himself out of both these stigmatized/stigmatizing discourses. Apart from this contribution, which I can clearly identify as discourse analysis, the closest I can come to a distinction of different discourses is what Kjell Granström writes about in his article about the meaning of the teacher's desk, when he reports on a study which shows that there are two divergent pictures of what lessons look like: the pupils' and the teacher's. The article highlights power aspects in that Granström examines a piece of furniture which signals the power position that the teacher, at least traditionally, has in the classroom.

It seems as if there are different discourses on discourse analysis, and that most of these authors and I look at discourse analysis in such different ways that we find it difficult to meet in a shared understanding of the concept of discourse and the method of discourse analysis.

Sofie Strandén, Åbo

The Right to the City

Ulf Stahre, Reclaim the Streets: om gatufester, vägmotstånd och rätten till staden. Bokförlaget Atlas, Stockholm 2010. 232 pp. ISBN 978-91-7437-938-3.

■ Stahre's *Reclaim the Streets [subtitled 'on street festivals, road protests and the right to the city'*] is the fourth of his volumes documenting how urban social movements have responded to and partly shaped the Swedish capital's post 1930s development. Its focus is Stockholm's Reclaim the Streets [later Reclaim the City] movement during the decade from its inception in 1999. But this depiction takes up only half the text. It is preceded by expositions of earlier movements in Sweden and elsewhere that variously influenced it, and followed by brief discussion of the slightly later Klimax movement, and a final chapter on 'the right to the city'.

The work begins by discussing how the American Earth First! movement, founded [1979] to preserve wilderness areas, subsequently inspired direct-action 'eco sabotage' protests in Britain against a number of road building projects in environmentally sensitive areas. The young British protesters, with their tree-sitting and innovative tunnelling tactics, failed to stop the particular schemes they challenged. But by increasing construction costs and gaining considerable public support, they probably contributed to new Prime Minister Major in 1996 abandoning his predecessor Thatcher's Roads for Prosperity programme.

As this period of British road-building protests ended, activists turned their attention on the one hand to the developing Global Justice movement which was crystallizing around opposition to the G8 summit meetings, and, on the other, to establishing the initially London centred Reclaim the Streets. During the second half of the 1990s RTS initiated a series of large-scale and widely reported events in the capital. Somewhat oversimplifying, the earlier Reclaim efforts tended to be relatively light-hearted, with activists temporarily closing roads to cars in order to hold street parties with much loud music and dancing. However later protests, held in iconic parts of the city, Stahre presents as 'more political' [the 1997 event was designated a 'Festival of Resistance' and began with a 'March for Justice']. They tended to become violent, evoking media condemnation and motivating the core initiators, around the turn of the decade, to wind the London organisation down.

However, this was not before the RTS idea had quickly spread to other cities in Britain and abroad, including Stockholm. Having also just seen the withdrawal after protest of its own road restructuring programme [the Dennis Paket], it held its first RTS 'global street party' in parallel with many other cities, on May 16th 1998 [also the date of a G8 summit in Birmingham]. Stahre briefly reprises his earlier works' fuller depiction of the long tradition of urban protest in the Swedish capital, which also inspired Reclaim Stockholm, before further elaborating on the new movement's complex trajectory and structure.

He shows how, whilst weakening its earlier interest in critiquing global capitalism, Stockholm's Reclaim movement extended its specifically urban concerns. It's initial desire to reclaim the streets from cars expanded into a quest to regain, in the face of increasing inequality and social segregation, the city as a public space accessible to all. Stockholm was to be reclaimed from capitalism and the rich as well as traffic. RTC developed a particular interest in the plight of lower-class suburban youth, including those of migrant background, who had little representation in the city's earlier urban movements. In 2001 it organised a series of festivals against racism and injustice in different suburbs which were to culminate in a 'study visit'; i.e. a march of the suburbanites to discover what life was like in Djursholm, the city's most prestigious residential district. The organisers diverted the marchers to party in a nearby park at the last minute, fearing their protest would degenerate into the kind of violence and attacks on property which had concluded many, but not all of their previous central city street parties and attracted largely negative media attention. This disorder at Reclaim events seems to have been initiated not by the main body of participants, the youngest of whom in particular seem to have been more interested in partying than demonstrating, but rather by a small number of left anarchists sometimes together with right wing youth.

Stahre suggests the general tendency of Reclaim events to end in this way was linked to the [changing] core of organisers' focus on setting in play open-ended, largely unstructured events, which their small numbers and lack of hierarchy then made it impossible for them to control even if they wished to do so. The briefly described Klimax movement provides a contrast here. Their generally time-limited, carefully orchestrated, often witty street-theatre, directed towards transport-related climate change issues, seldom provoked hostile police or public reaction.

As in earlier volumes, Stahre comments throughout on factors which differentiate the abilities of movements and organisations to evoke popular and media support, attain their goals and sustain themselves over time. For example, he shows that both loosely and more tightly structured organisations have strengths and weaknesses and can sometimes be symbiotically connected. Long established bodies such as Alternativ Stad and Fältbiologerna provided supporters for the more transient RTS/C. He demonstrates that while narrow specification makes goals easier to achieve, once gained, the bodies that promoted them may be harder to sustain than those with a wider remit. We see that groups attracting supporters through offering action opportunities, face the problem of continually generating such excitements, which bodies based in ideological commitment do not. In this text Stahre is particularly interested in the role that expressive symbolic action, such as Reclaim's street parties, can play in protest movements. He shows it to have a powerful potential to energise activists, increase their collective solidarity and gain audience attention. In RTS/C's street festivals and the earlier, briefer, festive street blockages' [*kulturkrokar*], expressive symbolic action also *exemplified* a desired state of affairs. It showed, if only temporarily the pleasure to be gained from sociable, non-commercially oriented activity in car-free urban spaces open to all, in contrast to the 'ingrained, grey routines of the modern community' with its 'uneventfulness and lack of room for fantasy and creativity'. Stahre sees parallels here with the carnivalesque's 'moments of madness' when the grip of the established order feels weakened, though these have generally served more of a 'safety valve' than a revolutionary function.

'Carnivals' produce their effects through physical co-presence and Stahre provides examples of the continued importance of face-to-face meetings for core activists. But he stresses the impact of the new information and communications technologies which facilitate the rapid dissemination of information about goals and tactics within and between organisations. The Reclaim movement would not have spread so rapidly and widely without the web. Although perhaps surprisingly, given the overlap between its 'oppositional' and expressive use of music and that of rave culture, it does not seem to have picked up on the latter's tactical use of text messaging to disadvantage the police, by only revealing the location of mass events at the last minute.

The web is often seen as facilitating a 'globalisation' of protest, to match capital's increasing interconnection. But Stahre's work suggests that the idea of a 'global challenge from below' needs unpacking. For example, the G8 summit protests, drawing activists from many countries to one place, need distinguishing from the Reclaim street parties,

which though sometimes occurring simultaneously in different countries, and largely in response to similar problems, only mobilized local activists. Similarly though the Klimax organisation drew inspiration from Britain's Plane Stupid supporters, they didn't engage in joint actions, leading one to query whether their interconnection made them any more difficult for the authorities to deal with.

In conclusion, Stahre declares his is an ethnographic project. He acknowledges that it isn't driven by any particular grand theoretical commitment, although he mobilises and comments on lower-level theoretical concepts, often from the social movement literature, as appropriate. This has its pros and cons. His ethnographic skills enable him to handle a wide range of publications, web-based data and interviews and offer a coherent picture of the kaleidoscope of more or less structured groups and organisations with cross- cutting memberships, internal schisms and changing aims which have tried to shape Stockholm over the last half century. As he shows, later activists can gain inspiration from earlier ones, and in providing a permanently available account of this social movement tradition he may be helpfully contributing to it. On the other hand, at least some broader theoretical commitments might usefully have encouraged Stahre to emphasise more strongly the major structural transformations that underlie many of the events described. It's perhaps symptomatic that in the rather thin final chapter discussing 'rights to the city' he mentions Harvey but not his moves to connect phases of urban development and reactions to them, to different attempts by capital to deal with its accumulation problems. Protesters are variously shown as challenging road extension, consumer car culture, neo-liberal urban social policies and the restructuring of urban space. But in this volume at least, the reader is rather left to join up the dots themselves to see how all these issues might be connected, not least to the growing power of global capital. This is significant, not least because the possibilities of movement success depend not only on the kinds of organisational and tactical factors we have mentioned above, but on the character, strength and distribution of interests. It's not just the *clarity* or even the scope of goals which affects a social movement's chances of achieving them, but the extent to which a victory would damage the fundamental interests of powerful others.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Reindeer Husbandry of the Könkämävuoma Sami

Lars J. Walkeapää, Könkämävuoma-samernas renflyttningar till Norge – om sommarbosättningar i Troms fylke på 1900-talet. Tromsø museum – Universitetsmuseet, Tromsø 2009. 346 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7142-048-8.

■ Lars J. Walkeapää's book focuses on the reindeer husbandry of the northernmost Sami village in Sweden, Könkämävouma (or Könkämä as it most often is called) in the parish of Karesuando, and more specifically on the use of reindeer pastures in Norway during the summer. This is a group of herders, and a cross-border activity, which has been severely affected by the policies of the states, both historically and today. In 1751, the border between Norway and Sweden was finally agreed upon. In an addendum to the border treaty, known as the Lapp Codicil, the states confirmed traditional Sami rights to use lands on both sides of the border in an effort to preserve "the Lappish nation". However, this positive view of the Sami and their rights would not last. During the nineteenth century, Sami rights and their freedom of movement across the state borders became increasingly limited; in 1852 the border between Norway and Finland was closed to reindeer husbandry, and in 1889 the Swedish-Finnish border was likewise closed. Sweden and Norway also reached several agreements concerning the herders crossing their common border – the 1883 Swedish-Norwegian Reindeer Grazing Act, the 1905 agreement on the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway, and the 1919 Swedish-Norwegian Reindeer Herding Convention – which restricted their movements. Through the 1919 Convention, the grazing areas in Norway for Sami from Sweden was limited, and forced relocations from the northernmost Sami villages, among them Könkämävuoma, to more southern areas in Sweden was one effect.

These herders have thus seen tremendous change through history, while trying to continue their traditional industry despite external influences. It is the traditional aspects of the reindeer husbandry of Könkämävuoma that Walkeapää wants to relate in his book. Walkeapää, who was born in 1928, participated as youth in the work and the seasonal migration of the herders in this Sami village, before his family was forced to relocate to the Sami village of Tuorpon in the parish of Jokkmokk in 1944. He con-

tinued herding reindeer for several years, until he left the industry in the 1960s to begin working in health care. From his position on the outside, Walkeapää clearly saw the large-scale changes that had taken and were taking place within reindeer husbandry, where many traditional aspects of the industry were disappearing, and realized the need to document the traditional seasonal migration of the Könkämävuoma Sami before this important part of Sami cultural heritage was forever lost. This purpose has been the driving force behind the extensive work carried out by him since 1969, to collect material on this issue; he has visited archives and interviewed a large number of informants, taken photographs, followed migration routes, and visited camp sites during his many trips through the area. It is thus very extensive and time consuming work that has laid the foundation for this volume.

The book opens with a historical overview by the ethnographer Dikka Storm, which places Walkeapää's narrative in a larger historical context. He then begins by describing the reindeer herding in nine herding districts in Norway during summer, mostly focusing on the first half of the twentieth century. Each segment starts with an overview of which families used the district – and which of these would later be forcibly relocated – before moving on to a description of grazing lands, camp sites and migration routes. The district to which Walkeapää's family belonged gets the most in-depth and thorough description, and his memories and experiences are an important part of this narrative. We learn about the changes to reindeer husbandry in the area during World War II because of the German occupation of Norway, and catch some glimpses of the actions of the regional state authority responsible for the administration of the industry, the Lapp Administration (LA) – an authority whose influence is both a problem and an irritation to the herders. But the main focus in the book is firmly directed on the daily life and the work with reindeer husbandry during different seasons. The forced relocations are also a theme towards the end of the book, when Walkeapää describes how the reindeer herding group his family belonged to had to leave Könkämävuoma in 1944 and move to Tuorpon. The reader is allowed to follow Walkeapää and his family on this journey – which was long, time-consuming and partly problematic – as well as their first time on their new grazing lands. Illustrations and maps add yet another dimensions to the narrative; through the numerous and impressive photographs and drawings, people and environments, as well as places and objects, are brought to life, while the fourteen maps place what Walkeapää describes – such as migration routes, camp sites, reindeer enclosures etc. – in a geographical context.

Walkeapää's book is not a scholarly study, but I am convinced it will be frequently used in future research. For many of the themes covered in the volume there are only scarce Sami sources, making his work very important. The book will also be a fascinating read for anyone interested in Sami culture and reindeer husbandry. Walkeapää is a gifted storyteller, describing a culture, a profession and a way of life with all the joys and tribulations it contains. Everyday life and work with reindeer husbandry are depicted with clarity and profound knowledge. The tempo is slow, thoughtful and rich in detail, and the narrative alive and captivating, not least when he relates his own memories and experiences. I hope that many will find and read this gem, and learn from the experience.

Patrik Lantto, Umeå

North Norwegian Local History in the Late Nineteenth Century

Øyvind Wæraas, Brytningstid i Hammerfest 1860–1885. Modernisering – Religiøsitet – Diskriminering. Novus forlag, Oslo 2010. 303 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-578-3.

■ Øyvind Wæraas has written a book about the local history of Hammerfest, the town in North Norway where he grew up. The focus is on the late nineteenth century, specifically the historical development between 1860 and 1885. The author's aim is to study the radical changes that took place during this time, which he designates as modernization; by this he also means the technical and economic development. The basic idea of the book is that the old society was challenged and disappeared. Something new came instead, and it happened during a relatively short period. It made itself felt on the economic, technical, political, social, cultural and religious levels. The author clearly states that he sympathizes with these changes in society, and his text paints a rather critical picture of the older society. He does not have much good to say about the magnates –

merchants in the export trade – who ruled at the expense of the ordinary people. It is thus obvious that he adopts the role of a subjective researcher, and tends to take it a little too far.

A major technical innovation was the opening of a telegraph station in Hammerfest in 1870. This meant that the townspeople could communicate with the outside world in a way that had not been possible before. What happened during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–1871 suddenly became present in northernmost Norway. The newspaper *Finnmarksposten* started in 1866, providing a forum for lively discussions and exchanges of opinion between the conservative editor and merchant Iver Rostad and the liberal debater and public official Andreas Hinberg. A political dividing line became obvious here between the defence of the old society represented by the magnates and the introduction of something new. Hinberg fought for democracy and universal suffrage. The magnates, who were first- or second- generation immigrants from more southerly parts of Norway, made up just 3 per cent of the population in 1875.

Many associations were founded at this time, both political and religious, which strengthened the development towards democracy. The first workers' association came in 1865, dominated by craftsmen. A separate craftsmen's association was founded in 1871. Craftsmen constituted a large share of the people who migrated here. The largest population growth took place in 1865–1875, when the town grew from about 1,500 inhabitants to 2,100, an increase of about 40 per cent. The newcomers were mostly younger people from more southerly parts of northern Norway.

On the religious level, the author thinks that the ideas of the lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) were of great significance for the development of society in North Norway. The author clearly sympathizes with this current of ideas, which led to something new. It questioned the authority of the established church, the system of which the author is critical. He views Hauge as a predecessor of democratic development. In Haugianism there were also female preachers, which was something new. The author attaches great importance to the first moves towards women's liberation under Hauge's influence. In my opinion, however, it is difficult to prove that Hauge's ideas had any direct impact in Hammerfest in the late nineteenth century. It should be regarded as an assumption. There was scarcely any female emancipation in Hammerfest at the end of the nineteenth century.

A negative tendency that made itself felt in North Norway in the late nineteenth century was the increasing racial discrimination against minorities. This affected the Sami and the Kven, the latter being immigrants from Finland. This development took place alongside the emergence of a stronger national sentiment in Norway. Minorities had to be integrated in Norwegian society as quickly as possible. Norwegianization was the key word, and it had to be achieved through coercion. The Sami and Kven languages were not to be used. As a consequence of this, a large number of Kven people emigrated to the USA in 1870–1890.

The author has done important work on the development of society in a small town in Northern Norway at the end of the nineteenth century. He also describes currents of thought that extend from the eighteenth century to the twentieth. In this respect he has not confined himself to the period 1860–1885. This gives the book a less stringent impression than the subtitle promises. In some respects the chapters about ideas seem to be loosely connected to what happened in Hammerfest in the late nineteenth century. Do we really need the parts about what happened in North Norway during the twentieth century, for instance the Nazi occupation in the 1940s? What he writes about this is interesting in itself, but it is outside the scope of the book. There is no concluding discussion of the processes of change or modernization in the late nineteenth century in the book, which ends abruptly with what happened in the 1940s.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo