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Editorial

By Birgitta Svensson

This year's *Ethnologia Scandinavica* covers some of the many topics in ethnological research. The articles point in many different directions, but the main focus is on studying cultural encounters, whether in postcolonial contexts, in the transnational borderlands of music, or in the immediate family. Relations between the sexes is another noticeable theme this year: the various expressions of masculinities, women's choice to stay at home in the 1950s, and issues of the complex transfer of economic and cultural capital in family farming. What this year's articles have in common is the complexity of everyday life, whether it is national or transnational, reflected in museum exhibitions, or taking shape in the peripheral countryside of northern Finland, in an exotic Greenland, in Swedish agriculture, or in the cultural encounter that street life in a Chinese city represents for a Nordic visitor.

Sniff Andersen Nexø starts by describing a cultural encounter at the last turn of the century, which resulted in proposals to displace Greenlandic women known for promiscuous behaviour to some nearby desert islands during the season to prevent their contact with foreign men. Bodily contacts were undesired by those who were assigned power to regulate colonial contact zones. The author uses bodies as the type of contact zone that has been described by Marie Louise Pratt as imagined social spaces where different cultures meet and clash – in this context in highly asymmetrical power relations, the surveillance of bodies to prevent polluting culture. Yet we see that governmental technologies do not always produce the intended effects.

In her article on museums, the nation, and the globe, Peggy Levitt examines how museums showcase their nation's increasing diversity and encourage visitors to engage with global issues. Ever since the leaders of the new French Republic opened the doors of the Louvre to the general public, cultural institutions have played starring roles in the drama of nation building. Her discussions are based on research on museum professionals in the USA, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, but her main focus is on Sweden and Denmark. Her study contributes to a discussion of how museum staff think about citizenship as well as globalism versus nationalism.

Kari Telste's article considers the Norwegian museum landscape, but she too applies a global perspective. Starting with an eighteenth-century tea table, she examines the materiality and sociability of tea and coffee by showing how cultural exchanges can be studied through the consumption of new and exotic beverages like tea, coffee, and chocolate, imported from the Far East. By proceeding from seemingly limited objects, she shows how an understanding of sociomateriality can give insight into the way habits and manners inspired by England and the continent were adapted to a Norwegian way of life in complex interactions between people and things.

Music too can be historicized, and in their article entitled "Affective Ordering", Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius and Lars Kaijser demonstrate how 1970s music is reformulated in complex negotiations. Using Bruno Latour's sociomaterialistic theory of retrology, they construct an analytical model for understanding the formation of history in networks by applying it to the question of how Swedish progressive music rooted in the seventies is recognized and reinterpreted in different settings in the present day. To understand how retrologies are constituted they also use Lawrence Gross-

berg's concept of *affective alliance*. Their model shows how the dynamics of transnational collaborative formations of pasts can be visualized.

By regarding history as a factor shaping conditions for people on farms in Sweden, Iréne A. Flygare discusses the meaning of generational succession and property transfer. She sees strong continuities since the 1870s and states that the ongoing modernization of agriculture through farm enlargement is very much a family affair. One interesting finding is that women were fostered to regard the farm as more than economic capital, and as mothers they played an essential part in maintaining and even reinforcing patrilineal inheritance, taking as active a part as men in identifying the *interested* son. Flygare shows that they were as passive as the men in letting the daughters take on more demanding farm work.

Eeva Uusitalo, in "Beyond the Village and Across Borders", describes how experiences of mobility in rural northern Finland let her see that localities through globalization no longer can be seen as small in scale but as part of broader networks. She considers mobility as a part of village life and shows how urban lifestyles affect village life in a northern periphery.

What happens when men, contrary to cultural expectations and society's perception of gender, suffer partner violence? This is the question Tove Ingebjørg Fjell asks to find out whether hegemonic masculinity is modified by partner violence against men. She seeks the answer in interviews with men over the age of 20 who live or have lived in a heterosexual relationship. Interestingly, her findings show that, rather than being modified, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is sustained.

By conjuring up images of housewifery, Lena Marander-Eklund, in her article about women narrating their choice to be a housewife in the 1950s in the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland, shows how people relate to different kinds of imagery in their narration when they recollect their experience. The women interviewed recollect not only the 50s, but also relate to later discussions and later imagery of housewives.

In her article about walking city streets, Tiina-Riitta Lappi reflects on the meaning of urban spaces through embodied experiences and visual interpretations. She asks whether places can carry meanings only for those who possess insider knowledge, or if it is possible to analyse urban spaces and places on the basis of other kinds of cultural competence. On a field trip to the Chinese city of Suzhou she observed urban public spaces and spatial practices to approach the city's spatialities, as juxtapositions of social and material environments. She uses multi-sited ethnography to emphasize places as unbounded, diverse, polyphonic, transparent, and always having connections with other places. Her article is inspired by Henri Lefebvre's concept of dominated space and Doreen Massey's approach to spatiality as a product of interrelations.

The reviews give a good idea of what Nordic ethnology is interested in. The many different directions in ethnological research are also expressed in doctoral dissertations and other newly published literature. Several of this year's reviews of new works in Nordic ethnology display the same focus as the articles, revealing a growing interest in sociomateriality and museum collections, and in the complex dynamics of music and postcolonial problems.

Undesired Contacts

The Troubled Boundaries of Colonial Bodies in Greenland

By Sniff Andersen Nexø

Introduction

In 1908, the Board of Guardians of the colony Frederikshaab discussed the recurrent problem of local women fornicating with the crews of foreign ships during ship season. The Danish and Greenlandic members agreed on displacing the women known for such promiscuous behaviour to some nearby desert islands during the season to prevent their contact with foreign men.

When asked for approval, the inspector of Southern Greenland – the head of the Danish administration in the region – replied that a similar solution had been suggested by the local board of Godthaab already in the 1880s. However, the Commission on Greenlandic Affairs had at that time stated its disapprobation of displacement as preventive measure and instead referred to established means of punishment such as excluding promiscuous women from the colonial store and confiscating allotment from their heads of household.

The creative idea developed in Frederikshaab, thus, was not an isolated incident, even if others preferred somewhat less radical solutions. Multiple minutes from colonial boards as well as from the provincial councils of Greenland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries speak of the deep concerns in Greenland over the undesired sexual contacts between Greenlandic women and foreign (most often Danish) men; and of the persistent efforts to contain such bodily encounters or deal with their consequences.

Danish authorities too had their eyes fixed on the problem. Already the first Instruction for Danish employees in Greenland from 1782 laid down extensive guidelines to preclude sexual relations with native women (as well as extensive rules for, or against, mixed marriages and -children).[1]

In the decades around 1900, this had developed into a host of regulation and legal provisions concerned with the social intercourse between the local Greenlandic population and Danish/foreign employees working in or visiting Greenland: Rules for instance curtailing locals' presence in foreign ships or in mining settlements; or stating the required supervision and curfews when foreign sailors were to partake in a local dance.

Analytical Framework – Problematisations and Spatiality

An at first hand surprisingly large amount of published and unpublished material bears witness to the persisting topicality, as well as to the practical difficulties, of maintaining the boundaries between native and non-native bodies throughout the colonial history of Greenland. Thus it has been necessary, for the purpose of the present article, to focus on selected historical instantiations in which these undesired contacts were addressed and handled. My main emphasis is on the last decades of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th centuries – a time when Danish activities and presence in Greenland were increasing; the traditional sealing life form was challenged; and concerns as well as aspirations to the future of the colony and its populations were expressed by both colonisers and colonised. A broader historical perspective is supplied by reference to the first Instruction of 1782 for employees of the Royal Greenlandic Trade Company and to relevant research literature con-

cerned with earlier colonial history. The primary source material is comprised of archival documents from the Danish State Archives as well as printed texts. It contains among other things minutes from local colonial boards (the mixed Greenlandic-Danish Boards of Guardians) and the two Provincial Councils; letters and different regulations issued by Danish colonial authorities; and medical and other reports on colonial matters – all documenting the concerns regarding intimate contact in the arctic colony.

Two simple, and closely interrelated, questions make up my analytical point of departure: How did intimate relations between colonisers and colonised constitute a problem for Danish and Greenlandic authorities? And how, accordingly, did they endeavour to confine, if not entirely solve the problem?

These questions put to the forefront the more theoretical question of the character of a *problem*. Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, my analysis does not address problems as well-defined historical 'facts' posing themselves to their contemporaries and necessitating certain kinds of practical solutions. Instead, it is concerned with what Foucault defined as processes of *problematisation*. This notion is perhaps not as fully developed as more well-known foucauldian concepts, as he introduced it only late in his life.[2] In an interview with Paul Rabinow in 1984, he described his on-going work as a 'history of thought' trying to

> … rediscover at the root of these diverse solutions the general form of problematization that has made them possible – even in their very opposition; or what has made possible the transformation of the difficulties and obstacles of a practice into a general problem for which one proposes diverse practical solutions. It is problematization that responds to these difficulties, but by doing something quite other than expressing them or manifesting them: in connection with them, it develops the conditions in which possible responses can be given; it defines the elements that will constitute what the different solutions attempt to respond to.[3]

Investigating problematisations – of madness, of sexuality, or of intimate colonial encounters – is a way of stressing that that historical 'solutions' are not mechanic effects of any 'real' or pre-discursive phenomenon; they are part and parcel of the problematisation, which again "is dependent on our knowledge, ideas, theories, techniques, social relations and economical processes".[4] This, however, does not imply a denial of any relation between problematisations and the world in which they emerge. On the contrary, Foucault insisted that "it was precisely some real existent in the world which was the target of social regulation at a given moment".[5] This quotation also draws our attention towards the close link between problematisations and ambitions and practices of social regulation.

To sum up: Thinking with Foucault, I define problematisations as particular historical ways in which phenomena (difficulties and obstacles) become linked together and *configured as* a certain kind of problem – with certain *characteristics*, certain *causes* and *effects*, and, accordingly, certain *means* that come to be appreciated as fit to act upon it.[6] This implies that problematisation is what transforms such unordered obstacles into a specific phenomenon accessible for regulatory practices. My article explores the rationalities, as well as the regulatory technologies involved in the problematisations of 'undesired contacts' in Greenland.

This line of investigation obviously implies a focus on bodily and spatial aspects of the colonial history of Greenland – issues that have gained a prominent place in recent colonial studies.[7] I take inspiration from the notion of the *body-as-contact-zone* put forward by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton and the co-authors of their two edited volumes, *Bodies in Contact*, and *Moving Subjects*.[8] Taking up literature scholar Mary Louise Pratt's concept of colonial space as contact-zones – that is, material as well as imagined social spaces where different cultures meet and clash, most often in contexts of highly asymmetrical power relations – the authors suggest that bodies may be considered such colonial contact-zones, and hence constitute methodological entrance points into concrete analysis of colonial encounters. What has struck them is "the extent to which women's bodies (and, to a lesser degree, men's) have been a subject of concern, scrutiny, anxiety, and surveillance in a variety of times and places across the world".[9] This has prompted their attention towards bodies – raced, sexed, classed, and ethnicized – as "sites through which imperial and colonial power was imagined and exercised".[10] That is, sites for theoretical rationalisations of colonial encounters, for regulatory practices, as well as for strictly physical contact between colonial subjects.

Bodies are, as Ballantyne and Burton suggest, the most intimate colonies, as well as the most unruly ones.[11] And the bodily contacts that this article is concerned with were indeed of a distinctively intimate kind. They were also distinctively *undesired* by those assigned power to regulate the colonial contact zone, whether Danish or Greenlandic. They were carnal encounters that emerged as particularly problematic as they challenged categories of identity and difference at the heart of the colonial system. Thus the main question remains how these carnal encounters were constituted as undesired, and handled as such.

As a consequence, this Greenlandic case is not so much about the complex dynamic encounters in the colonial contact zone, as it is about the reasons for *avoiding contact*, and the means to do so by drawing and keeping boundaries – by what we could think of as 'zoning' or *spatialisation*. Here too, thinking tools are supplied by the existing literature; for instance by colonial geographer Sara Mills, who stresses that 'space' must be considered neither as a plain surface across which actors move, nor as a fixed site in which acts are performed and power applied. There is, she argues, no passive space as mere 'backcloth to history' – we need instead think in terms of spacing or spatialisations.[12]

Hence, when exploring the problematisations of bodily boundaries I particularly wish to elaborate on how spatialisation is at work both as a 'work of thought', a *rational tool* for categorisation and differentiation of colonial bodies; and as practical *techniques* for establishing and policing the boundaries between them: Bodies were also literally (attempted to be) kept apart by distinctly spatialising practices such as surveillance, enclosure, and displacement.

Problematising Sexual Contact

How, then, did sexual contacts between Greenlanders and foreigners come to be

considered a problem toward which authorities felt compelled to take profound precautions? In order to answer this question, I will first turn towards the rationality of vulnerability and need for protection established in the early decades of colonisation; and then relocate to the last decades of the 19th Century when new challenges brought into the colony by external contacts became enrolled in a partial reconfiguration of the problems and the means by which to counter them.

Enclosing the fragile colony

The Danish colonisation of Greenland took its start with Danish-Norwegian priest Hans Egede's establishment of a missionary post near today's Greenlandic capitol, Nuuk. From the very outset, the colonisation built on a close interrelation between missionary work and trade: When Hans Egede set sail for Greenland, he had been appointed Missionary of Greenland by the king; the expedition, however, was funded by a company of merchants from Bergen hoping that their ships would return with a cargo of arctic goods – fur and blubber – to cover their expenses and pave the way for future profit. Their economic aspirations were sadly disappointed, though, and as a consequence, the Danish-Norwegian state took over the trade in 1727 – along with the challenge of securing access to the limited merchantable commodities that could be brought home from Greenland. For decades, the ambition of monopolising the Greenlandic trade was contested primarily by Dutch whalers and merchants, but in 1776 the monopoly was institutionalised: Legally by a royal decree banning any foreign navigation and trade (except in case of emergency); and practically by centralising the trade, hitherto rather unsuccessfully delegated to private companies, in the new Royal Greenlandic Trade Company (KGH). In addition to the trade monopoly, the company was also in charge of the entire colonial administration until 1908, when trade and administration were separated. In spite of several attempts by other nations to impugn the Danish(-Norwegian) claims on Greenland, monopoly as well as sovereignty was for all practical purposes maintained until 1953 when Greenland formally obtained the status of an equal part of the Danish kingdom.[13]

The overall colonial strategy in Greenland can be characterised as one of *enclosure*: The arctic colony was formally and practically 'fenced in' and established as a zone in and out of which the flux of goods and people was densely regulated from the metropole, and thoroughly supervised by its representatives in Greenland: Increasingly detailed regulation specified what Greenlandic goods were encompassed by the trade monopoly, what European goods should be imported, and to whom and under what circumstances they may be distributed. Access to the colony was restricted, and granted exclusively to individuals either engaged by the mission, administration and trade; or otherwise contributing to the colonial project, not least by producing knowledge on the Greenlandic territory and its resources, population, language, culture etc.[14]

Obviously, this enclosure of the colonial zone relates very closely to the economic rationale of the colonial project: That it should, if not generate any major

The emblematic image of nature-bound, and hence culturally fragile Greenlandic tradition: the male kayak sealer. His female counterpart was the hunter's wife capable of transforming the capture into modest life necessities – food, clothes etc. Photo: Arthur a. Vaag, dated 1924–26. www.arsukfjorden.gl, with the kind permission of Søren Martinussen,

profit, at least be economically sustainable. That is, the expenses of the mission and the administration should be met by the income generated through the trade.[15] Foreign presence in Greenland constituted a threat to this ambition of economic equilibrium.

However, it is pivotal to understand that the endeavours to limit access to the colony did not emanate solely from economic considerations, but also from a particular conception of Greenland and its native population as fragile and vulnerable to external influences. Hence, the maintenance of the colony as a bounded zone was, in the colonial rationality, not least regarded as a protective measure taken in order to limit the harms that too sudden and too extensive exposure to anything foreign may otherwise inflict on the colonized.[16] The 1782 Instruction for the trade employees explicitly defined their dual task: along with attending to the procurement of local products for the Trade, they should "deal with the Greenlanders in love and gentleness, lead them by the good example and ensure that no injustice or molestation befalls them".[17]

Polluting culture – infecting bodies

The dangers lurking on native Greenlanders of both sexes stemmed, according to the Instruction, from their all too widespread dealings with sailors, colonists, and other Europeans in the colonies[18] – where "bad examples, dangerous temptations, strong liquor, abuse of beer and Danish victuals" would easily beguile the natives into a "depraved life", spawning laziness and "neglect of sealing", as well as "extravagance, excesses and much dis-

order"; not to mention pose a substantial threat to their health.[19] Particularly the children and the youth were not to be spoilt by European habits, but reared as true Greenlanders – "that the traditional native hardiness and simple way of life not with time degenerate into softness, causing the ruin of the country, as well as the Trade".[20]

If excessive contact in general was to be vigorously prevented, Trade employees should particularly refrain from "any suspicious intercourse with the female sex".[21] Several rules in the Instruction – and in practically any regulation for foreigners in colonial Greenland that was to follow – aimed at preventing such relations, or dealing with their consequences. I shall return to the practical measures below; at this point I wish to emphasise the way in which such sexual encounters were first problematised. To illustrate this, let us dwell for a moment on the potential products of sexual relations between natives and foreigners: their children.

If a trade employee (every prohibition notwithstanding) was recognised as the father of an illegitimate child born by a Greenlandic woman, he was to pay a certain sum to support the upbringing of the child. Illegitimate children were to be placed in the care of competent sealers who should attend to their education in the skills necessary to become a "capable Greenlander". Whatever could be saved of the modest maintenance sum from the father should be invested in traditional equipment such as kayak, riffle, tent and umiak (a women's boat).[22] The preservation and maintenance of traditional (sealing) skills was at risk in sexual relations and reproduction transgressing the colonial differences, and this was the case also in mixed marriages. The mixed children or *'blandinger'* should be reared as "good Greenlanders"; boys should preferably be adjusted to the kayak, girls educated as hunters' wives, and neither should "idle away their time or be pampered in the European kitchens and private service, since such will only beget laziness and render them inept to make their living in either the European, or the Greenlandic way".[23] Mixed children, too, were vulnerable to strictly European influences.

Recent studies by Søren Rud and Inge Seiding have explored the significance of the racial and cultural categories of Greenlanders, Danes/Europeans, and – not least – of the *blandinger* in the 19th century. Seiding investigates the detailed and complex government of mixed marriages transgressing these racial/cultural/social categories. Rud's focus is on the ambiguous ambitions of obtaining the perfect cultural admixture of Greenlandic tradition and European civilisation in mixed bloods chosen for further education. The authors share the understanding that the notion of the *true Greenlander* was closely linked to the traditional sealing culture. Rud in particular addresses the conceived vulnerability of this Greenlandic culture, and the efforts made by the colonial administration to protect it against excessive foreign (Danish) influence. Both address the ways in which racial/cultural subjectivation and differentiation was deeply intertwined with colonial governmental techniques. *Blandinger* were the most unruly element of the colonial population; but exactly their ambiguity potentially qualified them as the kind of cultural mediators relied upon by an increasingly elaborate colonial

administration.[24] They seemed to reconcile the natural and Greenlandic, and the civilized and European, in one and the same body; and in time, they came to form the core of the emerging Greenlandic elite that would occupy administrative positions and speak on behalf of 'modernised Greenland' in Boards of Guardians, Provincial Councils etc.

It should be evident that my article in many ways relates to these works. What I would like to contribute is a slight shift in perspective from categorisation and admixture – to the spatial rationalities and technologies related to the problem of *contact*, and to the ways in which contacts in themselves were conceived as harmful. In my reading, the Instruction was imbued with a particular colonial rationality that framed the radical difference between colonisers and colonised as emerging from the different *geographical and natural spaces* to which their culture belonged. What could be harmed, according to this rationality, was an original native culture inextricably linked to the extreme natural circumstances of the arctic; a culture that had hitherto remained undisturbed and unspoilt by the sophisticated habits of western civilisation. However, as creatures of nature, the natives' hardiness in relation to the natural space they inhabited did not correspond to a similar strength in *cultural* encounters; that is, when facing something introduced from the 'outside' that did not naturally belong to their world and ways.[25] Foreign contacts were framed as a perpetual threat to the literally natural form of life of the Greenlanders, towards which they had only little, if any resistibility. As the quotes above indicate, when *exposed* to external influence, they were all too easily tempted, beguiled, misled etc. If unhindered by protective measures of the colonial administration, foreign culture would spill into the colony and corrupt the local culture in and by its strangeness.

This form of problematisation, I suggest, envisioned colonial contacts as a source of *pollution* to the natural, and hence fragile, Greenlandic culture. A pollution that would not simply introduce immorality to the natives in a narrow sense, but soften their bodies, weaken their wills, and consequently endanger the very icon of the nature-culture intertwinement assigned to the colony and its inhabitants: The sealing.

The problem of sexual relations between Greenlandic women and European men was embedded in this rationalisation of colonial difference as engendered by natural or geographical space. The carnal encounters were not merely immoral. They were potentially problematic even when kept within the proper matrimonial institution, indicating that the pollutable object was not the virtue of native women – no particular virtue or innocence was attributed to Greenlanders in sexual matters, as we shall see. Rather, vulnerability in these cases pertained to the virtual *reproduction* of culture, that is, to the children generated from these relations. When *they* were problematic, it had as much to do with an idea of embodied spatio-cultural capacities, as with racial categories in anything near the biological sense predominant by the turn of the subsequent century.

This colonial rationality establishing the culture of the colonised as fragile and vulnerable to external influences – and the

colonisers as the stronger part obliged to protect the immature Greenlanders against such dangers – remained very much alive throughout the entire colonial period. As an example, let us listen to the physician Gustav Meldorf reporting in 1898 from his work in the settlement Arsuk, close to the cryolite quarry at Ivigtut, Southern Greenland: According to Meldorf, the contact with Ivigtut workers and sailors was highly damaging and corruptive to the natives of Arsuk who had "become pampered and sluggish", as well as "deplorably influenced" in a moral respect. Male Greenlanders would likely disdain a cigar if offered them; females hardly accept a loaf of bread, lest express gratitude. And, not least, "only very few of the Men could be said to engage in Sealing; they are at large bad kayakers".[26]

The bad influence in general, however, was not Meldorf's primary concern. He had his eyes firmly fixed on a more specific problem: "A source of imminent danger of infection, as well as moral destruction, is the access for the women to fornicate with the workers at the quarry (and probably with the sailors as well)", he wrote.[27]

Meldorf's alarming report represents a partial reinterpretation of the problematisation in terms of what foreign contacts might bring to Greenland that was gradually taking form from 1872: the year when venereal disease was first detected among Greenlanders exactly in Arsuk. For the decades to come there was no shortage of warnings against the new danger that had crept into the colony. When the Board of Guardians in the neighbouring district discussed the appearance of syphilis in 1874, the district physician urged them to impress on the local population "how dangerous it would be to them if such disease gained territory in the district". The Directorate for the Royal Greenlandic Trade in Copenhagen a decade later expressed their fear that the population would be "threatened by extinction" or "doomed" by such diseases – a sentiment they maintained well into the 20th Century.[28]

Whereas sexual encounters had hitherto first and foremost been problematised as a threat to the fragile Greenlandic *culture*, it was now the native *population* as a physical, biological entity – their bodies, health, and reproduction – that appeared to be severely endangered and hence in need of protection. This, of course, did neither diminish the problem, nor decrease the intensity of the measures taken to keep the native and foreign bodies apart.

The Technologies of Sexual Boundary-work

As I have argued, the problematisations of sexual encounters between Greenlandic women and European men related to the transgression of boundaries between what had been rationalised as distinctively different geographical spaces and accordingly different populations whose contact would inflict cultural and physical harm on the weaker part, the Greenlanders. In the remaining text, I address the practices of drawing and policing the boundaries between native and foreign bodies. Whereas Søren Rud in his dissertation emphasises such governmental strategies and technologies aimed at moulding self-governing subjects in accordance with bourgeois ideals, the aspects of colonial rule that I address below did not indicate any such aspirations.[29] Rather they seemed to

rest on the assumption that promiscuous native women as well as rude male workers were too primitive to be expected to govern their own sexual conduct in a responsible way. Hence, the answer was disciplinary practices in a more narrow sense. I thematise these practices as different technologies managing colonial space and the bodies populating it: Technologies engaged in *zoning* colonial space; *surveilling* colonial bodies; and *placing* problematic bodies by means of isolation and dislocation.

Zoning contacts

The 1782 Instruction charted the course for a continuous flurry of regulation aimed at constraining the undesired sexual contacts. The first post outlined several restrictions in such contact, in particular any "suspicious dealing" with the female sex: Young female Greenlanders were not to work in European houses or join expeditions. Employees were not to idle in native houses, least of all at suspicious hours early in the morning or late at night, or when the male residents were away sealing. The 1873 Instruction repeated the prohibition against young female servants, and added that no female Greenlander was allowed on board the Trade's ships.[30]

This sort of regulation aimed at managing the paradox of on the one hand the concern for the negative consequences of colonial contacts; and on the other, a colonial reality that relied, per definition, on exactly such contact. One answer was to divide colonial space – what Pratt coined as the *contact zone* – into native and foreign zones exactly to *avoid* contact by determining the terms of 'external' access to them both. To put it simply, it worked by means of prohibitions and curfews de-

The mobility of settlement women depended on the *umiak* – the traditional women's boat – that allowed them to visit foreign zones by themselves or as crews. The same dependence, on the other hand, would make it possible to leave promiscuous women on an island during the ship season. Undated. www.arsukfjorden.gl, with the kind permission of Søren Martinussen.

fining *who* were allowed *where*, *when*, and with *whom*.[31]

As Danish presence in Greenland increased in the latter half of the 19th Century with the development of a mining industry and a larger number of ships arriving at the harbours, so did the problematisations of Danish workers' and ship crews' presence in native settlements. Instructions and circulars for Danes working in Greenland repeatedly stressed that they could visit local settlements only with strictly professional intentions or on special socialising occasions under close inspection by their superiors.[32]

Such special occasions included arranged dances ashore with the participation of local inhabitants and visiting groups of miners, sailors etc. – a phenomenon not in itself particularly problematic, but what might happen *after* the dance was. Hence, dances were subject to particular curfews, for instance in the 1886 rules for shipmasters and their crews:

> When the crew partakes in a dance ashore, the shipmaster or one of the mates must be present at the dance and ensure that the crew returns aboard at the exact hour when the manager has decided for the dance to end.[33]

The protocol of the Board of Guardians of Jakobshavn from 1910 indicates what may otherwise happen: Facing another ship season, the board agreed on instructing the ship crews to return to their ship at the agreed hour, and on enjoining the local girls to go straight home after the dance, rather than "follow the seamen into the hills".[34]

Parallel to the restrictions on foreigners' presence in the zones of the local population, other rules were concerned with limiting Greenlanders' access to the spaces of non-Greenlanders. The instruction for the Controller of the Ivigtut quarry from 1885 obliged him to observe that locals did not live and work at the quarry except when granted individual permission. Whereas men could acquire such permission from the regional Inspector, women needed approval from the Ministry of the Interior in Copenhagen. Boats carrying or crewed by native women should preferably anchor at Arsuk; alternatively, the Controller should – if necessary with the aid of the male boat crew – prevent any contact between these women and Danish workers. Umiaks were entirely prohibited at the quarry during venereal epidemics.[35] Just as the mining areas were defined as 'foreign' zones with restricted access for locals, so were the ships, as we have seen. Instructions for shipmasters repeatedly stressed that in order to prevent immorality native women were not allowed access to the ships.[36]

Initiatives to restrict natives' presence in foreign zones and vice versa did not only come from the colonial administration. For instance, in 1910, the Board of Guardians of Julianehåb convinced the Inspector to prohibit workers of the cobber mine to visit sealing grounds when Greenlanders were there.[37] The Board in Godthåb in 1908 suggested excluding female workers from the harbour whilst the ship was there to prevent venereal disease. In this case, the Inspector declined, since female labour was indispensable during ship season.[38]

One thing was defining the zones – another enforcing them. The Board of Guardians in Julianehåb in 1885 reported that on several occasions, almost the entire crew of the trade ship "Nordlyset" had

stayed ashore after the 10 o'clock curfew, "entertaining themselves with the young girls of the colony" in the home of the Greenlandic midwife, and later three named girls had spent the night at the ship. 15 years later, it was again complained that "an abundant youth were crowding to the place during the ship season, the female part committing all sorts of wickedness and indelicacy with the ship crews".[39]

Similar problems were experienced in the Arsuk-Ivigtut relations: Just as the sealing ground at Julianehåb appeared to be a problematic site of contact in-between zones, so did the fishing grounds for the seasonal fishing of *angmagssat* (capelin) between Arsuk and Ivigtut. The local Board of Guardians decided to divide the fishing period between the two groups to forestall sexual and other contact.[40] But the mentioned physician Meldorf found the promiscuous dealings at the fishing ground more intentional than accidental. According to him, the two populations had in Ikerasarsuk "found a way to reduce the distance and facilitate their intercourse" – in the most improper sense of the word: Each summer, at least one male resident of Arsuk would supposedly camp at the site along with a number of young village girls and claim to be fishing; while in fact, he was "running a *literal* brothel for the Ivigtut workers", some of whom were also infected by gonorrhoea.[41]

It may be disputable if 'brothel' is the most fitting label for the Ikerasarsuk encounters, even if the Frederikshåb Missionary, too, reported on rumours that "a Greenlander from Arsuk partly makes his living as a brothel keeper". Several members of the Board of Guardians had already more than a decade earlier stated that an Arsuk sealer was known to take his umiak to a site near Ivigtut "to allow the Ivigtut workers to have intercourse with the female crew". Since none of these sources mention any kind of payment to the women or to the sealer, the limited material would only allow us to speculate on the nature of the encounters, the exchange and power balances involved.[42] What we *can* conclude, supported also by the recurrence and spread of venereal disease, as well as the increasing number of 'illegitimate' children with Danish fathers, is that neither native women, nor foreign men, would always comply with the zoning regulation, despite of its protective intentions.[43]

Surveilling bodies

To counter this lack of compliance, another kind of technology aimed at ensuring that both populations were kept under strict surveillance by those in a position to exercise authority over them.

In the case of trade or administrative employees, mining workers, and ships crews, such authority was formalized in written general regulation and individual contracts, and assigned to their professional superiors. As we have seen, shipmasters should accompany their crew on shore leave to observe that no improprieties took place. It was their responsibility that the crew returned to the ship at 10 p.m. after dances; and that no female Greenlander was taken on board. And it was also in their power to punish staff – corporally, economically, or by discharge – in case of serious violations of the rules. Similar obligations and authority were assigned to the mining controllers.[44]

Open air dance in Arsuk 1898. When foreign men took part in local dances, there was a strict curfew, and both they and the Greenlandic women were to be carefully monitored by their work or household superiors to prevent them from strolling into the hills together. Photo: Regnar Wilhelm Gerard Bentzen, dated 1898. Arktiske Billeder.

Knowing that foreign men despite of these efforts tended to appear in the wrong places at the wrong time, it is interesting that the problems of controlling the sexual conduct of female Greenlanders seems to have been among the largest challenges in the eyes of colonial authorities – Danish, as well as Greenlandic – to judge from the centrality of the subject in the source material. For this apparently troublesome purpose, they drew on a traditional hierarchical structure of the Greenlandic society: The supremacy of the (male) head of household, and his right and obligation to control the subordinate members of his house, in this case 'his' women.

In 1884, the Directorate in Copenhagen wrote to the Inspectors in Greenland that since a highly contagious disease appeared to be transmitting itself through corporeal intercourse between man and woman, "all masters of household should carefully observe that the women of their houses not engage in promiscuity with foreign sailors or workers". Should he tolerate such immoralities, the Board of Guardians was to sentence him to a severe punishment, and exclude him from his part of the repartition.[45] The Boards, when facing problems with 'promiscuous' women, often resorted to this provision. In Godthåb, they decided in 1886 to firmly

instruct the masters of households that they would be held responsible for the excesses of female household members. Two decades later, the Board again stressed that the masters of household were to "guard their young ones and keep them from accompanying the sailors to the harbour" and from following them across the hills. In Jakobshavn in 1910, house masters were directed in the same way, also related to the dances and the hillside excursions that seem to unavoidably succeed them.[46]

In addition to the supervision by superiors or heads of household, also colonial officials and administrators were to engage in the task of preventing unwanted contact. The managers of the colonies and of the smaller trade stations; the Boards of Guardians; and the two regional Inspectors were all, at different levels, involved in mediating the rules, observing that they were obeyed, and reporting to the metropole.[47] The fact that at least part of the male population of the colony contributed to controlling their women's whereabouts did not pass unnoticed by Danish authorities. The Inspector of Northern Greenland recognised in 1903 that "the male population of Godhavn had always carefully prevented indecent communication between foreign ship crews and indigenous women". A few years later, the Administration in a letter to the Ministry of the Interior expressed their appreciation of the "indigenous Guardians" in Julianehåb who had decided to impress the masters of household with their duties in this matter.[48]

As the problematisations of sexual contacts came to focus on venereal disease, another kind of surveillance became equally important: the medical surveillance of the bodies entering the colony, and of the local populations potentially infected. Already a circular from 1806 took explicit precautions to prevent that venereal disease was carried into the colony by new arrivals: If a 'skipper' observed any such disease among his crew, he was to report it immediately at arrival in a colonial harbour. Later in the century, the skipper's estimation was replaced by a professional medical examination of anyone employed to work in the colony before leaving Denmark.[49] Hundreds of individual health certificates from the late 19th Century in the Danish National Archives illustrate that the ambition to shield the colony to venereal disease by screening newcomers was to be taken seriously.[50]

Of course, the system was not impenetrable: Some Trade ships – and almost all from foreign nations – could not present all the required documents. In addition, as medical doctors explained, sailors might acquire venereal infections during their last, animated days before departing Copenhagen; and physical symptoms might appear only during the long voyage. Meldorf and others suggested obligatory medical examinations of all individuals arriving at Greenland. But as far as I can see, this was never instigated during the period covered by this investigation. A renewed regulation of 1908 stated that shipmasters at arrival should declare whether they suspected any crew member or passenger to carry contagious infections, for instance venereal; a non-expert judgement that did not satisfy the medical expertise establishing itself in the colony.[51]

The counterpart to the medical surveillance of foreign individuals arriving in

Greenland to prevent the 'import' of contagion was the medical examination of local populations when infection was suspected. If a physician, to prevent contagious diseases from causing "Death and other misery", felt compelled to examine the health of an indigenous population, it was obliged to succumb to his examination – and the local authorities should support him in performing his work. [52] When the physician Alfred Bertelsen in the late 1930s compiled his and his predecessors' experiences and data gathering in Greenland, he could refer to countless such examinations of entire settlement populations. In case of venereal diseases, the examinations preferably included all sexually mature individuals, that is, anyone from the age of 12.[53]

The medical examinations of populations were a means to monitor the dissemination – and, fortunately, at times also the elimination – of infectious diseases as for instance syphilis and gonorrhoea. They informed colonial authorities' decisions to isolate infected settlements in order to prevent the contagion from spreading to other localities; and to take off the quarantine when no signs of active disease remained. And they provided data on which to generate a more general knowledge on the bodies, and the patterns of health and illness, particular to the colony, as Bertelsen's work demonstrates.[54]

However, they also generated opposition from (some of) the Greenlanders subject not only to the 'medical gaze' of the Danish doctors, but the 'physicals' it implied. The district medical officer of Julianehåb felt that conducting a 'general examination' on a population would turn them against the (medical) authorities. His colleague in Jakobshavn reported during an outburst of gonorrhoea that despite the "obstinacy with which the Greenlanders in this colony have concealed this disease in nearly half a year" he had now examined most of the male population – except from the head catechist, since he was the subject of Danish law. A few men had refused examination, and so had almost all widows. Among the married women, he had only examined those whose husbands were infected, since he "found it unjust to demand" from this group something that the widows could refuse.[55]

These medical experts were more or less aware that the general examinations of Greenlanders (as opposed to Danes) could feel humiliating. But the report of the Jakobshavn doctor suggests yet another reason for concealing a contagious disease, as he concluded: "According to the Instruction for Physicians, §9, we will attempt to maintain the Isolation…" The detection of a venereal epidemic could have far-reaching and prolonged consequences also for the mobility and the external communication of an entire settlement population.

Placing problematic bodies – Isolation and dislocation

Arsuk is emblematic for the technologies of isolation put to work once venereal disease had reached the colony, even if isolation was used in other localities, and in case of other epidemics than venereal ones. In 1856 the first Danish labour arrived at the quarry in Ivigtut. And in 1872, Arsuk was the place to challenge the aspirations that venereal disease could be intercepted at the gateways of the colony.

After the first instances of syphilis had

Young Arsuk women photographed in 1899: the year when locals requested that the isolation be lifted after a decade with no incidents of syphilis – only to learn that the settlement was now infected with gonorrhea and isolation provisions accordingly still necessary. Photo: Möller, dated 5 April 1899. The Royal Library, Denmark. Billedsamlingen, Den Topografiske Samling, Grønland 4to.

been detected in Arsuk, the settlement was soon subject to regulations in order to close it off to the outside: Since visiting the quarry in Ivigtut, as explained in a letter from the Inspectorate, had proven harmful to the local population, any such visit was immediately forbidden, and local authorities should pay particular attention to female Greenlanders trying to reach Ivigtut by umiak.[56] In this new situation, however, it was no longer merely a matter of protecting the native population against foreign contacts: Some Greenlanders were already marked by this contact; they had themselves become contagious and thus dangerous to the rest of their people. As syphilis proved difficult to battle with less radical means, a circular from 1882 declared that Arsuk, as well as Ivigtut, was to be cut off from any communication with the remaining colony. Moving to and from the settlement was prohibited as a general rule, and individual permission to leave depended entirely on the ability to present a medical certificate stating that one was not infected with syphilis.[57]

The Board of Guardians of the district – Frederikshåb – was deeply involved in the attempts to contain and battle infection. In 1883 the members unanimously decided

on a local circular specifying the provisions necessary to carry out the isolation of Arsuk. They also agreed on urging the neighbouring district, Julianehåb, to pass similar regulations in order to prevent that Greenlanders from their district attempted to enter the isolated community.[58]

Isolation related to epidemics is by definition a temporary measure: provisions will be lifted when the contagious illness has been fought down. By the end of the century, the radical measures to isolate the infected population of Arsuk and contain the disease finally seemed to have proved successful. No new incidents of syphilis had been found in general examinations of the Arsuk population by doctor Helms in 1890 and 1893. To his knowledge, this had been the case for about a decade; hence, isolation was no longer necessary.[59] Meldorf in principle agreed a few years later – *but*, he continued, it was imperative to first eliminate the risk of renewed transmission of disease from the Ivigtut workers and crews, even if isolation could have negative consequences. His concern was not the social restrictions on the population, but rather the biological consequences, the inbreeding caused by enclosing a small population over a longer period of time. But this consideration was secondary in relation to preventing renewed venereal infection. The most radical solution would be to abolish the settlement and relocate its population further away from Ivigtut; but Meldorf was not confident that this would be efficient.[60]

At the time of Meldorf's report, also Greenlandic voices were beginning to question the continued isolation of Arsuk. In 1899 Arsuk sealers presented the local Board with a request that the isolation be lifted, since they were unable to provide their necessary means of existence by sealing alone, and the isolation therefore was a heavy burden on their lives. But the outbreak of a new venereal epidemic, this time of gonorrhoea, had forestalled them. Under these circumstances, neither the chairman of the board, nor the Inspector of the region could support their wish.[61]

As far as I have traced the story, Arsuk remained infected and affected by venereal disease. Whenever disease was thought to be eliminated, the native members of the Board of Guardians took up the suggestion to lift the isolation, since the rules felt oppressive to the population.[62] But each time, new instances of gonorrhoea had been, or were soon, disclosed. In 1910, after new cases of gonorrhoea had once again been reported, the Board itself asked that isolation be continued, as long as the disease ravaged in Arsuk. Instead of pulling down the regulatory fences around the settlement, they now requested that a medical expert should be brought into the isolated site. In 1912, a new regulation repeated the provisions that had – in principle – isolated the settlement since the early 1880s: No 'external' Greenlander could enter Arsuk, Ivigtut or the cobber mine at Ivnatsiak. Greenlandic men could be granted one-day access to the mines; but "Greenlandic women in Arsuk cannot visit other settlements. A zone must be established between Arsuk and Ivigtut that they are not allowed to enter."[63]

As Helms described it, the Arsuk population already in the early 1890s found it "offensive and embarrassing" to be "living as lepers", and to be disdained even by their own people as "moral and sanitary

outcast".[64] One of the burdens experienced by the isolated Arsuk'ers was the fact that the settlement was not only (attempted to be) entirely fenced in. It was also transformed in to a site for internment of infected Greenlandic individuals from other parts of the colony, both during the syphilis- and later the gonorrhoea epidemic.[65] Arsuk was contained – and a container for the venereal waste of other localities.

While some Greenlanders were collectively deprived of their mobility and kept in a particular site by isolation, other single individuals were subject to relocation from one place to another. This could be the case if they were infected by, and infectious with venereal disease. But it could also relate to other problematisations of the undesired sexual encounters.

Let me finally return to the case with which I opened this article: The suggestion from Frederikshåb Board of Guardians in 1908 to move promiscuous women to a desert island during the ship season and the similar suggestion put forward by the Godthåb Board already in 1885. The Danish colonial authorities did not sanction either of the decisions. As the Inspector commented in 1901, the Boards were not authorised to decide on such a measure; and anyway, he found it rather unrealistic that one would be able to remove all young girls and 'loose women' each time a ship arrived at a Greenlandic harbour.[66] These objections concerned the distribution of colonial authority, and the feasibility and efficiency of the suggestion – not the principal propriety of dislocating Greenlandic women whose sexual behaviour was found problematic.

The fact that the administration's disapproval of Godthåb's decision was repeated several times in the years around 1900 indicates, along with other archival material, that dislocation of troublesome, immoral, promiscuous women was not entirely unheard of. In 1888, six Arsuk women stood before the Frederikshåb Board of Guardians, accused of fornicating with Ivigtut workers. One of them was sentenced to be removed to a remote relative. In 1900, a large group of women had boarded a trade ship in the harbour of Godthåb, and several local men had assisted the Board in bringing the women home to their houses. At the trial, it came out that two of the women had already earlier been expelled from Godthåb and relocated outside the colony due to immoral behaviour. In Frederikshåb again, in 1901, all members of the Board agreed to dislocate a woman who had on several occasions transmitted venereal infections from the sailors at Ivigtut to Julianehåb.[67]

For what reasons should these women be (temporarily) expelled from their community? In relation to Frederikshåb, the fact that Arsuk had been marked almost continuously since the early 1870s by venereal epidemics and/or isolation provisions could seem a sufficient explanation to the creativity invested in the suggestion. But if we turn to Godthåb, their problematisation in no way related to physical or medical consequences of sexual encounters. The problem, as stated unanimously by the Board, was about female Greenlanders "swarming the street" when American ships called on the Godthåb harbour. To their minds, "it was a great shame and disgrace for the local population that its women could demonstrate such a shameless and impudent behav-

iour". Hence, "it must be pivotal to all decent men and women of the community to put a halt to this evil", all members agreed. The intended exclusion of such promiscuous females, and their isolation on an island, was explicitly defined as a "punishment for fornicating with foreign ships crews, workers, or other Europeans". Before being transported to the island, they would first have her hair top cut off; a means of punishment often used towards women who had committed serious offences.[68] The remaining question is what did these women offend?

I have argued that problematisations of sexual relations between Greenlandic women and foreigners depended on a colonial rationality concerned with the cultural pollution inflicted by too much contact. It relied on an idea of the Greenlandic culture as 'natural', 'immature', 'uncivilised' – and as such in need of protection by the representatives of the 'adult' and 'civilised Europeans. In the last decades of the 19th century a male, Greenlandic elite was gradually beginning to emerge around particular professions. An elite that was, according to themselves and to parts of the Danish administration and political sphere, now slowly reaching a state of maturity and civilisation enabling them to take responsibility for their own matters. As we have seen, some of them engaged heavily in policing the promiscuous women of their people.

Perhaps, what we find here are traces of an emerging Greenlandic parallel to the colonial image of a cultural pollution threatening the colony and its population from the outside: A concern not about the external sources of pollution, but about the damages that could be inflicted *from inside* to the developing status and identity as modern, civilised, and matured Greenlanders. The conceaved uncontrolled, irresponsible sexual behaviour of certain women seriously compromised this identity, as it confirmed an almost invincible imagery of what was often referred to as "the well- known Greenlandic promiscuity"; an image of Greenlanders' lack of civilisation that many of them now found it crucial to dismantle. Promiscuous women in this perspective represented a 'staining of civilisation' that differed from, but went hand in hand with, the contemporary colonial rationalities and problematisations.

Conclusion

Parthe Chatterjee's definition of colonialism as a *rule of difference* has profoundly influenced the optics of modern (post)colonial studies. And the Greenlandic case taken up in this article is clearly about making the colonial system work by means of establishing and maintaining difference. That said, Nicholas Thomas has argued "that only localized theories and historically specific accounts can provide much insight into the varied articulations of colonizing and counter-colonial representations and practices".[69] Such localised colonial studies do as yet remain relatively scarce related to the Danish-Greenlandic colonial history.

In line with Thomas, also Sara Mills has cautioned against the assumption that any general definition or conceptualisation of colonialism relates to a meaningful totality – what she calls the monolithic conception of colonialism – and suggested a turn exactly towards analysing particular practices of colonial spatialisations as one

possible means of avoiding this presumption.[70] I have taken up this challenge in my article, knowing that this of course implies leaving out a host of other, equally relevant ways of approaching and interpreting the undesired contacts in colonial Greenland.

Colonial systems are, as so many scholars have convincingly argued, profoundly gendered, and the history that I have explored in this article is very explicitly so.[71] What I have wished to contribute with this localised analysis is an understanding of how the historical problematisations of sexual relations between Greenlandic women and foreign men were imbued with a spatialising rationality that rendered female bodies and sexual behaviour particularly problematic: One that drew the lines of difference based on ideas of intimate links between space/nature and culture; and that envisioned the colonised as a people of nature, hence strong in their natural life, but extremely vulnerable to cultural impressions. Sexual contacts in this context became particularly dangerous, since the offspring expected from them were suspected to lose their capacities for living in pact with nature by sealing. The importance of the sexual conduct of Greenlandic women was first due to their roles as reproducers, in the most physical sense, of the embodied *cultural capacities* of true Greenlanders. When venereal disease entered the colony in the 1870s, this only furthered the anxieties as to what the already troublesome bodily encounters would bring the colony and its people: The cultural fragility was accompanied by a biological vulnerability to the diseases of modernity transmitted in colonial contacts. Now, not only cultural capacities were potentially endangered; the very *health and reproduction of the population* was threatened if native women did not manage their sexuality in a responsible and moral way. In addition, emergent elite of male Greenlanders seems to have problematised female promiscuous behaviour due to the stains it may leave on their new identity as civilised members of a maturing Greenland on the threshold of modernity.

There were reasons enough to try to avoid those undesired contacts; and practices enough aiming at doing so. I have thematised these practices as different spatial technologies, that is, different ways of managing the bodily encounters by means of the space particular to the colony. Firstly, one of *zoning* the space into separate spheres for Greenlanders and foreigners and densely regulating the transgression of the boundaries between them. Secondly, one of *surveilling* the zones and the bodies that inhabited them. And thirdly, one of managing problematic bodies by *placing* them in particular localities, either by preventing their mobility, *or* by enforcing them to move from and to certain localities. We can think of the three as working respectively *on*, *in*, and *by* the space of colonial Greenland.

It is important to emphasise that the actual, physical/geographical space of the arctic colony was not merely a passive site for or backcloth to the rationalities and technologies explored in this article. It was an active and constituent element in the colonial rationalisation of difference and hence of the necessity to manage colonial contacts in the most cautious ways. And space was centre stage in the technologies applied in order to do so. The vast

distance between colony and metropole, the fundamental differences in climate and nature conditions between the two, the visible differences in physiological appearance between their inhabitants all facilitated and supported particular ways of rationalising the fundamental differentiation on which the colonial system relied. At the same time, the technologies that I have discussed operated in, on, and by the particular circumstances provided by the space characteristic of the colony. For instance, the slow and difficult access to Greenland facilitated the ambitions and attempts to fence in the colony and block potential sources of pollution and infection at its gates. Likewise, the dispersed settlement in the colony was a necessary premise for working with certain technologies of isolation and dislocation that would have been practically unthinkable in densely populated Denmark.

This 'agency' of space does not, however, imply that the practices involved in managing it were merely a necessary, functional by-product. They were exactly such works of thought in the widest sense – depending on the knowledge, ideas, theories, techniques, social relations and economical processes of the time and place – as Foucault invited us to study.[72] None of the spatial techniques that I have explored would have been thinkable without the notion of a fundamental, hierarchical difference between a superior colonising power and a subordinate colonised population. But, as we have seen, closing in on the locality invites us to acknowledge that, as both Thomas and Mills argue, such a general colonial discourse of difference assumes its concrete shape in complex interaction with particular historical, socio-cultural and even geographical circumstances.

Finally, the story told above will remind us that governmental technologies do not always produce the intended effects: Although the sexual boundaries were pivotal both to Danish colonisers and a male Greenlandic elite, and despite of the steady flow of regulation, surveillance, knowledge production, containment and punishment, bodies continued to transgress these boundaries, and – for whatever reasons there might have been – to offer resistance to the ways they were attempted to be governed.

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Notes

1 Largely similar rules were included in the revised Instruction of 1873.
2 In a 1984 interview conducted by François Ewald for the French Magazine Littéraire, Foucault claimed *problematisation* to be the core notion to all his work since the History of Madness – although, he admitted, he had never isolated it sufficiently. Foucault, 1988, p. 257.
3 Foucault, 2000, p. 118.
4 Foucault, 2001, p. 171; 1988, p. 257; 2000, p. 117; quotation 1996, p. 408.
5 Foucault, 2001, p. 171.
6 I introduce these four analytical aspects of problematisationin my dissertation on Danish abortion policy in the 1930s and 1970s. Nexø, 2005, pp. 28–35.
7 Overviews of some of the works concerned with these aspects of colonialism and imperialism can be found in the mentioned works of Ballantyne and Burton, 2005; 2009; and Mills, 2005.
8 Ballantyne and Burton, 2005; 2009. The notion elaborates on Pratt's conceptualization of

colonial contact zones, and is explored in a variety of particular settings in the two edited volumes. Geographer Sara Mills, too, has stressed the importance of gender and space in colonial history studies; Mills, 2005.

9 Ballantyne and Burton, 2005, p. 4.

10 Ballantyne and Burton, 2005, pp. 6–8 (quote p. 6); 406–7. Pratt's often cited definition of contact-zones is coined in *Imperial Eyes*, 1992, p.4.

11 Ballantyne and Burton, 2005, p. 407.

12 Mills, 2005.

13 Fægteborg, 2009; Kjær-Sørensen, 1983; Gad, 1984, p. 178ff.;DIIS, 2007, p. 10; Betænkning, 1921, s. 5; Heinrich, Nexø and Nielsen, 2011; Bricka 1890; http://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Egede .

14 Particularly from the mid 19th Century and onwards, a vast amount of scientific reports and expedition accounts bear witness to the increasing demand for exact knowledge about every thinkable aspect of this *terra incognita* on which to base efficient mercantile as well as governmental strategies. An illustrative example is the large series of scientific monographs published in "Meddelelser om Grønland" since 1878. By 2009, the series consisted of 345 volumes containing more than 1200 titles/studies.

15 See for instance Diis, 2007, s. 13.

16 The image of Greenlandic culture as immature, uncivilised and in need of protection is often mentioned in the literature, lately in Søren Rud's dissertation, Rud 2010. See also Rud, 2009; Diis, 2007, pp. 11–13; Manniche 2002.

17 Instrux 1782, Fourth post, §1.

18 In this context, *the colonies* refer to the trade stations established by the KGH and the settlements developing around them.

19 Instrux 1782, First post, §3; Fourth post, §4.

20 Instrux 1782, Fourth post, §3. §5 stresses – again – that European food will cause laziness towards sealing.

21 Instrux 1782, First post, §3.

22 Instrux 1782, First post, §4.

23 Instrux 1782, Second post, §7. Inge Seiding (2011) describes the concerns for girls' education as true Greenlanders.

24 Seiding, 2011; Rud 2009. See also Rud 2010, p. 36.

25 Interestingly, the mission from the very beginning claimed that although primitive and unpolished at the present state, Greenlanders were in no way alien to the beliefs and morals carried to them by European missionaries. Mission did not represent a source of pollution.

26 Meldorf, 1898, p. 238.

27 Meldorf, 1898, p. 239.

28 Afskrift af Julianehåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 28. september 1874 (RA-K); Meddelelser, nr. 3, 1888.Skrivelse af 15. marts 1912 fra Administrationen af den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel til Indenrigsministeriet, B&K, nr. 2, 1912.

29 Rud, 2010.

30 Instrux 1782, First post, §3. Instruks 1873, §15.

31 Stephen Legg, in his works on prostitution in colonial India, also emphasises such strategies of spacing in order to regulate contacts between native prostitutes and foreign men – and women; Legg, 2009.

32 See for instance Instruks af 28. april 1885 (for the Controller of the cryolitequarry at Ivigtut-near the settlement Arsuk), Meddelelser, no. 3, 1885; and Skrivelse af 17. marts 1886 fra Direktoratet for den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel til Inspektørerne i Grønland, Meddelelser, no. 2, 1886.

33 Skrivelse af 17. marts 1886, Meddelelser, no. 2, 1886.

34 Afskrift af Jakobshavns Forstanderskabs protokol, 13. april 1910 (RA-F).

35 Instruks af 28. april 1885, Meddelelser, no. 3, 1885. Skrivelse af 15. marts 1912, B&K, nr. 2, 1912.

36 See for instance Skrivelse af 17. marts 1886, Meddelelser, no. 2, 1886.; and Instruks af 8. marts 1911, B&K, no. 1, 1911.

37 Skrivelse af 15. marts 1912, B&K, no. 2, 1912.

38 Skrivelse af 25. oktober 1910, B&K, no. 4, 1910.

39 Afskrift af Julianehåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 5. og 6. maj 1885 (RA-K); 3. maj 1900 (RA-F).

40 Afskrift af Frederikshåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 17. maj 1899 (RA-F).

41 Meldorf, 1898, p. 239–40.

42 Udkast til brev fra Inspektøren af Sydgrønland til Ministeriet for Kirke og Undervisning, 4. maj 1901 (RA-F); Afskrift af Frederikshåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 18. september 1885 (RA-K).

43 For the latter, see Heinrich, Nexø and Nielsen, 2011, Chapter 6.
44 Instruks af 28. april 1885, Meddelelser, no. 3, 1885; Instruks af 8. marts 1911, B&K, no. 1, 1911; Skibsfører-instrukser 1909–17 (RA-S).
45 Skrivelse af 12. juni 1884 fra Direktoratet til Inspektoraterne, Meddelelser, no. 3, 1884. The 'repartition' was the surplus sum generated by the local procurement of goods to the trade, and distributed each year among the sealers.
46 Afskrift af Godthåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 30. april og 1. maj 1886 (RA-K); Forslag fra Julianehåbs Forstanderskab, 8. maj 1900 (RA-F);Skrivelse af 25. oktober 1910, B&K, nr. 4, 1910; Afskrift af Jakobshavns Forstanderskabsprotokol, 13. april 1910 (RA-F).
47 See for instance Skrivelse af 12. juni 1884 that compels the Boards of Guardians to contribute *to the utmost of their capacity* to preventing the dissemination of venereal disease in the colony, Meddelelser, no. 3, 1884.
48 Kopi af indberetning af 16. maj 1905 fra Direktoratet for Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel til Indenrigsministeriet (RA-F). Skrivelse af 14. juni 1911 fra Administrationen til Indenrigsministeriet ang. forstanderskabernes forhandlinger 1909–10, B&K, nr. 3, 1911.
49 Cirkulære af 12. april 1806 fra Direktoratet for Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel. Quoted in Bertelsen, vol. III, 1940, p. 77.
50 Sundhedsattester for skibsbesætninger 1884–1886 (RA-A).
51 Brev af 4. februar 1880 fra Indenrigsministeriet til Direktionen f. Kgl. Grønlandske Handel; Underretning til Søfarende i Davis Strædet, bekjendtgjort af Direktoratet under 8de Maj 1884, Meddelelser, no. 3, 1888; Brev af 15. august 1904 fra Inspektøren for Nordgrønland til Direktoratet for den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel (RA-F); Lægeindberetninger, Kønssygdomme ved Arsuk m.m. (RA-L); Meldorf 1898; Meddelelser, no. 4, 1908;Skrivelse af 25. oktober 1910, B&K, no. 4, 1910; Bertelsen, vol. II., 1937, p. 157; Instruks af 8. marts 1911, B&K, no. 1, 1911. Shipmaster's declarations at arrival in Greenland can be found in RA-I. A particular problem were the ships of other nations – Scottish whalers, American fishers – from whom one could not acquire (or trust) health certificates. Brev af 15. august 1904 fra Inspektoratet for Nordgrønland til Direktoratet for den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel ang. indfødtes gåen om bord i fremmede nationers skibe (RA-F).
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53 Bertelsen 1940, p. 75–81. Meldorf 1898.
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57 Cirkulære af 7. august 1882 til Forstanderskabet i Frederikshåb (RA-L); Afskrift af Frederikshåb Forstanderskabsprotokol 17. september 1883 (RA-K); Bertelsen 1940.
58 Afskrift af Frederikshåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 17. september 1883 (RA-K).
59 Helms 1894.
60 Meldorf 1898, p. 237–38, 242.
61 Referat af Frederikshåb Forstanderskabsprotokol, 2. september 1899 (RA-F); Brev af 31. august 1900 fra Inspektøren for Sydgrønland til Direktoratet for den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel (RA-F).
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many cases when women were dislocated due to immoral relations to *Greenlandic* men.

68 Afskrift af Godthåbs Forstanderskabsprotokol, 30. september 1885 (RA-K).

69 Chatterjee, 1993;Thomas, 1994, p. ix.

70 Mills, 2005.

71 See for instance Ballantyne and Burton 2005, 2009; Mills 2005; Seiding 2011; Stoler 2002.

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The Bog and the Beast

Museums, the Nation, and the Globe

By Peggy Levitt[1]

During the 2008 United States' presidential campaign, Barack Obama told an adoring crowd of more than 250,000 gathered in Berlin's Tiergarten that he was speaking to them as a citizen of the United States and as a citizen of the world. The President's globalism contrasts sharply with the fierce nationalism and anti-immigrant fever plaguing parts of Europe and the United States. How do we reconcile these two seemingly clashing views? And how might we move beyond them?

Museums are one place to look for answers. Ever since the leaders of the new French Republic opened the doors of the Louvre to the general public, cultural institutions have played starring roles in the drama of nation building. But in today's global world, what kinds of citizens are museums creating? What combinations of identities, from the very global to the local, do they reflect and who is embracing them? What can we learn from the choices curators make about how nations respond to immigration and their changing positions in the globe?

This article, based on research on museum professionals in the U.S., Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, focuses on the cases of Sweden and Denmark to explore these questions. All of the museums I studied showcase their nation's increasing diversity and encourage visitors to engage with global issues to varying degrees. The relative weight given to the national, regional or the global in each country reflects an implicit division of labor within and between institutions and differences in how museum staff perceive the relationship between nationalism and globalism and the role museums play in shaping it.

Migration, Globalization, and Museums

We live in a world on the move. There are an estimated 214 million international migrants worldwide, up from 150 million in 2000. In 2010, one in nine people lived in a country where migrants made up 10 or more percent of the population (Terrazas 2011). One out of every 33 persons in the world today is a migrant (IOM 2011).

Much migration scholarship has focused on immigrant incorporation – on how migrants become part of the countries where they settle. Recent work, on both sides of the Atlantic, reveals how migrants continue to invest, vote, and pray in the countries they come from at the same time that they remain active in the economic and political life of the countries where they move (Faist 2012, Caglar 2007, Glick Schiller 2005, Bocaggni 2011, Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011). Both sending and receiving states are waking up to these dynamics and creating new ways to encourage long-term membership without residence and forms of participation and representation that do not require full citizenship. Among the EU-15, for example, only six countries require that people renounce their former citizenship when they naturalize. Countries outside of Europe, like Turkey, India, Tunisia, Mexico, El Salvador, Colombia and the Dominican Republic have also eased restrictions on people that naturalize, allowing immigrants to retain citizenship, make it easier to regain it, or easing the consequences of losing it. In general, though, while more and more migrants live some aspects of their lives across borders, they continue to be served by legal, educational, and health

care systems that remain stubbornly inside the boundaries of the nation-state.

At the same time, and as a result, we are witnessing the rise of "superdiverse" urban spaces (Vertovec 2007). Because migrants from a wider range of countries are settling in more places, with very different legal statuses and access to rights and services, new patterns of inequality and discrimination are emerging. This new complexity is layered onto existing patterns of socioeconomic diversity, residential segregation and social exclusion. What would enable these migrants and the native-born to embrace what Glick Schiller and her colleagues (2011) call cosmopolitan sociabilities or the competencies and communication skills that allow people to create social relations of openness and inclusiveness in the world? What conditions create what Gilroy (2005) calls "multicultural conviviality," that arises when cultures, histories, and structures of meaning that had been kept apart by large distances now come together in the school, bus, café, cell, waiting room, or traffic jam? Achieving conviviality does not negate difference or deny that power inequalities persist. The end goal is not a universalistic self-definition or a single global political project. But if, as Beck (2008) argues, cosmopolitanism is a necessity rather than a luxury, how do we move beyond it as an attitude or an ethos to create participatory institutions that reflect and respond to contemporary global integration (Calhoun 2008)? Where might the cultural elements come from with which to reimagine, let alone put into place, a social contract that is not fulfilled solely inside the nation-state?

The answers to these questions vary in different countries according to their philosophies of integration and narratives about who already belongs to the nation and who is allowed to join (Favell 2001, Bramadat and Koenig 2009). They vary based on how the nation sees itself in the world. Each country's diversity management regime reflect deeply ingrained assumptions about how much "they" can become part of "us." National incentive structures also reward certain kinds of identities and strengthen certain groups (Bloomraed 2006). In the United States, for example, accepting an ethnic or religious label or creating a formal organization based on race or ethnicity enhances access to state protection and support (Johnson 2007, Kurien 2007).

Cultural institutions both respond to and create the backdrop against which these intergroup dynamics take shape. Nations perform themselves differently (Errington 1998, McClellan 2008, Coombes 2004, Dias 2008) and museums are central stages where these imaginings are articulated and disseminated (Prezioni and Farago 2004). Breckenridge (1989), for example, argued that museums and international exhibits created a "Victorian Ecumene," a transnational imagined community including Great Britain, the U.S. and India in a discursive space that was both global and nation-specific. Dias (2008) argued that the institutional ancestors of today's Quai Branley wanted to simultaneously affirm the distinctness of French culture and stress its roots in universal values. As McClellan writes (2008: 30), "the value of many works as national patrimony stemmed directly from their perceived worth as the cultural heritage of

mankind." Moreover, the museum world itself is becoming increasingly global. More and more museums belong to global organizational networks and/or franchises, although museum governance still remains primarily national.

The challenge writes Bennett (2006:59) is to "reinvent the museum as an institution that can orchestrate new relations and perceptions of difference that both break free from the hierarchically organized forms of stigmatic othering that characterized the exhibitionary complex and provide more socially invigorating and, from a civic perspective, more beneficial interfaces with different cultures." One way to do this is to build on the museum as a kind of "differencing machine" that facilitates cross-cultural dialogue. According respect and recognition to previously marginalized groups, inviting their members to tell their own stories, combining exhibits with educational programming, and repatriating objects with questionable genealogies are now standard parts of museum practice. Various museums, especially those in former settler societies with official policies of bi- and multiculturalism, have done this with varying degrees of success (Bennett 2006).

Another view sees museums as simply too flawed to redress their historical wrongs. Ghassan Hage (1998), writing of "zoological multiculturalism," argues that all too often museums become collections of otherness that proudly display diversity as a national possession. Because the White majority still controls the discursive and visual tools with which this is done, difference is too often displayed in an exaggeratedly self-referential, self-congratulatory manner.

Still a third view dismisses these critiques. Writing in response to critics who see museum installations and, therefore, museums themselves, as "never not ideologically motivated and strategically determined," James Cuno (2011:44) asks his readers to confront the obvious: "Is this your experience of museums? Do you walk through the galleries of your local museum and feel controlled in any significant way? Do you feel manipulated by a higher power?" (2011:45). He believes that museums still matter and that "Enlightenment principles still apply" (2011: 7). Collecting, classifying and presenting facts, calling into question unverified truths and opposing prejudice and superstition, and being "confident in the promise of rigorous, intellectual inquiry to lead to truths about the world for the benefit of human progress" are still at the core of the museum's mission.

This study contributes to these debates by examining empirically how museum staff think about these questions and why they do so the way they do in particular national contexts. The findings presented here are based on a larger study of museums and citizenship creation around the world. They draw on my first-hand conversations with museum directors, curators, and policymakers; accounts of past, current and future exhibits; observations of gallery talks and educational programming; and on the stories I've collected of famous paintings, eccentric benefactors, and iconic objects that define their institutions. In the United States, I compare museums in seemingly provincial Boston with their counterparts in the alleged center of the cultural universe – New York. In Europe, I focus on Denmark and

Sweden, two former bastions of tolerance that are now both dotted by pockets of anti-immigrant sentiment. I then ask if museums in Singapore and Qatar create Asian or Muslim global citizens. How does the tension between globalism and nationalism play out outside the West? Finally, my encounters with curators at the Guggenheim and Hermitage Museums in Bilbao and Amsterdam explore if and how a new generation of museums creates global citizens without a nationalist agenda.

Since the spring of 2009, I interviewed over 70 policymakers, academics, museum directors, educators, and curators in Sweden (Stockholm and Gothenburg) and Denmark (Copenhagen). My conversations are about what these individuals think they are doing not about how well they are doing it. My respondents work at all types of museums, both art and ethnographic and not just official "national" institutions, because all of these are sites where the global and national might be explored. In other words, I am interested not only in the authorized, emblematic version of the nation but in all the places where it gets represented and how they fit together. For that reason, I treat museums as embedded in urban organizational fields where they may or may not make decisions in relation to each other. Although I could not study all the museums in each city, I did explore the extent to which each institution saw itself as part of a larger museum community and who its conversations partners were. My findings are not generalizable to the larger museum universe. Rather, they shed light on how staff in particular places, at a particular time, see themselves as creating citizens, what kinds and in what combinations, and what their rights and responsibilities might be. Their answers reflect how these professionals make sense of the relationship between globalism and localism (and all other identities in between) and what they think the role of museums should be in working it out.

I found that an implicit distribution of labor drives how and where difference gets represented in Sweden and Denmark. In both countries, museums showcase the global and internal diversity but to varying degrees and with different goals in mind. As we will see, some curators do not feel that museums are places to create citizens. In general, however, Danish museums engage with the global to reassert the national while, in Sweden, museums try to create global citizens as a valid goal in and of itself. While institutional characteristics, and the unique individuals, collections, personalities, and policies that shape them, explain some of these differences, they also reflect differences in how staff perceive national approaches to diversity management and each country's global role.

The Bog and the Beast – the Danish Case

Few people remember that the Dutch occupied Northeastern Brazil between 1624 and 1654. One of their goals, besides getting rich quickly by carving sugar plantations out of the rainforests, was to flex their colonial muscle and expand a commercial empire that already stretched from present-day Indonesia to Suriname and New York City. The indigenous inhabitants of Brazil were seen as godless savages who needed conquering and convert-

ing. To accomplish their goals, the Dutch set about documenting and classifying daily life. The Governor-General's entourage, including Albert Eckhout and Frans Post who worked as court painters; German natural historian Georg Marcgraf; and Dutch physician Willam Piso, collected written and visual ethnographic information. Art and science were also tools of conquest.

While they never amassed significant riches, the Dutch did produce some of the first European scientific accounts of the region. According to Art Historian Rebecca Parker Brienen (2006), Nassau-Siegen's team generated spectacular, detailed descriptions and illustrations of the plants, animals, and everyday life of the people living in the colonies – one of the richest treasure troves of information about the colonization of the new world and the first glance that many Europeans had of non-Europeans.

Eckhout painted still lifes and figures, including the African, Indian, and mixed-race people living in the colony. Their rich, distinct tones and the range of plants and animals they depicted fueled fantasies about the exotic cannibals and beasts to be found in the new world. Excited viewers responded enthusiastically when Nassau-Siegen brought these reports and artifacts back to Europe in 1644. In fact, people coveted new world accounts and objects so much that some ended up in the Curiosity Cabinets of Denmark's King Frederick III and Louis XIV of France.

This is how the set of nine Eckhout paintings came to be included in the Danish National Museum's ethnographic collection. Walk in the door marked "Peoples of the World" and that is the first thing you see. The "Portrait of the Woman Cannibal Carrying Human Meat in her Basket" is perhaps the most famous and most striking. Seen from far away, its layout resembles many famous portraits of the day, with its tall, imposing figure staring out directly from the canvas.

Despite the major historical significance of these works, many museum visitors just keep walking. There are no wall labels explaining who painted them, how they got to the museum, or how they dramatically influenced the ways in which Europeans imagined "the other" for generations. According to Karen Nyberg, who was head of the department between 2010–2011, "the paintings are virtually unexplained, they are just left as a kind of monument to their artistic value. They are, of course, set in an ethnographic context with objects used by the same people that they refer to, but it is a shame that there is not a little more about how they came into the collection or about the kinds of social processes these kinds of paintings were produced by." The average visitor cannot possibly grasp how much these works shaped European sensibilities about the world beyond their borders or about how backward, inferior, and in need of help from European saviors its inhabitants were.

Contrast this to what greets visitors when they enter the New Danish Prehistory exhibit just downstairs, revamped with great fanfare, just a few years ago. "Experience over 14,000 years of Danish prehistory, from the reindeer-hunters of the Ice Age to the voyages of the Vikings," the Museum website invites visitors. The riches include Denmark's most significant

archeological finds from the Iron, Bronze, Stone, and Viking Ages. Professional archeologists, farmers, and amateur diggers – quite numerous in Denmark – discovered many of these icons in bogs. So the fascination with the Egtved girl, a young, blond, about 16 years old who was buried during the summer of 1370 BC or the magnificent sculpture of a bronze horse pulling an intricately decorated gold-coated disk in a chariot that follows behind him, depicting the sun as it travels from East to West. The Chariot of the Sun, which has become a national icon, is unique. "No religious artifact like it," the Museum's website boasts, "has been found anywhere else in the world." (www.natmus.dk/sw20374.asp).

These treasures, found in bogs and elsewhere, are sumptuously lit and luxuriously ensconced in cases draped in velvet. Extensive text, written in simple language and displayed with eye-catching graphics on attractive, back-lit panels explains in great detail how people lived, worked, and worshipped during each "age." Although commercial and trade links to the outside world are highlighted and ancient, chiseled coins are showcased, connection to the outside is not the central theme. "If you put up great signs telling these things in a few sentences you would be a missionary. The visitor has to work his way through to get that a lot of what is there is of foreign origin but it is also a national treasure," said Museum Director Per Kristian Madsen. "The Sun Chariot, which you see everywhere, was probably made in Denmark but the belief in the sun as a God was not widespread here during the Bronze Age… Many things going on in Denmark were also going on in Southern Europe. There is a plaster caste of the Emperor Augustus to remind you that 2000 years ago, the world was not restricted. People up here knew of him and his ideas and he knew about Denmark."

The contrast between "the pre-historic bog" and the ethnographic, meat-eating "beast" reflects deep divisions within the museum over how its sees its place in the world. Most curators agreed that, at least right now, Danish pre-history is the favorite child while the ethnographic collection is the step-child. This was not always the case. In fact, the ethnographic collection at the Danish National Museum used to be its jewel in the crown. According to Inger Sjørslev, a former curator who is now a professor of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen, in the 1960s and 70s, the museum staff saw their role as pedagogical – to teach the Danish people that there were other ways of living and thinking – that you didn't have to live as Danes do.[2] Before airplane travel, *The History Channel*, and foreign films became commonplace in Denmark, the public flocked to the Museum but by the 1980s, mass media had brought the world to Denmark. Danes began traveling widely. They did not need the museum to learn about the outside world.

According to Director Madsen, it is not that the ethnographic collection has been sidelined. It's simply that I am conducting my research at a particular point in the museum's cycle of renovations. If I had come in the 1990s, when the ethnographic material were last reinstalled, I would have seen a state-of-the-art exhibit using the latest technology. The ethnographic collection was supposed to be like a three-legged stool – the "People's of the

World" exhibit; a sort of open storage, treasure-trove exhibit that would display, side-by-side, a variety of utensils, tools, and clothing from the museum's warehouses; and a space for in-depth didactic exhibits. Unfortunately, the department lost that third space to make way for more school programming.

Diversity, however, is represented in other parts of the museum and other places around the city. In the children's section of the DNM, there is an exhibit about the Pakistani immigrant community created in collaboration with and from materials donated by its members. In the classroom area, where school groups begin their tours, there are religious objects, instruments, and clothing from other countries that children can touch and try on. The Danish Modern History collection, which reopened in 2001, tells the stories of Denmark from 1660–2000. When curators discussed the exhibit's redesign, and the herculean task of covering more than 300 years of history, they struggled with how to tell a single national story that had grown so diverse. They realized, according to Lykke Pedersen, the lead curator, that Denmark does not have one story but many and that they needed to celebrate different perspectives at different points in time that would sometimes struggle or compete with one another. "Danishness was more like a question than an answer," she said. In a section entitled "New Danes" a 47 year-old taxi driver from the former Yugoslavia and a 40 year old woman of Jewish origin share their stories. A Qu'ran is showcased in a short section on Islam.

Across the city, the Copenhagen Museum and the Statens Museum for Kunst (National Gallery of Denmark) are also doing their part. In 2011, the Copenhagen Museum launched an exhibit entitled, "Becoming a Copenhagener" which is "the first exhibition that places immigration at the very core of Copenhagen's development… not just as a curious feature in the life of the town, but rather as a key ingredient in the town's growth and development." Copenhagen would not exist without this continuous stream of immigrants nor would it be "the metropolis with which we are familiar today without their contribution (www.copenhagen.dk/en/2012)." The David Collection, a private museum, houses a prominent collection of Islamic Art. The Danish Jewish Museum showcases the role of Jews in Denmark since the 17th Century. At the Statens Museum for Kunst, educators are one of eight institutions participating in a nationwide project about citizenship. According to Nana Bernhardt, an Art Educator, the idea is to use active participation, self-reflection, and polyvocality as educational methods to teach young museum visitors citizenship skills.

But most of the people I spoke with, both inside the museum and out, agreed that what Danes have in common is much more central to most of these exhibits than any kind of differences. They also felt that while the New Danish Prehistory informed visitors about Denmark's outward connections, it was still primarily a celebration of national pride. Per Kristian Madsen claims this is, in part, due to the Museum's mandate. Of the 5.5 million people living in Denmark, 4.9 million are considered ethnic Danes and 567, 932 are immigrants and their descendants (www.denmark.dk/en/menu/About-Den-

mark/Denmark-In-Brief/Facts-about-Denmark.html, 2012). The museum's job, he says, is to put on display the national experience, to collect and preserve the Danish experience broadly and preserve its common memory, not to focus too much on particular regions. Documenting "Danish peasant culture," is key because that is what Danes share as a nation. Even though today's curators document the urban, industrial experience, collecting objects and stories from peasants, including registering each and every one of the country's churches is still an important part of their job. It's only right, he says, that a very small amount of the museum's real estate should be dedicated to immigrants. Copenhagen is the most diverse place in the country so the Copenhagen Museum is a better place to take on these kinds of issues.

But others disagree. According to one curator, **"**The foreign is only interesting in that it pertains to some aspect of Danish history… I think there are pockets of the museum (The Danish National Museum) where the ethnographic collection is seen as aberration." Government support for research has been dwindling. In fact, some politicians have questioned why Denmark needs ethnographic collections at all – what light can they shed on Denmark today? The only recent research to be funded concerns the former Danish colonies, including trading posts around Accra, the Southeastern Indian coast, and the Caribbean.

So, for now, the bog is clearly winning over the beast, even if it is only a temporary victory. While the New Danish Prehistory Exhibit stresses Denmark's longstanding ties to the outside world, it does so to assert and understand Danishness. What happened in Denmark always took place in conversation with the rest of the world and influenced the country's national treasures, but they are still national. Immigration and diversity are showcased primarily in children's programming and by other cultural institutions. "It's okay to talk about diversity with kids and young people because that is at the periphery," said Berit Larsen, the Head of Education at the National Gallery, "but once it gets closer to the core of what the museum does, people hesitate a bit."

Bringing the World Home

The first thing that greets visitors when they arrive at the Etnografiska Museet (EM) in Stockholm is a permanent exhibit called, "Bringing the World Home." It's about how influential travelers brought the world back to Sweden and how their travel reports, radio broadcasts, and the objects they collected reflected their understandings of the world and Sweden's place in it at the time. How did these ideas shape how Swedes imagined the world beyond their borders and how did they gradually become part of what Director Anders Björklund refers to as the "Swedish cultural knapsack?" "When 20 percent of the Swedish population is born outside Sweden, it's evident that the border between us and them has changed over time," he said. "Just as the museum's collection demonstrates that the outside world came back to Sweden in multiple ways in multiple voices, that also happens today. Visitors need to listen, not just to one voice, but to listen, read, and travel so they can decide for themselves."

The great men who influenced Sweden's understanding of itself (and they were great men) included the great classifier, Carl Linnaeus; Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, who crossed the Northeast Passage for the first time; the explorer and geographer, Sven Hedin, who, when not busy leading four expeditions through Central Asia, wrote the book that taught generations of Swedish children their geography; the Swedish missionaries who saved souls in the Congo; and Sten Bergman, who enthralled radio visitors each week during the 1950s with his tales of "his father, the cannibal"— a chief in Papua New Guinea he came to know and love. The last part of the exhibit includes a row of lockers from Stockholm's Arlanda airport. Behind each door are examples of things travelers bring home today – an ivory sculpture, sacred objects, cheap souvenirs. Museum staff want visitors to think about what happens when people buy, collect, or steal things from other places now, to understand world power dynamics through the prism of collecting. Is it right for individuals to bring back something that is sacred, even if it is for sale? Is it right to collect something that is produced under conditions that hurt the environment? Is it possible to know the world without controlling it?

Anders Björklund believes firmly that museums should pose these kinds of questions. In Sweden, the collections belong to the public and should be used democratically, for democratic purposes. Of course, exhibits must be based on state-of-the-art science that is tested. But they can also be used to pursue social goals, to help create a certain kind of Swede in a certain kind of Sweden. It would be more of a problem, he thinks, if the collections were in private hands and served private interests. Society uses different resources to solve different problems. "Museums are like hospitals and schools," he said, "we just use different tools to do our work."

This kind of thinking underlies a temporary exhibit on Human Trafficking. "Across the globe," the introduction states, "the trafficking of human beings is trailing its marks and evidence. The exhibit "Trafficking" shows the indelible stamp and imprints left on the bodies and souls of people, most often vulnerable women and children, by the trade in human beings. Trafficking is about borders and the violation of borders, about geographical borders creating boundaries and erecting barriers and about openings penetrated and forced." In essence, Anders Björklund summarizes, *Trafficking* is about modern slavery. All Swedes, he says, especially young people need to know that human trafficking is a global problem and that therefore it is a Swedish problem that everyone needs to do something about. "In some sense, this exhibit is about the fact that solidarity doesn't stop at the border," Björklund said. "It's like air-born diseases, national borders are of no importance. Trafficking is the same. It crosses the border everywhere you look. Young people need to understand that this is not just a Swedish problem but a universal problem but they also need to see it as a Swedish problem that is structured in a global way."

The Ethnography Museum is one of four museums that make up the State Museums of World Culture, a new museum authority created in the early 2000s. In the late 1990s, following a period of rapid im-

migration, the Minister of Culture looked to museums to help Sweden cope with its new face. She focused her efforts on collections dealing with non-Swedish matters or what came to be known as World Culture, including the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet), the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Museet), the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm (Etnografiska Museet), and the former Museum of Ethnography in Gothenburg (which was renamed the Museum of World Culture—MWC). At least initially, recalls Göran Blomberg, a former Director General of the Swedish Arts Council, "the idea was, in part, to use these collections to make exhibits that were relevant for immigrants – for them to see culture from their homelands. I would say it was a new way of handling old objects."

But what also emerged was a series of exhibits on global dynamics including HIV/AIDs, ecofashion, and about rainforest dwellers in southern Venezuela. The MWC wants, according to its website, to be "an arena for discussion and reflection in which many and different voices will be heard, where the controversial and conflict-filled topics can be addressed, as well as a place where people can feel at home across borders" (www.varldskulturmuseerna.se/varldskulturmuseet/om-museet/in-english/2011). The museum uses objects to tell different kinds of stories in non-traditional ways. A recent exhibit on *Bollywood*, for example, featured a collection of Bollywood posters that had been paired with objects and labels about Hindu practice when they were displayed in another venue. When the posters came to the MWC, according to Klas Grinell, Curator of Globalization, the staff used the materials to make the point that "World culture is not ethnification or Americanization but polycentric with connections everywhere." Bollywood is the largest film industry in the world, even bigger than Hollywood and it produces world culture that is consumed by a global market. "By consuming artifacts from other parts of the world," Mr. Grinnell says, "we are drawn in and we learn things about daily life in these places even if we've never been there. You learn things about the United States by watching Hollywood movies. You learn things about Japan through Manga."

Destination X, which opened in March 2010, takes up similar themes. Here curators sought to explore how and why people travel and to get visitors to think about how people change as they move. "We wanted to explore," says Grinell, "who has the freedom to move and who doesn't. We are more mobile today than ever before but we are also more stuck. We need visas and passports to be able to travel. Today if you don't have the right color passport, money, or skin you can't move freely. Refugees and tourists move differently. The global businessman is very different from people who are locked out or forced to return. The difference between illegal and legal is very little – it's all about having the right piece of paper in your hand. Societies are not stable because mobility is a fact of modern life. The nation-state might just be a 'parenthesis.' It's just one way of understanding and organizing human life." *Destination X* doesn't propose another option or solution, it just drives home that how "we imagine who belongs somewhere, who

should stay, and who should travel is rather contingent."

This commitment to taking on global issues and to telling stories that stress global interconnectedness does not stop here. Even institutions one might expect would be bastions of Swedishness, like the National Historical Museum (NHM) in Stockholm, adopt a global storyline. In contrast to the New Danish Prehistory Exhibit at the Danish National Museum, the introductory text to Sweden's comparable exhibit reads, "In the year 1000, there was no Swedish nation, there were no fixed boundaries or borders. There was no common law or currency and there were few common traditions. People did not think of themselves as "Swedish" but rather as living in a particular place, belonging to a certain clan or having a certain lord and master. The history of what we call Sweden is really the thoughts, decisions, and actions of innumerable people – a chorus of voices, only a few of which can be accommodated in this exhibit."

Archeology, says curator Fredrik Svanberg, has always been used to build nations but the staff at the NHM wanted to use these materials in different ways. The first part of the exhibit moves chronologically, following a set of characters who lived during different time periods. The second part is organized thematically around a set of questions about who the visitor is, what he or she believes, and how history is made. The visitor is now the ninth person in the line of the eight characters he or she encountered earlier. Based on the direction they choose (organized like the gates in an airport), visitors explore these issues in different rooms organized around these questions – in what is, according to Museum Director and Head of the Swedish Museum Association Lars Amreus, "one of the few post-colonial pre-history exhibits."

But while Swedish museums showcase the nation's deep connections to the world beyond its borders, one has to look harder to find the diversity within. As in the modern Danish history exhibit in Copenhagen, the immigrant experience is there but subtly. "Where are immigrants represented in the museum," one curator at the Nordiska Museet[3] responded to my question, "Maybe you don't see them explicitly. Nowhere, really. But, of course, they are there. When you look at the silver, you realize it reflects the German influence which was big in Sweden in the 17th century." Recently, staff began using labels to signal these points of connection in the permanent collection. The visitor is told that the quintessentially Swedish potato is really an import from South America or that the coffee culture that Swedes are so proud of was first introduced in the 18th century when Charles XII, who developed a liking for the beverage while imprisoned in Turkey, returned to Sweden after his release.

As in Denmark, there is an implicit institutional division of labor. Over and over, respondents mentioned The Mångkulturellt Centrum or the Multicultural Centre, located in the municipality of Botkyrka with its large immigrant population, as the place where the immigrant experience is on display. The Centre, founded in 1987 "promotes a society where diversity is reflected in the national self-image and where migration-related phenomena are a natural part of the Swedish cultural heritage" (www.mkc.botkyrka.se). It's re-

search and documentation tries to capture how migration changes society – that being a multicultural society is not just about people from different countries but about all Swedes. At the Stockholm City Museum, according to the Head of Documentation unit, Anna Ulfstrand, most work on immigration revolves around children's programming or contemporary collecting. "We have not worked very hard on it although we are trying now with contemporary collections," she said. "I want to find themes where the immigrant experience can be part of another theme, not special projects about how is it to be an immigrant… I think it's really important to say that immigration is a part of contemporary Swedish history, it's not something at the side, it's really something in the middle. In Sweden, the idea of immigrants has been talked about as a problem, as something that is not a part of the society and I think after all these years we have to let that go."

The Bog versus the Eco-friendly T-shirt?

The museum communities in Sweden and Denmark have responded differently to the demographic sea changes underway in their respective homes. While institutions in both countries took on the global, Danish museums did so primarily to understand and reassert Danishness while Swedish museums saw creating a globally-minded public as a valid goal, in and of itself, and one that would ultimately lead to a stronger Sweden. Museums in both countries took on internal diversity reluctantly. The immigrant experience was showcased subtly, as part of larger exhibits with larger messages. The characteristics of the museums themselves, aspects of curatorial practice, and differences in how museum staff understand approaches to nationalism and diversity management in each country help explain these differences.

For one thing, some curators believe that museums are not the right place to create citizens. They are made of bricks and mortar. They are not built to respond easily to new developments but to produce permanent exhibits that last a long time. "We are not set up to respond quickly and with agility," said Håkan Wahlquist, Curator for Asia at the Ethnography Museum in Stockholm. "Our exhibits are too blunt. It's a pretty slow medium."

Sharp divides also plague the curatorial field in both countries (and around the world). In general, older curators, who were often trained in art history, tend to see "the present" as not part of their job description. Rather, they are responsible for mastering every detail of the collections in their care and to make sure that scholars around the world have access to that information. "A Curator for Globalization is not responsible for collections," Staffan Brunius at the EM in Stockholm commented, "it is a person who is floating in the philosophical sphere. We are getting rid of everything that is the backbone of the museum." Younger curators, many who were trained in anthropology or cultural studies, see their older colleagues as benign dinosaurs at best and obstructionists at worst. How can you possibly continue with business as usual – as if at least some of the objects in the museum's collections did not come into its hands through coercion or force? How can you sidestep turning up the volume on stake-

holders' voices when they now live next door?

A second problem all curators face, be they Danish or Swedish, is neo-liberalism. Museums around the world are facing major cutbacks. Concerns about the performance measures and visitor targets museums must meet peppered my conversations. Pressures to appeal to tourists sometimes directly conflict with pressures to appeal to national audiences. There are so many other things competing for the public's attention, several respondents complained. If you want to learn about Native Americans, you can just stay home and look it up on the Internet.

In both countries, particular institutions play particular roles in performing difference – there is an implicit organizational distribution of labor. The interests and commitments of curators and administrators often determine this. In addition to the citizenship project at Denmark's Statens Museum for Kunst, for example, curators are also reinstalling the permanent collection with an eye toward telling a different national story. Although constrained by their institutional mandate, and by what is in their collection, just as the New Danish Prehistory exhibit stresses connections between Denmark and the outside world, the newly-installed "national identity" gallery will also highlight how foreign artists influenced the Danish National Academy.

Some institutions are also just considered more appropriate venues for showcasing diversity. The Copenhagen Museum was seen as the right place to jumpstart these debates not only because Copenhagen is so diverse compared to the rest of Denmark but also because the Copenhagen City Government, which tends to be more liberal than the national legislature, owns, funds and runs it (http://www.copenhagen.dk/en/about/).[4]

In Stockholm, the Mångkulturellt Centrum fulfilled a similar function. In both countries, much of the programming focused on immigration is aimed at children and school groups.

Both Swedish and Danish Museum staff are grappling with how to tell immigrant stories and with how to connect them to the national narrative. Their choices reflect national styles of diversity management and national attitudes about who can become part of the nation. Writing about the Nordic countries in general, Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad (2002) argues that there are few words for expressing that something or someone can be different but also equal. The Danish word generally used for "equality," she says, is *likhet* or "likeness," "similarity," "identity," or "sameness," meaning that people have to feel more or less the same to be of equal value (Gullestad 2002). This kind of logic makes people interact in ways that emphasize their similarities and downplay their differences. It also implies that too much difference, whether between individuals or opinions, can be problematic. Open conflict goes against the basic grain so that "different" parties may avoid each other to keep the peace.

Therefore, actively signaling ethnic or racial difference, various respondents on both sides of the border feared, can lead to marginalization. While the United States allows and even encourages groups to claim "Irish-Americanness" or "Indian-Americanness," as a way to assume their

rightful place at the American table, in Sweden and Denmark, embracing such labels is often seen as a step toward social exclusion. According to Birgitta Svensson, Professor of European Ethnology at Stockholm University, "The United States does a good job when it comes to this but we have nothing like it. All the Americans you meet say 'I come from India, my grandmother was from Italy.' It's natural, they are Americans but they are proud of their heritage." In Sweden, she goes on to explain, outward expressions of ethnicity mark you as different and, therefore, somehow deviant. Once you are labeled, it is hard to escape the box – even if you don't identify primarily as a Somali or as a Muslim, people may label you that way. It is easier, several curators believed, to showcase the experience of the foreign-born based on their global connections rather than their immigrant status. The MWC in Gothenburg, for example, reached out to the Peruvian community around its Paracas textiles or to the Bolivian community when it mounted a show about the Orinoco River but it has not done exhibits on the immigrant per se. "Swedish culture," curators commented, "is not always included in world culture."

But while Sweden and Denmark have similar ideological responses to diversity, their policy responses have been somewhat different, which is also reflected in museum practice (although the political backdrop against which this takes shape is changing, even as I write). Swedish policy recognizes five official national minorities including the Sami, the Swedish Finns, the Tornedalers, the Roma, and the Jews. These groups, states a government website, "have existed in Sweden for a long-time and are part of Sweden's cultural heritage. The policy aims to protect, promote the participation of, and keep the languages alive of these groups in accordance with the National Minorities Law in Sweden (Government Bill 1998/99:143) and two Council of Europe conventions: the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (the Framework Convention) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Minority Languages Charter)" which Sweden ratified in 2000. By so doing, the Swedish government institutionalized difference and linked it to political visibility and resource distribution (www.humanrights.gov.se/extra/pod/?module_instance=2&action=pod_show&id=55).

This way of managing minorities also reflects, some respondents noted, the Swedish states' longstanding strategy of dealing with citizens as members of groups. Because, in the past, people received services or were mobilized as "workers" or "women," creating a new category, "immigrants," was a natural next step. Minority status allowed these groups to use their officially recognized languages in legal and administrative contexts, to send their children to pre-schools where the language of instruction was their ancestral tongue, for senior citizens to be cared for in elder care facilities where they could use their native languages, and to expect "particular attention" to be paid to their cultural activities which the government would support (http://www.minorityrights.org/1501/sweden/sweden-overview.html).

So-called "new" minorities could also claim rights and recognition. Minority

Rights Group International points out that "the Swedish Constitution also makes provision for the promotion of opportunities 'for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own'; and it states that 'a foreigner within the Realm shall be equated with a Swedish citizen in respect of protection against discrimination on grounds of race, skin color, ethnic origin, or sex'." Here again, the Swedish government relates to its citizens as members of groups which guarantees them a certain level of recognition and services.

Economic downturns and the rise of Far Right parties dampened Sweden's commitment to multiculturalism, which many came to see as a threat to Swedishness leading to tolerance without integration. What had been called Immigration Policy is now called Integration Policy. Policies should meet the needs of immigrants and citizens alike. But rather than abandoning their focus on diversity, some respondents felt, politicians simply expanded it to include a wider range of differences including age, gender, sexual orientation, and disability status.

In contrast, since World War II, Denmark has developed a universalistic welfare state that provides health care, education, unemployment benefits and old-age pensions to all citizens and legal residents. Successfully integrated immigrants had to accept "Danish values," because the Danish political system does not officially recognize minorities and only rarely acknowledges minority rights and cultural claims based on minority status. There is also little support for multicultural policies or for policies that tell institutions how to deal with cultural diversity (Hedetoft 2006) which also helps explain why these themes have been less common in the Danish museum landscape. According to Berit Larsen at the National Gallery, many middle-aged Danes grew up in a very white, western environment at the height of the Danish welfare system. There were supposedly no class differences or poor people in Denmark. But in the last five years or so, you can openly discuss inequality or the different cultures that live next door with whom you don't mingle but "we don't really have the language to talk about it."

The last government coalition introduced a legislative "package" which restricted the numbers of immigrants and refugees allowed to enter the country, toughened the requirements for permanent residence or citizenship, and tried to make sure that newcomers embraced "Danish values" and became socially integrated. Since 2002, to become a naturalized Danish citizen, immigrants have to live in Denmark for nine consecutive years, be economically self-sufficient, have proper housing, no criminal record, and be fluent in Danish. A second law, introduced in 2003, included a "24-year rule" for family reunification. It states that no Danish citizen can marry a non-EU or Nordic foreign national and settle in Denmark with his/her spouse unless both parties are 24 years or older. The law was designed, in part, to prevent family members from pressuring young women into marriage. One unintended consequence, though, is that young, native Danes with foreign spouses have to settle in other EU countries, primarily Sweden (Hedetoft 2006).

The Danish government also decreed an official national cultural canon in 2006–2007, designed to specify what is special about Danish culture and preserve it. Minister of Culture, Brian Mikkelsen, hoped that the 108 works that were ultimately included would create a "collection and presentation of the greatest most important works of Denmark's cultural heritage." The canon would "give us reference points and awareness of what is special about Danes and Denmark in an ever more globalised world and to strengthen the sense of community by showing key parts of our common historical possessions" (http://www.kum.dk/kulturkanon/english).

The canon evoked a strong response from almost everyone I spoke with. Opponents saw this as a way to nationalize culture and to keep non-ethnic-Danish elements out. Supporters, including Ole Winther, the Head of the Museum Department at the Heritage Agency of Denmark, saw it as a catalyst for positive public debate. "Denmark is changing and people have to be able to see what they are changing from. When you specify the ten most important works of Danish art, it forces people to react and discuss what they are in favor of. In Sweden, they don't even talk about it."

Denmark is such a small country, sums up Janne Laursen, the Director of the Danish Jewish Museum, that people can go their whole lives without ever meeting someone from another island, let alone another country. This sense of valuing the local as a way to embrace and strengthen the national encourages that inward, singular focus. The history of the Jewish community and its contributions to Danish society, she says, went unrecognized by many Danes even though Jews had lived in Denmark 400 years and owned some of its most important industries. When she first began her studies, the museum classification system she learned had no categories for non-Christian objects.

Moreover, many Danes associate the birth of democratic Denmark with an ethnically Danish, egalitarian nation-state that looked inward, to pursue its own internal social and economic growth (i.e. outward losses must be compensated by inward gains) after the traumatic loss of much of its territory and people in 1864 (Olwig 2003). This perception of the nation also informs museum practice. The emergence of the successful modern welfare state is seen to rest on a long shared culture and history (Olwig and Paerregaard 2011). So, said National Museum Director Madsen, "Danes are a small tribe, communicating with our backs to the world." Ole Winther agreed. "So few things have changed since we became a democratic nation. A lot of our institutions are several hundred years old. We've never actively said we don't want this anymore. There's so much continuity. So Danishness is something within me. My kids are in school now and they are learning many Danish songs and psalms. I hear two notes and I know which song it is because it is so deeply rooted. It is almost a pre-cultural, beyond words, tacit knowledge that we all understand."

Although Denmark has never been as homogenous as many people would like to believe, discourse often trumps demography. The idea of Denmark as a culturally homogeneous society persists and new-

comers are often seen as not being able to or wanting to fit in. Although the welfare state has extended considerable social and economic assistance to immigrants and refugees, thus helping them settle in Denmark, "Danish perceptions of these people as culturally different – and therefore as foreign elements in the country – have presented serious obstacles to their social acceptance" (Olwig and Paerregaard 2011:3). Many people simply ignore how socioeconomic conditions in Denmark might influence immigrant incorporation or why people might want to maintain their religious practices and traditions.

Swedish museums' greater willingness to showcase diversity and globalization also reflects Swedish attitudes toward nationalism and the country's perceived role in the world. If Denmark turned its back on the world, Sweden has always looked face front. It sees itself as an outward-looking internationalist state whose commitments to justice and equality do not stop at the national border (Bergman 2006b). Swedes feel a sense of cosmopolitan duty, not just to Swedes alone (Bergman 2004). Olof Palme (1968:22) championed the idea that 'solidarity has no boundaries,' inextricably linking domestic and international appeals to justice and proclaiming them two sides of the same coin. During the height of the Swedish welfare state, Sweden considered itself a model for the rest of the world – the world needed Sweden as an example of tolerance, equity, and responsibility. In the 1980s and 90s, as the welfare state lost steam, according to former MWC Director, Thommy Svensson, "Sweden had great difficulties finding its new identity because now Sweden needed the world instead. The MWC project was an attempt to work this out which became even more challenging as so many new immigrants came in." The way the museum was built and its exhibition style reflects how modern day Swedes think about their place in the world. "I think it reflects an openness, interest, and curiosity in the world around us, respect for other cultures, a sense of wanting to do good in the world outside," said Lars Amreus, "but also an annoying self image of being somewhat the conscience of the world, the do-gooder of the world, perhaps."

"Sweden," says MWC Curator of Globalization Klas Grinell, "came late to industrialization. We don't have our own enlightenment thinkers. Secularization was created elsewhere. Swedes pride themselves in always being a bit careful at the beginning, in not being the inventors but in being the best adopters… when we realize that multiculturalism is what is happening and that we are leaving behind the old kind of nation-states, then we go one step further than everyone else. We're not the first nation to not put national pride first but we might be the first to be truly global."

So just as the Nordiska Museum and Skansen were created during a period of major social change in the late 1880s to preserve and protect Swedishness, now the MWC is also "a bridge over troubled waters" suggested Historian Patrick Henry, a response to the collective identity crisis caused by Sweden's entry into the European Union, the economic downturn of the 1990s, and soaring immigration. And just as, in the 1940s, cultural institutions helped transform rural farmers into urban, middle-class workers so, today, museums

can also be used to make immigrants into Swedes. "The Government expects," said Thommy Svensson, "that museums and other cultural institutions should be a kind of mouthpiece for our cultural policy, that they should talk about democracy, diversity, equality, and integration of recent arrivals. It's sometimes a difficult position." Though he won't go so far as to put a Swedish label on it, Anders Björklund believes that this willingness to see museums as tools that can take on big questions is unique. "Museums are not sanctuaries… You should work scientifically but the outcome should be available for all people in a very broad sense… Maybe that is Swedish, making it more democratic."

Sweden's global embrace also reflects its discomfort with nationalism. To be able to express guilt-free national pride, Swedes would have to face up to parts of their history (and of their present as recent elections reveal) that they would rather not talk about. The country's cooperation with the Germans during World War II, its treatment of the Samis, and its experiments in genetic engineering and racial purity are just some of the things most people would like to forget. According to Political Scientist Krister Lundberg, "We try all the time to keep it back. Not talk about it at all. That is the Swedish solution for many things. Social democracy educates people but you are supposed to think only the right things." Many people see nationalistic displays as intolerant, anti-immigrant, and dredging up dark episodes in Swedish history. In fact, several museum staff saw their job, especially following the Sweden Democrates' success in the last election, as preventing ultra-nationalists from hijacking traditional symbols for their own ends. "It's so much more convenient," said Lars Amreus, "to not address these issues about the nation and nationality and to focus on other exhibitions, but the worst we can do is just ignore this…there was a big discussion about ten years ago when Neo-Nazi supporters kidnapped the symbol of Thor's hammer from Viking age mythology and made it theirs, so people could not wear that as a necklace any more. We wanted to take back those kinds of symbols and not let them be kidnapped by certain groups. Institutions such as ours must do that with things like the Swedish flag, to continue a dialogue with our visitors about what Sweden is and what its history has been."

Conclusion

Half way around the world, in November 2010, Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) opened its new Art of the Americas Wing. Visitors are greeted on the ground floor by a magnificent set of Pre-Columbian funeral urns. The message is that American art is strongly influenced by its neighbors to the north and south. "The wing is very different than every other wing of American art in the country," Elliot Bostwick Davis, the John Moors Cabot Chair of the Art of the Americas Department told me, "because it includes the ancient cultures as far as we can go back. We are going north, central, and south to work with that as a continuum. We will walk people through so they get a sense of this layering and richness, and I hope for each individual there is an opening of the mind of what is American." This is a radical move for an institution that has always defined colonial America as a New England phenome-

non. But change goes only so far. The United States is still at the heart of the agenda. The exhibit questions the sources of Americanness but not the country's place in the world. It recognizes that "American art" is shaped by forces at work both inside and outside national borders but it does not take the next step to rethink how that shifts America's global status. "I do not think that museums create citizens," Ms. Davis told me, "I hope that universities do that."

Kevin Stayton, Chief Curator at the Brooklyn Museum, where a comparable exhibit, *American Identities*, was reinstalled in 2001, disagrees. "It is not a question," he says, "of whether museums are the right place to do this (creating citizens). Museums have to do it because we won't survive for the next 100 years doing what we have always done which is collecting things together and sorting them into library-like categories for a handful of scholars to look at. We still have to play that role but we also have to present the arts in a way that our mission is possible, to find that connection with art that makes some of us devote our lives to it, the fact that these human expressions are moving, that we want to share that pleasure with people who might otherwise not find it."

President Obama used aspirational language when he addressed that 2008 crowd in Berlin's Tiergarten. He wasn't predicting that someday we'd all carry global passports. He was saying that we live on the same planet and face similar problems that we need to do something about. But we still define problems and their solutions nationally. When we create international institutions, like the United Nations or the World Court, national interests often interfere. If global connection is the wave of the future, then understanding how a global ethos is created, who gets to embrace it, and what it looks like from different national standpoints is of pressing concern.

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Notes

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2 This was, in part, adds Sjørslev, because curators showcased the collections in special exhibits ('Bredeudstillingerne') with themes like "The White God" (about myths in colonial and contemporary Latin America), "China" (with included a naturalistic representation of a Chinese commune) or "Brasil 86" that the objects became such an eye opener to the world. Even given this, there was a sense among several respondents that the museum's ethnographic materials were always primarily regarded as comparative material for understanding how "Danes" lived in prehistoric times – from a strong evolutionary perspective.

3 The Nordiska Museum, a cultural history museum, housed in an imposing castle, and Skansen, the world's first open-air museum, were created by Artur Immanuel Hazelius in the late 1880s to showcase Scandinavian material culture. Its website invites visitors to "Discover Sweden's cultural history. Exhibitions on the home, clothes and fashion, customs and traditions uncovering daily life in Sweden through the ages (www.nordiskamuseet.se/category.asp?cat=187&catname=English&topmenu=142, 2012).

4 Between 2001–2011, the City Council stood in opposition to the National government but in October 2011, a new government was elected and the City Council is no longer at odds with its national counterpart.

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An Eighteenth-Century Tea Table

The Materiality and Sociability of Tea and Coffee

By Kari Telste

Norsk Folkemuseum – the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History – has a large and unique collection of interiors, furniture, china, silver and various types of domestic utensils acquired and used by the middle and upper ranks of Norway in the period 1550 to 1900. One of the pieces of furniture is a tea table in rococo style. It is gilded with curved legs, and its blue and white faience top is formed as a tray depicting a hunting scene. The table was probably made in Holland, or maybe in England. Museum curators of earlier times were not quite sure about its origin or who had owned it. They dated the table to about 1740–50, however, and they thought the top was possibly made at the faience factory in Copenhagen.[1]

Tea table in rococo style. Photo: Norsk Folkemuseum. Anne-Lise Reinsfelt.

The tea table will be seen as a passageway to study historical and cultural interaction on a European and global scale. Inspired by the sinologist Timothy Brook in his book *Vermeer's Hat* (2008), I have chosen to start with this table, not just for what we actually know about it, but for the hints of broader historical forces that lurk in its details. These details may lead to the discovery of hidden links to subjects that are not quite stated and places that are not really shown. The connections these details betray may only be implied, but may extend outwards to the whole globe (Brook 2008:7–10).

The tea table, along with similar tables in the museum's collections, large collections of tea and coffee ware, either in Chinese porcelain or locally produced faience, tell that their owners had acquired a range of objects for the specific purpose of serving tea, coffee and chocolate, and that their drawing rooms by the mid-eighteenth century were filled with exotic smells and tastes, creating new sensations. The rococo details of this particular table indicate that its owner adopted the European styles fashionable at this time, while its faience top hints at a fascination with Chinese things, so prominent in the eighteenth century, a fascination that inspired the European production of faience. Thus, the table links the inhabitants of Norway to the Far Eastern trade and suggests that they were engaged in cultural exchanges on a global scale. Tracing the various hints and links of the table, I will discuss how these exchanges generated new cultural meanings, and changed the material culture and social practices of the inhabitants of Norway – or more precisely of Christiania, as Oslo, the capital of Norway, was then called.

New Consumer Goods and Cultural Exchanges

By the end of the seventeenth century, the consumption of new and exotic beverages like tea, coffee and chocolate, imported from the Far East, was becoming fashionable all over Europe. The Far Eastern

trade also brought with it a great variety of exciting new objects in Chinese porcelain associated with tea drinking. These objects were to change the material culture of Europe (Berg 2003:229). Norway was located on the very outskirts of Europe, and was only indirectly involved in the Far Eastern trade as a part of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway.

The merchants of Christiania engaged in the international timber trade, some of them making large fortunes, but unlike merchants elsewhere in Denmark-Norway they participated only to a limited extent in the international transit trade from the Far East. The goods that reached Christiania in the eighteenth century were mainly imported through the major European ports of Copenhagen, Amsterdam and London (Johannessen 1983–84). A Danish company had started trading with the East Indies in 1616, and the first known shipload of porcelain arrived in Copenhagen in 1633 (ibid.:129). It was not until the Danish Asian Company was established in 1732, however, that there was a significant growth in the import of Chinese porcelain, and the level remained high throughout the century. One reason for the growth was the active trade engagement of the company with China; another was the growing popularity of tea and coffee (ibid.:136).

Tea and coffee were introduced later on the Norwegian market than elsewhere in Europe (Johannessen 1993). When tea was cleared through customs in Christiania for the first time in 1691, it was referred to as "tea, a so-called herb", which suggests that the inhabitants were still unfamiliar with it. Tea, coffee and chocolate were imported to Norway from the end of the seventeenth century, not in large quantities, but large enough to indicate that a regular import had been established. The import was to increase considerably from 1732 with the activities of the Asian Company (ibid.).

Global exchanges have often been seen as a one-way process where western beliefs and values have been introduced to the rest of the world. As the Far Eastern trade illustrates, the eastern world had exotic consumer goods that were craved by the western world (Brook 2008:61ff). This led to encounters and exchanges on a transnational level; these were processes of interaction transgressing the borders of the state that may have had cultural effects on the various parties involved (Burke 1997:203).

The tea table raises a number of questions concerning the cultural effect of the Far Eastern trade on Norway. How were new and exotic consumer goods introduced, appropriated and incorporated into everyday life? How did appropriating these novelties generate new meanings and affect everyday social interactions? How were new modes of sociability reflected in the consumption of material objects? New consumer goods created new experiences that had to be assimilated or adapted to one's own culture and affected the relationship between individuals and things. These assimilation processes were no passive imitations, but involved cultural translations where the creativity of reception and renegotiations of meanings have to be taken into account (Burke 1997:196, 211).

The act of acquiring a new object generated new meanings. When taken into practical use, the object would have an ef-

fect on the social interactions of everyday life and the conduct of people. There may be empirical problems in tracing the intentions of individuals and how they interpreted what they were doing (Burke 1997: 209). Objects preserved in the museum collections or registered in official sources such as customs records may give an idea of what was consumed and craved by people, but there are only few sources left to tell about the particular meaning that was given to new objects. A diary, memoirs, written impressions may give some clues, but the interpretations that gave objects a particular significance to their possessors may be hidden in the dark.

The Social Setting of the Tea Table

The museum curators at Norsk Folkemuseum included the tea table in an exhibition of period rooms, showing the history of style from the Renaissance to 1900. This particular period room was meant to illustrate the rococo style, ca. 1740–1780, and the room was reconstructed by using the original doors and windows, the panels, wall paintings, and ceiling preserved from a drawing room in a town house built in 1758–59 by the wealthy merchant Morten Leuch of Christiania. None of his original furniture had been preserved, and the room was furnished with suitable rococo pieces from the collection. Thus, it is not unlikely that he would have had a similar tea table at a time when rococo was the fashionable style.

In eighteenth-century Norway, a drawing room would be called *visittstue* – literally a room for visiting – suggesting the setting in which a tea table would be used. Drawing rooms for receiving visits may be seen as typical of a tendency of differentiation of dwellings during this century. In new mansions different rooms would be given different functions, adapted to various social and private contexts (Lyngby 2006:121). In their splendid new dining rooms, ball rooms, and drawing rooms the elites demonstrated and confirmed their social status in a more or less formal setting, while retreating to intimate family life in their private rooms.

The new house of Morten Leuch seems to have conformed to the new functional ideals. At the time when it was finished in 1759, it was considered one of the most elegant buildings in Christiania, beautifully fitted out with several sociable rooms, their lofty ceilings and walls richly decorated in rococo (Collett 1915:127). In its original setting, the drawing room that has been preserved was located on the ground floor, just to the right in the entrance gate.[2] This made the room well suited to receive informal visits.

Morten Leuch has in retrospect been referred to as the founder of a "brilliant" social life in Christiania (Bull & Sønstevold 1936:16). Fragments describing this high society have been left in a diary that he kept for the years 1757–1762.[3] Although the diary exclusively renders the pleasures of leisurely life at his country manor on the outskirts of Christiania, he and his wife probably entertained as much in their new town house. Now and again he would note that a visiting party in the country would be invited to join them for supper in town, when the chores of business called him back to Christiania.

Morten Leuch (1732–1768) and Mathia Collett (1737–1801) were married in 1758, and the young newlywed couple

One of the drawing-rooms from Morten Leuch's house exhibited at Norsk Folkemuseum and furnished to represent the rococo style around 1760. Photo: Norsk Folkemuseum. Anne-Lise Reinsfelt.

played an influential role in Christiania society (Collett 1915; Arnesen 2006). Both were born into families whose fortunes had been made in the Norwegian timber trade. Morten Leuch was the focal point in Christiania, a position he held by virtue of his inherited wealth, his talents as a merchant, and by being a leading force in the social life that developed in the 1760s (Rian 2009). His diary gives the impression that he and his wife received endless streams of guests, either for dinner and supper, or just for tea or coffee: a great number of friends and relatives, both male and female, prominent people in Christiania, trade connections and business partners, foreign contacts, even from far-off places like St Martin in the West Indies, and skippers of trade vessels. After dinner they would retreat to the drawing-room where tea and coffee were served, male guests would smoke a pipe of tobacco before the card table was brought out, or the evening passed with conversation or playing a game of chess (Arnesen 2006: e.g. 56, 58, 65).

Like most young men of his generation and social rank, Morten Leuch had spent his formative years on a "Grand Tour" in Europe. All over Europe, the new ceremonial rooms of the elites had at the time become social spaces where the art of conversation was cultivated, and modes of refined male and female conduct were worked out. A polite society, distinguished by social codes, polite manners and taste was in the making (Carter 2001). On his journey, Morten Leuch would have

been acquainted with the social codes and manners of polite society. Although these could hardly be fully lived out in such a small and peripheral town as Christiania, his diary suggests that some of its elements may have been recreated and adapted to suit the smaller circle of social life there (Telste 2009).

The rococo style that was fashionable by the mid-1700s was well suited to the informal modes of socializing. The style that had originated in France was considered intimate and comfortable. The introduction of new and lighter furniture made it possible to move chairs and tables to suit the social occasion, thus making it easier to arrange for new ways of socializing, not least because the chairs were specially designed for women in order to accommodate their dresses (Auslander 1996:66–67).

The activities described in the diary of Morten Leuch indicate that polite and refined manners were lived out on various social occasions. There were dinner parties, coffee and tea drinking, card games, conversation, musical events on the lake accompanied by coffee, and although not mentioned, there would be balls arranged in the houses of the Christiania elite. In the following, however, I will focus on one aspect of drinking tea and coffee; that is, the central role of women as hostesses. The tea table authorized female congregation and was a pivot point where women worked out new social codes and polite manners.

Visiting – a New Mode of Sociability

The institution of visiting predated tea and coffee, but the arrival of the new beverages introduced new modes of sociability that had a transforming impact on domestic behaviour (Vickery 2009:14–16). The Danish-Norwegian lawyer and comedy writer, Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), remarks on the advantageous effects of these beverages on visiting: "At present our Wives and Daughters can make 10 visits in an Afternoon and return home quite sober." He recalled a time when the hostess had had nothing to offer her guests but wines and liqueurs (Holberg 1748). When tea and coffee replaced alcohol, the social etiquette of visiting was fundamentally affected.

In contrast to wine and other alcoholic drinks, tea and coffee projected an image of sobriety, self-control and trustworthiness. Self-control was seen at the time as a mark of social and cultural distinction, constituting respectability (Poukens & Provoost 2011:171, 176). Therefore, non-alcoholic beverages made it possible for respectable women to take part in social gatherings without endangering their reputation (Hutchison 2010:239), that is to say, domestic social gatherings.

An editorial comment by the weekly paper *Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler* suggests that it was not regarded as fully acceptable for women to drink alcohol. In the summer of 1763 the paper printed a series of letters written by Madame Ö, a German lady who had stayed in Christiania for several months in 1755.[4] On the whole, her letters gave a favourable impression of social life in Christiania, of the hospitability of people and their love of entertaining, but in one letter she mentioned that it was customary to drink liquor both before the meal and after coffee. Not only men, but also women observed this custom, which she had found

difficult to withstand. The editor was rather provoked by her statement. This may have been the custom in a couple of the houses she had frequented, he remarked, but to describe it as a fashion in the whole town was taking it too far.

In England, tea became the most fashionable drink from the late seventeenth century, and a more ritualized and demanding form of urban visiting gathered strength (Vickery 2009:16). In Norway, coffee seems to have gained as much popularity. Perhaps this was due to the lack of public coffee houses in Christiania. Still, tea may have been the preferred beverage when ladies were visiting, as it would allow the hostess to show that she knew how to prepare, serve and drink tea according to carefully determined rules. She had to demonstrate that she had embodied the knowledge of the intricate tea ritual as well as the proper manners and codes of polite society. Failure to master the rules revealed an embarrassing lack of refinement, on the part of the hostess and her guests alike. Visiting became a fashionable institution of inclusion and exclusion that was governed by matrons (Vickery 2009:14–16).

In his diary Morten Leuch gives the impression that tea and coffee structured daily life and were served at fixed times. At teatime coffee seems as likely to have been served as tea, leaving the guests with a choice. His wife Mathia would be well acquainted with the English "tea ritual". As a prominent Christiania hostess, she would frequently entertain friends, relatives and trade contacts. Besides, her grandfather was English, and she was born and bred in a family where English taste and customs dominated (Collett 1915:59). In her parental home there had been several tea tables, one of which was an English tea table with a pewter top placed in the grand drawing room (*storstuen*). As a girl, Mathia and her sisters also had a tea table in their bedroom (ibid.: 59–61). This table may have acted as a vehicle for the girls to embody the tea ritual from an early age.

In December 1762, Morten states in his diary that both coffee and tea demanded "Order and Custom":

> At the Tea Table this Order is assumed, since Miss Cold (their foster daughter) is of small Stature and of young Age, the Ladies take their Turn helping her pour Coffee and Tea, clean the Tea Set and put it away in good Order under such arbitrary Punishment as Host and Hostess might decide according to Circumstances" (Arnesen 2006:74).

In a seemingly playful way the 13-year-old Miss Anna Cold was taught the duties of a hostess. Mastering the "tea ritual" would come in useful for her advancement in the social world. As it turned out, Anna Cold would become a prominent hostess by marriage.

Formally, tea was to be prepared and served by the hostess. The significance of this is shown in a passage in the memoirs of Conradine Dunker (1780–1866). She tells about the Chamberlain Bernt Anker, the wealthiest man in Christiania at the time, who when he became a widower in 1801, let his mistress have several rooms in his mansion, and dressed her in silk and lace like a lady.[5] The young girl – the beautiful daughter of a cotter – may have fancied that she would become the new mistress of the house, and took the opportunity to preside at the tea table. Anker's sister-in-law, who administered his house, had a serious word with him, with the re-

Eighteenth Century silhouette picturing women drinking tea. Photo: Norsk Folkemuseum. Anne-Lise Reinsfelt.

sult that he ordered the girl "never again to offer to pour Tea when Ladies are visiting" (Dunker 1909:267–268). Apparently, her behaviour was a breach of the proper manners of taking tea, and as such threatened to disgrace the house.

The episode may also be seen in another way. The girl may have appropriated the role of a hostess to the extent that she appeared a lady in dress as well as polite manners, thus blurring social boundaries. After all, this was a time when the importance of birth in determining social position had declined and social standing had increasingly become dependent on displaying polite manners and taste. Mastering the tea ritual may have been a way for the girl to fulfil her social aspirations of rising in the world.

Visiting is closely associated with women, but was actually a mixed-sex activity under female jurisdiction (Vickery 2009:14). Apparently, a little amused, Morten writes that Mathia was not particularly happy if male guests failed to turn up at tea time. At times they dawdled so long that the fresh cream set forth on her table had soured when they finally turned up (Arnesen 2006:25). In June 1759 she was rather displeased with her brother, who was more interested in supervising work on the construction of a new barn than entertaining Mathia and her guests:

> The Ones that growl about his too great Diligence are the poor Females who have to sit and wait for him for 3 hours at the Coffee Table. Today they have sworn never to pour him another Cup if he does not appear at the stipulated Times, when decent People drink their Coffee (Arnesen 2006:23).

Perhaps it was easier to keep the times for tea and coffee in the daily routine of life in town than in the more relaxed setting of the country manor? In any case, Mathia equipped herself with a gong or Chinese bell, and from now on every guest was obliged to meet at the table "not later than ten Minutes after the Gong has sounded or he will miss his Coffee" (Arnesen 2006: 74). Thus the "order and custom" of tea and coffee was enforced, albeit in a cheerful manner.

The Material Culture of Tea and Coffee

Taking tea or coffee required a whole range of new consumer goods. On the tea table magnificent tea and coffee sets in Chinese porcelain or European faience would be displayed, including pots, sugar bowls, creamers and cake dishes, not to forget silver tea spoons and sugar tongs to go with it. There would be different pots for coffee and tea and for chocolate if that was served. Imposing status symbols would be placed on the table; samovars and tea-water kettles or "tea machines" as they were called, in silver, brass or copper, and lockable ornamental tea chests for keeping the most exclusive and expensive sorts of tea. A sumptuous tea and coffee table reflected the material prosperity and polite manners of the owner.

To store and prepare the new drinks, a whole range of new domestic utensils were needed: water and coffee kettles, chocolate pots, tea- and coffeeboxes, not to mention the coffee grinder and coffee roaster that were indispensable in any kitchen (Johannessen 1993). The success of the visit therefore depended on the maid having the skills and knowledge to use the new utensils and prepare a tray in the proper way. Not least, she had to master the delicate task of roasting coffee beans and making coffee (Winsnes 1845).

The institution of visiting provided the hostess with an opportunity to display her magnificent porcelain along with various types of silver and metal ware. These possessions were routinely exposed to scrutiny by critical, admiring and maybe envious eyes, who also judged the quality of the tea and coffee served, and the manners of the hostess. In this way, visiting revolutionized the uses of interior space, and routinely exposed the domestic interior (Vickery 2009:16). The tea table provided an opportunity for the hostess to display style, taste, knowledge and polite manners, and the civility and refinement of drinking tea and coffee directed consumption towards the acquisition of new objects. To set her sumptuous tea table, the Christiania hostess had to take part in cultural exchanges on a global scale.

Consuming the Exotics of Everyday Life

The engagement of the Asian Company in Copenhagen in the Far Eastern trade from 1732 onwards secured a continuous supply of oriental goods to Danish-Norwegian consumers. Customs accounts from the mid-eighteenth century show that increasing quantities of tea and coffee were imported to Christiania via the major European ports of Copenhagen, Amsterdam and London.[6] Teas with exotic names like "Bohe", "Ziong Ziong", "Heysan", "Congo", "Songlo", "Emperor's Tea" and green tea became regularly available to consumers, along with coffee beans from faraway places such as the East Indies, and the Danish West Indies: the Caribbean islands St Croix, St John and St Thomas. Occa-

sionally, a basket of chocolate or chocolate cakes would arrive from St Ubes – Setubal – in Portugal, and now and again small quantities of chocolate that had been prepared in Copenhagen. The small amounts suggest that the consumption of chocolate remained low throughout the eighteenth century and probably was seen as a special treat (Hutchison 2010:225).

Along with tea and coffee, shiploads arrived in Christiania with cases and crates filled with tea sets in Chinese porcelain, pots for tea and coffee, bowls, cups in various sizes, often specified to be blue-and-white, or brown-and-blue (Johannessen 1983–84:139). In addition large quantities of "coarse brown" stone ware were imported, mainly from the English ports of London, Liverpool and Newcastle, but also from Amsterdam. On rare occasions, tea ware made of tin was cleared through customs.[7] This overview illustrates the point made by several historians, that there was a shift in demand towards breakable goods (Hutchison 2010:196ff; Poukens & Provoost 2011:181). Tea and coffee sets made in durable materials like tin were replaced by sets made in the less durable, but more fashion-sensitive porcelain and faience.

The growing import gave consumers the possibility to select from a wide range of goods of varying prices and qualities. Oriental goods could be used as distinguishing markers, in order to demonstrate knowledge of price and quality, and of what was suitable for different occasions. From 1763, when the first newspaper for Christiania was established, shopkeepers regularly announced that various kinds of tea or coffee of "best quality" and tea cups in "white-and-blue" were available at good prices.[8] The choice of teas ranged from the cheap "Congo" and "Bohe" to the more expensive "Ziong Ziong" and "Songlo". Even if prices for some would dictate choice, the possibility to choose among different varieties of commodities would be a way of showing a distinguished individuality (Hutchison 2010: 240). The possibility to acquire goods at a reasonable price would enable women who had served in affluent households to get their own tea ware when setting up a household at marriage, thus giving them the opportunity to display their skills and knowledge of preparing and serving tea and coffee in a proper manner.

There is evidence that tea and coffee were mainly consumed in urban areas and by government officials and well-to-do farmers in the countryside (Hutchison 2010:226, 228). This is logical bearing in mind that the practice of ladies visiting was mostly an urban phenomenon, and that the social practice of drinking tea and coffee as a vehicle of hospitality in the urban middle class may have spread to their relatives in the countryside. Another factor is that the prices of tea and coffee remained relatively high throughout the eighteenth century, keeping them out of reach of most rural household (Hutchison 2010:226, 228).

From her childhood around 1790, Conradine Dunker tells that her mother kept coffee, sugar and "suchlike" in a small cupboard behind the bed in her bedroom. The maids had coffee every Sunday and Wednesday, and water for tea the other days (Dunker 1909:39). Apparently, "coffee and suchlike" were still considered as treats to be rationed in a middle-rank household that had to economize. There is evidence, however, that tea and coffee moved from occa-

sional to habitual beverages among the more well-to-do urban population, and that porcelain ware was no longer seen as so exclusive and expensive as before. These goods nevertheless retained a sense of luxury and distinction (Berg 2003:228; Johannessen 1983–84:136).

To satisfy the growing demand for tea sets, Chinese craftsmen had quickly adapted to European tastes, designs and shapes that were sent to China (Berg 2003:238–239). This adaptation required a complex reaction to market demands on the part of the Chinese. For European consumers, the greater availability of oriental goods meant that the language of consumption became more complex, forcing them to distinguish with ever greater precision what they wanted (Breen 1994: 252). Consumption and choice entered into processes of self-fashioning, requiring knowledge about what would be the right goods for the right occasion.

The process of self-fashioning also included commissioning individually designed tea sets from China. During the eighteenth century English families commissioned 4,000 services with coats of arms from China. Each setting cost ten times the price of ordinary sets (Berg 2003:239). Services with coats of arms were rarely commissioned by Norwegian families, although there are exceptions (Johannessen 1983–84:135), and there are instances of tea sets with monograms.

A Mrs Sara Juell of Arendal, born in 1736, owned a tea and coffee set that was manufactured in China, with the monogram MJ SC.[9] Sara, whose maiden name was Chrystie, was born at Moorebattle on the Scottish border, but grew up in Moss south of Christiania where her father Andrew Chrystie ran a brewery and four distilleries. In 1759, she married Morten Juell of Arendal, a small port along the coast south of Christiania.[10] The set – of which two coffee pots, a small and a larger one, has been preserved, along with two tea boxes, a creamer, a bowl and sugar bowl, three cake dishes, and 14 cups of varying sizes – was probably commissioned from China. The set may have been a wedding present, commissioned by her family, and the design could be adapted to Sara's individual choice and taste. The gilded monogram is encircled with a pattern in red, differentiating it from the usual blue-and-white.

One of the tea boxes from the tea and coffee set in Chinese porcelain belonging to Mrs Sara Juell, with the monogram MJ SC. Photo: Norsk Folkemuseum. Anne-Lise Reinsfelt.

Tea and coffee sets were not only available from China. The great popularity of Chinese porcelain had for a long time inspired European potters and ceramics makers to come up with substitutes to satisfy the taste for Chinese things (Berg 2003:240; Brook 2008:78–79). While the Chinese imitated European designs and shapes to satisfy the European market, European producers tried to imitate Chinese motifs. Their efforts were not mere imitations of Chinese porcelain, however, but innovations in the sense that they appealed to European tastes. Their products exuded an enticing whiff of Chineseness, and replicated what people might have thought of the Chinese (Brook 2008:78). Among the most successful were the potters and tile makers in Delft. Early in the seventeenth century, the blue-and-white delftware had already become an affordable substitute for Chinese porcelain, owned first by the elites and then by the middle-rank households of Holland. The white glaze was easily chipped, however, and oriental porcelain was therefore still preferred (Berg 2003:237).

Nevertheless, there was a "ceramic obsession" all over Europe, and this also hit the Nordic countries at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Opstad 1959:13). A faience factory was established in Copenhagen in 1722, and one of its specialities was table tops, like the one made for the table in Norsk Folkemuseum's possession. In 1760 two – probably similar – tea tables with tops in porcelain manufactured in Copenhagen were imported to Christiania.[11] After the mid-century Norwegian factories were established; the best known is Herrebøe, established in 1759, near the south-eastern town of Fredrikshald (Halden). Several of the prominent merchants of Christiania were co-owners, among them Morten Leuch. Although the products were popular, the enterprise was not economically successful and had to close in 1770 (Opstad 1959:26ff, 53ff).

Table centrepiece in faience made at the Herrebøe factory in Fredrikshald. Photo: Norsk Folkemuseum. Anne-Lise Reinsfelt.

Herrebø announced its products regularly in *Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler* from February 1764 onwards. These announcements make up a catalogue of its products (Opstad 1959:256). A wide choice was offered to consumers in Christiania: all kinds of ornaments, such as decorative flower pots, candle holders, table centrepieces, all kinds of table ware, tops for tea tables, and of course coffee and tea ware, all of which were made in the popular blue-and-white patterns (ibid.). Thus a whole range of china and faience at differ-

ent prices and qualities and serving different purposes became available for the consumer.

On the one hand, Danish and Norwegian factories widened consumer choice, and made tea and coffee ware available at a cheaper price. On the other hand, these enterprises limited the choice. When the factory in Copenhagen was established in 1722, it was given exclusive privileges for the manufacture of "Delft porcelain and Dutch stoneware in Denmark-Norway" (Opstad 1959:16). At the same time a ban was imposed on the import of "foreign" blue and white faience, to be extended in 1727 to "glazed earthenware, painted or unpainted, from whatever place it might come, manufactured by Dutch methods" (Johannessen 1983–84: 132). The ban was strictly enforced, and the customs accounts have several records that tell of the confiscation of the "prohibited Dutch earthenware" (ibid.). The confiscations suggest that delftware was craved by consumers, and that efforts were made to make it available through smuggling. Legally, however, the choice offered to consumers in Christiania was limited to Chinese porcelain and "home-made" faience.

The great popularity of imported Chinese goods also stimulated a European-wide search for the secret of porcelain. The first to succeed was Meissen in 1709 (Berg 2005:126–127). Meissen and other eighteenth-century European porcelain works were producers of high luxury goods, but their exclusive products were too expensive to meet market demands. Therefore they did not displace the market for oriental porcelain (Berg 2003:240). In Norway, by the mid-eighteenth century there is evidence that small quantities of European-made porcelain were being imported (Johannessen 1983–84:140). In 1770 a casket of Saxon porcelain – most probably Meissen – was for example imported to Christiania via Copenhagen.[12] A few eighteenth-century Meissen art objects, tea and coffee sets and other table ware have been preserved in Norwegian museum collections.[13]

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During the eighteenth century, Chinese porcelain, faience and delftware, and later the exclusive European porcelain such as Meissen were displayed on tea tables in Christiania and surrounding areas. In Arendal, Sara Juell would preside at her tea table showing off her individually designed Chinese tea and coffee set to friends and visiting ladies. Mathia Collett, as the most prominent hostess in Christiania, could set her tea table with the most exclusive and fashionable Chinese and European porcelain. Other and more anonymous hostesses might have to make do with the more affordable faience, or even durable tea sets in tin.

It was not enough to set a sumptuous tea table, however, if your manners were not appropriately polished. Politeness was at the time judged by whether you owned the right things, whether they were sufficiently genteel in their design, and whether you were capable of using them in the right way (Berg 2005:6). The delicate and breakable porcelain cups or the easily chipped faience had to be handled with care. In this sense, these objects may be seen as vehicles that formed social practices of refinement and polite conduct.

The materiality of drinking tea and coffee illustrates that polite manners inspired from England and the Continent were constituted in complex interactions between people and things. These manners were adapted to a Norwegian way of life, as were the material objects that went with these beverages.

The tea table displaying oriental tea and coffee ware became a demonstration by the middle-rank and wealthy families in Christiania that they belonged to a broader international polite society. The objects set on the tea table acted as signs and symbols that provided instant impressions of the character and social background of the possessor (Nenadic 1994:153–154). Displays of wealth through material possessions took various and often subtle forms, but were a critical feature of status-building (ibid.). We do not know, but Mathia Collett may have set her table in a way that subtly revealed her knowledge of English taste and custom. In this way, a sumptuous tea table would articulate information about its owner, about the wealth and social standing of the household, the objects reflecting the knowledge, taste and polite manners of the hostess.

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Notes

1 NF.1943-0007. The English text of the exhibition label says: Table: spruce, gilded, Holland or England, faience top, possibly from factory at Store Kongensgade, Copenhagen, ca. 1740–50, provenance unknown.

2 NF.01884-001. Plan of the house (Stiftsgården, Rådhusgaten 13), drawn up before it was demolished in 1913.

3 For a transcription of his diary, see Arnesen 2006.

4 *Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler*, 15 June 1763, see www.nb.no/avis/intelligenssedler. This was the first Norwegian newspaper, established in Christiania in 1763. Madam Ö's letters to her friends and a brother in Leipzig, written during her stay in Christiania in 1755, had been published in the book: *Neue Erweiterungen der Erkänntnis und des Vergnügens*, and was reprinted in this paper from 15 June to 19 July 1763.

5 Bernt Anker was the second husband of Mathia Collett, and this episode occurred after her death.

6 The information is based on transcriptions of customs accounts for Christiania in the archives of Norsk Folkemuseum. I have selected the years 1755, 1759, 1760, 1765 and 1770. The accounts are far from complete, but still give an impression of the variety of goods imported. For an overview, see Johannessen 1983–84.

7 Customs accounts: Christiania, Inngående tollregnskap 1765. Four cases of tin tea ware were imported from London. This is the only instance of tin tea ware I have come across.

8 *Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler*, e.g. 1 and 22 June, 6, 13 and 19 July, and 3 August 1763.

9 NFT.1913-0144. Information registered in the Norsk Folkemuseum's database Primus, see also Digitalt museum: http://digitaltmuseum.no/.

10 Andrew Chrystie (1797–1760), Henrik Wergeland's forefather: www.arkivverket.no/webfelles/sab/wergeland/achrystie.html, Moss, Ministerialbok 12 (1753–1779), Egteviede 13de Mars 1759. Digitalarkivet: www.arkivverket.no/ (accessed 31 January 2012).

11 Customs record: Christiania, Inngående tollhovedbok 1760.

12 Customs accounts: Christiania, Inngående tollregnskap 1770.

13 A search for Meissen at Digitalt museum: http://digitaltmuseum.no/ (accessed 31 January 2012) comes up with 136 hits.

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Affective Ordering

On the Organization of Retrologies in Music Networks

By Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius and Lars Kaijser

In the epilogue to his book on the Swedish (politically) progressive rock movement of the 1970s, the Swedish music critic Håkan Lahger sketches a scenario where some bands of the period during the late 1990s became targets of a new wave of interest (Lahger 1999:240–242). Young men from near and far, he claims, were then finding this music anew, by digging through the record boxes in second-hand vinyl stores. For Lahger, this reads as a tribute to the spirit and music of the era, a crowning of political and musical efforts in the past and a confirmation of quality or interest. For quite a few of the young men – and women – in the record store, this was likely rather the beginning of an aesthetic and social journey. For us, two ethnologists, it serves as a telling example of some of the complexities involved in the formation and negotiation of popular historiographies: on one hand, the chroniclers engaged in telling stories of how it was by combining and separating facts and details; on the other hand, listeners and musicians from younger generations who rearrange and constitute new combinations of old and new, "creative anachronists" (cf. Gustafsson 2002) who generate "retro" interpretations of prog or playful alternative pasts.

Lahger's book can be seen as one of many indications that aesthetic movements in the Sweden of the 1970s gained a new interest in the years around 2000. To name a few examples: Lukas Moodysson's tremendously popular film *Tillsammans* ("Together", which premiered in 1999), the concerts at Moderna Museet in Stockholm (2000/2001) or the Nordiska Museet's (Sweden's largest museum of cultural history) exhibition on ABBA in the autumn of 1999. However, pop culture recycling and looking back are tricky endeavours, often slated for copying or unoriginality. For example, in his recent book *Retromania*, Simon Reynolds claims that "[d]uring these directionless phases [the 1970s and 2000s], it's easy to convince yourself that originality is overrated, that artists have always recycled, that there's 'nothing new under the sun'" (Reynolds 2011:428), and then returns to a nostalgic contemplation on past genuinely "new" music, beginning by stating "I remember the future rush" (ibid.). But history does not repeat itself, and neither does popular music, not even in its most nostalgic moments. The ordering of pasts in popular music is a constant collaborative work involving people, artefacts, imagery and narratives, arranged and rearranged, reinterpreted and negotiated. In this article we will investigate how these multitudes of fragments of the past – and the people ordering them – are held together through affect.

The aim of this article is twofold: (1) to present a model for understanding the formation of history in networks and (2) to apply the model on the question of how Swedish progressive music rooted in the seventies has been recognized and reinterpreted in different settings in the present day. The model distinguishes three analytical angles – fragments, retrologies, and affective alliances. Even if the model is here applied in order to understand how history is constituted in popular music, it is our belief that the model also can be used in the analysis of other forms of non-consecrated history that Raphael Samuel refers to as "unofficial knowledge" (Samuel 1994:3ff). We will conclude by sketching

some of these wider aspects of our study and suggesting other fields where the model might be fruitfully applied.

At the outset, the aim of the project was to identify networks and nodes in networks where popular music "seventies" were produced and managed. The method when working through these networks was similar to Barbara Czarniawska's notion of *following the object* (2007) – in the sense of following the theme of the 1970s to various locations and settings. Here the networks have worked as directions leading to situations where this theme could be identified. In this way, the project has constituted a multi-sited fieldwork in the sense elaborated by George Marcus (1995). The concept of network has served two different purposes in the project and accordingly varied in meaning: a more methodological one that has helped in the identification of social interconnectedness within the field, and a more analytical one that has enabled the development of the analytical model (see below). Three kinds of nodes were initially in focus: temporal nodes (such as concerts, festivals, cruises), spatial nodes (record stores, companies) and virtual nodes (online communities and web pages).

The special status of the decade in historical periodizations and in discourse on generational experience already interested Karl Mannheim in his seminal discussion on the problem of generations, and has gained the attention of several ethnologists (Mannheim 1952; Blehr ed. 1993). As regards popular music history in the late noughties, this could for example be seen in television series named "60s" and "70s", or the local Stockholm radio station "Radio Vinyl" that claimed it played "the best music from the 60s, 70s and 80s". One kind of arena that caught our interest was boat cruises on the Baltic Sea that assembled different versions of the Swedish 1970s (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2010:1). Another was examples of popular music criticism where the critics identified "seventyish sounds" or "neo-progg" (referring to an original Swedish *progg* scene of the 1970s to which we will return shortly). And a third was record distributors and retailers specializing in seventies popular music. Starting from these arenas and interviews with what we identified as central actors, we were able to follow networks of musicians, entrepreneurs and fans to other parts of the world.

The Swedish Seventies Progressive Music Scene

As mentioned above, the seventies has attracted some attention during the last decade. That is true also for the 70s Swedish progressive music scene.[1] Well aware of the fact that we're suggesting a specific order of fragments and narratives in the historiography of the seventies, we will present some initial information on the history of the music discussed.[2] This brief outline of a historical process highlights some of the more powerful fragments that function as key symbols in the organization of different retrologies – the festival and the distinctions in the meaning of "progressive".

The progressive music scene was mainly part of a movement with varying names like the progressive movement (*proggrörelsen*), the alternative movement (*alternativrörelsen*) or the musical movement (*musikrörelsen*). Often it was just called *progg* or *proggen*. "Progressive" is

here primarily understood in a political sense, even if for some of the musicians it could be applied to their musical engagement as well.[3] According to its members, this movement began as a string of outdoor festivals held at Gärdet, a field on the outskirts of central Stockholm (Lilliestam 1998:103).[4] The first festival was illegal and held in late June in 1970. The motto was do-it-yourself, and both amateurs and professional musicians took part. It is not possible to narrow the music played at Gärdet to a certain sound; it consisted of a mix of rock, jazz, cabaret music, folk music from Sweden as well as from other parts of the world. Most of the artists composed their own music and sang in Swedish. Soon the movement would organize itself, launching record distribution channels, magazines and a network of concert clubs. The festival has become a key symbol (Ortner 1973) in representations of the progressive movement. The emblematic festival is a token of a new era, of new ways of producing and consuming music and of a combined political and musical awareness.

The movement eventually came to encompass several conflicts. One was ideological concerning the purposes and ambitions of progressive music: on the one hand progressive in a political sense, where the music was secondary to political goals (Henningsson & Pettersson 2007:11),[5] on the other hand progressive in a musical sense, where the ambition was to stretch the musical boundaries of rock and jazz, incorporating elements of folk music and elements of improvisation. Here you could find bands like Träd, Gräs och Stenar (Trees, Grass and Stones), Fläsket Brinner (The Flesh is Burning) and Kebnekajse.[6] There were other ways to describe the divisions within the movement, with other boundaries, such as progressive vs. alternative (Lilliestam 1998: 108) or Stockholm vs. Gothenburg (Lahger 1999:181). These ideological divisions were one of the distinguishing features of the musical movement, and something that contributed to its disintegration.

The focus in these networks is mainly on the musically progressive part of the movement. They were sometimes labelled *flumproggen*, the prefix *flum* suggesting a drug-influenced, dreamy approach.[7] This music had grown out of an underground scene in Stockholm that had been established around 1967 (Lahger 1999:69–82; Lilliestam 1998:97–102). The influences came from blues rock pioneers like Jimi Hendrix and Cream, and famous psychedelic bands like the Doors and the Grateful Dead. Baby Grandmothers and the duo Hansson & Karlsson were early and important on the Stockholm scene. Another important band was Pärson Sound with their influences from experimental and improvisational music like the minimalist art music of Terry Reilly. The new music was in congruence with an awakening political left-wing concern and protests against the bombing of Vietnam. It is not possible to find a definite end point of the movement, it slowly faded and other musical expressions would take over. The music of the progressive years was to be out of fashion during most of the eighties and long into the nineties.

To return to the men and women in the used vinyl stores mentioned at the beginning, the surge of interest in seventies music and sounds is hard to trace. One of the prime dealers in used vinyl in Stockholm

specializing in seventies rock began his enterprise in the late 1980s, and several of the people we have talked to began their interest in this kind of music around that time. The awakening curiosity about Swedish progressive music was not a uniquely Swedish concern. The early nineties second-hand record stores also saw visits from Japanese and Korean record collectors, and in popular historiographies this pursuit of Swedish progressive music has sometimes been credited as pioneering the interest in Swedish progg.[8] It can also be said that the youngest musicians first developed an interest after hearing an intermediary generation making their own "seventyish" sound. One could therefore say that the progressive scene slowly returned at the end of the 1980s, to become more widely known a decade later.[9] But then again, there were likely young enthusiasts who "rediscovered" the scene before it even disappeared.

The Affected Past: A Model

So, how is it possible to understand the emerging phenomenon of "neo prog"? To make it possible to deconstruct the elements in narratives and other representations of the past we view "the seventies" as a set of *fragments* (possible to combine in multiple, yet specific, ways) (cf. Kaijser 2010). A fragment could be the basic facts and figures of data and events, but also stories, images, artefacts, songs, sounds or lyrics. A fragment can appear as a picture, music, memorabilia, and stories in newspapers or a personal recollection. Basically, fragments are all those bits, pieces and traces that are left from activities relating to the seventies. However, there is no closed, sealed and stable collection of fragments: new fragments are constantly added. One example is the release of previously unreleased music by Pärson Sound in 2001. During the seventies the band was not accessible as a sound, but as a memory or a footnote in the biography of Träd, Gräs och Stenar. Today, the sound of Pärson Sound can also represent the past. Approaching the seventies as a set of fragments emphasizes not the "actual" period of the seventies but when, where and how these fragments are melded together. It also emphasizes the lack of completeness that seems to distinguish any effort to represent or use the era. It puts the analytical focus not just on the parts that are thought of as seventyish, but also on the question of how these fragments are linked together. Fragments can thus be musical sounds or entire pieces of music, but they can also be ideological and cultural values. The same fragment can occur in numerous retrologies – from the greater story of progressive music, to stories of the seventies or of social changes in the late twentieth century.

Our understanding of progressive music proceeds from Franco Fabbri's notion of musical genre as "a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules", or in our understanding, conventions (Fabbri 1982). A musical event is here framed as any type of activity performed around any type of event involving sound (cf. Small 1998). To be able to further analyse musical events, Fabbri has proposed a set of culturally ordered generic rules that help to categorize what defines a musical genre.[10] According to this, a musical genre consists of sound, performance techniques, instrumental

characteristics, and the musicians' ability. Generically defined expectations of sound are connected to the communicative and sensual aspect of music. This covers the choice of band name, dress style, postures when playing, dancing or in any other way performing music. Other aspects are, for example, conversation styles and concert behaviour of both performers and audiences. Consequently, genre is also defined through what he terms social and ideological rules. That is the (probably too often prejudiced) way we understand and identify a genre, for example progressive music as elitist or pop music as just commercial. Identifying genre in this manner helps us to grasp the complexities involved in defining a musical community. This way of thinking has consequences for how we have looked for and identified fragments and related them to each other. Sound was only one important factor. Also important were ways of dressing and moving, record labels and aesthetic similarities in pictures and covers.

One of the most important kinds of fragments within the field of popular music is the names of bands, artists, labels, records and songs. The fragments are recognized and acknowledged as important when used, and it is through these fragments that people can outline musical genres and their historical trajectories. In other words, what from the outside could be viewed as name-dropping is one of the actual ways that retrologies are formatted.[11]

The concept of retrology is used to show how certain bits and pieces in certain situations are bound together. *Retrologies* literally means "ways of thinking backwards" (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2010). If *logos* suggests logic and structure, *retro* indicates direction – backward – as opposed to the frequent *re* meaning "again" (as in *revival*) in notions of social memory. The term is intended as an alternative to other recurring concepts in discussions on uses of history, such as "narrative" or "re-enactment" (Aronsson 2004), since it seems we are dealing with ways of constructing a past that do not necessarily have a clear-cut order with a beginning and an end (as "narrative" suggests). Nor can these bits and pieces easily be thought of as dramatic material, already there, just waiting for enactment. Narrative is, after all, only one of many ways to organize things. And sometimes things from the past come to us in a stable condition, but just as often we have to build something up, or even tear it down before putting it together again. To look for narrative order here would be to presuppose a specific way of ordering out of many possible ones. As Elisabeth Guffey points out in her book *Retro: The Culture of Revival*, retro styles are characterized by an eclectic and anachronistic bricolage where irony and playfulness can be more important than memory or context (Guffey 2006). In the light of Bruno Latour's sociomaterialistic theory, a retrology is simply an effect of network of actors, both human and non-human (Latour 2005).

Influenced by Lawrence Grossberg, the concept of *affective alliance* is used to understand how retrologies are constituted (1997). The affective alliance is built upon a shared direction towards similar cultural expressions, in this case expressions that can be labelled seventyish. For us, affect has to do with identification and recogni-

tion, or in other words, identity as process (Hall 1996). It is through affect that we see ourselves in others; with Sara Ahmed (2010), affect has to do with directedness or "intentionality" in a phenomenological sense. Or to put it simply: affect is a register that unites certain people in their way of relating to others and, important in this argument, in their way of relating and relating to fragments.

The three-concept model of fragment, retrologies and affective alliances assists in identifying how views of the past are ordered. Following Aull Davies's critical realist approach (2008:18), we see the ideas and notions of the past as existing independently of our concepts, but it is through the use of the model that they become understandable. The model's focus on the past as an affectively ordered assembly is not a way of saying "anything goes". Instead it is a way of making explicit the often taken-for-granted assumptions underlying views of the past. It brings to the centre of attention not only how fragments are put together but also how this process encompasses distinctions and struggles for both how "it really was" and how it "should be". Thus retrologies also hold emotional claims of authority.

Fragments

In order to explain our model we will start by presenting a set of fragments that in different ways form parts of retrologies. Even if they are diverse, they all constitute important points of entrance for an understanding of the relation between fragments, affective alliances and retrologies. The fragments are two records, one YouTube clip and two images. Our discussion will focus on how these fragments are combined with other fragments and assembled in different retrologies. These arrangements in turn point to central values and affective registers that keep the networks together.

Alternative Instrumental Music

In 1980 the record company Caprice released *Alternative Instrumental Music*. The record was part 7 in the *Music in Sweden* series; a collaboration between Rikskonserter (the National Concert Institute) and Svenska institutet (The Swedish Institute). The purpose of the series was to promote Swedish culture and knowledge of Swedish life outside Sweden. Other LPs in the series contained, for instance, Swedish jazz and folk music. The cover of *Alternative Instrumental Music* is in blue and fronted with a picture of a house in the Old Town of Stockholm. On the back of the cover there are Swedish, English, French and German versions of a presentation. The text describes how the 1970s saw the development of a special music in Sweden through politically radical, non-commercial rock groups. The music is characterized as improvisational, mixing modern jazz with folk music from Sweden as well as other parts of the world, but also described as "vital and exciting" and part of a "progressive" or "alternative" movement. Due to problems in translating Swedish lyrics, the record has focused on instrumental music. The artists represented are on the A-side Kebnekaise; Arbete & Fritid; Bo Hansson; Fläsket Brinner and Tillsammans; and on side B Samla Mammas Manna, Spjärnsvallet, Iskra, Archimedes Badkar; Anita Livstrand and Ramlösa Kvällar. The music could be de-

The cover of *Alternative Instrumental Music*, with an accompanying leaflet.

scribed as a combination of rock and jazz influenced by folk music from Sweden as well as from other areas. Accompanying the record is a leaflet presenting the participating artists and describing the story of the Swedish music movement. This leaflet is also in four languages, containing a number of blue-tinted pictures of artists and record covers illustrating the texts. On the front is a picture from the festival at Gärdet in Stockholm in 1970. The presentations of the artists were written by the music historian Jan Bruér, and the story of the music movement by the journalist Håkan Lahger. There is also a reflection on the music and its background by the musician Tuomo Haapala, member of Iskra.

Sleep Tight, Rose-Marie

The LP *Sov gott Rose-Marie* ("Sleep Tight, Rose-Marie") by International Harvester was released on the Finnish record label Love Records in the spring of 1969. The LP was later re-released on the Swedish label Silence in 1984, and again on CD by Silence in 2001. The music was recorded in the autumn of 1968. On the white front cover are drawings in a naïve style showing, at the bottom, five small grass-grown hills, each with one tree drawn in black, green and red. On one of the hills is a sign saying "Good luck" (in English). Gigantic flames are rising from the sign, encircling a stylized drawing of Sweden and at the top the name of the band and the record. Between the flames and the hills are clouds and birds surrounding a note. The back of the cover shows an extended shot of the group containing the band members along with girlfriends, children and others. The black and white and somewhat blurred picture was taken in front of Vårby Grillen in the sum-

The flipside of the cover of *Sov gott Rose-Marie*, by International Harvester.

mer of 1968. The booklet in the CD issue of *Sov gott Rose-Marie* contains a similar picture of the band and their friends gathered and standing in the water of Albysjön, both places located in the southern Greater Stockholm area. The booklet also contains a biography of the band; how they were inspired by the Rolling Stones, the American composer Terry Riley and Swedish folk music, how they started as Pärson Sound in 1967, changed their name to International Harvester, dropped 'International' to become Harvester and later came to call themselves Träd, Gräs och Stenar. The story emphasizes the band's participation in the experimental music scene, such as playing at the opening of a big Andy Warhol exhibition at Moderna Museet (the Modern Museum in Stockholm). The booklet also claims that the vinyl records made by the groups in the sixties later became "unashamedly expensive", but also more in tune with an audience used to dub and other repetitive

Dungen.

techniques. When reissued the texts in the booklet were translated and adapted for an English-speaking market. The record contains 13 tracks (included as a bonus track on the CD is a fourteenth track originally intended as the B-side on the LP). The songs are both instrumental and with lyrics. Most of the songs were composed by the band, but some are traditional and one is cover of a song by the Rolling Stones. The music harmonizes well with the record cover: a "raw" production of electric guitars and what would later be called "lo-fi", and song that moves in and out of pitch, is interspersed with pastoral birdsong.

Two Images

Two images, colour photographs, of contemporary Swedish rock bands. One displays three men in their twenties or thirties, standing side by side, one of them leaning on the other, and the fourth member with his parka hood over his head, slightly behind the others. Perhaps it's a bit chilly, the sky is grey, the wind is blowing in their hair and they are standing on an elevated point, but the background is somewhat blurred so it's hard to tell where it is. Since a song contemporary with the image is called *Högdalstoppen* (a hill in southern Stockholm), that could very well be the place. The picture is taken from the front, all four looking straight into the camera with serious and self-confident faces. Their proximity, their way of leaning on and touching each other suggests friendship and unity.

The other displays the eight members of a band, probably sitting, but they could be standing, in tall grass. They might be slightly younger than Dungen, but it's

Samling.

hard to tell. One seems to be looking straight into the camera, with a light smile on his face, the others are looking at each other, some smiling, some laughing. Six of the members have facial hair – from moustache to thick beard, and of the members without facial hair, one is a woman. Two are wearing caps, and a third member a hat. The image is somewhat blurry, partly due to the sunlight coming from slightly above the camera, creating reflections that look like white drops. For someone from Stockholm the place is recognizable, though; it is Gärdet, the venue for the celebrated and commemorated festivals of the early 1970s.

All the Way from Sweden

"My next guest tonight come to us all the way from Sweden, they're here tonight with a song from their new album *Ta det lugnt* [showing the CD case] – please welcome Dungen!"[12] The camera quickly zooms out from television host Conan O'Brien to the sound of applause, and parallel to zooming in on the snare drum, we see and hear the explosive opening outbursts on snare and bass drum. Maybe one could expect 1940s be-bop after this. The song is introduced by a short drum solo, swinging in an 8/8 measure ending with something like a fanfare on the snare. After the fanfare, there are similar outbursts on a distorted guitar along the drums, and expectations change – is it some kind of jazzy heavy metal? Now the cymbals are introduced and the sound increases. After first having circled around the drummer and around the stage to the guitarist, the camera zooms out from the stage, showing four male musicians probably in their twenties, playing electric bass

Klemt Echolette, photo from concert with Dungen in Boston 2010.

and guitar, drums and one long-haired guy who shakes his body to the music. Their clothes are casual – jeans, shirts and sweaters – maybe with a slight 1960s or 1070s feel, with bell-bottom cuts and a shirt that resembles the tight, fitted shirts typical of the period. Suddenly, the music changes character – from a more swinging 8/8 to straight 4/4 measure, from heavily distorted chords to a swishy-sounding picking on the guitar. The singer goes up to the mike and starts to sing a falling melody with a folky character: "Vägen bort är lång, längre bort än hem" ("The road away is long, further away than home").

Even without statistical support it is not an unreasonable guess that Swedish musicians singing in Swedish on American prime-time television is a highly unusual phenomenon. If you add the noisy retro sound of the band, it could seem even more unlikely. However, once you look at comments on the YouTube version of the show, it becomes apparent that this might not be all that unlikely: for example, comments compare the singer's visual appearance with Robert Plant of Led Zeppelin – an internationally acclaimed rock band of the 1970s.[13] The band obviously can be located within common popular frames of interpretation. In comments on other YouTube clips with the band, they are also associated with bands that commentators find in some way similar (such as Tame Impala and Yukon Blonde), also with

some kind of "psychedelic" sound.[14] Even if the language is Swedish, the sound is transnational. In this perspective, the Swedish language in its unintelligibility might even add to the musical (and psychedelic) experience, apart from giving it a "narrower", more exclusive quality.[15]

The appearance on Conan O'Brien probably had an influence on Dungen's career in the US, but it is also striking how often the appearance is mentioned in Sweden. In other words, no matter how many people in the US actually saw the show that night, it has become a token of their popularity in the US (which, we might add, does not correspond to some Swedish expectations). This is a pattern that likely follows every band from a small country in the non-Anglophonic world that is appreciated on any scale in the Anglophonic world (other Swedish bands and artists that could be mentioned alongside Dungen are e.g. The Cardigans, The Soundtrack of our Lives, Lykke Li and First Aid Kit, to name but a few).

From Fragments to Retrologies

The fragments described can, as mentioned earlier, be seen as active components in a number of retrological constellations. In the following we will outline some of them. We visited Japan in May of 2010.[16] When finishing an interview in the countryside outside Hiroshima we were shown some records that had been important for the man we had interviewed. He showed us the LP *Alternative Instrumental Music* and told us that it was a very important record when he first wanted to learn of Swedish progressive music. It was not primarily the artist or the songs on the record that made him show it to us, but the booklet in English with the story of the progressive movement. In the late eighties, he found out about Swedish progressive music through a friend and got interested. At that time it was very difficult to find anything in English on the Swedish music scene. This was not the first time we saw this record. It had previously and for the same reasons been shown to us during an interview in Seattle in the north-western US. The record was a fragment, formed part of and generated retrologies: it introduced and summarized the progressive movement not just by recapturing and listing details of events that had happened, but also constituted an emotional statement of a recently passed era.

Håkan Lahger's text in the booklet tells the story of how Anglo-American music dominated the first half of the sixties and how there seemed to be no popular music of Swedish origin. Then influenced and released by a zeitgeist of love, peace, drugs and mysticism and underground flower power music like the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, a Swedish underground music scene was establishing itself. It tells the story of how the musical movement emerged through political ambition, solidarity with the conditions of the working class and a growing concern over the state of the nation. The festival at Gärdet is described as an enthusiastic and pivotal moment. Lahger's text is written in a "we-form" taking a stand for radicalism, anti-commercialism and instrumental progressive music against what he calls lyrically based "cliché rock". It is the former that is presented on *Alternative Instrumental Music*, claimed to represent "progressiveness, creativity and the challenging of musical conventions". Håkan

Lahger's position is further developed in Tuomo Haapala's texts where the artists on the record are situated against established classical musicians reminding of brow-beaten marionettes and jazz musicians playing music comparable to watery porridge. Instead he sees the artist on the record as representing something new, forming an antithesis to conformism, a music influenced by political awareness, blended with folk music from India, Africa and the Balkan states, John Coltrane and Charles Mingus, and from Terry Riley. Haapala claims that the development of the seventies has made it impossible to categorize music into genres, since the "important thing is not what form the music takes, but its intentions, its creativity and its function".

Later – in the autumn of 2011 – we're sitting in a coffee shop in Stockholm. We are showing *Alternative Instrumental Music* to Håkan Lahger, one of the writers. When holding the record in his hand it first evokes personal memories related to the time he wrote the piece. Then he goes over to talking about the music scene of the time. He remembers the festival at Gärdet as a turning point and the occasion when the movement discovered itself and how many they were. He talks about the greatness of the musical movement, and the ugliness of the conflicts that followed, referring to persons, places, artists and records. In his book on the movement he concludes (1999:243):

> The movement was just like one big parenthesis where people from the most disparate locations gathered for one moment, were tricked into believing that they had a lot in common and that they were struggling in the same direction. That was not the case.[17]

He emphasizes the division between Stockholm and Gothenburg, and how the musicians playing instrumental music often were ridiculed by artists more willing to express their radicalism through lyrics. This was also one reason why it was important to make the record in 1980. He says that the present interest in instrumental progressive music is a payback for the more psychedelic part of the movement. The affective alliances that link fragments together into more or less consistent retrologies also produce difference, and others. This is apparent when Lahger reminisces about the era. Place becomes important, and Stockholm and Gothenburg constitute two important antagonists in his narrative. Stockholm represents a mellow mood, more in correspondence with the feelings attached to the festival at Gärdet. Gothenburg is identified here through the magazine *Musikens makt* ("The Power of Music"), viewed as ignorant and politically narrow-minded.

Lahger's experience of the progressive music could be compared to its reception in another cultural setting. Sometime during the late 1990s and at the beginning of this century progressive music received some attention on the American alternative scene. In April 2010 we visited Dave Nuss, a New York musician. He and his band No Neck Blues Band toured with Träd, Gräs och Stenar when they did their first tour in the US, in 2003. During our conversation he tells us how he got into Swedish progressive music. He was exploring progressive rock with ethnic influences, like German krautrock. He got into Swedish progressive through a friend who had a Korean-made vinyl bootleg of Harvester's *Hemåt* ("Homeward"). The

Swedish music was a mystery to him. The music could be linked to the German seventies krautrock scene, sounding similar to bands like Can or Faust. But the Swedish music preceded the German scene, and was more original. He was puzzled by the sound of the Swedish groups. How was it possible to develop music like International Harvester? Music like the Doors and Grateful Dead that according to Håkan Lahger opened up the Swedish progressive scene is regarded by Nuss as "major American shit". He was intrigued by the sound and aesthetics of Swedish progressive. He was fascinated by the photo from International Harvesters' *Sov gott Rose-Marie*, showing the band in front of Vårby Grillen. "Who are these people and why are there children in this photo? Who are the people in this photo? It is like a family gathering." But beyond this he wanted to know more about the cultural environment that enabled music like Träd, Gräs och Stenar. The sound was original, it had political connotations and it all staged a communal feeling. For Nuss, the Swedish progressive scene was part of a more general interest in communal movements from the sixties and the seventies.

Just as in our interview with Lahger, fragments of the seventies were continuously feeding our conversation. Here are bands like Pärson Sound, Harvester, Kebnekajse och Arbete & Fritid, and the records they made: *Hemåt*, *Ljus från Afrika* ("Lights from Africa") and *Sov Gott Rose-Marie*. People like Bo-Anders and Torbjörn from Träd, Gräs och Stenar and record companies like Silence are mentioned. References are made to pictures from outdoor festivals and people partying in a field, and to gatherings of fans and bands from the seventies music on a cruise in the Baltic Sea. The sound of the music and the spontaneity of its recording was an important topic and depicted as "drums, flutes, nje, nje, a Jew's harp and then there is a record". Materialized into words the sound is described as improvised, melodically based, having a "communal feel", "formless", "naked", "honest", "beautiful" and "original".

Nuss's affection for the nakedness and authenticity of the music, the communal feeling and enigmatic aesthetics is what keeps his interest together. He finds that progressive music embraces the things that American music lacks: history, authenticity and a sense of tradition. Through the conversation with Nuss we can identify a retrology of the Swedish seventies, consistent with other entrepreneurs and musicians we met in the US. Sweden is here a beautiful, honest and somehow naive place located somewhere off the cultural main road, a timeless utopia, with original music that is at the same time both remote and ahead of the progressive music that would follow.

The two images of contemporary rock bands described earlier, as well as Nuss's images, point to two central themes in visual retrologies in our field: nearness to the elements, and a tendency to suggest growth (the instances that refer to trees and roots are numerous). The first band described here is called Dungen (The Grove), and among their contemporaries within the field can be found the band Mylla (Soil). In our interview, their guitarist pointed out British seventies folk rock band Trees as a key reference, and in the last few years he has been part of the offi-

cial line-up of seventies prog rock band Träd, Gräs och Stenar. Hair and beard constitute key symbols, sometimes more as a point of reference (as in an external term, *skäggrock*, literally "beard rock") or even as a source of irony. Proximity and closeness is central in both imagery and rhetoric. The second band described here is called Samling (Gathering), somewhat reminiscent of the name of an acclaimed constellation in the seventies prog field, Tillsammans (Together). The visual fragments can be *combined* with other fragments. Band names, in this case, point to central themes: not only nature, but also growth and an organic ideology that seems to organize ways of thinking about social relationships as well as music aesthetics (the idea of music as a collective searching, less limited by commercial or format considerations).

Another element is the way fans, industry and music criticism come to phrase the sounds of these bands in terms of stylistic periods and create associative links. "Seventyish sound" (Hansson 2007) and "neo-prog" (Yeaman 2008) are but two examples of how music critics attribute popular music periodizations to music in general. Swedish morning papers' reviews of the Dungen album contemporary with the picture (*Skit i allt*), could contain comments that Gustav Ejstes of Dungen had taught American musicians to pronounce difficult words such as Träd, Gräs och Stenar and *Vild i Skogen* (a compilation by the Swedish prog record label Silence) (Unnes 2010), or refer to the band's "shimmering forest psychedelia" (Yeaman 2010). Together these different elements are connected in retrologies. A strand through many of these images is that they tend to suggest what Nuss described as a "communal" feeling (see above). That is, instead of posing to look like artists, they seem to emulate their audience – with kids, laughing together and sometimes focusing on each other rather than on the camera lens. Perhaps this everyday, casual and communal spirit works so well in a transnational context because it corresponds to widespread stereotypes of Swedish or Nordic societies as less hierarchic and democratic.

Visual fragments can be analysed along a number of lines. In our primary description, we began by looking at the overall impression (band located in an outdoor setting), the location of central objects (proximity and distance), background and setting (a hill and Gärdet, both probably in Stockholm). To go into more detail we noted aspects such as bodily posture (members leaning on each other, the direction of gazes) and facial expressions (seriousness and laughter). We also noted what was in and out of focus, light (such as the white drops produced by incoming sunlight) and colours (grey and a warm yellow). An intertextual reading allows for comparisons with the band's other visual expressions, but also with other ways of presenting rock bands (that is, with the genre of rock band photography). Dungen's record sleeves have included two women in long dresses dancing on a lawn outside a red-painted farm building (*Dungen*) or what looks like folk art flower patterns (*Ta det lugnt*), but also patterns reminiscent of 1960s op-art (*Tio bitar*). The folk art flower pattern is also somewhat reminiscent of a pattern found on the drum head on the Träd, Gräs och Stenar drummer's bass drum.[18] Samling's

record *När mullret dövar våra öron blir vi rädda* ("When the rumbling deafens our ears we get frightened") (2011) is covered with a blur of what looks like watercolours or batik patterns. Without stretching it too far, it's possible to see the cover art as related to the psychedelic and folk ambitions in the music. Within the genre of rock band photography, the two images belong to a pastoral strand that links the bands to the 1960s and 70s folk rock genres, for example, but separates them from, say, the established punk/new wave urban iconography (e.g. brick lanes and subway stations) or the occult or mythic iconography of heavy metal. The intertextual relationship is not conclusive for establishing genre, but along with other fragments it points in certain directions. To sum up, the band images constitute fragments that together with technological, sonic and verbal representations build retrologies.

Dungen had their commercial breakthrough with the album *Ta det lugnt* ("Take it easy"), released in 2004. Reviews of the earlier albums had been restrained, sometimes even complaining about the retro sound. In order to understand this, you have to bear in mind a central value scale in popular music criticism, the idea of mimicry as opposed to artistry (a value scale common to large parts of the arts since romanticism, cf. Taylor 1991). After the appearance on Conan O'Brien, there followed tours in the US, and for a couple of years the band had a substantial indie following, especially in Europe and the US. Swedish reviews of *Ta det lugnt* and subsequent albums have generally been more positive. Much of the media coverage of Dungen tends to focus on their seventyish or prog sound, while frontman Gustav Ejstes, in his communication with both media and concert audiences tends to mention influences such as folk music, hip hop and the Aphex Twin, a central reference in 1990s electronica and drum 'n' bass (cf. e.g. Backman 2002). If music critics (and audiences along with them, as can be read from YouTube comments) try to put a seventies label on him, he is in turn trying to point out other references. Other members of the current band line-up contribute their historical references – for example, drummer Johan Holmegard is a schooled jazz musician, and guitarist Reine Fiske was once an employee at the Swedish Sound Archive with the mission to document Swedish psychedelic music of the late 1960s and early 1970s. He has been responsible both for reissuing Swedish progressive music, and for issuing non-released material as Träd, Gräs och Stenar: *Gärdet 12.6.1970* (1996). These recordings were released on Fiske's own label Till Indien, in cooperation with the label Subliminal Sounds, the same label that during the course of our project has issued records by Träd, Gräs och Stenar and Kebnekajse.

Among Fiske's electronic equipment, alongside old tube amplifiers and vintage fuzz pedals, can be found the 1960s tape echo *Klemt Echolette*. In the Conan O'Brien appearance, for example, it can be seen right behind him, standing on top of the amplifier. During our interview, Fiske claimed that the main reason that he found out about the echo is that his prime sixties and seventies guitar hero, Kenny Håkansson (member of Kebnekajse and Baby Grandmothers), used that echo to produce his typical guitar sound. Technology as a key fragment in the constitution

of retrologies cannot be overestimated. Paul Théberge notes that the attitude that electronic technology could ruin the authenticity of popular music emerged by the late 1970s, before which the use of electronic equipment in order to distort or alter sound would usually be seen as exciting (Théberge 1997). A way to understand Fiske's and his followers' fascination with vintage equipment might then be as an expression of a nostalgia for a past future – a time when sound technologies encapsulated the future (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2002). In other words, the echo and the sound it produces itself constitutes a fragment that, together with the other equipment, musical instruments, performance and artist personas of the other members, constitutes a retrology in the form of Dungen's music-making. During Dungen concerts we attended in Boston and Stockholm, members of the audience would come up to the stage front before and after concerts and carefully inspect the equipment, discussing it and sometimes even take photographs of it. And on guitarist forums on the Internet, people will exchange information on exactly what equipment is used in connection with what ("Reine Fiske, anyone?", electronic resource). To complicate things even further, Fiske has for the last few years been a member of aforementioned Träd, Gräs och Stenar, now contributing his retro sound in a band that once inspired his search for historical sound sources. And Dungen themselves have now clearly come to constitute a new historical layer for younger bands, and a source in new retrological combinations. This was highlighted in our interview with Lahger, who found it refreshing that the musical sound of Samling (or the likes of First Aid Kit or The Amazing) had a referential base in the present music scene, and not just in bands from the seventies. Seen in this light, Dungen's music is perhaps more of a temporary halt in an ever-changing recombination of fragments. That halt acts as a retrology, but in its specific combination of sounds, lyrics, imagery and artist personas, it also carries the building blocks of future retrologies.

Conclusion: "Flum", Togetherness and the Psychedelic Alliance

As we mentioned initially, the central theme in Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory* (1994) is how people form ideas and conceptions of the past in various ways, from the most mundane, everyday practices to music, entertainment and fashion. Samuel refers to these non-consecrated forms of history as "unofficial knowledge" (ibid.: 3). But to what extent are different fragments of the past parts of larger wholes in the present, and how are they tied together? In our study we have shown how such larger wholes might fruitfully be understood in terms of retrologies – sometimes in the form of narrative order, sometimes in the form of imagery or soundscapes. They are tied together through affect, or in other words, ways of "being moved" in relation to the social and material world (Ahmed 2010:33).

What does it mean to think with this theoretical model, what do the concepts show us that we would not have seen otherwise? At the level of fragments, we have paid attention to constituent parts and what signifies them; at the level of affect, how do people relate and relate to fragments; and at the level of retrology, what are the effects of these relations in

terms of larger wholes? Throughout the article it becomes apparent that the networks that we have been following work on a more global scale. As such it is as an example of how the notion of globalization can be elaborated. The model has helped to show how different retrologies have been distinguished through approximately the same fragments. In a way the retrologies knit the aficionados of progressive music to each other, at the same time as they work as distinctions marking out positions in localized cultural settings. Different retrologies constitute separate sceneries of nostalgic pasts and utopias. This could for example be said of the notion of Sweden. Here Sweden can represent an exotically northern other and an alternative modernity encapsulating a lost sensuality. But it can also point toward the late sixties Swedish political situation and a generational attempt to find another political order and a nostalgia for one's own youthful ideas of another future (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2002).

We have claimed that affect is the glue that makes these retrologies hold together. To conclude, we would like to point out a few central aspects of this affect. As was noted previously, the use of vintage technologies might indicate not only a way of looking back, but a specific nostalgia for a past when the use of new technologies in popular music could still stir excitement and expectations about the future. If the Klemt Echolette today can embody a lost era, it was in those days above all a sign of a promising future. We claim that the same kind of nostalgia for a past future can be discerned in band names such as Samling, or in the American interviewees' fascination with an exotic communal feel of the dawning Swedish 1970s. A key ingredient in this affective alliance is the longing for the communal, the embracing of social cohesion and togetherness (but importantly, without the socialist ideology with which it came to be associated during the 1970s). This is partly accomplished through a uniting scepticism about the music industry and an understanding of independent music as more authentic. This could also be said of the festival at Gärdet, easily viewed as a summarizing symbol of an awakening new era of togetherness in both a political and a musical sense. The do-it-yourself ethos that has been ascribed to the festival would from this viewpoint better be described as "do-it-together".

As we also have shown, nature and the natural form a common strand in this field, from band names to visual representations. But aesthetic ideals about the form and function of music also harmonize with this strand: music must be allowed to grow organically, and for that it needs time in a way that the formats established by the music industry and its technologies of distribution seldom give room for (Håkan Lahger, interview 6 December 2011). The admiration of the natural is also related to the more hedonistic appreciation of the festival at Gärdet. In an American interview, pictures of Gärdet were related to Woodstock, the big outdoor music festival held in the rural upstate New York in 1969, a festival remembered for people dancing naked, for its peacefulness and for the heavy rain showers. Again, one aspect of this organic idea is the recurrent notion of the psychedelic as something earthy, primitive, but also deep and mind-expanding (its literal sense). Here, the ex-

perience of music and the feeling of social cohesion that comes with it is sometimes compared to the experience of drugs. According to this train of thought, good psychedelic music can generate the same kind of experience as some drugs. Even if drugs and their use have been difficult subjects to ask direct interview questions about, it is significant in this context that the most frequent drugs used seem to be "natural" drugs (i.e. marijuana and hashish), as opposed to synthetic ones (e.g. LSD).

The model enables an understanding of how the different elements we refer to as fragments are combined and function within larger constellations, or retrologies. As we have shown, a great deal of the work of combining lies among audiences, musicians, producers and distributors. It is a collaborative effort, carried out in spoken discourse, in virtual environments, in music making and not least in visual communication. We have also demonstrated how a few distinct fragments that have appeared repeatedly in the process constitute key components in retrologies. We have discussed the affective glue that holds these networks together in terms of a both exoticizing and utopian longing for another way of life, characterized by social cohesion and a more relaxed attitude.

Judging by our results, the model we have explored could become a tool in the understanding of other forms of social memory that make use of popular culture. Other areas that could be interesting to investigate through the use of the model are, for example, the field of vintage and second-hand clothing, or the phenomenon of "nostalgia" motor vehicles. It would also be possible to apply the model in emotional settings such as politics. Here the historical pasts of different political parties could be analysed through the affected way they organize the past in their present agendas. And as we see it, the most important reason for making use of this model is that it visualizes the complex dynamics involved in transnational collaborative formations of pasts, in the plural.

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Notes

1 Eriksson *et al*. 2006; Petterson, & Henningsson 2007; Arvidsson 2008; Thyrén 2009.
2 The presentation is based on the musicologist Lars Lilliestam's history of Swedish rock music (1998).
3 In Anglo-American popular music discourse, the term "progressive rock" is roughly equivalent to art rock or symphonic rock and lacks the political overtones of the Swedish word

(cf. e.g. Martin 1998). As we show, the duality of the Swedish concept goes hand in hand with a central tension between political and musical progressivity within the movement (cf. Thyrén 2009).

4 There were other festivals taking place around the same time, but they did not attain the same symbolic power. One was held at Götaplatsen in Gothenburg in June (Arvidsson 2008:211) another one in Lund in May (Henningsson & Pettersson 2007:9), both in 1970.

5 The political discursive field within the music movement is further elaborated in Arvidsson 2008. For a thorough discussion of the historical background cf. Östberg 2002.

6 We have chosen to translate some of the band names into English. We are well aware of the ambiguity in translating band names, as a literal translation easy misses out plays on words as well as attached connotations. Despite this, the band names often express values and notions prominent in the social and musical context where they act (cf. Kaijser 2007).

7 *Flum* has both negative and positive overtones, and translates to dizziness, improvisation, being unfocused or high on drugs (cf. current Swedish debates on *flumskolan* – "the woolly school" as a counter-image to an authoritative school organized through discipline).

8 http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progg

9 Twenty years is often held to be the standard period for recycling in popular culture (cf. e.g. Reynolds 2011); examples would be the fifties wave of the 1970s, the sixties in the 1980s and perhaps the seventies in the 1990s.

10 Fabbri counts five types of rules: (1) formal and technical rules; (2) semiotic rules; (3) behaviour rules; (4) social and ideological rules; (5) economic and juridical rules (Fabbri 1982).

11 In this article, we have tried to keep name-dropping to a minimum. In the References we have listed artists and records mentioned in the article. The list also works as a soundtrack to the article.

12 The following fragment is an uploaded version of a part of the Conan O'Brien show on YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hey5JOvnEiY, last accessed 2 December 2011.

13 For a more extensive discussion of YouTube comments as a field of popular historical discourse, see Hyltén-Cavallius 2009. It might also be added that such comments have been a highly valuable source in the project.

14 This often seems to have to do with sound effects – phasing, distortion, etc., and beat, and to a much lesser extent melody. Comments from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAyU_B_x9RE&ob=av2e, last accessed 2 December 2011.

15 In this case, comparisons might be made with internationally known Icelandic band Sigur Rós, whose singer Jónssi occasionally sings in a made-up language, Hopelandic (*vonlenska*), http://sigur-ros.co.uk/band/faq.php#07, last accessed 16 February 2012.

16 We are profoundly grateful to the ethnologist Makiko Kanematsu, Ph.D., who accompanied us on our trip, and without whose translations and guidance the fieldwork would not have been possible.

17 "Musikrörelsen var som en enda stor parentes där människor från de mest skilda håll samlades under ett ögonblick och lurades att tro att de hade en massa gemensamt och att de strävade åt samma håll. Så var det inte" (Lahger 1999:243).

18 The source of the flower on the drum was a mitten from Värmland. It can be found on their website, together with a brief explanation: http://www.tgs.nu/TGSsajtcopy/english.htm.

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Family Land

Generational Succession and Property Transfer in Two Swedish Agricultural Areas from 1870 to 2009

By Iréne A. Flygare

Introduction

In Sweden there are 325 000 officially recorded agricultural estates, the majority in private hands, (but only some 80,000 of them are regular production units). They range from smallholdings with little or no farming activities – some with the main incomes from forestry – up to big farm business enterprises. A substantial portion of these property units contribute land to the extensive present-day leasing system. 10,000 to 15,000 of these 325 000 units change hands every year, and two thirds of all acquisitions of landed property in 21st century Sweden occur within families (SOU 2001:38:44).[1]

The free market seems to play a limited part in land transactions. Consequently, the ongoing modernisation of agriculture through farm enlargement is very much a family affair.

Aims and Points of Departure

"Every mode of production based on private property, in whatever form, requires a regular and legitimated means of inter-generational property transfer… "(Seccombe 1995:39). This article takes as it starting point processes concerning the transfer of actual *ownership* of agricultural property, not the transfer of farming as such. Land ownership is hedged about by legislation – with laws of inheritance playing an important part – but also by social and cultural conceptions which are sometimes visible but mostly operate on a deeper level.

In a Swedish context, where the modernisation discourse has dominated both science and policy, the forms of property transfer within agriculture were seen as relics of the past, destined to succumb to increased economical rationalism (Wohlin 1910; Kungl. Maj:ts prop. 1965:41; Ivarsson 1977). The last decades of the 19th century have often been thought of as the period of the final breakthrough of rationalism and commercialism. Questions of inheritance and property transfer in Swedish agrarian society have interested historians, who have often focused on how market forces and monetary economy affected land ownership and land transfer (Winberg 1981; Rosén 1994; Ågren 1992; Gaunt 1983). Some have tried to link individual land to certain families in order to understand how inheritance systems were made up (Taussi- Sjöberg 1996; Zernell-Durhàn 1990). Human geographers have also taken an interest in how much different inheritance systems have affected the landscape layout, and have therefore made in-depth studies of genealogy (Sporrong & Wennersten 1995; Wennersten 2001;2002a, b). Interest in gender issues in inheritance contexts has increased in recent years, focusing on conditions in the 19th century (Holmlund 2007; 2008; Dribe & Lund 2005; Ågren 2009).

Relatively few Swedish researchers have looked at inter-generational relationships of the 20th century, due perhaps to land transactions having been looked on as a purely commercial relation. In other Nordic countries awareness has been larger (Thorsen 1993; Melberg 2008; Daugstad, 1999); Grubbström 2003). Therefore, from a Swedish research point of view we lack understanding of the background to high degree of today's inter-family transference but also – given the drastic changes in agriculture – how present-day property relationships are the results of historical circumstances (Morell

forthcoming). Even if agriculture modernisation depends on a wide range of circumstances, the question needs to be raised in what way kinship and family relations have been at play.[2]

Kinship, as I see it, is something which is constructed in every cultural context, not an absolute category. One point of departure from all constructions, however, is that a relative is something qualitatively different from a non-relative. In kinship systems like Sweden's, where kinship is counted from ego and on both the mother's and the father's side, relatives quickly become numerous. The kinship positions, in an outer circle beyond parents and siblings, to be included in a more active kinship network probably vary with social and cultural condition, but also from one individual and family to another.

This study starts with the present situation and then moves back and forth through the period between 1850 until today. The point of departure is 35 farms in central Sweden and by starting with a number of farms and interviews, then tracing them back through history using family genealogies, I want to try to explore the relations between today's situation on the farms in question and what happened to family and land several decades ago. History is here viewed not as a concluded epoch, but rather as an active contributing factor in shaping the conditions for people on the farms in question.

The Farms in Western Västergötland and Western Uppland – Sources and Methodology

The investigation comprises 35 farms in *Simtuna* hundred and *Torstuna* hundred in the Fjärdhundra and Heby areas of western Uppland, as well as *Åse* and *Viste* hundreds in Grästorp in Västra Götaland. The farms lie in markedly agricultural areas in eastern and western central Sweden, but some parishes contain substantial forestation. Agricultural settlement in western Uppland is concentrated to small villages, while farms in Grästorp are scattered all over the area. Some of these farms the author has studied since the early 1970s, but the selection expanded during a period between 1995 and 2009 (Flygare 1999). To this is added a survey of census records for the hundreds of *Simtuna,* and *Torstuna*.[3]

The central source material consists of 115 taped interviews with different generations. Roughly, interviewees fall into three age categories, the oldest including informants born in the first two decades of the 20th century. These started their careers as active farmers in the years around the Second World War. In the 1990s this group had retired and left the farms to one of their children. These children constitute the middle generation, born mainly during the 1940s and 1950s, and making up the active farmers in the 1990s investigation. Their children were then in their 20s or just under, and born in the 1970s.

In the most recent investigation the middle generation had reached, or were approaching retirement age, while the youngest generation were now in their 30s and had small children. Of the oldest generation, several people born in the 1920s were still alive. Some still live on the farm, while others reside in retirement homes. Returning to the farms from the earlier study made it possible to follow up on the interviews of 10–15 years ago,

comparing the earlier thoughts on the impending generational succession, with the actual outcome.

The genealogical research covers a large number of villages both in the Heby and Fjärdhundra areas, linking families across both these districts and encompassing the era from the late-17th century and onwards, with an emphasis of the period from the mid-18th century to today.

A study based on different sources needs some methodological considerations. The interviews have been considered from in two aspects. In order to understand the cultural meanings in the transfer process, I have identified main themes and key words. When people talk about their experiences of property transmissions, they do so in certain ways – you might use the concept discourse. But interviews also give you the opportunity to get relevant information on such issues as who is related to whom and what happened in a particular year. Finally, concerning the genealogies, these are based on different official records and, as far as the last century goes, could easily be checked against the interviews and vice versa.

The Transfer of Landed Property in the 1940s and 1950s

We will now begin with a run-through of instances of generational shift in the 1940s and 50s together with some examples from the farms in question. Farms were almost without exception inherited for a couple of generations. Still, the parents of this generation of successors had continued to acquire more land. If several farms were owned, more siblings could take over land. Otherwise a successor – usually male but often female – was chosen. Those who married in were with few exceptions from agricultural backgrounds.

On the investigated farms the transfer occurred while the parents were still living. On the other hand, full ownership rights were not transferred until the parents' death, which meant that most farms underwent an extended transitional phase. Usually, the farms were initially let to one of the children, who as a rule had recently started a family. During a period, brothers could share the lease, but later dissolve the collective running, with one of them buying the home farm and the other acquiring a different farm or staying on as a bachelor, engaged in everything from bee keeping to working as a self-taught country lawyer. The arrangement also gave the parents a possibility of using the lease money as a foundation for the inheritance of the other children. Generational shift involved a monetary transfer. It seems to have been rare, however, for the buyer to actually pay the entire sum. The debt was regulated by way of promissory notes (*reverser*). In some cases these remained as long as the parents lived, even if part of the debt was paid off.

'The Storegården family' stem from an older farm in Västergötland, bought by Granddad John's parents in the 1890s. John had a number of unmarried siblings, but he married and took over the parental farm with the siblings in residence. His spouse came from a farm close by. John and his wife had many children. The farm had a mixed production of grain, milk, sows and horses. Horse breeding has been undertaking with record results for generations and is a source of status, both local-

The granary divided into two parts during an inheritance transition in the early 20th century. The boundary between tall and short grass marks the two new properties bequeathed to the two siblings. Nibble, Uppland. Photo: Bengt Backlund, Upplandsmuseet.

ly and regionally. The farm was extended several times through the purchase of adjacent farms – some of them purchased from relatives.

Linnea married in to Norrgården, a farm in 'Nibble', in Uppland, and her husband Elis was employed on his parents' farm – which has been in the family for a long time. The young couple lived together with the old couple and their unmarried children. All members of the family had their meals together and Linnea's mother in law was in charge of the household. Linnea and her husband raised three children in this extended household, but finally when Elis' youngest sibling left home, Linnea and Elis got the opportunity to take over the farm just before 1940. Both couples still lived together but a separate kitchen was put in for Elis' parents.

Baby Boomers on the Farms. 1970s and 1980s

The middle generation (born in the 1940s and 50s) started families in the 1970s and 80s, at a considerably younger age than their parents, having to a greater extent a family to provide for at an early age. Few of the women who had married into the farms had farming backgrounds. Because of the need for income, the younger generation in varying ways became involved in the running of the farm, or farmed land adjacent to the parental farm. Transition for this generation was more complicated than before. Parents and children could continue running the farms together for a number of years, or else the children were given sole responsibility for some part of production. Siblings, almost all of them brothers, were in different ways directly involved in about half of the farms. These

constellations of brothers were still working the farms during the 1990s investigation. (By 2008, with one exception, they had been dissolved.)

Siblingship turns out to be an important factor in the transference process mainly because of its capacity to create lateral relations. An example of how lateral kinship in one generation can consolidate units in another generation is 'Djurgården'. The farm was purchased by Bror, born in the early 20th century. Soon afterwards he married Tyra, the girl next door. Tyra's parents' farm, in the same family for a long time, was taken over by her brother, who never married. Bror's and Tyra's son Börje took over 'Djurgården' farm from his parents in the 1970s. When Tyra's brother died he left his farm to Börje in his will. The farms are now consolidated and are about to be taken over by Börje's and Gun's children. Land being inherited sideways is an important part of the inheritance system.

Let us return to the 'Storegården Family'. By 1985 two of John's sons had taken over the property, (one of them was Karl-Erik, who started pig rearing when he was only eight years old) while a number of the other (unmarried) sons were employed on the farm. John and his wife moved to town after generational shift, but the wife died after a while. By 1995 Karl-Erik's wife Mia (stemming from town) was at home with the three children. The farm still had a mixed production of grain, milk, sows and horses – a labour-intensive business sustained by many siblings.

When capital in the shape of land is transferred between related generations it is not a question of abstract economic resources, but a whole range of social, cultural and moral as well as emotional (blood sweat and tears) implications (cf. Abrahams 1991; de Haan 1994; Salazar 1996; Salomon 1992; Taylor & Norris 2000). The economic transaction was a deal within the family, and siblings agreed to be bought out at a lower rate than the market value. Part of their compensation could consist of a right to everything from summer homes to a new year-round house on the farm (cf. Barlett 1992:192; Götebo-Johanneson 1996:117). Much of the finances can be reduced to outwardly formal arrangements regulated in various deeds of purchase, but in the eyes of the interviewees, these were of little or no importance. Most could not clearly remember what the documents actually said. These were seen as important only in that they represent the point in time when *the farm was handed over* (de Haan 1994: 259). The written documents aside, there were unwritten rules about the siblings' rights to stay on the farm, the sharing of gardens and storage spaces, and that changes in the running of the farm as well changes of buildings were not too radical.

Transfer in Progress 2008

The situation within the 'Storegården family' is that by 2008 Karl Erik's and Mia's second son has bought out one of his unmarried uncles and now owns a farm of his own adjacent to the original property, while their oldest is employed on his girlfriend's farm. Karl Erik still heads the business but shares the practical work with his son. For generations, unmarried and married siblings have shared in farming, and also have had adjoining farms which have been utilised to create

New women, new networks and the re-emergence of an old production. Eskesta farm dairy, Uppland. Photo: Lennart Engström, Upplandsmuseet.

smooth generational shifts through economically cautious, but systematic expansion. Despite the youth of the youngest generation, which has not started families, there is a great determination to move on with the transfer. The social network of family and kinship relations is very active here, with much rallying to the support of their members, enabling a large production of traditional diversity, based on milk, grain, horses and pigs.

By 2008 some from the older generation were still living on the farm, but many had either died or moved into care. The baby boomers had now moved up a rung and the generational problems addressed mainly by the women in the 1990s study were toned down. Several, now parents-in-law and with grandchildren on the farm, expressed their satisfaction with the new generational relations. In the 15 years that have passed since the earlier study, practically all the farms investigated have extended their land. In Grästorp, other estates have been added. In Fjärdhundra there has been a mix of purchase and leases – a major part of this extension was realised by buying and leasing from siblings and cousins, aunts and uncles and even more distant relatives. On the 'Kvarngården' farm, Eskil – 56 years old – is still waiting for his unmarried uncle (80 years old) to stop farming. Eskil's mother was born and raised on that farm and this piece of land is Eskil's only opportunity to acquire more farmland surrounded as he is by a golf court and some reserves.

More than half the farms are in a transitional phase or have formally been taken over by the children. Those individuals suggested in the mid-1990 have turned out to be those who today take active part or have taken over. The smallest as well as the largest farm, have advanced well into the transitional phase, and size does not seem bear any immediate importance for the takeover. Even a smaller farm can have advantages which make the next generation choose to take it on. Size does however make a difference in how intensely it is run. Smaller farms have multiple sources of income, such as forestry combined with part-time employment or several different ventures emerging from the farm, mainly contracting, followed by renting and tourism. Others chose full-time employment while simultaneously running the farm. Among all investigated farms there were those who were small units a few decades ago, but had now grown to be among the largest in terms of acreage, some through purchase and inheritance, and some through extensive leases.

Does History Play Any Part in Property Transfer?

The farms and families that make up my study are in many respects those who survived the major changes that agriculture has undergone in the post-war era, but what is the story behind this relationship? When the interviewees were asked about the history of the current farm it transpired that 15 farms had been in the same family for four generations or longer, some with a considerably longer line of inheritance. 17 farms have an uninterrupted history of three generations, and three farms two generations. With a couple of exceptions, the informants refer to families present as landowners in the surroundings during the second half of the 19th century.

Access to family genealogies from the Uppland hundreds does however show that most interviewees (with the exception of recent female in-laws) have much deeper roots in the present area, sometimes as far as it is possible to trace, i.e. the late 16th century. This does not mean that farms have been handed down in a straight line, but rather that generations have moved between different, family-related, estates. Therefore, most farms do not display an unbroken transfer between parents and children. However, these long chains tend to meander their way through both matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance. When the histories of individual farms are combined with family genealogies a web of bilateral kinship relations emerges, spread out across these hundreds. The sources show that women were not only remunerated from their home farms but also themselves brought property towards the marriage, and that this property sometimes determined where the matrimonial unit would settle. Even if sons, both in law and by custom, were privileged to accede to the estate, in reality there were many occurrences in the course of a family's life that highlighted the daughters' position in the generational switchover.

During the 19th century there appeared to be a movement towards consolidating several units during one generation, and then dividing them again during the next. There was always a certain amount of land for sale since some families declined or disappeared completely, but ancestral land, matrilineal or patrilineal, was the

hub around which marriage alliances were created, making it possible for generations to move between different farms. Some of the villages saw generations move back and forth, depending on practicality, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The system was flexible and dynamic, if there was too much land in relation to the work capacity, part of the estate could be let and then passed on as inheritance. The retiring generation provided themselves with the right to a future dwelling and upkeep through special retirement contracts (*undantagskontrakt)*, which can be seen as a form of mortgage on the farm. Usually all heirs receiving land had this obligation to the parents written into their terms of transfer. When the elders had the right to upkeep from several estates they could choose with which of their children they whished to live.

Returning a while to 'Nibble', we will see that Linnea's husband Elis inherited his farm from his parents. We will also be able, through the marriage of Jan Petter Jansson (b. 1813) and Sara Larsdotter (b. 1814), to find Elis' ancestors and recognise how property relations worked in the 19th century. Both Jan Petter and Sara could trace their ancestry to families in the parish dating back to the early 17th century. Through inheritance and her dowry they owned the entire village of Nibble, encompassing two *mantal* (mansus), as well as farms in Rung, Djurby and Spånga in Torstuna parish. Rung and Djurby can be linked to Sara's great grandfather's sisters. In 1871, when the inheritance of Jan P. Jansson was to be divided there were five surviving children (the eldest son had died before his father) as well as the widow Sara. A couple of farms were sold, but the large unit Nibble was divided into its original units, Norrgården going to a daughter and Sörgården to a son. One daughter was given Rung through marriage; the others could take realised assets with them to the farms they married into. The widow Sara (with at least two retirement contracts) moved in with the daughter who inherited Norrgården at 'Nibble'. Her daughter – Sara's granddaughter – married later and had six children who ambitiously worked their way up the family network through strategic marriages (one of them was Elis' father). The son who inherited Sörgården had two daughters, one of whom survived childhood and came to inherit the farm from her father. She and her one infant child died shortly after its birth. The young widower – from the neighbouring village of Tibble, where the brother had taken over the home farm – stayed in Nibble and remarried. Both families are still in possession of the 'Nibble' farms.

Ray Abrahams, who has studied generational shift in Eastern Finland maintains that the dominating principle has been to let the collected estate be granted to one of the heirs, but that the Finnish rural society has always proved flexible and in different ways still circumvent legal principles (Abrahams 1991:115,136c). Carl-Johan Gadd has suggested that in 18th century Sweden, there was a mix of estate splitting in one generation and an extension of the areas in the next (Gadd 2000:206). In the Grästorp area, this notion is supported by place names were several neighbouring farms bear the same name. A unit called 'Storegården' was at one time divided into several smaller 'Storegårdar'. Regions with predominantly partible inheritance

have in Sweden given rise to a cultural landscape with – by Swedish standards – dense settlement and a relatively small-scale agricultural landscape (Wennersten 2002b). In Grästorp this is visible when you leave the distinct plains around the town, in western Uppland it is noticeable along the valleys.

Taking the kinship ties into consideration, I suggest that the basic idea of the inheritance principle for landed property in these hundreds is centred on a form of modified partible inheritance. But the system depended on the properties being consolidated during one generation and then being split during the next. Those who were successful in their property strategies could hereby tackle the commercialisation of agriculture while at the same time reproducing their families by alternating between increasing farm sizes in one generation and then distributing them between heirs. This is not to say that it was a closed social system. Over-large families, illness or drink problems were constantly resulting in individuals being excluded from the landowning circle.

Today the farms are numerous and settlement dense in the area. A system of impartible inheritance would have resulted in considerably more family estates with long ancestry. Had the large number of farms been the result of widespread land purchase by newcomers the kinship network had been considerably thinner.

The Importance of Kinship

By applying a historical perspective and ask the interviewees to untangle some of the family and relationship ties back through time, and by using existing family genealogies to expand the time perspective, it transpired that kinship and marriage alliances were very nearly the single most important historical reason behind the interviewees owning that particular farm, regardless of how the selection of interviewees had been made. The strategies of the grandparents – and, sometimes, those of more distant generations and relatives – still prove to be of importance.

David Warren Sabean has shown, in his *magnum opus* on Neckarhausen that the importance of kinship increased during the mechanisation of agriculture (Sabean 1990, 1998). There are many reasons for this, but kinship can mean cheap labour at times of increased production, or be a shortcut to capital procurement. Another distinctive feature is the way in which favours and counter-favours can be cashed in on over a log period of time. Most often one is born into a kinship network. This gives the people concerned plenty of time to get to know each other, which in turn is probably conducive to lower transactional costs.

The need to enlarge farms in the name of modernisation increased sharply after the Second World War and in the investigated areas at least, a great deal of that process occurred between kin and relied on the family history generations ago. Purchase, buying out, or gifts from unmarried uncles, childless or widowed aunts, or divorced cousins have made possible the strengthening of land ownership on the investigated farms. In-family purchases have been cheaper than buying on the open market. This required nephews and nieces to accept being passed over when the farms were bestowed on a cousin, or contenting themselves with a smaller inheritance when the farm was sold to a

relative for a lower amount. Certainly land has been bought from non-relatives, but it is the land inherited from parents and land acquired through more distant kinship that forms the basis of the land transactions. The system is heavily dependent on the "demographic disturbances" affecting the outcome of the family cycle. Aside from crippling disease and death, childlessness, the lack of family establishing, and in recent years divorce as well, are reasons for activating lateral and bilateral lines of property transfer.

Landless Brides

Family genealogies show that female inheritance lines were important. Women's inherited real estate or the cash they received in lieu of it through inheritance were major components in the building of every current landholding. It is appropriate here to compare the historical sources with the interviews. For all the apparent indications of continuity, the interviews reveal that an important shift took place between the 1970s and 1980s – a change in marriage patterns.

Among the interviewees of the older generation there were on the farms more men that had married into the families than in the subsequent generation. The farms were thus brought into the marriages by these men's wives. Even though the material is small there is a clear tendency that male succession increased as the next generation (born in the 1940s–50s) took over the farms in the 1970s–80s. Whereas both women and men of the generation marrying shortly after World War II were born on farms (this is true for all but one, in all areas), only a few of those who married in from the next generation was of farming stock. These were all women with background in families that made its living as labourers, craftsmen or entrepreneurs. They were primarily raised in neighbouring communities but in some cases also in towns. From an agrarian perspective they were landless, which meant that the whole foundation of property relations prevalent in earlier intermarriages disappeared. Thus, those currently involved in property transitions have no land from their mothers' side.

In the discussion of the masculinisation process in agriculture, priority has perhaps been given to the issue of how production chains controlled by women have been removed from agriculture and how the technical transformation has hampered female involvement.[4] The fact that almost a whole generation of farm daughters, potential farm wives, "disappeared" in the 1970s–80s, to be replaced by women from other backgrounds, has not been acknowledged. Whereas the men on the farms have family ties both at home and on the adjacent farms, most of the contemporary farming women lack these connections. This is true of areas as geographically distant as Västergötland and Uppland, which points toward a general tendency (cf. Jansson 1987).

We know from historical records that male heirs have often been favoured in inheritance of the land. We also know that by being born into farming families, women have been able to advance their positions as successors. Even when they married into other farms, the inheritance division of the home farm meant that capital could be brought into the husband's farm (Ågren 2009). They also had a moral claim to the farm they originated

from in the event of something happening to its successor. The new combination of sons being favoured even more strongly in ownership transition and them marrying outside the agricultural community leads to a diminishing of female land possession. Those who enter into a marriage landless will in all probability leave it landless in the event of divorce, due to the common practice of pre-nuptial agreements. That the patriarchal land possession has been strengthened as a consequence of individual freedom in the selection of marriage partners is something of an irony of fate, but it will almost certainly mean that more decisions about land use and production policies will be made without reference to women.

The reasons for this shift in marriage patterns might perhaps be found in the massive discourse from the 1930s and onwards which maintained that farm women were neglecting their homes and children in order to look after cows and pigs. It became politically desirable to remove the physical work on the farm from the women and to cast them in a new, more scientifically organised role as housewives. I argue that this discourse materialised as late as in the late 1960s, primarily because of the disappearance of milk production from many farms, which freed the women from work. The Zeitgeist had by then changed in favour of women working away from home. At the same time, there were forces attempting to represent farming as a predominately male professional enterprise (Flygare & Isacson 2011; Flygare 2008a, b).

The patriarchal rhetoric in combination with the possibility of women working away from home seem to have influenced parents to disregard daughters as heirs to the farm and it also led daughters, through upbringing, to stop regarding themselves as alternative heirs. The young men were at the same time led to believe that the farms could manage well without the experience and background of the farming daughters, which prompted them to look for wives after their own wishes.

This greatly affected the individual farms. A large proportion of the interviews with the women from the mid 1990s concerned the culture clash of both daughters in law and mothers in law meeting in the agricultural everyday life. The families were often large, partly because the older generation still living on the farm and sometimes supplemented by unmarried brothers. Where earlier generations of women had sisters and female cousins in close proximity, the new generation lacked this sort of relatives.

In addition to presumably having little influences over land ownership the women's different background probably resulted in a diminishment of rural female networks, both formal, such as a number of women's associations and societies, and informal everyday networks such as work exchange and child care. The influx of these new women coincides well with a decline in rural association activities (Flygare & Isacson 2011). On some farms, an active mother-in-law could function as a mentor, introducing her daughter-in-law in various networks, relieving the sense of exposure, and for a time keeping groups as the church sewing circle going.

At the same time there were obvious benefits for the farms, as many of the newcomers stemmed from families with small businesses in the towns. A plumber or an

electrician as an in-law provided swift solutions for acute problems, while the need to seek part-time manpower to keep the farm going could be met by joining an in-law's business. A large part of small-scale enterprise that has emerged within agriculture, geared towards horse breeding, rental services and local food production, can probably be attributed to the women who married into the farm. They have therefore paved the way for some of the new dynamics within agriculture, but the question is: what part do they play in the processes of property transfer and generational shift?

The 1990s investigation was aimed at understanding the internal logic of generational shift and one of the results was that the offspring's inheritance seemed to be decided while they were still children, using daily work as a sorting and legitimating process. Putting it simply, the child perceived as the one who had taken part in the farm work from an early age was seen as the one who would take over the farm. Time-wise, the oldest son often got a head start on his brothers. He was encouraged to learn various practices, while the daughters were not. By this early involvement this heir, according to parents as well as siblings and grandparents, had shown genuine interest and, by continuous work, had already put capital into the farm. On several farms, these children are currently in the process of taking over.

What is interesting is that this discourse is still maintained by the women who have married into the family, despite their background. This indicates that they were quickly fostered to regard the farm as more than economic capital. As mothers, they came to play an essential part in maintaining and even reinforcing patrilineal inheritance, taking as active part as men in identifying the *interested* son. They proved as passive as the men in letting the daughters take on more demanding farm work, which may have been due to their lack of models for teaching active farm work in the barns and on the fields. Men, on the other hand, claimed that training girls was too time consuming.

Combined with the historical sources, the interviews provide an opportunity to see how a radical change – modernisation you could say – of marriage patterns affect property relationships. It is a test of the assumption that modernisation does not occur in a vacuum, but rather that change occurs in an existing social and cultural reality, capable of development and reinterpretation on its own terms. That which from a large societal viewpoint may be construed as trivial – that women marrying into farms came from different social groups – I suggest is rather the way in which change can be seen on a smaller scale. The resulting clash between two different ways of looking at family was transformed by the actions of two generations of women. This brought on a decline in women's influence over land ownership, compensated by a stronger emphasis on patrilineal inheritance. Kinship was still important, but in terms of landed property it was now a question of *male* ancestry, while *female* ancestry could be activated to develop additional ventures. The system of ownership transfer retained some of its continuity, but at the same time changed. Much of what had previously been the chores of a farmer's wife was replaced by new strategies for provision, still based on farming. The farming

families and the transfer of property changed, but was not homogenised to resemble other occurrences in society. To own land and to be surrounded by family members and more distant relatives, by neighbours – all of them having their eyes on you – together with the local settings, the different social and cultural horizons, still produce variations (Hannerz 1992: 261; Hylland Eriksen 1995:293c).

Conclusion

Starting with existing farms and linking interviews, information on generational shift, and family genealogies, has filled in some of the knowledge gaps surrounding late 19th century conditions, at least for the areas investigated. Family genealogies have made it possible to explore historical circumstances further back in time for Heby and Fjärdhundra. During the entire period, family and kin have transferred land between generations and the regional conditions correspond to the development on a national level where the land transactions on the open market are still marginal. That the system of property transfer could be incorporated into the agricultural modernisation can thus largely be understood by the dynamics of kinship with reservoirs of available land.

When it comes to property transfer, questions of continuity versus change often arise. The stability of the property process is often seen by researchers and experts as an anomaly, given the drastic changes that agriculture has undergone. Almost without exception, this view presupposes that property transfer can only be understood in economical terms. The mistake is not to recognise that property relations have indeed changed. The transfer processes have adapted but not become homogenous; they have been reinterpreted to integrate with the surrounding society.

Even though the farms may have grown in size and the land owners diminished in numbers, it is still the parents who transfer a complex economical and cultural capital on to their children. In that transfer many of them had have good advantages by their connections throughout a wider kinship network. That the system has been maintained indicates that the involved parties still perceive it as meaningful. Some of this meaningfulness can be defined as power and status, while some refer to morals; responsibilities to both dead and living relatives and the identification to a group. If these cultural significances stop functioning, the transfer of land will also cease to be anything more than transfer of economical value.

But somewhere is a point where cultural, economic, social and psychological explanations cannot carry us any longer. Sometimes during the conversations with the people of Grästorp, Heby and Fjärdhundra there are undertones of the human desire for what we do in our lives to be beneficial and have a meaning in the future.

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Notes

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2 See J. Goody, *The European family*, (Oxford, 2000) for a discussion about modernisation theory and family history, 146–155.

3 All interviews made by the author. Family genealogies are made up by H. Wahlberg; G. Larsson; G. Jansson; S. Ander, the parishes of Altuna, Biskopskulla, Björksta, Frösthult, Huddunge, Härkeberga, Nysätra, Simtuna, Sparrsätra, Tillinge, Torstuna, Vittinge, Västerlövsta, Österunda; Fjärdhundra församlings arkiv: Församlingsböcker. Landsarkivet i Uppsala: Husförshörslängder och mantalslängder: Simtuna och Torstuna härader.

4 See B. Brandt, 'Gender identity in European family farming: a literature review', *Sociologia ruralis* 42, 2002, 181–200, for an overview of the masculinisation discourse

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Beyond the Village and Across Borders

Experiences of Mobility in Rural Northern Finland

Eeva Uusitalo

Villages have always been a valuable object and basic unit of research for ethnologists. As regionally defined local communities, they have been compact and handy fieldwork sites.[1] An ethnological dream come true is a village where social interaction and daily life is easily observed and participated in. In a slightly romantic way, researchers may not have always been willing to see the object of their study, village or community, as a field of controversies, conflicts or discontinuities. One basic principle of studying culture, namely holism, and a "passion for the whole" (Köstlin 1997) has directed the gaze of the researcher to things that appeared as unified, clearly drawn and functional wholes. A village has become an ideal type and a representation of a collective and harmonious community (Lönnqvist 2002:120–121). It is a site for and a home to the traditional and stationary, villagers for their part represent people who stay in one place generation after generation.

In recent years, globalization, migration and transnationalism have helped to see the changing and flexible side of locality, its relativity and context-bound character. Localities are no longer simply geographical places or a reflection of the small in scale (see Appadurai 1996). Today we are thinking beyond the village and closely-knit community. People are seen as being less tied to certain places than before. People move and migrate for various purposes and periods of time.

Mobility and community are often understood as separate concepts, one representing change, modernity and urban life whereas the other stands for continuity and the traditional. Rather than being seen as a permanent or longstanding feature of community life, mobility has been seen as a morally dubious external influence that tears the community apart. In this article, I consider mobility as a part of village life, regardless of its effects or outcomes. I describe the patterns and processes that mobility fashions in the fabric of everyday life of a northern periphery. My aim is to discuss how different kinds of mobilities affect and mould the village as a social entity, but also the role that staying in one place plays in relation to mobility.

I focus my study on a remote rural village, Ahvenselkä, located in the municipality of Salla in Northern Finland.[2] The article is based on my fieldwork in the village in 2008, when I stayed there with a colleague for two weeks.[3] During our fieldwork we visited almost every household of the village, and interviewed 31 individuals. Participant observation, an important part of ethnographic fieldwork, was a challenge in Ahvenselkä. Social life in the form of common activities was quiet. There were no public places where one could 'hang out' and observe the daily life of the village or that provided opportunities for coincidental encounters. During our stay the only activities I participated in was women's gymnastics and volleyball. In a village like Ahvenselkä, participating in village life means participating in the everyday life of the residents: going ice fishing or snowmobiling with them, or accompanying them in their daily errands. As we did not have a car, we had to walk everywhere, which was our way of becoming briefly part of the village (see Ingold & Vergunst 2008 for the ethnography of walking).

My research material consists of my interviews with the residents of the village,

and my own field diaries, in which I have documented my day-to- day thoughts and informal discussions with the locals. The interview excerpts are mainly from one interview with our key informant, but otherwise my analyses and interpretations are based on the field material as a whole.

About Mobility

In its most basic form, mobility is about the human body and its movement. It covers social entities from households to large corporations, which presupposes different forms of movement. Although the amount of social research on mobility is voluminous, little effort has been made to develop and systematize theories and methods for mobility. John Urry has taken on the task of developing an analysis of the role that the movement of people, ideas, objects and information plays in social life. He attempts to establish a new cross- or post-disciplinary mobility paradigm, "a 'movement-driven' social science in which movement, potential movement and blocked movement are all conceptualized as constitutive of economic, social and political relations" (Urry 2007:17–18).

Another advance in the study of mobility is the realization that mobility includes its opposite, immobility. Earlier these two concepts were kept apart, and research focused on issues like the causes and consequences of mobility and migration. Today the dichotomy is questioned, and leaving and staying are understood and studied as a mutually constructive phenomenon (Bogren 2008:30). Staying in one place is increasingly being recognized as something valuable in its own right, not just a reflection of mobility, or an effect, function or enabler of movement. The significance of the relational contingencies of mobility and immobility is also recognized. Things on the move presuppose a large, complex, but rather stationary infrastructure. Additionally, the mobility of some comes at the expense of others (Bissel & Fuller 2011: 3–6). Capital and investments are liquid, companies can freely choose their locations, but locality stays where it is, and local employees are left to lick their wounds when a company moves to another place in order to make more profit (Bauman 1998:8).

Mobility is often, at least implicitly, included in the controversial concept of globalization, which refers to movement across the world, to transnational connections (Hannerz 1996:6). The concept of global is in opposition to the concept of local, and this polarity is an expression of the dichotomy between mobile/immobile. The concept glocal deconstructs in part this dichotomy, as it implies a connection between the global and the local. Contrasting the local and the global contains a truism that grants that the local is to global as continuity is to change (Hannerz 1996: 19). In this duality village falls in to the category of local where mobility plays a marginal role. Localities are described somewhat traditional, stable and fixed communities with little interaction with the surrounding world. They are represented as reservoirs of tradition, continuity and history, falling apart under the pressure of modern life (Frykman et al. 2009: 8–9).

Mobility is by no means terra incognita in ethnological research. Cultural encounters, the acculturation process, cultural diffusion, innovation, ethnicity and cul-

tural change are, for example, core concepts for ethnologists, and they often imply movement of one sort or another. With ever increasing numbers of people on the move, research on displacement has increased in recent decades. As I mentioned earlier, village studies seem to be void of any reference to themes of mobility, transnational migration, IT-communication, consumption or technology. In comparison with 'sexy' new and emerging research topics, they seem out-of-date (Welz 2009:49). On the macro level, mobility has been recognized, but the closer research comes to the 'grass-root level', the more local life becomes. Rural people are described as being firmly fixed in their villages and settlements, in a state of tranquility which is shaken only by temporary moments of disorder and change. The natural way of the world is that of stability and social order, and the aspect of mobility has been connected with nomadic peoples. Even in the current paradigm of movement, according to Vered Amit, studies that focus on structuring communities through mobility put over much stress on continuity and integration, refusing to see them as breaks, albeit temporary, with previous relationships and contexts. Researchers acknowledge that the people they are studying are on the move, but, according to Amit, the movement is framed within bounded and continuous ideas of peoplehood (Amit 2002: 34–36).

Understanding movement as part of social life in general is complicated by the fact that mobility has often been examined as constituting a world of its own, under headings such as migration, refugee studies or tourism (Hastrup & Olwig 1997: 6). Mobility is often understood as a 'hard-core' long-distance movement, and thus small scale mobility is overlooked. In my study mobility is not only about transnational long-distance travel or connectedness, but also something that takes place closer to home. The emphasis is on the viewpoints of those who do not leave for good, who return, or stay put, but are under the influence of global ideas. Although people stay mostly in one place, different aspects of mobility penetrate their everyday life. Even in a remote village mobility covers a wide range of things, in addition to people and matter, ideas, ideologies, politics, policies, cultures, beliefs, and memories are also on the move. I concentrate in my article on the mobility of people and ideas. The latter refers in particular to global, market oriented and market driven economic processes and rationalities that affect the northern peripheries. Thus the mobility of ideologies includes, for example, how different industrial sectors operate in this particular area, and also how the ethos of entrepreneurship is introduced to rural villages.

Salla – in the Middle of Nowhere

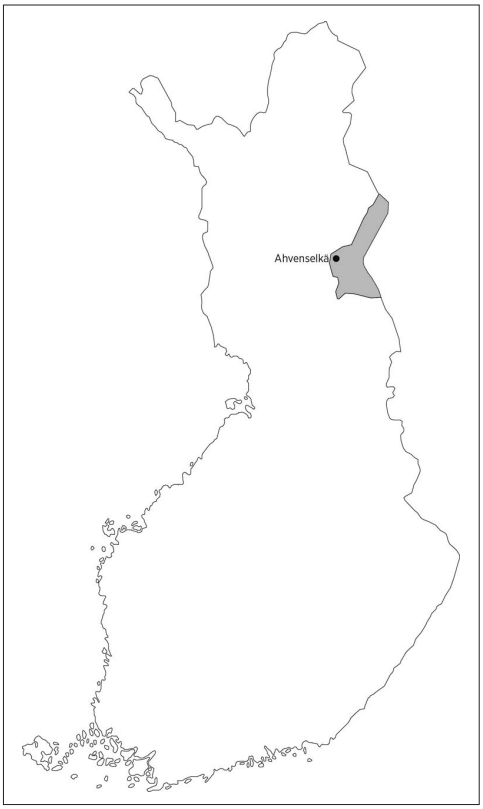
When I went to Salla for the first time, the concept and phenomenon of mobility was of no importance to me in any significant sense. I was aware that it had been around for a couple of decades, especially in anthropology, but I did not anticipate that it would be an interesting theme when studying Finland's northern peripheries, although globalization had affected Northern Finland: companies had outsourced their operations to Asia, and one

major player in Eastern Lapland, Stora Enso, was running down its pulp mill in Kemijärvi, a town close to Salla, at the time of my first field trip in March 2008. Even in the remotest corner of the village where we had our accommodation, trucks were taking out loads of timber from the forests day and night. I had trouble perceiving that I was staying in a remote rural village, and the traffic made me reconsider the concept of a periphery and the isolation of remote villages.

Our interview questions also included the theme of movement. We wanted to find out in which directions people move in terms of getting services and also where family members live and their movements during their life cycle. We were interested in the migration of the 1960s and 1970s, and also the extent to which gaining a livelihood makes people mobile. When I went through the research material in a more detailed manner, I started to become alert to the fact that movement has always been part of the life of people living in these northern peripheries. In Lapland people are used to walking around in large areas: hunting, gathering, reindeer herding, fishing, trading, working, and snowmobiling. When talking about their everyday movements in the village or in the forests people often use the word move about (*kulkea*), a word that indicates well their mobile lifestyle (see also Ingold 1988: 125).

The effects of the globalized economy on a peripheral northern village also attracted my attention. I was inspired to approach the theme of mobility by focusing on this supposedly out-of-the way and isolated, peripheral postwar settlement that was built after the war (1939–1944) for families whose villages and homes were left on the 'wrong' side of the Russian border.

In what follows, I will briefly describe the municipality of Salla, and the special characteristics of its history, in the light of mobility. I will then turn to the everyday life of the village, and examine how mobility has been, and is, a part of the everyday life and experiences of the residents of the village.



Ahvenselkä, a periphery of a periphery.

Salla, located in East-Lapland, and on the border with Russia, promotes itself, especially for potential tourists, with the slogan *In the middle of nowhere*. It makes clever use of the popular image of Salla as

being located somewhere in the north, far from any significant centre. This was, I must admit, also my image of Salla before my first field trip.[4] "A place these days which people tend to come from rather than go to" as Ray Abrahams (1988:48) has described one village in Eastern Finland. Anthropologist Tim Ingold conducted fieldwork in Salla in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and he explains that one big challenge for him was that there was no clearly defined village to be observed. The houses were kilometers apart, and the traditional norms of visiting, reciprocity and co-operation had almost vanished (Ingold 1988:125).

I remember sitting in the car of our host, driving towards the target village of our first visit. The land was flat bog land, and the road a straight line through the landscape and on the map. It was winter, and all I could see was a vast whiteness. There were no settlements, no sign of life, and I had a feeling of being miles from anywhere. I was looking forward to two weeks of peace and quiet in a dying village with the houses located far from each other, and with people mostly from an older generation living in their cottages, the cuckoo clock ticking away on the wall. The image of the location of the houses turned out to be true, but otherwise my prejudices were not accurate. During my stay I met people living their everyday life in their village, who were attached to their environment and birth place. Also the age structure was younger than I had anticipated – there were even two babies on the way.

Salla has been affected by mobility in various ways and at various times. Salla's past can be condensed into three periods that have affected mobility in and out of Salla: the big forest-working sites that drew a work force to the north from the late nineteenth century on, the years during and after the war (1939–1944), and the migration of the 1960s and 1970s. In the next section, I describe in more detail these significant turning-points in Salla's history. These historical processes are connected to large-scale economic and political trends that have had a significant and long-lasting effect on the lives of the local people.

Economic and Political Turmoil in the Periphery

People living in Lapland have always been mobile, but mobility became more large-scale in the late 19th century when the vast forests of Salla, and indeed of Lapland as a whole, started to attract the forest industry. Demand for raw material for the saw mills was endless. A large labor force was needed, and the logging sites were crowded with men from all over the country. Hanna Snellman's study of lumberjacks in Finnish Lapland (1996) provides extensive insight into their work and life. The lumberjacks were highly mobile, as the men moved around Lapland looking for work, forest work in the autumn and winter, and floating the logs downriver in the spring and summer. A notable part of the work force came from other parts of Finland, and as the work was seasonal, men often stayed in the region and sought alternative jobs in between the seasons. As Hanna Snellman mentions, they were nomads who moved about seeking work. In between the work they stayed in the villages and settlements, and worked in local houses in exchange

for food. Many lumberjacks settled in Salla and started a family. Local men too worked long periods away from home, and combined forest work with small-scale farming or reindeer herding. The mechanization of forestry work diminished the need for a large labor force, as did the end of the practice of floating logs downriver in 1991. The men who moved around to look for work, the 'rover jacks', vanished from Lapland's forests, roads and villages. Forestry continued to offer job opportunities for the local men, but not on such a scale as before (Snellman 1996).

The next and even larger wave of mobility in Salla is connected to the war of 1939–1944 (with a short period of peace during 1940–1941) when in 1939 at only a few hours notice people had to leave their homes as Soviet troops advanced across the border. The villages in the eastern part of the municipality were evacuated overnight, and people were eventually settled in other parts of Lapland. Nine villages and almost half of the area of the original district of Salla were left on the wrong side of the new frontier, established in 1940, with more than 3700 inhabitants losing their homes (Heinänen 1993:336).

All the residents of Salla had to leave their homes again in 1944, when the German troops that had defended Lapland during the war started to withdraw northward[5], setting the villages and houses on fire as they forwarded. The residents of Lapland were all evacuated to Ostrobothnia and Sweden, including the people of Salla. The total number of evacuees from Salla was 8 800. After things had settled down, when people returned to their homes, they found them burnt. Those whose homes and farms were left in the area that was ceded to Soviet Union in the Moscow Peace Treaty in 1940 were allotted land in previously unoccupied areas of the municipality, where they had to start their life from the scratch (Ingold 1988: 122; Heinänen 1993:349.)

The third wave of mobility dates to the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1970 Salla ranked at the top of the depopulation statistics. Six percent of the population migrated to other Nordic countries that year. The extent of depopulation in Salla was considerable. The population peaked at over 11 000 in 1960, but had fallen to 8000 within a decade (Ingold 1988:122–123). This outmigration was to a great extent the result of the post-war settlement policy. The newly built farms could not provide a livelihood for what were often large families, and there were little other options to find employment, or even get an education. The outmigration was furthered by changing government agricultural policies and by the mechanizing of forestry that could no longer offer as many jobs. With the coming of age of the post-war baby-boomers, large numbers of rural residents moved mostly to cities in the southern and western parts of the country, and also to Sweden. Although finding better job opportunities was an important motivation for leaving, the majority of young migrants, living in relative poverty, was also motivated by the thought of higher standards of living, an easier and more prosperous life, and sometimes even by a love of adventure. For them, leaving the home village was not a hardship, or such a negative experience, as has been implied (Haapala 2004:234, 249–250; Snellman 2003:103–106). Of course there was home-sickness, and a sense of longing for

A chimney of a pulled-down house is left standing. It represents the possibility of return and the "presence of the absent" (Ehn & Löfgren 2007: 208). It is at the same time a symbol of mobility and immobility, a memorial to the people who have left but also an indication of the resilience of a village that refuses to fade away. When I asked why the chimney was left standing, I was told it was because when people return the first thing they would want to do would be to heat 'flat bread' on the stove. Photo: Eeva Uusitalo.

one's relatives, the nature and the landscape, but the post-war experience was for many that of constant movement, and they never really had time to put down roots (Snellman 2003:45, 223–230). Settling down in a new village was not furthered by the settlement pattern, in which houses were strung out along roads in a linear settlement pattern, leaving considerable distances between the farms, whereas in the old villages houses were concentrated on the banks of lakes or rivers, enabling people to move considerable distances along the waterways. It is reasonable to conclude that the new villages remained staging posts for villagers who were en route to become city dwellers (Ingold 1988:139).

People set off for various reasons: to look for work or a better life elsewhere, to see far away countries or just to take a break from everyday life. Mobility can also be forced, triggered by war or other unstable conditions, or dissidence. In the village under study the 'push' forces have been unemployment, harsh living conditions, whilst the 'pull' factors have been work, adventure, and a better standard of

living. Migration from Salla has continued (its population was 4 252 in 2009), although not to such large extent as in the 1960s and 1970s. The population diminishes slowly when young people move away to get an education or to find work. Some return, but most build their lives elsewhere.

The Northern Village in the Whirlpool of Globalization

In the following I move to the village where I conducted fieldwork, and describe and analyze the different forms of mobility in the village today, how villagers have experienced it in the last few decades, and how mobility is reflected in the cultural and social fabrics of the village.

As I have mentioned, the village of Ahvenselkä is one of the postwar settlements in the municipality,[6] located 40 kilometers north-west of the church village,[7] in mostly bare bog land, a quite typical landscape in Eastern Lapland. A few small rivers run through the village. They are important as places for fishing, and connect the settlement to wider world, more symbolically than in real life. Earlier there were also three small lakes in the area, but they were drained in order to provide fields for the newcomers. There were already four farms, dating from the first decades of the 20th century. In those days the houses were part of Kursu village, the village itself was founded as a result of the Salla-Kuusamo land acquisition law of 1945. New villages were created in the areas where there was state owned land, and the residents had to settle for what was given to them.

There are other postwar settlements in the same corner of the municipality as well. They were villages in the proper sense of the word, with their own services like grocery store, a school, a post office. Today, as the number of inhabitants has diminished and the services, both private and public, have almost disappeared, the borders of the villages have merged, and the residents from a larger area seek to co-operate.[8]

The post-war resettlement policy was to place residents from one old village together in one new village. The new houses were built along loop roads and blind roads, and bog land was cleared to form new fields. The inhabitants of Ahvenselkä were moved from the village Tuutijärvi (or Tuutikylä, as they themselves call it). Even though these residents all came from same village and used to be neighbors, it was difficult to achieve a sense of belonging in a village that was built 'overnight' and founded by administrative decision. In this context, cultural heritage is something that goes beyond traditional definitions of the concept, and a sense of home is difficult to develop (see Snellman 2003: 45). But people who live in the village today, who were born there and who have their roots there, feel they belong there. The village has a special meaning for them, no matter how it was originally founded.

In 2008 when we did our fieldwork, there were approximately 60 people living in the village. The age of the villagers ranged from a new-born baby to 80-year-olds. There were two infants, seven or eight school-aged children, about 13 pensioners and almost half of the residents were around sixty years old. The children were taken to school by a school bus, either to the church village or the neighboring village of Kursu. The bus drives the

The former village shop. Photo: Eeva Uusitalo.

loop roads in the morning, collecting the children on the way. Those in work mostly have to commute to the church village or even further afield. Women in particular seemed to find employment in the service sector, either public or private (within tourism). Today agriculture only offers a livelihood to one family, which raises beef cattle. Considerable income comes into the village in the shape of types of social security payments.

Public services have almost vanished from the village. The village school was closed down in 2000; today it is used as one of the municipality's adult education centers. During our stay, there was volleyball and gymnastics for women once a week. In the heydays of the village there were two shops, but now they are both closed. The library bus circulates in the village twice a month. Ploughing the roads in winter is an important public service, and a prerequisite for being able to live in a remote village. When asked about the need for the municipality's services and equal access to them, a common answer was "as long as they plough the roads". Between the lines you could read that if you choose to live in a remote village, you have to be satisfied with less. There is also the local network, family and neighbors, who provide a safety net, substituting for absent services. For the elderly, an often undervalued but impor-

tant asset is their own children, often unmarried sons living with their parents. They do the grocery shopping, chop the firewood, heat the houses, do maintenance work, drive them to wherever they need to go, and keep what perhaps is their most important property, the forest, in good condition.

Waves of migration have affected Ahvenselkä, not dramatically, but in the form of a slow decline. The families used to be large, so practically everyone had some relative or neighbor who had left during the great migration. People reminisce about the old days when there were events in the village and the school was full of children. The old village activities started to fade out in the 1970s, but still in the 1980s there were enough children to have team sports like ice-hockey games in the winter.

In summer, when people came on holiday from Sweden and other parts of Finland, the village came to life. After the first generations of migrants, the visits became fewer, and today even less people visit their relatives. A younger generation, born in Sweden, hardly speaks Finnish and is unable to communicate with their grandparents or cousins, and the relationships loosen. The only connection to Ahvenselkä may be a small plot of land, or a cottage.

For some, the call of the north and the village where they were born is strong. It is not always easy to put into words. One informant, whose childhood home is now his second-home, was trying to explain, for the interviewer and for himself, that it is not the place as such that draws him back, "it is all this, this thing". He was not quite able to put his finger on it, but from the rest of the interview and the stories he told it would appear that one factor was the memories of the family and life as it used to be, the work done, the stones dug from the harsh land. As for those who never left the village, there was a simple answer to the question why they had stayed put: "this is where we were born".

Transforming Rural Livelihoods

The main livelihoods in northern rural Finland were small scale farming and forestry work. Forests will also be an important resource in the future, be it as raw material for pulp or as bio-energy or for some other industrial or recreational use. The significance of the forests for the villagers lies in the fact that they are important places for berry picking and hunting, and they, in turn, are activities that keep people in the village, and form the basis for their sense of belonging. Earlier selling berries also provided an additional income. Today self-sufficiency in the form of hunting, fishing, gardening and berry picking is an important part of household life. Not that Ahvenselkä is completely outside a monetary economy, but a comment we heard, "what would one do with money here", tells a lot about the role of self-sufficiency but also about the role of reciprocity in the village. For example, the use of a snow blower is exchanged for some other service, or repairing a chainsaw is exchanged for some fish.

Giving up farming has meant commuting to the church village or even further for work. Despite the long journey to work, villagers have chosen to live in their home village. Work tends to be temporary or seasonal. Women work mainly in the

public sector or tourism, at the ski centre Sallatunturi 60 kilometers away, where the work mirrors the tourist seasons. Men work mostly in construction or do forestry related work. Earlier, before mechanization, forestry work offered more job opportunities for men. The logging sites were often far away from the village, and work required longer stays away from home.

But after abandoning farming, … after that it was mostly forest work after that, then. … I spent there [in the logging site] also like a week. I might stay overnight at the lodge. We did not walk home every evening. It depended on how far away the sites were, and we traveled accordingly.

The Finnish Forest and Park Service – a state run institution – has been an important employer in rural areas, but like so many governmental institutions it has also been downsized. During our fieldtrip it employed only two men from the village, who travel over a relatively large area for their work. Some men have their work place even further away, and they may spend weeks in other localities and return home only for the weekends. One young man, who used to work in Sweden for two years, spent six weeks there and three weeks at home. He said he could not adjust to the nine-to-five rhythm of working life. He needed to have the freedom to be able to go to the forest, often with dogs, hunting and fishing. Even though these multi-skilled men could get have plenty of work in cities in southern Finland, they have chosen to stay. They explain their decision in terms of an economic rationale; people have houses in the village, and renting an apartment in some other place would mean paying housing costs in two places. Furthermore, keeping the house warm is important for them, especially in winter.

Finland has been a member of the European Union since 1995 and membership has brought far-reaching changes to the Finnish countryside in the form of agricultural, rural, regional and fringe area subsidies, controls and programs. The European Union agricultural policy does not favor small-scale agriculture, which has been the main mode of operation in Salla. As a result, many have given up farming. In addition to the requirements for bigger farm sizes, the paperwork was too much for those who regarded the work more as a lifestyle than a business.

It was the paperwork, controlling, are things as they should be, am I doing the right thing? At that point some young farmers gave up. For them, the strict rules were too much. Continuously, whatever contracts you made, it was always for five years. … And if you don't succeed, there will be sanctions.

The European Union also directs the choices people have made concerning their livelihoods. In agriculture, the number of sheep farms in Salla has increased, because of better EU subsidies. Reindeer herding is practiced full-time by one herder and as more or less a subsidiary occupation by another.

This surveillance and sense of being under control is tolerated even less in northern rural peripheries than in other parts of the country. The decisions of the 'Gentlemen of Helsinki' are regarded with suspicion, and there are reservations toward southern people (*eteläläiset*). In a somewhat sarcastic manner people often say that Lapland will soon be transformed into holiday resort for Europeans, or a place to supply labor force for the south. For lo-

cals, the periphery offers a blind spot where you can live in the grey zone, not follow every rule and recommendation of the state and government. "They always say that you have to", commented one man talking about the rules that the Ministry of Argriculture and Forestry imposes on some of the livelihoods that are important in the north. The authorities are felt to be dictating and interfering with the northern way of life, which they don't understand. 'The crown' and the state have meddled with these peripheries for centuries. Today the emphasis is on an ideology of centralization and metropolizing, based on the central discourses around globalization, emphasizing the transnational global economy and competition, and excluding the peripheries and rural areas from the development of the state space (see Moisio 2009:22–23).

Although people may feel excluded and claim that the state just takes everything from peripheral areas, a considerable part of their income comes in the form of social benefits. There is a paradoxical attitude to the state: on the one hand it is supposed to support and provide employment, on the other hand, its habit of limiting freedom and setting down guidelines is detested, even more so now that the state is cutting back its functions in remote rural areas, and concentrating its services in regional centers.

The diminished significance of agriculture and forestry as sources of livelihood and increased commuting has changed the social life of the village. People don't interact as much as they used to. Earlier, co-operation in the performance of agricultural work was common and united people, as did common interests like the village school or political activism. Apart from people's homes there is nowhere for people to meet. When asked about visiting patterns, people replied somewhat sarcastically that they met their neighbors mostly in grocery stores in the church village.

Practicing Entrepreneurship in the Middle of Nowhere

One aspect of globalization is that the spirit of entrepreneurship is being spread to all levels and corners of society and the world. The discussion about the replacement of old relationships based on trust and reciprocity by anonymous relations based on business has been around for quite a while (see eg. Anttila 1974). What is today called entrepreneurship is in a certain form familiar to the residents of rural areas. Picking and selling berries for markets has for long been an important part of families' incomes.

A more formal and profit oriented entrepreneurship has not been a success story in the village. Some say that this is because anyone who had potential and showed an aptitude for entrepreneurship left the village in the 1960s and 1970s and went south, or to Sweden. If readiness and aptitude for entrepreneurship is about hope and expectations (Frykman et al. 2009:23), what does unwillingness to start a business indicate? Submitting to one's destiny and that of the village destiny, and throwing oneself in the arms of the state? There have been enterprises in the village, but they have not been successful, and don't serve as good or encouraging examples, rather to the contrary. One woman who used to have a fur business reminisced about the fur boom in the 1980s when there were two fur farms in the vil-

lage and four in the neighboring villages. In her opinion, people don't have innovative ideas; instead they follow each other, do the same thing as others.

The tourism sector is offered as a remedy for rural development in national and EU rural policies. Rural residents are encouraged to start their own tourism related businesses. It is difficult to believe that it could be such an extensive solution and source of livelihood for rural areas all over Europe. In Ahvenselkä, tourists are a rare sight, and attracting them seems an impossible task. Biggest obstacle has been the lack of entrepreneurship. Training has been offered, but there were few takers. There are some very active people who continue to believe in the future of the village. They have plans and hopes for tourism, albeit on a small-scale. There are also plans to investigate what kind of travel-related activities like accommodation or program services it would be possible to supply in the area by joining forces with neighboring villages. In a peripheral village like this the question of starting tourism related business is considered out of place and met mostly with amazement. But there are individuals who reveal that actually they have thought about it, and that if they were younger they would go ahead.

Yes. This is one factor [enterprising people have moved out]. The old population stayed behind, and I have said that if I was younger I would have bought the village school. I had ideas: organize canoe trips along the rivers to the north; then drive to meet the canoeists, and the canoes by van; and advertise with the slogan: come and see Vuotos river before the reservoir. … Then there is the silence that you can sell. I have said that we also have the silence. We have the silence there, upstairs. … Once I discussed with AH about starting [a business together], that we would, but then I retired, and my health was failing, so I said that I was no longer fit for the business world. We had ideas, all ready.

Today when farming is more business-based than before, relations between the few farmers left in the area have changed, with a greater emphasis on efficiency. The farmers live further and further away from each other, and it no longer pays to acquire co-owned agricultural machinery, everyone needs to buy their own. In the old days farmers would borrow and lend the machines, and spend hours running errands, whilst at the same time taking care of social relations. Today, in a more efficient and business-like world, every hour counts, and chatting with neighbors is time wasted when there are more important things to do.

Well, then you meet the neighbor, and start chatting and it takes hours. The lady asks why you don't have coffee, so they go for a coffee. With your own machine, you'd have done the work several times over during the chatting and coffee-drinking. And when the neighbor comes to collect the machine, it is the same game all over again.

This retired farmer was convinced that the farmers were more mutually connected earlier, and had common nominators like the cattle and the fields, which also connected people more to the village. Today, when most villagers work in the church village, their ties to the village and village community are weaker. Only the hunting club brings people together to a larger extent.

The general way of thinking in peripheral rural municipalities and among local politicians is that in order to stay afloat, large-scale solutions and state activities are needed. Small scale enterprises

are considered only twiddling with things and have only marginal relevance. What are needed are big companies that employ plenty of people. After the diminished significance of forestry in providing employment, locals hope that the mining industry would turn out to be a solution in terms of job opportunities, and increase the number of people in the village. The global economy in the form of international mining companies has once again appeared Lapland to make use of its resources. The arrival of a mine in the municipality would be like winning the lottery, but environmental hazards are the flip side of this. For villagers who are critical of such developments their home region is being transformed into a source of energy and raw materials for industry, and a holiday resort for Europeans.

The Invisible Hand of the Market

In the early 1970s, a project was initiated to build a water reservoir to support energy production along the river Kemijoki. The plan was to build the reservoir, Vuotos, in Eastern Lapland, with 86% of it covering an area in the municipality of Pelkosenniemi, and 14% an area in Salla and Savukoski. At first the project had local support, but as time went by, more and more critical voices started to be heard, and a civic activism against Vuotos began. The planning- and decision-making process was prolonged, but a decision against the scheme was finally made in 1982 (Suopajärvi 1994: 258–260). That was not the final say, however, and the case has been chopped and changed ever since. The energy industry still has considerable interest in building the reservoir, and it has not been satisfied with the political decisions but has continued to push its cause. During our fieldwork in 2008 the reservoir project had once again been regenerated by the then Minister of Economic Affairs. People living in the area were waiting for the final decision, but for them it seems Vuotos has become a never ending controversy. There were opinions in Ahvenselkä that rowing back and forth with Vuotos reservoir is one factor that has prevented building infrastructure for tourism in the village area.

In the area of Ahvenselkä village the damage would have been biggest for the local reindeer herder, who would have lost part of his pasture. There were, however, some hopes put on the possible job opportunities that the enterprise would bring to the villagers. In the 1990s a local shopkeeper invested in a new village shop in the hopes of the livelier trade that the construction site would bring to the village. As construction never started the shop had to close down after only few years of operation. The shopkeeper declined to be interviewed, but in a short conversation with her it became apparent how extremely disappointed she was about the whole process, and how betrayed she felt.

As time has gone by, it seems that most of the villagers have become indifferent as far as the project is concerned. There is no belief that it would bring work for the locals; rather it is commonly believed that the site would require mostly machines and that even they would be brought either from southern Finland, Russia or Estonia. For the villagers, the case has been closed for years, even though it keeps hanging in the air tenaciously.

As long as I have lived here, it has been going on. Once they made a decision that it wouldn't be

built. Good, that's the end of that, I thought. After less than a year, the discussion re-started. They have been building and not building it for ages.

The Vuotos case is a good indicator, or symbol of the relationship between the residents of this northern periphery and the politicians at the centre of power and the interests of large-scale industry. In a sense people are left hanging, when the decisions that are made are supposed to be final, but are instead opened and re-opened. This way of operating does not increase the local people's trust in the southerners. In general, people in the north don't bank on the promises of the southern political and economic elite. For them, future possibilities rest with the young people who have remained in the village, and have found themselves a way to cope and earn their livelihood. They are attached to the village, and provide the village with a sense of continuity. They may leave, but some also return after being enriched by a good education and experiences outside their own village.

Strange Folk in the Forests

Ideologies that are on the move are less detectable than a more obvious indication of mobility: seasonal labor from foreign countries. During our fieldwork and interviews, we soon came across one recent and growing phenomenon in Lapland's forests: the Thai berry pickers.[9] They have in a way become part of the local landscape, and practically all of our interviewees had met them in the forests or on the village roads. There is almost a traditional story about the Thai. They are busy, hard working, but afraid of the forest and don't dare to go far into the forest but stay close to the road. Their picking skills are criticized because they leave too many berries behind. They are polite and always greet the locals. They have also crossed invisible borders in the forest, or unspoken agreements on individual picking territories.

There they were, when I was picking blueberries with T., they were in front of us, behind us and beside us.

The attitude in Salla was surprisingly permissive, because elsewhere there has been more negative opinions and even controversies. Of course it is possible that people did not want to express their true feelings of frustration to two university researchers, but amongst people in Ahvenselkä there seemed to be a consensus that there were enough berries for everyone, and enough room for everyone to pick. Although the Thai have been a regular sight in the village for several years, contact with them has been minimal. There is clearly a willingness to forge closer contacts, but the lack of a common language prevents it.

They do, when I meet them, raise their hands. That is a positive thing. Although we don't know them and have never talked to them, they raise their hand. Or if they have stopped their car on the road and you drive past, they have their hand up.

The pickers don't live in the village, but have rented an old school building elsewhere, and use it as a base from where they go on their daily picking rounds with a van. They have adopted the local habit of moving around in the forests, and they are accepted as part of the local landscape. Their good work ethic, the fact that they are up early and work long days, is appreciated by the villagers. The only negative aspects were the Thai driving culture, leaving litter in the forest,

and coming too close to people's houses to pick berries.

Another example of international mobility is the Russians who use the border-crossing place located in Salla. The border with Russia was fairly vague in the north until the 18th century, which made traffic to and from Russia in the north easy. It was only in the 19th century that the borders of Lapland were defined both on paper and also on the ground (Heinänen 1993:107; Lähteenmäki 2006:41). Until the closing of the frontier in 1918, after the Russian Revolution, traffic across the border was busy, and the border villages were oriented eastwards to do trade. After the border closed, there was illegal migration east, which died down by 1934 (Heinänen 1993:222–223). In 2002 a border guard station was opened for international traffic in Kelloselkä, 20 kilometers from the Salla church village. Traffic across the border from and to Russia has increased each year. Tourists, goods, petrol and wives are now seen on the Salla's village roads. The local government and municipal authorities consider the cross-border co-operation an opportunity to increase the economic well-being of a underdeveloped region of Eastern Lapland. The villagers, however, have a controversial attitude to the newly opened border. Most of the locals don't seem to be keen to visit Russia, and they indifferent to the possibility of traveling to Russia. One reason is that there are no attractions on the other side. The nearest settlement (80 kilometers away), Alakurtti, is not regarded as being very interesting, and Kantalahti (200 kilometers away), a town with about 38 000 inhabitants, doesn't have much to offer either. One thing that tempts people to acquire a one-year visa is the possibility of crossing the border to acquire cheaper fuel. As it happens, this is easy as there is a petrol station just on the other side of the border.

Memories of the old village and the farms left behind still live on in the stories of the villagers, which were handed down to them by their parents or grand-parents. Usually the land and homes are spoken of as some kind of golden land, where everything was better. People did visit the old villages, but today this is less frequent, as the generation who were born there is passing away. Apart from the landscape there is not much to see; only a few foundations are left of the houses. On the other hand, the landscape is as meaningful to villagers as material remains like buildings, and experiencing it satisfies the longing for home that people feel. There was another area in Finland that was lost to the Soviet Union after the war, Karelia. There is an organized vociferous demand for the return of Karelia, but there has been no such demand for the return of the land Salla lost. Whereas Karelia has the status of being the cradle of Finnish culture and Kalevala mythology, northern peripheries such as Salla don't evoke strong national passion. It represents nature, not a culture to be cherished.

The Russians are keen travelers to Finland. The number of visitors to the Sallatunturi resort keeps increasing. A large number also continue further to more attractive places like Ruka and Rovaniemi. Villagers don't think that Salla is attractive enough for Russian tourists who, in their opinion, drive past Salla to places with more nightlife and shopping opportunities to offer.

In Sallatunturi especially village women come into contact with Russian tourists, when cleaning the resorts' cottages. There are cautious and slightly hidden views about Russians, which may reflect old grudges stemming from the war.[10] The ladies criticized the Russians for being untidy, although on the slopes they wear the latest ski-fashion.

It is not just in the untidiness of the Russians, but also the local skeptical attitude towards Russian wives and girlfriends that reflects the suspicion that is still present in the area. However, some people are more open to the idea of learning about Russia and Russian people, and cross such mental and physical borders. Our host family had had a Russian man as a trainee in their farm. The farmer said that his motivation was that:

> If I have something to give and somebody needs that knowledge. I will give whenever I can. I don't keep it to myself.

Although there was no common language, they developed a friendship, and the farmer had visited employee's home in Russia.

Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the forms that mobility takes in a northern periphery, and the effects it has on the social life of a village. As the population has fallen, social life has faded. Compared with the days when there were numerous associations functioning in the village, interaction is more small scale and between individuals. People have drawn into their private lives, and this image is strengthened by the sparsely populated structure of the village. Life in peripheral rural areas has started to resemble an 'urban' lifestyle. Instead of being a local community, the village is more like a residential village, where commuting has replaced production. In today's remote villages, instead of a village community, there are increasingly separate spaces with separate meanings for different individuals (Rannikko 2008:54). Only the access to nature and the meaning that it holds for villagers appears to differentiate rural everyday life from an urban lifestyle. Even the hunting association is not alone in gathering people together, as there are at least three separate hunting groups that have established themselves around like-minded individuals. The habit of visiting has remained, as well as the sense of mutual responsibility between the inhabitants. People don't hesitate to ask for or offer help if needed; reciprocity has not been abandoned for a more market oriented way of operating.

The decline of agriculture has changed the villagers' relationship with their village. Moving around still produces a sense of ownership over the area, but the relationship is different when one does not actively interact with the landscape, as farmers used to do. The village is a place to sleep and rest after work, and the forest and the countryside are places of recreation. Nature and the landscape are the main assets of the village. It is potentially a resource for various industries and commerce, but it also attracts second-home owners, hikers, berry pickers, hunters and other people who use the forest for recreational purposes.

In an era of mobility, villagers have their own ways of rejecting unwelcomed intrusions into the village. Stop-go government policies and ideologies that don't

fit are turned down. The village is integrated with the world, but at the same time lives its own local way of life. In the face of centralizing regional development, one's choice of residence and lifestyle turns out to be a politics of silent resistance (Keskitalo-Foley 2008:88). Staying put and immobility become not just breaks in the flow of mobility, but expressions of activity in their own right.

Contrary to common misconception, life in peripheral rural areas has been mobile for a long time, and peripheries have been targets of national and international politics and economies. Rural areas are in no way immune to transformations. Continuity overlaps with change, mobility is intertwined with immobility. Even though the villages are no longer such tight and unanimous communities as they were, or so it is claimed, villages don't actually die out, but face new possibilities and functions. The northern periphery of which Salla is a part borders another northern periphery, the northwestern corner of Russia. A recent discussion about the possibilities of a marine transport route to Asia being opened via the Arctic Ocean due to climate change is turning the issue of centre and periphery upside down. Northern regions would become hubs of transnational traffic and trade, and might find themselves at the core of globalization and mobility.

Today, people living in remote areas are part of a world in motion, affected by global flows and witnessing the way in which 'the global' works in a local context. An employer moving its production to Asia, a neighbor's new Russian girl-friend, a group of Thai that you ran into in the forest, or a Yemeni family you may meet in the village are today part of the everyday life of peripheral rural areas.

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Notes

1 I draw here a cautious equation between community studies and village studies (*kylätutkimus*) which is a more commonly used concept in the Finnish ethnographic tradition. This implies a connection between a community and place, and although village and community offer handy empirical references to 'place' and 'folk', on the other hand, today the village is more than a location, possessing abstract experiential dimensions (Knuuttila 2008: 440–441). Also, communities can be, as is generally known, imagined.

2 Until 1936 the name of the municipality was Kuolajärvi.

3 The study is part of a research project Rural Futures: Ethnographies of transformation from Finland, Estonia, Russia and Ukraine, funded by the Academy of Finland, 2007–10. Project was led by Professor Laura Assmuth. In Finland, fieldwork was conducted in the municipalities of Lieksa and Salla (see eg. Assmuth & Uusitalo forthcoming). In Salla I did fieldwork also in another village. I worked together with Dr. Tuula Tuisku, who spent her childhood and youth in a similar village to that of our object of study. She provided me with valuable insights into the northern way of life and northern mentality.

4 I am originally from a fairly big city, but currently live in quite a typical rural town with a population of 49 000, but centrally located in the southern part of Finland. From a northern perspective, I am a so-called southerner.

5 At most, there were 220 000 German soldiers in Lapland (Lähteenmäki 2006:82).

6 The new villages are called compensation villages, as the settlers whose farms and forests were left on the Russian side of the new border were compensated for their loss.

7 In Finland, the administrative centers of municipalities where the main services are to be found, are called church villages.
8 Defining a village is not a straightforward task. At the regional and municipality level, villages are defined differently in different contexts, and village residents themselves have their own perceptions of their village.
9 The Thai pickers work mostly in Lapland, but also in other parts of Finland, especially when the berry crop in Lapland is poor. Lapland attracts seasonal berry pickers because of the cloudberry, for which they receive better pay for that, for example, lingonberry or blueberry.
10 There were also partisan attacks on the border villages during the war, and civilians, including women and children, were killed.

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"Women are Free to Rampage as Much as They Like …"

About Men who Suffer Intimate Partner Violence at the Hands of Female Partners

By Tove Ingebjørg Fjell

I can't remember the first time. It's a bit weird. It's as if you live somewhere where the streets are really dangerous and every day someone comes up and mugs you, but you survive and it becomes part of your daily life. I don't know if you understand. You go to the shop and buy vegetables, but you don't remember what vegetables you cooked and bought two and a half years ago. It's the same way with the violence. You just take what you get and hope it will stop.

The man behind these words, one of the men I interviewed about partner violence,[1] used to live with domestic abuse for a number of years. It is not easy for him to remember the first time it happened. However, his accounts of more recent violent incidents are many and detailed.

The attention given to intimate partner violence against men is on the rise in Norway. In 2010 the new Act on Shelters from Domestic Abuse[2] was introduced, giving men exposed to violence in a domestic setting the right to protection from public agencies, and the media are seeing an emerging debate on the issue. My research objective is to shed light on an aspect of partner violence which till now has received little attention or recognition, and to help add depth to the often one-sided picture of the male abuser and the female victim.

The study seeks to contribute to the field of masculinity research. I understand masculinity to be many-faceted; rather than a single masculinity appropriate for all men, I consider there to be a range of different masculinities which vary with aspects such as social class, ethnicity, sexuality, age and time. Furthermore, generation-, situation- and time-dependent concepts of masculinity may be formed (cf. Lorentzen 2006:126 ff.; Johansson 1994; Ericsson 2000:9; Nilsson 1999:15; Nordin 2007; Oftung 2009:25; Langeland 2008). This concept of masculinity is based on the gender researcher R. W. Connell, whose understanding of gender focuses on contravention and variation (Connell 2005:67–71). The four most important forms of masculinity are hegemonic, subordinated, complicit, and marginalized masculinities, all of which are structured in the form of a hierarchy.[3] In this context I will be discussing ways of adapting to and negotiating hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity includes that which best safeguards a man's superiority over women, as well as other symbolic and financial powers. Today's hegemonic masculinity ideal is seen as a "white, western, heterosexual man associated with qualities such as aggression and the ability to exert violence" (Langeland 2008:293, my translation). There is, however, "a successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence often underpins or supports authority)" (Connell 2005:77).[4]

The article poses the following questions: What is the significant content in the narratives told by the interviewed men? What happens when men, contrary to cultural expectations, and contrary to society's perception of gender, suffer partner violence? Is hegemonic masculinity being modified by partner violence against men?

Is Partner Violence against Men Widespread?

There are different points of view on the extent of partner violence against men: It depends on how partner violence is ad-

dressed in research. There are two main positions in this field: Firstly, there is a position where violence is seen as a structural problem that is reinforced by the uneven power balance between men and women and men's way of maintaining a position of power (Selin 2009:11; Holmberg & Enander 2004:17 ff.; Hydén 1995). A critique of this position points out that it gives a too static and predetermined pattern, where men perform partner violence, have power and are evil, whereas women are victims, have little power and are good (Holmberg & Enander 2004:20; Hydén 1995:45 ff.). The other position interprets partner violence from an individual perspective, where it is emphasized that individuals from the working class and/or with intoxication problems are more often involved in partner violence (Selin 2009: 11). The criminologist Klara Hradiliva Selin points out, like Margareta Hydén, that the boundaries between structural and individual explanations of partner violence should not be interpreted as watertight, and that these two positions rather should be connected instead of separated: partner violence has a structural dimension through the fact that it takes place in certain cultural conditions, and it has an individual dimension, where individuals' interpretations of the violence become relevant (cf. Hydén 1995:50–51). I find a connection of the two positions more appropriate, both because watertight bulkheads are rare in lived lives, and because it makes no sense to interpret partner violence against men as a manifestation of men maintaining power. According to the researchers Lisa Conradi and Robert Geffner, one must avoid a point of departure saying that women's partner violence *always* has as large consequences as men's partner violence or that men *never* batter women. The answer probably lies in-between: women may be aggressive and some of them may also perform violent acts against partners (Conradi & Geffner 2009).

In other words, studies conclude differently with respect to the extent of partner violence against men. Most studies of partner violence explore only women's experiences (e.g. Lundgren 2002; Pizzey 1980; Alsaker 2008). However, some of the studies which include men's experiences conclude that partner violence against men is not an insignificant problem. The National Public Health Institute in Denmark includes partner violence against men in a statistical survey of all types of violence against men. It is referred to a rise in violence exerted by present or former partners from 5% in 2000 to 10% in 2005; however, the researchers offer no explanation for this increase (Helweg-Larsen & Frederiksen 2008). It is also emphasized that the violence to which women are exposed is more severe and potentially more physically destructive than the violence to which men are exposed (Selin 2009:15). In Hilde Pape's study of young adults in Norway, there was a slight predominance of men over women who reported they had been physically assaulted by their partner over the last six months (6% of the men and 4% of the women). There was also a slight predominance of women over men who reported that they had behaved aggressively towards their partner (Pape 2003). Pape's respondents were, as mentioned earlier, all young adults, and the extent to which it is possible to generalize to older

sections of the population is therefore limited. A follow-up study of the same data set concludes that young women who exert partner violence are generally more aggressive than other women, and furthermore that the women in many cases are the only party to be physically aggressive in their relationships: Consequently, Pape's study does not support the "hypothesis of self-defence", which claims that women's violence against men is exerted in self-defence (Pape 2011).

Violence Terminology

Research on partner violence normally differentiates between different forms of violence. The first form is *common couple violence,* also known as *situational couple violence*, which is less serious and may involve either partner in the role of the abuser or the victim. The second form is *mutual violent control*, a rare form of violence which involves both partners being violent and controlling. The third form is *patriarchal terrorism,* also known as *intimate partner violence*, i.e. "classic" abuse, a far more serious form of violence which is most often performed by men against women. The fourth form is *violent resistance*, which is primarily exercised by women who fight back in response to intimate partner violence performed by a violent and controlling individual. The fifth form is *separation-instigated violence*, which occurs in connection with the break-up of a marriage or cohabiting partnership; the abuser is most commonly the person being abandoned.

The main distinction between these forms of violence is whether it is conflict-based and gender-symmetrical or control-based and gender-asymmetrical. Conflict-based and gender-symmetrical mean that the violence is a consequence of a fight and that both genders are exposed to violence and performers of it. Control-based and gender-asymmetrical mean that the violence is a consequence of one party's need to control the other party, and that one gender is exposed to or performs more violence than the other (Sogn & Hjemdal 2010:24). Common couple violence and mutual violent control are considered as gender-symmetrical violence, whereas intimate partner violence, violent resistance and separation-instigated violence are considered as gender-asymmetrical forms of violence.

Such categories may be useful for scholars, but empirical studies and lived lives demonstrate that cross-over categories are important contributors to a more nuanced picture of domestic violence. Not all violence can be easily grouped in the conventional categories. The cross-over categories demonstrate – as is the case with my interviews – that men are exposed to a type of partner violence whose victims traditionally have been female.

Interviews with Men

The main corpus of material is a set of interviews with men. The group of informants was limited to men over the age of 20 who live or have lived in a heterosexual relationship. I posted an advert on the web pages of Reform – a resource centre for men[5] – to which ten men responded. All of the men had experienced repeated episodes of partner violence over a period of time. One of the informants was in his 20s, one was in his 30s, seven were in their 40s and one was in his 50s. Six had been married, three had been cohabiting partners,

and one was still a cohabiting partner at the time of the interview. The marriage or cohabiting partnership of six of the men had lasted for less than five years, one for less than ten years, one for less than 15 years, and two for less than 20 years. Five of the men had started or completed a course of higher education. Intoxication generally and alcohol specifically is often associated with couple violence. In three of the ten interviews intoxication played a part either while violence was being exerted or in general within the marriage. Two of the men talked about couple violence at the hands of several different partners, while eight of them associated violence with a single partner.

In the course of the interviews the informants described specific episodes of violence. This type of subject will always raise the question of whether the event really happened, or whether the interviewee's account forms part of his revenge against an ex-wife, or perhaps represents his repression of what *really* happened. I cannot verify whether the men's accounts give a truthful picture of what really happened. I was not present at the time of the event and I have not interviewed their wives and cohabiting partners in order to get their versions of the same events, nor the police officers who in some instances were summoned, nor family members who sometimes ended up witnessing the violence, nor staff at the domestic violence agencies.

The men's accounts are not unambiguous; they may well be interpreted in a number of different ways. Narration is a strategic activity (Skog 2002:16), and through their narratives the men are in a position to defend themselves, justify their own actions, criticize an agency officer, criticize the partner, convince the interviewer, or simply describe a situation. In other words, the men's accounts are not empirically correct descriptions of specific incidents, but subjective narratives recounting the narrator's own experiences. The men tell in retrospect; some things may have been forgotten and thus create a whole in the narrative, or the narrative may be selective. There will probably be other interpretations of the same events.[6]

Everyday Violence

Most of the narratives in the interviews refer to psychological violence. Researchers Hanne Sogn and Ole Kristian Hjemdal consider psychological violence to cover everything from "verbal attacks (ridiculing and bullying, isolation (socially and financially), jealousy/possessiveness (including vis-à-vis family, friends and pets), verbal threats of injury, abuse or torture, threats of divorce, threats about leaving or about starting up an extramarital affair, about damaging or ruining personal possessions, to threats in connection with divorce, about going to court to secure custody of the children, sabotaging visiting rights and discrediting the other parent vis-à-vis the child(ren), or deliberately misleading the other parent" (Sogn & Hjemdal 2010:30). This violence is many-faceted and appears to take the same form and expression as the psychological violence reported in research on couple violence against women (see e.g. Lundgren 2002; Alsaker 2008; Pizzey 1980). The men experience that possessions such as glasses, clothes and computers are ruined and that passports and cer-

tificates are destroyed. Some find it difficult to keep doing their job, because of incessant phone calls or upsetting text messages from their wives. Others are threatened with divorce, abortion, suicide or the killing of their common children. Others experience a level of spending which ruins, partly or completely, the family finances. Jealousy is also a recurrent topic for many.

Control of everyday situations is in other words a key word in this context. One of the men gave this account of how he was refused access to a certain type of food:

> She had a favourite sandwich filling that she refused to let me use. The first time I had helped myself to "her" filling, she grabbed the sandwiches I had made myself and threw them in the bin. Including the half-eaten one I was still munching on. For she was damned if she was going to buy sandwich fillings for me; I'd have to see to that myself.

The next day he bought five tins of that particular filling and assumed this would mean he could help himself to it. But his wife claimed he had bought the same sort of filling out of spite and she refused to let him eat what he had bought: This was "her" filling, and if he was going to buy sandwich fillings, he had better think of something other than what she liked.

Another narrative concerns a wife's ability to impose her own will. The wife would like to have a wall built in the garden, but her husband felt they could not afford it. He was seated with his wife in the kitchen, discussing the wall, while the children were sitting in the lounge watching television:

> And I said there's not going to be a wall, 'cause we have no money. And then she said that there was going to be a wall, or I would fecking regret it. She gave me an ultimatum: "Is there gonna be a wall or is there not gonna be a wall?" "No, there's not gonna be a wall." "Ok, you've asked for it," she said. Then she ran into the lounge, yelling: "Dad's on the rampage, Dad's on the rampage, run up to the attic, run up to the attic!" All of the kids were sitting there, bright as buttons, for they hadn't heard a thing. They didn't understand what she was going on about. So I walked into the lounge and watched the whole sorry scene, with tears in my eyes, for that's when I realized she'd gone *completely bloody bonkers*.

The informant thinks that his wife in this way managed to upset the children, who started screaming and running up to the attic. He is of the opinion that he was punished because he did not budge and continued to maintain they could not afford to build a wall in the garden. The sandwich filling and the wall in the garden narratives are examples of events that will never reach police records or appear in criminal statistics: These kinds of daily episodes of harassment stay more or less invisible, but they nevertheless contribute to challenging lives.

Not Afraid to Die

The domestic abuse of men is not always about psychological violence, however. Physical violence is also involved. Robert had never experienced violence in any previous relationship, but in his current one the problems started before the couple married. The acts of violence would often happen without warning. He gives a little resigned laugh as he talks about the late night at their holiday home:

> It was when I had gone to bed and she picked up a bottle of gin. I woke up because I was all wet. And then I thought … what's happening? She had emptied a bottle of spirits in the bed and was fidgeting with a lighter, preparing to set me on fire. Luckily she wasn't able to. And I just had to

get out of there. I would have thought the neighbours would realize what was happening. Because it wasn't exactly quiet. But of course they never dared to say or do anything.

The incident involved a major potential for harm. The neighbours said nothing, not then and not later. Robert believes they would have acted differently had it been a woman who was almost set alight. He reckons they would have beaten him up or at the very least given him a good talking to. But in this case they pretended they had never seen or heard anything. After a few days Robert also pretended that nothing had happened, for when his wife phoned asking for him, he went back to their holiday home. Robert says the children are the reason for staying in a violent relationship: for what would happen to the children were he to move out and the children were left in the care of a woman who clearly has no control of her own anger?

Robert and many of the others emphasize that they have never been afraid for their lives; nevertheless, they have experienced a different type of fear. This is one of the men's account of a day which had seen the violence going on throughout the day and the wife having said she was thinking of taking their child and disappearing:

> The first time it happened, I took it *really incredibly* bad … a shockingly bad feeling. She had been going on all day. Hitting out and yelling and … raging … It was completely surreal in many ways. And existential. We used to live in a high-rise, on one of the upper floors … I didn't know what to do. I walked over to the window and said I would jump if she disappeared for good with my kid. Obviously, she got very hysterical. I don't really know if I would have jumped or not. It was all very dramatic. An extreme situation. Afterwards I've been incredibly sorry that it happened that way. That was the one time in my life … I don't know how to put it … that you're pushed to the brink so that you … you're not entirely sure if you'll do something fatal or not. It's really not like me at all. She had done away with all my self-respect. Eradicated my life's worth … my worth as a human being. For days.

The fear this man is talking about is not the fear of being killed, but it is nevertheless a similar type of fear. Others tend to say that they are "emotionally frightened", i.e. not afraid of dying, but of what will happen when they return home from work or from a family visit. Some tell about physical reactions, such as stiff limbs or a loss of appetite, and a general concern about their own health.

There are far fewer narratives about the very severe types of physical violence which require medical treatment. However, it is clear that at least one of the men *could* have seen a doctor after having had an ovenproof dish chucked at his head, another *could* have been injured had he not been able to escape the knife and a third *could* have suffered serious burns, or indeed been killed, had his wife succeeded in setting his bedding alight. However, men shy away from expressing that they are afraid for their lives, unlike women in similar situations (cf. research on abuse of women), even if some of the incidents they talk about potentially could have been fatal. The reason for this might be the men not wanting to express fear for their lives, when a woman, the wife, the loved one, is performing the violence. It might also have to do with the image of hegemonic masculinity: The men believe that they are stronger than their spouses, and that, had the situation so required, they would have been able to overpower the female abuser.

Not Fighting Back

"What is the problem? Fight back, if someone beats you up!" That is a comment frequently heard when the issue of partner violence against men is being discussed. And, as already mentioned, all of the informants claimed that they would have been able to overpower the female abuser had the situation so required. Many explain, however, that they did not retaliate and kept passive because they were worried about causing serious injury to their wife.

A typical incident in Thor's life would involve him being asked to carry out specific household chores at a certain point of time, to which he responded that he would get round to it once he had finished what he was doing. They were quite banal, commonplace situations which ended up going totally wrong, and the situation felt worse to him because the children were made to witness the incident:

> The worst episode was when I was sitting in the lounge on a wooden chair, reading the newspaper. The kids were there. Then she told me I had to do the washing up straight away. I said I would just finish reading the paper first. And then she comes into the lounge and grabs my hair, pulling me backwards so I fall on the floor, and she sits herself on top of me and hits me in the face. And the kids are watching and start to cry. That was the worst incident. Before that she had punched me with her fist a few times.

He did not counter her punches, which to him meant that he was in control of the situation. One of the informants considers control to be quite important in a partner violence situation. This particular man had been worried about ending up hitting his wife: If he were to hit her, he might lose total control and kill her. Once they argued, he got very angry and hit the wall, which cracked. He knew by himself that if that punch had hit his wife, it would have destroyed her. This kind of reasoning is also found in literature on partner violence: the researcher Suzanne K. Steinmetz points out that when a woman hits, the damage is reduced because of her relative lack of strength, as well as the man's possibility of stopping her, whereas when a man hits, it may result in great damage, because of his strength and the woman's low possibility of stopping him. This knowledge resulted in Steinmetz's informants fear of killing their wives if they ever lost control (Steinmetz 1978: 505, 507).

The passivity is revealing: It seems as if the men have been socialized into a line of thinking which renders violence against women impossible, which indicates that norms regulating men's violence are quite restrictive (cf. Pape 2003: 2019). The men's passivity when attacked by their female partners must be seen in connection with two sets of circumstances: Firstly there is a certain level of cultural acceptance of female aggression. Women's aggression is not necessarily interpreted as something negative but as a sign of strength, justified retaliation or self-defence (Ingebrigtsen 2003:17–18). Secondly one must consider the fact that men's couple violence against women signals an unworthy and shameful form of control. This is a form of violence which generates marginalization of the hegemonic masculinity. Introducing the twin concepts of *centripetal* and *peripetal violence* may elaborate: Centripetal violence refers to violent acts which are considered warranted in a specific context, which indicate control and

potency, and which affirm a hegemonic masculinity. Men who attack their girlfriends' attackers may serve an example. Acts of peripetal violence, on the other hand, indicate disgrace, shame and lack of control. This is a form of violence which generates marginalization (cf. Kolnar 2006:211, 222). Men who hit their wives are considered to express their own loss of control in doing so, and this will in turn serve to marginalize them: Hitting or fighting back will generate a non-accepted form of masculinity.

Hegemonic Masculinity Persists

Something happens to the perception of gender in a society which gives rise to gender cross-over criminality. This is the case both when women perform and men are exposed to partner violence, which normally is regarded as a male-encoded form of criminality. The idea of a woman being violent against her partner is nearly non-existent, a fact the researcher Patricia Pearson addresses:

> Even if we concede that women batter their children, we cannot take it a step further and picture them battering men. We might learn that a man's nose was broken, that he lost his job, that he was emotionally devastated, but we still think to ourselves: He's a man. He could have hit back. He could have hit harder (Pearson 1999:117).

Besides, according to researchers Tim Newburn and Elizabeth A. Stanko, adult men are considered to belong to a group of oppressors unless they can be positioned in a specific oppressed group, such as "elderly men", "victims of racism", "victims of homophobia" or "victims of sexual abuse in childhood" (Newburn & Stanko 1996:158). Men who suffer from couple violence are incongruous with cultural expectations and traditional perceptions of gender.

On the one hand, the men avoid a marginalizing (peripetal) form of violence by taking the attitude that "retaliation is not acceptable" or "hitting a woman is not acceptable". On the other hand, by finding themselves in the situation of a man exposed to common couple violence they signal that they have got the gender card wrong. Whoever gets the gender card wrong fails to conform to hegemonic masculinity.[7] Women who commit partner violence are understood as gender cross-overs, and men who are exposed to partner violence are also perceived as gender cross-overs (cf. Svensson 2004:159). Her actions break with cultural expectations of femininity (cf. Natland 2009) – and his actions break with cultural expectations of masculinity. In cross-over violence gender patterns are destabilized (cf. Svensson 2004:160), and new forms of masculinities are made possible. Men's avoidance of overpowering and fighting back when it comes to a woman's punches or harassment are examples of inverted hegemonic masculinity, which in itself serves to sustain the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

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Notes

1 The term partner violence is used synonymously with the terms couple violence, domestic violence and domestic abuse. There is a section on violence terminology later in the article.

2 Under the Act on Shelters from Domestic Abuse municipalities are obliged, since 1 January 2010, to offer help to men suffering from common couple violence, and to ensure that the accommodation provided for men and women is physically separate (http://www.lovdata.no/all/nl-20090619-044.html).

3 Homosexual men may serve as an example of subordinate men; in certain eras black men would be considered marginalized, while men of complicit masculinity define themselves in terms of an accepted form of masculinity but have no opportunity to assert a hegemonic position (Lorentzen 2006:126–127; Connell 2005:77–81).

4 There is also an internal hierarchy which differentiates between men, heterosexuals being dominant over homosexuals and married men over unmarried (Connell 2005; Ericsson 2000; Nilsson 1999). Ethnologist Bo Nilsson points out that the concept of hegemonic masculinity does not refer to external force or cultural dominance: "Rather, hegemonic masculinity may represent a fantasy figure which it is considered beneficial to copy and which they [men] sustain through their behaviour" (Nilsson 1999:15, my translation).

5 Reform's website: http://www.reform.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=10.

6 Reform's website: http://www.reform.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=10.

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Images of Housewifery

Women narrating their Choice to be a Housewife in the 1950s in the Swedish-speaking Parts of Finland

By Lena Marander-Eklund

As I interviewed Elsa, an elderly woman, about her life as a housewife, she took a photograph album from the shelf and showed me a picture from the 1950s. The picture was taken in springtime when First of May was celebrated, showing smiling young men and women with children in prams. One of them was Elsa together with her husband and their eldest child. Elsa shows me the picture while saying: "It hit me. We were such a good company and we got children all the time, all the time, we were in that age. But you know, *all* of us women were educated, but we all stayed *at home* with our children". In the interview situation this fact strikes her, and further on she returns to the question of how and why she, as well as many of her female friends, became housewives in the early 1950s.

This article[1] explores how recollections of being a housewife are expressed in the interview situation with a focus on the images of housewifery that emerge in women's narration. These images can be understood as constructed ways of organizing experience and ways of meaning making (Koivunen 1995:28f). I will examine the ways in which women who were housewives in the 1950s recollect and narrate their choice of staying at home. The aim of the article is to study the images of housewifery that emerge from the narration of the women that I have interviewed, and to relate these images to narrative strategies of resistance or adaptation. On a methodological level I will analyze the interviews by looking at more or less fixed expressions, that occur frequently in my material, expressions or figures of speech that are meaningful in the interpretation of narration (Blaakilde 2006:160ff). The material for this study consists of interviews with women that have been housewives all their lives in the Swedish-speaking[2] part of Finland, interviews I have conducted in 2010. I call the women Elsa, Ebba, Molly, Linnea and Nellie. They were all born in the 1920s and 1930s and are from urban middle-class surroundings. The reason why this study, in my opinion, is of current interest is not so much the conditions of the 1950s but more to show how people relate to different kinds of imagery in their narration when they recollect their experience. As the women I have interviewed recollect the 50s they also relate to later discussions and later imagery of housewives.

The Happy Housewife

When studying how the women I have interviewed narrate about their choice of staying at home, it becomes clear that they are pleased to have had the opportunity to stay at home as housewives. Becoming a housewife is connected to getting married or becoming a mother. Sometimes the transition to becoming a housewife is presented as something "natural" while others present it as a choice. This becomes evident in my material through recurrent expressions such as "I stayed at home", "I quit my job", and "I stayed at home of my own will". These explanations are often overlapping. Helena Znaniecki Lopata points out that the concept of becoming a housewife involves learning both to conform to correct behavior patterns and to interpret experiences through a new framework, as a married woman (Lopata 1971:32f). Before I go on to explore the recurrent expressions, I will introduce the

emergence of the housewife in a historical context and the image of the happy housewife.

The Emergence of the Happy Housewife

The emergence of the housewife lies in the rise of industrialization when work and family life was separated.[3] The implication of this was that the world of men became wider, outside the home, whereas the private sphere, the home, became the women's world. In the early period of industrialization women's work outside the home was condemned on moral grounds, it was thought to damage her mental health and lead her to neglect her family (Oakley 1976:32ff). This ideal was revived after World War II and was quite widely disseminated. In this process, the American notion of the happy housewife, who functioned as part of the ideal family, served as a model. The notion of the ideal family was presented in the 1950s by Talcott Parsons who argued that the structure of the nuclear family was based on a differentiation of sex roles in the family along instrumental-expressive lines. The reason for men to take an instrumental role and the women an expressive one was explained in biological terms, the mother's relation to a small child, which gave the male a possibility to specialize in alternative instrumental direction. Another gender order was thought to harm the children and in extension the whole family. The man alone was meant to be the breadwinner and the mother to stay at home with the children. During the 1950s these complementary roles were seen as a way to guarantee the unity of the family (Parsons 1955:22ff). Parsons' thoughts have been much criticized, but serve as an explanation to why married women's place was thought to be at home during this time. The woman's task was to bring up the next generation, stand by her husband and children, and create a good home with a pleasant atmosphere for the family members (Sköld 1998:75). Motherhood, which was strongly idealized, was seen as the woman's main task and her work was valued by the outcome, her children. As a wife at home she was living proof of her husband's financial status. The image of the happy housewife is presented by the feminist Betty Friedan on the basis of a study of women's magazines in the late 1940s and 1950s. In these magazines women were presented as feminine, young and frivolous in a world of men, babies and the home. Friedan calls this the feminine mystique meaning that the highest value and the only commitment for women was the fulfillment of their femininity. This meant a forced happiness which could only be gained by devoting oneself to being a housewife/mother (Friedan 1968:10ff).

The image of the happy housewife, originating in America, had a temporal peak in Western Europe during the first part of the 20th century with the postwar period as its culmination – the time of back-to-the-family politics. This image was imported to almost all the western world and had a huge impact, also on the Nordic countries including Finland. In the 1950s, during the so called era of housewives, the housewife was regarded as constituting the ideal womanhood (Wikander 1999:157). The praxis of this image was promoted by joint taxation (in Finland 1943–1975) which made it favorable in

economic terms for a family to live on only one salary (Bergholm 2011:34). During the 19th century it was not appropriate in Finland for middle-class women to work outside the home, because employment was seen as a male activity (Ollila 1990:264ff). The ideology of a woman's place being in the home became part of a national project. Yet the amount of mothers working outside the home grew for economic reasons; families could not afford to keep the mothers at home (Lähteenmäki 1999:47f). Until the 1960s Finns had mostly made their living from agriculture, meaning that women's work was done within the household. Between the world wars, employment outside the home became more and more common among married women (Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2011:8f). Yet the image of the housewife was prevalent also in Finland during this time, at least in middle-class surroundings (Ollila 1990:337). The following social aspects, besides the cultural explanations, made it possible for women to stay at home: the existence of a male breadwinner, and an economic standard which made it possible for a family to manage only on one salary, in combination with joint taxation.

"I stayed at home"

The women in my material narrate about their living conditions in many ways. The transition to becoming a housewife is expressed through frequently occurring expressions such as "I stayed at home". So does Ebba for example: "I was one of the few of my friends that *stayed* at home". She depicts her decision to stay at home as not that usual. This can also be statistically confirmed and can be explained in relation to circumstances during and after the war. During World War II women's work in the fields and in factories was needed to compensate for the men who had gone to war. After the war years men were supposed to get their work back which led to unemployment among women (Lähteenmäki 1999:50ff). Women were asked to relinquish their place on the labor market to men as a kind of sacrifice. The men were thought to have made their sacrifice while serving in the war (Holmila 2008:9).

However, statistics show that married women in Finland did not return to being housewives as the men returned from war to the same extent as in other western countries. For example Portugal, Spain, Italy and Norway had a large amount of women outside working life whereas non-western countries like Romania, the USSR and Bulgaria had a high rate of women in working life. Finland's place in these statistics is directly after the eastern countries (*Naisten asemaa* 1970:38). One reason for this was the insignificant middle class in Finland (Haavio-Mannila 1984: 49). In fact the amount of urban women working outside the home grew slightly during the 1950s (Jallinoja 1985: 251). The share of married women working outside the home[4] was 45 per cent in 1950 (Degerman 1965:6ff). This indicates that the image of the happy housewife competes with the image of the working mother in Finland's case. Although housewives were not that usual in Finland the thought of a mother at home was fundamental here as well. In the post-war period, motherhood was glorified due to the population policy. The country needed to focus on nativity in order to replace the

loss of men during the war (Satka 1993: 58ff).

Staying at home can be related to the notion of work. Molly points out that she "worked at home". She presents her home as her working place. The expression to "stay at home" can be linked to the notion that work at home is connected to a "being" while work outside the home is something you "do". According to Margareta Gisselberg this can be interpreted as depreciation of the home as a working place but it can also be seen as emphasizing the meaning of the home as a fundament for people (Gisselberg 1985:130ff). Housewives were thought to view their duties in the manner of an occupational role as a way of increasing the value of the homework, as pointed out in Helena Znaniecki Lopata's study *Occupation housewife* (Lopata 1971:139).

The women in my material left working life when marrying, when they became mothers or when the second or third child was born. In my material this is depicted as something self-evident. Elsa narrates about how she stopped working when her first child was born: "So that's why I stayed at home". Housewifery was seen as an opportunity to leave employment, and as a way to create a home of one's own. In Kerstin Gunnemark's study of housewives in a Swedish context, the possibility to leave employment was experienced by the housewives she interviewed as an opportunity and a relief. Life as a housewife is presented as a dream come true for many women. Moving to newly built houses meant a life of better material standards. Being a housewife was experienced as something to be proud of, a possibility to leave a hard and monotonous working life behind, to be independent from wage work, and to become a work manager of her own (Gunnemark 1998: 83ff). It was for urban, middle-class women a normal way of living if the economic conditions so permitted; this included the presence of a male breadwinner and an economic possibility to raise a family only on one salary. During this time housewifery was presented as an adaptive femininity. It was also something to be happy about, to have a home of one's own to potter about (Danielsen 2002:48ff). This implies an adaptation to the image of the happy housewife.

"I quit my job"

Another way of narrating about becoming a housewife is by using the expression "I quit my job". In some companies it was a relatively wide-spread opinion that female workers should resign when getting married or at the very latest when they got pregnant. This is also mentioned in the interviews I conducted. For example, Nellie explains that her professional life was at the phase when she was a Miss, not a Mrs. For her it was a matter of course that her working career ended when marrying. A professional career for women was looked upon as a transitory stage between education and homemaking (Lopata 1971:31). In the interview with Linnea she points out how she voluntarily resigned from work when her first child was on its way: "And that's why I stopped working". In the interview with Elsa, on the other hand, she points out that making women redundant because of marriage was not a custom anymore in the 1950s. We discuss the question as follows:

Elsa: No, no longer then [should you stop working when getting married]. It was more a question that you should stop working when you got children. It was quite definitely that you had to stop working then.
Lena: Were you supposed to resign or how did it work?
Elsa: Well …Actually I worked until it was one month left [before the baby was to be born] and, then I don't know it I *resigned* or if it just was obvious that I should quit.
Lena: It was unexpressed?
Elsa: Yes. It was quite obvious because we were to move to [another place]. And during that time no company kept a job because you got a baby, oh my god no. No, it disappeared and you had to apply over again if you wanted to return to work.

The phenomenon of having the legal protection to keep one's work when on parental leave is here pondered on as something unimaginable, which Elsa's expression "oh my god no" shows. To lay off women when they got married or pregnant was not illegal in Finland during this time, and was assumed to be a wide-spread custom in many companies. The married, middle-class woman was thought not to be in need of work outside the home because of the existence of a male breadwinner. This was regarded as the basis for a functional family. In the 1940s, there was discussion about the need of such a law, but the politicians thought this proposal too radical. Later on, in the 1960s, married women at work got public acceptance and there was no need to pass a new law; this discussion had been outdated. The habit or custom of making married women redundant had disappeared (Suonoja 1992:385ff). Sweden had legislation against resignation of married women already in 1939. Prior to this, the same moral pressure for married women to resign from work was common in Sweden as well. This was also a way for companies to have young and brisk labor in order to save money, because the younger women had lower income, and there was no need to pay pensions (Hedenborg & Wikander 2003:103f). In Finland, it was not until 1964 that women got the legal right to a maternity leave of 54 workdays, and until 1986 when women no longer could be discriminated in work life.[5]

It is a huge difference between resigning from a workplace or to be made redundant from it. But the underlying thought of it is the same, the thought of middle-class women staying at home and taking care of the children and the household, while the male partner was the breadwinner. The norm rests on a gender system with a more or less expressed agreement between the spouses (Carlstedt & Forssén 1999:64). This gender system was so widely distributed in the 1950s that it was perceived as the normal and "natural" way of living, with the best of the family in mind. This is why resignation or being laid off from work was perceived as natural (Dahlström 1962:193). In a study of housewives in Norway, Hilde Danielsen describes women's longing for taking care of a home of their own as that strong that it prevailed over the negative aspect of resigning from work (Danielsen 2002:37). This is because the housewife was looked upon as a positive model throughout the Western world, if and when the possibility to manage on only one salary was present (Ollila 1990:338).

In the interviews, the birth of a child is often stated as a reason for becoming a housewife.

Molly: And there [at the office] I worked until I married and got children.

Lena: Did you stop working when you married or when your child was born?
Molly: I didn't work after I had children [with a gentle voice]. No. You see, my husband had a job which implied that he was much away from home.

Here the absence of the father due to work duties is the reason why Molly stayed at home. Also Nellie tells about her husband being away on business travels as a reason: "he [her husband] thought someone should be at home". It is a question of a gender system with separate and unquestioned tasks for the husband and wife respectively, with the mother staying at home and the man functioning as breadwinner. For the man, to be a breadwinner was a matter of honor. A real man should be able to support the family and to guarantee that the family had a home to live in (Åström 1990:141). For middle-class men a housewife at home was a sign of his prosperity. This also meant that middle-class women were not required to work outside the home because their marriage gave them an occupation as housewives.

Working-class women in post-wartime Finland were forced to work for economic reasons (Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2011:10); to be able to stay at home is thus connected to class, in my case it is a middle-class phenomenon. According to a survey done in 1946, approximately one of three women left work voluntarily when marrying (*Komiteamietintö* 1948: 24). The decision to stay at home or go to work was discussed in terms of advantages and disadvantages in economic and practical terms. But it was also an issue of customs and values. To resign from work when getting married is presented as a custom of the time. This can be interpreted as a traditional patriarchal system, as a way of being sentenced to living everyday life (Hirdman 2007). But it can also be comprehended as liberation from hard work, or as a wish to assert the importance of domesticity and child rearing (Johnson & Lloyd 2004).

To leave professional life was of course not always easy. Ebba tells about the birth of her two first children and the decision to stay at home:

After the birth of our second child I had maternity leave but after *that* I didn't return to my work. My boss said to me in fact: "remember that if you are away from this occupation two years you are out", because it has such a development. So it meant that I was stuck here with four small children, four children within five years. It meant I was fully occupied with them.

Ebba is highly educated and had a qualified occupation. When the second child was born she left her employment. This meant that after years of being a housewife she had small or even no chances of getting back because of the rapid progress in the field. She uses the expression "stuck" for her decision to stay at home. Although the expression stuck can be understood as implying captivity she thought the decision to stay at home was not difficult to make. This was due to the children, but even more due to the character of her employment. She says: "If I had been all that delighted with my job I wouldn't have left it. But I wasn't that fond of it […] I didn't fight for it". For Ebba, who was not forced to work outside the home for economic reasons, it was an issue of the balance between the advantages and disadvantages of staying at home. The summers together with the children she mentions as something she would not have liked to

sacrifice. In her case, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, although she felt "stuck" in the situation. In this case, the image of the happy housewife competes with the image of the captive housewife, and also that of the career woman, meaning adaptation as well as resistance to the image of the happy housewife.

"I stayed at home of my own free will"

The women talk about their decision to stay at home as a choice of their own. Linnea tells: "I worked at the company until 1952. Then I got children and chose to stay at home. And it was a choice of my own". She points out that the decision was her own. So does Molly, as an answer to my question why she became a housewife: "It was of my own free will. Nobody forced me into anything. I have always been independent. I chose a path of my own".

The thought of a choice made of one's own free will is recurring in the material. How is this free will to be understood? The concept of the free will is crucial in philosophy and is connected to questions of ethics and morals. The free will can very simply be conceived of as an opposition to fatalism, as a possibility of having the choice to act in a different way (cf. Lorentzon 2002). I am not interested in how the free will is to be understood; more interesting is the notion of experiencing the will as free. This subjective experience of the free will makes us imagine that we have alternative ways of acting (Karlsson 2005:148f). The choice of staying at home as a result of the free will is discussed in economic terms by Margareta Gisselberg. The separation of public production and domestic work led, according to her, to a value system with a basis in rationality. People were expected to be rational and rank different alternatives in terms of both time and money in order to maximize the economic benefit in the household. This meant that the spouse with a higher income took employment and the other stayed in the domestic sphere (Gisselberg 1985:12ff). According to her, the choice of staying at home might seem to be free, but is based on notions of domestic and economic efficiency. This is one way of looking at the choice the women made and that they talk of as a choice of their own.

Another aspect of this issue is joint taxation, which made it advantageous for women to stay at home. In addition, you have to take the importance of family values, especially of motherhood as the main task for women, into consideration. Another way of construing this voluntary staying at home is by reference to the notion of working for the common good, which was significant in women's upbringing in earlier times (Gisselberg 1985: 25). On the other hand, nobody forced the women to stay at home, if you do not think of the force of values as an imperative. Another component of the free will in relation to compulsion was the case during the 1950's when women who wished to stay at home were forced to take employment for economic reasons (Ogden 1986: xviii, Lähteenmäki 1995:25f). The notion of a free will can be interpreted as an adaptation to fundamental norms of the time, but it can also be understood as resistance to the image of the career woman, meaning a view that women should work outside the home.

The question of choice and compulsion

when it comes to employment or staying at home can be looked upon as a question of how free we actually are as individuals to make decisions of our own, or if our choices are due to societal authority which we cannot control (Giddens 1994:52; cf. Guneriussen 1997:291ff). A more fruitful approach to me is to recognize that the women's stories are permeated by the experience of the free will in order to make meaning in their lives. In the interviews we talk about the alternatives to housewifery. Linnea talks about it like this:

> Well, I could have continued at the office and you could have had child care. My children also attended kindergarten but I thought it was great to be able to be at home when they came home [laughter]. I had the possibility to choose that way. My husband had a job which meant he was absent a great deal, so it would have been really tough, well if both of us would have worked.

Linnea had an option, but it was not relevant because she could choose, meaning there was an economic possibility to stay at home. She also ranked motherhood higher than having a professional life. In Ebba's narration she expresses no regret that she decided to stay at home:

> As long as the kids were at school I do not regret a day [I stayed home], because you got so much more out of life. You are at home at one o'clock when the first child comes home, at two o'clock when the next is there. You get the story of today; you get so much more out of life compared to coming home burdened with shopping bags at five o'clock, and soon everybody goes in all directions. So that part I took in fact as a gift.

She talks about the time with the children as a gift, a way of having an inner rich life. The choice she made she puts in relation to the image of the double-working mother of today, which she makes resistance to. Linnea too presents the thought of both spouses working as an unworkable option. Telling me about their choices can be regarded as a way of justifying and making meaning in their lives. At the same time, their narration can be interpreted as comments on and a critique of the double-working mothers of today, as well as constituting comments on their experiences in the 1950s.

Many of the women in my material present the advantages of being a housewife. Marriage gave them an occupational role, economic security, status as married women, a home of their own and children to nurse and bring up. By marrying and staying at home the middle-class women did what was expected of them at the time; a normal and normative way of living (Danielsen 2002:47). Marriage was for most of the women a goal in their life; by marrying they got a status of married women as well as a home of their own. These advantages can be looked upon as part of the image of the happy housewife. The women I have interviewed make only slight resistance to these images. Nevertheless traces of the images of the captive housewife and of the career woman are to be found in their narration.

The Work-loaded Housewife

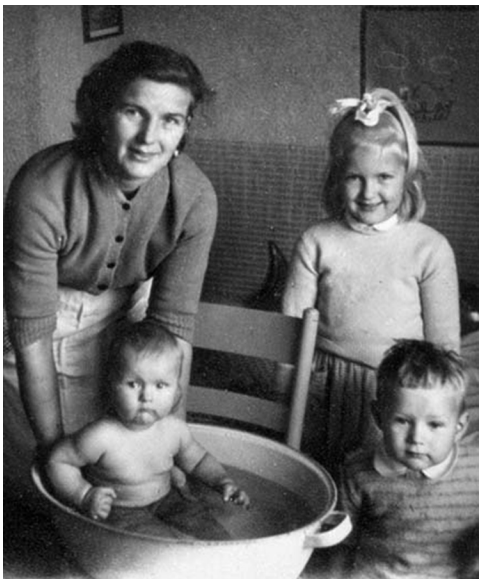
The Swedish politicians Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein picture two contradictory images of the housewife in their study *Kvinnans två roller* [Two roles of women] (1957). Firstly, it is the work-loaded housewife, with red knuckles from washing. This image was mostly linked to factory working women with long working hours and also a household to run. The other image they present was the so-called society woman, the leisured lady. In focus

here were the married middle-class women with, according to the authors, the following task: "to be a grace in her husband's home, a living witness to his prosperity" (Myrdal & Klein 1957:18). The society lady was thought to live an easy life with lots of spare time. These two images are in one way or another present in my material.

Apart from life as a housewife being something natural and obvious, it was also construed as a necessity due to practical circumstances. It could be a matter of the non-existence of public childcare or time-consuming domestic work. Elsa talked in the interview about how lovely it was to have a home of her own, and continues with descriptions of how elementary the material situation was: "we had no running hot water, only a fire stove". She also mentions how time-consuming it was to take care of a baby in these conditions. In addition she reflects on the fact that there was no access to disposable diapers in those days. She is horrified when she thinks of the demanding work with diapers made of cloth.

Elsa: But, but you had to *cook* the cloth after every use. Then you had to let the cloth soak and then you had to have a big pot and let it cook there on the fire stove. Oh my god.
Lena: So you had no difficulties in passing the day?
Elsa: [sighs deeply]. When I start to think, how on earth … No wonder the wives weren't at work outside the home. There were no child-care centers or anything else, there weren't. So you *had* to stay at home, home taking care of the children.

Elsa depicts her life in the early 1950s as heavy. According to her, everyday life as a young wife and mother was so demanding that the mothers were needed at home due to the lack of municipal child-care. She points out that in those days young



Mother and children in the late 1950s. SLS 2042_35. Photo: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, The Archives of Folk Culture.

mothers did not have an opportunity to choose between staying at home and working outside the home. They were truly needed at home; she *had* to stay at home. This lack of a choice must nevertheless be understood in terms of the existence of economic security; their husbands were able to support them. The burdensome duties and the simple conditions in which the housewives worked can be interpreted as a way of speaking about them, but also of justifying their right to their livelihood.

In these stories a heroic femininity is configured by depicting women who endure heavy work, the work-loaded housewife, a heroic femininity implying that the women were able to work hard in scant conditions. This image can be understood as part of the image of the strong Finnish woman. Pirjo Markkola has studied the

construction of the strong Finnish woman as part of the national story of Finland. Slogans such as "women have always worked", as well as women's participation in politics and education, serve to constitute this construction (Markkola 2002: 75ff). The hardworking and oppressed woman did not match the image of a developed country; instead the image of hardworking and satisfied women was launched (Östman 2008:21f). In the quotation in the beginning of this article, Elsa points out that she and her female friends were in the same position; they were all educated and still at home taking care of the children. When thinking of the times in the 1950s, it was a part of the living conditions in middle-class surroundings. When thinking back on it, she nevertheless finds it surprising that the women did not make use of their education, an astonishment that was evoked by the interview situation. This shows the impact of the norm of being a housewife in the 1950s in urban middle-class families.

Mother and children in the early 1950s. SLS 1991_10. Photo: The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, The Archives of Folk Culture.

The tangible cause why the women stayed at home was the lack of organized childcare. This was also a reason why women resigned from work and stayed at home. Public child day care was to be available by law in 1973 (Bergholm 2011: 33). Before that time there was child care in the form of kindergarten, which was looked upon as a complement to activities at home. Since the 1860s child care for less affluent families was available for women who had to take employment outside the home for economic reasons (Hatje 1999:31ff). It was this form of full-time day child care that was missing, according to Elsa, and which in theoretical terms would have enabled employment outside home. But I consider the lack of child care only a partial explanation. The other part of the explanation emphasizes motherhood as the main task for women. During the wars motherhood was viewed as a praiseworthy aspect of female citizenship: the woman's task was to raise the next generation. The tribute to mothers had symbolic significance since they came to represent the future and the values to fight for during the war (Sulkunen 1987:158ff; Satka 1994:91). In postwar Finland breeding children was exceptionally important because the nation needed an increased population enabling it to develop into a welfare state (Nätkin 2002:176ff). The discourse of maternity was also prevalent for employed women in the forms of working motherhood. This was regarded not only as something positive, but also as a sign of poverty. It was thought that if Finland could adopt the western ideal of wives staying at home, Finnish society would become more prosperous (Julkunen & Nätti 1999:79).

Ebba narrates about her life and evaluates her work in the household by saying: "But I had at least as much work as anybody. It wasn't a question of it. I didn't lie there reading novels". As a mother to many children she explains she had plenty to do with housekeeping. She also regards it as a work and not as chores. Molly also talks about the concept of housewife as linked to a thought of leisure as something disgraceful. Ebba's way of expressing herself, that she did not spend her time reading, reflects the image of the society lady or the leisured lady with lots of spare time. In her story, she distances herself from this image at the same time as her utterance can be interpreted as linked to the image of the work-loaded housewife.

"Just a Housewife"

Some of the women did not want to talk about themselves as housewives. Ebba is one of them. She explains: "I have never accepted the expression housewife. I stayed at home, and I happened to be a wife […]. I felt *honestly bad* if someone called me that". Her negative feelings about the expression housewife can be understood by reference to the reevaluation of the housewife that took place in the 1960's and 1970's due to the second feminist wave that wanted women out of the home and into work, and which expressed the women's task at home as "just" being a housewife (Oakley 1976: 5). Ebba not wanting herself to be called a housewife can be explained by looking at a definition of the concept given by Ann Oakley. A housewife can be defined as "[t]he person, other than a domestic servant, who is responsible for most of the household duties" (Oakley 1978:29). A housewife is a woman who is dependent on her husband, the male breadwinner, in an economic sense. Her work has the status of non-work and is the core task for the woman and it is considered non-work because she gets no salary, no financial benefits, and no health insurance. As a wage earner she does not exist. The work of a housewife has been perceived as monotonous and because of the lack of pecuniary reward has low status. This leads to dissatisfaction and a view of a housewife as "just" a housewife (Oakley 1976:1ff). This "just" in housewifery is in glaring contrast to the heroic femininity appearing in the image of the work-loaded housewife. According to the view of Ann Oakley, the housewife can be interpreted as a captive and unworthy woman. Not wanting to be called a housewife can be understood as a way of making resistance to the image of "just a housewife", wanting to get appreciation for her choice of life and her commitment to the family.

This "just" is a starting point in Glenna Matthew's study *"Just a housewife"* (1987). Matthews indicates that the home as a working place has been depreciated and the housewife has been neglected in historical studies. She states that the core task for the housewife, taking care of the home as a valuable place, was lost when consumption became her main task. This made her dissatisfied and "just" a housewife (Matthews 1987:182ff). The image of the consuming housewife is occurring for example in comic strips – when Blondie consumes more than her husband Dagwood can afford (Peterson 1976: 52). The image of the consuming housewife is not

to be found in my material because it is more or less an image reflecting other people's views, rather than given in presentations of the self. Matthews points out negative images of the housewife with a basis in fiction, as nagging, being spoilt and emotionally underdeveloped. She also points out that housewives were looked upon as predators, as someone who cadged on society without contributing productively to society (Matthews 1987: 182ff). In my interviews the housewife as a predator is mentioned. Molly tells me about an incident in the 1970s:

Molly: Let me tell you […] when we first came to x-town and lived on x-street there was a neighbor I remember. So she said to me "YOU ARE A PREDATOR IN SOCIETY" [with loud voice]. She said so to me [laughter] "when you only stay at home". […] She called me a predator.

To be called a predator is surely not a nice experience, but she convinces me that she did not get hurt. Instead, it served as an awakening for her, and she tried to find her way out of the home, finding charity and part-time work because her children were already grown up. In that way, she made no conscious resistance to the image of the predatory housewife, but instead more or less adapted to the demand of getting out of the home. The second wave feminists wanted women out of home as an instance of women's liberation in the late 1960s and 1970s (Oakley 1974, Hirdman 2007). The desire was to replace the image of the housewife with the image of the liberated woman (Danielsen 2010:36). Ebba points out that during the time of women's liberation in the 1970s, she felt a demand to leave the home and get out to work, which meant a pressure on housewives who wanted to stay at home. Ebba narrates: "that meant some pressure was put on me, me being at home. You had to be a person of principles to manage". This can be looked upon as a strong resistance to the image of the liberated woman. As a result of this discussion, housewives were looked upon as "just" housewives and began to talk about themselves in these terms. The image is also associated with boredom and discomfort (Oakley 1976:94), or to housewives being trapped in a feminine mystique of dissatisfaction (Friedan 1968).

The image "Just" a housewife can be understood as an oppressed femininity if you perceive housewifery as subordination. But it can also be a way of making women's work at home invisible. The recollections of becoming a housewife in the 1950s are multilayered, and comment not only on the living conditions of the 1950s, but also serve to reject the views of the second-wave feminists back in the 1970s, as well as commenting on contemporary conditions. The women I interviewed strongly dissociated themselves from the image "Just" a housewife by talking of housewifery as a part of the normal state of affairs in the 1950s, wanting me to show them respect for their choice of life. In the interviews, the women were eager to make sure I understood them in the right way. Many of them stress the fact that the times were different in the 1950s; so does Molly by commenting on the condition in the 1950s using the expression: "it was like that during *those* days".

Lena: Yes, so you were needed at home.
Molly: Yes, yes. And it was so common [women being housewives] it was like that during *those* days, I like to add. Now it's *all* different. You had to be at home running the household and everything related to it.

The women are most eager to express that times were different in those days. So does Molly when she talks with emphasis of "*those* days", at the same time relating to women's working situation today. Linnea also points out the difference by saying: "Well nowadays it's so common [with working mothers] but it was different in those days, you know [giggle]. You thought of it in another way". The reason why these women are so concerned to point out the difference in time, wanting me to give them their due, is in my opinion related to the reevaluation of the conditions of the housewife in the late 1960s, at a time were women staying at home were called "just" housewives. They do not want me to think of them as wasting their lives staying at home. Therefore they stress the normality of being a housewife, according to the common values at the time.

The era of housewives was interpreted as a form of oppression, a waste of female labor, by many second wave feminists (cf. Oakley 1976:79; Hirdman 2007:17). But the living conditions of the housewife can also be interpreted as an individual opportunity, a choice to concentrate on oneself, the children and domesticity in combination with equal footing as many third wave feminists do (Johnson & Lloyd 2004:iix). But second wave feminism has left an imprint by creating a bad conscience for women that have remained outside the sphere of professional life. To point out the differences in the views current at the time is a way of meaning-making and to justify one's life, both to me as a listener and to themselves.

Conclusion

As we can see, the narration about the decision or choice to become a housewife is presented as multifaceted. Due to prevailing norms and ideals the "becoming" of a housewife can be unnoticed and presented as something normal, as a consequence of marriage and/or childbirth. The women stayed at home after weighing the pros and cons in terms of economic profitability and practical considerations, more or less unconsciously according to the norms prevailing in the 1950s. When narrating about their choice of staying at home the women that I have interviewed use recurring expressions such as "I stayed at home", "I quit my job", "I stopped working", "I stayed at home of my own will" , "You had to stay at home" and "It was like that during *those* days". Because these expressions recur in the narration I consider them symbolically significant. These expressions can also be linked to the images of housewives that I used as a basis for interpreting my material and that is also to be found in prior research or debate about housewives. These images are the happy housewife, used by Betty Friedan, the work loaded housewife used by Alva Myrdal and "just" a housewife used by Ann Oakley and Glenna Matthews. In their narration, the women have to some extent adapted to the femininity perceptible in the image of the happy housewife as a normative way of living in the 50s. They use the image of the work-loaded housewife as a justification of their staying at home. The relation to the image of "just" a housewife is negative, because they experience their achievement in life is not valued. These images are intertwined. For example the image of the hap-

py housewife is intertwined with the image of the work-loaded housewife, which is expressed by sayings such as "You had to be at home". Besides these three images, traces of other images can be found. These are the captive housewife, the career woman, the working mother, the double-working mother, the consuming housewife, the unworthy woman, the predator, the leisured lady, images they mostly make resistance to and dissociate themselves from.

When elderly women narrate their choice to be a housewife in the 1950s, all these three images are present in their stories in one way or another. The women relate their experience to these images familiar from debates in the media. In this way, the stories are multifaceted, including many temporal layers and different types of zeitgeist. This gives me a different perception of what it meant to be a housewife in the 1950s compared to what would have been the case if I only had access to material produced in the 1950s. In addition to housewifery being something "natural" and normal, the material also includes echoes of the discussions of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s–1970s, as well as gives comments on women's working situation today. By narrating this way, the women give meaning to their choice of staying at home, and ensure that the listener does them justice for their choice. They tell me about their lives as housewives with pride, wanting me not to judge them for their choice of life according to current norms. At the same time, they excuse themselves in relation to me, feeling the demand to be productive. This means that there are at least three temporal layers in their narration, the memory of the 1950s, the memory of the feminist movement during the 1970s wanting women out of the home into work life, and finally the time layer of today when the interview was made, and when they had to convince me to respect their choice of path of life.

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Notes

1 The article is part of the Academy of Finland project "Happy days? Everyday life and nostalgia of the extended 1950s" (FA 137923). In my part of the project, I use different kinds of material such as weekly magazines, archival recordings, written life-stories and interviews. In this article I only analyze the interviews. I would like to thank FD Camilla Asplund Ingemark for comments to the article draft.
2 I am focusing on material from the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland, although the housewife was a middle-class phenomenon in urban Finland in its entirety as late as the 1970s (Kortteinen 1982:210).
3 Housewifery has a long history beginning in England in the fourteenth-century, in the pre-industrial society (Hall 1980:44ff).
4 Half a million women were working at home in 1950 but this percentage includes the agrarian women, who cannot be included in the group of housewives. The number of housewives in an urban setting is estimated to approximately 130 000 in 1950 (*Statistisk årsbok för Finland* 1955:43).
5 Finlex 364/1963, Finlex 609/1986.

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Walking the Streets of Suzhou

Approaching Urban Spaces through Embodied Experiences and Visual Interpretations

By Tiina-Riitta Lappi

The Perception of Place from the Outside

I have rarely had such a strange feeling as I did when I travelled for the first time to the city of Suzhou. That feeling was caused by the fact that I was not able to create an image of any kind in my mind about the city I was heading for. So right from the start after arriving in Suzhou I realized that I was somehow more alert about where I was going and what was around me than when I usually travelled to a new place for the first time. As an ethnologist interested in urban and spatial studies, this experience led me to think about how people going to new places start to become acquainted and familiar with their surroundings. Can a place carry meanings only for those who possess insider knowledge, or is it possible to analyse urban spaces and places on the basis of other kinds of cultural competence and understanding? What kind of knowledge can be obtained without having access to the meanings of places available to insiders? Places and spaces are usually analysed from the local inhabitants' point of view, but how do outsiders or newcomers approach unfamiliar sites? What kind of meanings do places carry for someone coming from another place and culture? These questions call for consideration and further analysis in a globalized world where people, by moving around, are creating and shaping culturally varying spatial practices and multicultural urban landscapes. At the same time, more general remarks and ways of theorizing space can be obtained from ideas about foreign and local, space and place and the aspect of temporality in relation to places.

This article[1] has as its empirical starting point the fieldwork I carried out in Suzhou, China, in December 2009 and November 2010. The city of Suzhou is situated about 80 kilometres north-east of Shanghai. It is one of the oldest cities in China, dating back over 2,500 years. Today there are approximately 10 million people living in the greater Suzhou area and about 5−6 million of them in the urban area. My first impression was the resemblance of Suzhou to any European city. This was because I arrived from a direction that led to a part of the city called Suzhou Industrial Park, which had sprung up quite recently and was still under construction. In this area, there were high-rise apartment buildings along wide city streets, shopping malls, glass-covered office buildings, high-quality hotels and a large waterfront area beside Lake Jin Ji dedicated to leisure and entertainment activities. Surprisingly, this part of the city did not seem very crowded as might have been expected in a city of millions.

The main target for my fieldtrip was to observe urban public spaces and spatial practices in Suzhou and to approach the city's spatialities, that is juxtapositions of social and material environments, through personal embodied experiences and visual interpretations. The problem in this site was that, although the material environment gave me recognizable hints and clues to be followed, when taking possession of the place, I found the local culture and language unfamiliar. At first sight, the city of Suzhou looked in many ways like any other modern city, but quite soon that impression faded, and there appeared to be something that made it totally different. When heading for the centre of the older Suzhou area, I realized that I had entered

another kind of urban environment. The streets were totally congested with cars, motorbikes and bicycles as well as pedestrians walking on the pavements – if that was even possible since a lot of activities, such as selling food in street kitchens, tending a shoe-repair stand or just gathering with friends to play cards, took place on the pavements, thus forcing people to walk on the carriageway. The traffic looked and felt quite chaotic, with the incessant honking of the horns making me jumpy until I came to realize why they were used. In comparison with my first impression of Suzhou, this part of the city was quite different in scale and very much alive, with a wide range of activities and various spatial practices going on everywhere in the public spaces.

The city felt both familiar and very strange at the same time, giving a sense that the current uses and practices of the city's urban spaces were formed and produced by influences that are at once contemporary and very ancient, both local and global. My fieldwork in Suzhou led me to consider the researcher's role as "another", someone who did not belong to a place but still tried to make some sense of it on the basis of his or her personal experiences[2] and a cultural knowledge related to a different context and background. I wanted to find a way to grasp this feeling of outsideness and ended up by focusing on the experiences I "embodied" and by taking photographs. By examining the embodied experiences and interpreting the visual images of the urban spaces I visited, I strove to assume a stranger's perspective on the juxtaposition of the material and social environments. In today's world, people move around, approaching new places and moulding spatial practices with culturally and socially varying understandings of urban spaces and their uses. Sensing and looking at a place as a stranger opens up different perspectives on the relations of the social and material environments in more familiar surroundings as well.

I understand "urban space" as a concept originating from the field of urban planning and referring in the first place to the division of a larger urban area into smaller sections named according to their functional purpose. Edward Relph (1976:23) argues that a space in planning does not involve direct or imaginative experience but an order on maps and efficiency of land use. For Tim Ingold (2000:216) "space" is the most abstract term to describe the world in which we live and the furthest removed from actual human experience. Nevertheless, even in everyday language we tend to speak of urban spaces and not of urban places, even though urban spaces or some parts of them become meaningful for people and are understood as specific places. It seems that the concept of urban space is often used in quite a generalized way in referring to the urban environment as a whole without any emotional qualities attached to it. When talking about places, people usually have some kind of knowledge of, or connection with, them because in order to talk about a certain place it has to be somehow acknowledged as a place. Places are intimately related to space, and this relationship has been defined in various ways, for example in multidisciplinary spatial studies. According to Robert David Sack (2004: 244), a place is carved out of space, it is in space and has location, and it is also in-

volved in generating flows through space and creating surfaces and appearances of varying scales and extent.

Urban places today are in many cases planned and built quite similarly from one city to the next, which may lead us to think that the urban experiences of the people who encounter and use those spaces would also be the same all over. The waterfront area in Suzhou's Industrial Park, for example, resembles similar sites in many European and American cities, where former industrial areas, especially ones located on waterfronts, have been turned into sophisticated business and entertainment areas. There is even such a waterfront area in my hometown of Jyväskylä (in central Finland). The concept of the development of these areas is closely related to the idea of creating a new image for the city in order to be able to compete with other urban locations for the attention of enterprises, investors, tourists and new industries (Short 1996:428; Lappi 2007:123). In this process of image-building, the social, cultural and historical characteristics of the area do not play any relevant role. Moreover, we often talk about and refer to urban culture as something universal and not particularly connected to certain actual places, specific sites or locations. The application of phenomenological and visual approaches to cities and urban spaces opens up new and complementary perspectives for research in the field of urban ethnology, where narrative methods and a focus on single sites employing a holistic approach have long appeared to be the prevailing practices. Multi-sited ethnography emphasizes places as characteristically unbounded, diverse, polyphonic, transparent, and always having connections with other places. In this article, I will discuss these ideas in relation to the ethnography of spatiality and urban ethnology.

Embodied Experiences and Visual Interpretations

"On a Saturday afternoon in the city centre of Suzhou, I find myself in the middle of a fast-moving crowd. I'd like to slow down but the crowd around me won't let me. I walk on for a little while and turn into a narrow side street where the sounds from the crowded street fade away. I'm not hurrying anymore. I realize that I have adapted my rhythm to fit these people's leisurely pace. Just a few blocks away from the busy commercial main streets and I have come into another world, filled with a feeling of calmness and a kind of timelessness. I'm looking for a hint about where I might be. The street I'm walking on seems somehow familiar from earlier days, but that feeling is gone in a moment, and I feel totally lost again."

When one arrives in an unknown city, one first experiences it through every part of one's body – through one's senses of smell and taste, and through one's legs and feet. One's hearing picks up the noises and the quality of the voices; one's eyes are assailed by new impressions. Henri Lefebvre (1991:160–162) argues for the essential nature of bodily experience in the production of space since, in his view, semantic approaches concentrating on readability and visibility can only be applied to spaces already produced. Kjell Hansen (2003:149–167) has carried out a methodological experiment in ethnological fieldwork, testing what might come

from a situation in which the fieldworker relies on other sensory impulses than those resulting from talking to people. Hansen writes about how the existence of a strange language forced him to navigate the atmosphere with a greater sensitivity. It was his body rather than his mind that linked him to the world he was experiencing, but even so his intention was to understand something about the social and cultural meanings of the event he was taking part in, albeit as an outsider.

The description of my stroll on a Saturday afternoon in Suzhou, despite its brevity, embodies many essential features and experiences of being there. First of all I did quite a lot of walking, just going from one street to another with almost no preplanned schedules or ideas of where I should definitely go or what sites or places I should visit. I am a huge fan of maps, and usually when I arrive in a new place I try to find a map right away in order to somehow figure out the urban layout and locate myself in it. I had planned to do the same thing on my first visit to Suzhou, but it proved to be quite difficult. I found some maps but actually could not find the information I was looking for. For example, no scale was indicated on the maps, and many of the streets were not marked. So I certainly did a lot of walking since I got lost all the time and could not figure out distances, which caused me many time- consuming setbacks. There were a few tall buildings in the central area that I could see and recognize from far away, so I tried to orientate myself by them. When I was thinking about the maps, I realized that I had taken it as somehow self-evident that maps were the same everywhere. My walking distances in Suzhou also grew because almost all residential areas were fenced, in with just a few streets leading out of them. More than once I thought of going through such an area only to realize that it was impossible, and I had to return the way I had come.

Having no access to street signs and being not able to ask for help if I got lost in the streets of Suzhou sharpened my senses in a way that surprised me. Being unable to rely on spoken or written language, other senses involved in engaging with urban spatiality became more alert, creating a more profound sensitivity towards the material surroundings, landscape, settings and places. This experience led me to think about people's reactions to unfamiliar places. How do we start getting acquainted with new places? Even though we may not pay much attention to walking, it is a very common way of getting to know new material and social environments. When I have interviewed migrants who have settled in my hometown of Jyväskylä in Finland, they often mention that in the beginning they just walked around; first in the surroundings of their dwelling places and then extending their walks further in order to get a grip on their new hometown. Walking is not just about getting to know one's physical environment and the routes to different places; it is also a means of starting to learn about a new social environment. Ethnographers carry out lot of their work on foot, but it is rare to find any ethnography that reflects the walking itself. Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (2008:1–3) argue that walking is a profoundly social activity. In their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as the voice to the presence

and activity of others. Social relations are not acted *in situ* but are paced out along the ground.

In the walk described above, another experience had to do with the rhythms of the city and changes in them and in my own, in a way unconscious, adaptation to those differing rhythms. This demonstrates the point of Ingold and Vergunst about walking as a social activity. I realized that I was adjusting my own pace to that of the people around me, and in that way I also became aware of the multitemporality and multispatiality of the city. Different rhythms imply varying urban lifestyles and are related to connections of time and place in various ways. According to Henri Lefebvre, concrete times have rhythms, or rather, *are* rhythms – and every rhythm implies the relation of a time to a space, a localized time or, if you will, a temporalized place. Rhythm is always linked to a certain place, to its particular place, whether it be the beating of the heart, the fluttering of the eyelids, the movement on a street, or the tempo of a waltz. Time is an aspect of a movement and a becoming (Lefebvre 1996:230). Motion, as a concept related to Lefebvre's rhythm, is something that creates spaces in the first place. Orvar Löfgren (1997: 64–65) talks about how we often think of space and landscape as something that we step into, walk through and then leave behind. But instead it is the motion that organizes space and at the same time our understanding of spaces.

If one attentively observes a crowd during peak times, and especially if one listens to its noise, one discerns flows in the apparent disorder and an order that is signalled by rhythms: chance or predetermined encounters, the hurried carryings-on or nonchalant meanderings of people going home to withdraw from the outside, or leaving their homes to make contact with the outside, business people and unoccupied people – so many elements which make up polyrhythm. The analyst of rhythm knows how to listen to a place, a market, an avenue (Lefebvre 1996:230). Another aspect of temporal difference for someone like me who comes from Finland – where, as in most places in Europe, weeks are generally divided into five working days with Saturday and Sunday free of work – was manifested in my wonder at the fact that in Suzhou all the days of the week resembled each other. There were no clearly noticeable differences between weekdays and weekends with regard to the uses of urban spaces or obtaining services and doing shopping, for instance. Maybe the main shopping area with pedestrian streets was more crowded at weekends, but otherwise this division between weekdays and weekends was not as sharp as it often is in European cities.

The experience of the local tends to have a special kind of sensual character. People are in a local setting bodily, with all their senses, ready not only to look and listen but to touch, smell and taste, without having their fields of attention restricted or prestructured for them. There is a feeling of immediacy, even of immersion, of being surrounded. What is experienced is also extensively contextualized. This is surely at least part of what the "real" is about. If there is now a growing celebration in social and cultural theory of the body as a symbolic site of the self and continuity and of the senses, a greater concern

with the body and the senses in their contexts might help us understand something of what place is about. Taking these factors together – the everyday, the face-to-face, the early and the formative, the sensual and bodily experience – it would appear that a fairly strong case exists for the continued importance of the local. And this could be true with regard to experienced reality even when much of what is in a place is shaped from the outside. We are only now relinquishing the idea that the local is autonomous, that it has integrity of its own. Rather we see it as having its significance as an arena in which a variety of influences come together, acted out perhaps in a unique combination, under the special conditions pertaining to it (Hannerz 1996:27).

The term "sense of place" refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people have for places (e.g. Cresswell 2004:7). Usually a sense of place is defined as something that calls for a longer temporal involvement with a certain place in order for that relationship to evolve into an emotional attachment. It leaves little room for the fact that a certain place can change, and at least implicitly it is linked to an understanding of places as rather stable and closed entities. Sometimes the feeling of belonging to a place can develop instantly and hit one like love at first sight, but a sense of place continues to imply a deeper emotional attachment (Tuan 2006:19). In a lot of ethnological research, the relationship between a place and people has been understood as something unchanging; in other words, the idea has been that "certain people" belong to "a certain place". But can a sense of place be understood differently, not as a fixed concept but as literally referring to the sensing of a place?

While I was walking in the newer parts of Suzhou, my attention often seemed to be focused on a larger view of the urban landscape. Since the streets were wide and there were not that many people around, somehow I could only catch a rather insignificant sense of that environment. I tried to capture my surroundings visually, but I failed to get any real feeling of it. There was no sense of place that caught my attention in any way. In the more crowded sites of the older parts of the city, the atmosphere was totally different. There the urban spaces were not large and open in all directions, and this gave a more intimate feeling to places in the old centre. In addition to doing their shopping and running errands, people in many places lived their daily lives in close connection to what was happening on the streets. In a way, their everyday lives were flowing into the public spaces, thus making the borderline between public and private spaces quite blurred. The feeling of a kind of intimacy and the idea that these places were tightly connected to people's everyday lives and their personal histories were almost palpable. In a way, I felt as if I was surrounded by these sites so that I could feel them with all my senses in a way I had not experienced before. So, in using another interpretation of the sense of place, I'm suggesting that meaningful and important relations to places or spaces do not necessarily have to be of long duration and maybe not even experienced in relation to concrete places. In revealing and analysing these kinds of spatial relations (as well as long-lasting and fundamental bondings with places), this phenomenon

must also be approached as something sensed and embodied. It must, of course, be understood that not all embodied practices or sensory experiences can be expressed narratively or verbally.

Frozen Images of Urban Places

Going back to what I said in the beginning about how places are carved out of space makes me wonder whether it is possible for the outsider to recognize or identify particular places in the urban landscape through bodily experiences. Do places evoke different kinds of embodied experiences from those created by just any urban space, for example? Can the sense of place be somehow sensed by the outsider? What kind of assemblages, gatherings of people and things, juxtapositions, etc. make a place and distinguish it from space or landscape? While I was walking in Suzhou, I took photographs as I went along. My purpose was not to make an organized or comprehensive documentation of the city or parts of it. Instead I wanted to relate these pictures somehow to my embodied experiences and to use them more as reminders of what I had seen and experienced. I call them frozen images which halt the movement, rhythms and flows of the city for a second in order for me to be able to remove these moments to another place and look at them more carefully from a geographical and temporal distance.

The use of photographs as research material is, of course, problematic in many ways. Only a very limited view of the urban landscape is shown in each picture. I have taken the pictures myself, and in that sense they are very subjective as well as in many ways randomly selected and bounded segments of the surroundings. Visual research methodologies are often used in an exploratory manner; to discover things the researcher has not initially considered (Banks 2007:17). So it has not been my aim to produce comprehensive photographic data; instead I have taken photographs and looked at them in order to reflect on what kind of information I can detect in them. Photographs can be analysed in many ways, but here I am concentrating on just a few issues of urban spatiality that I have found myself thinking about when going through the photographs.

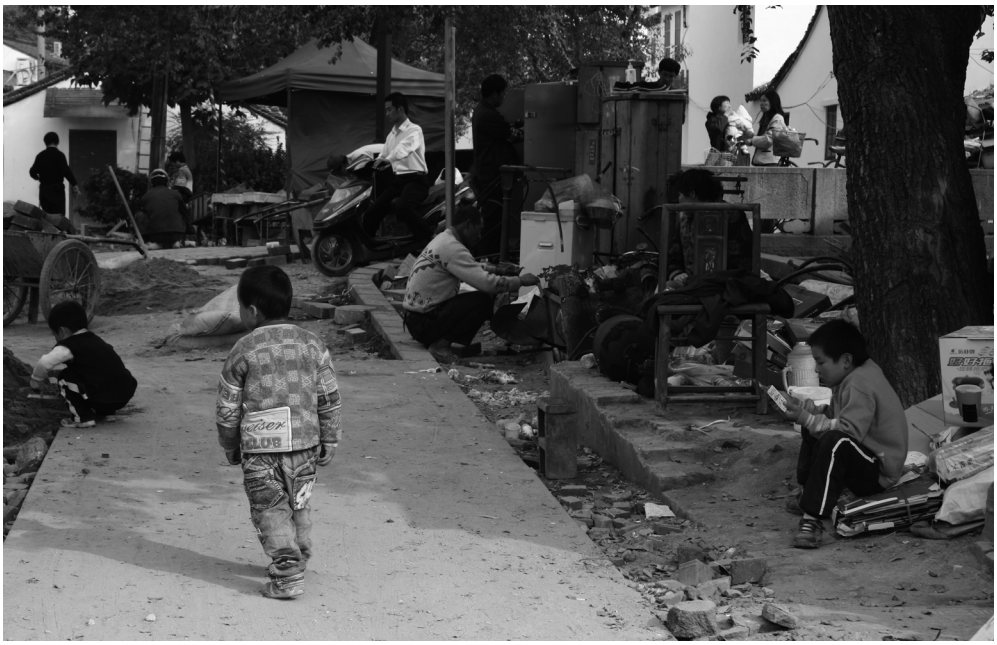
First of all, the different scales of urban spaces constitute one interesting issue that I did not think about that much when I was in Suzhou. The scale of these spaces is hugely different in different parts of the city, and this also has an effect on how people move around and how they engage in different activities in them. The feeling of the city – how it feels even to the outsider – is different too. In some of the photos there are huge structures, buildings, bridges, squares, etc. that have been built mostly during the last ten to fifteen years. Then, on the other hand, there are almost a kind of micro-spaces in the older parts of the city where people live their everyday lives. The range of these different scales is indeed great. This led me to think about how to define a place in an urban environment. Can a square be called a place? How about a street corner? These might be places, but as an outsider I have no way of knowing it, so for me they are not places but spaces in which things are ordered in a certain way and in which people carry on their everyday lives in a certain way.

After going through the photographs several times, I have noticed that in a way

I have "created places" out of urban space by zooming in on certain features that in my view have been somehow relevant with regard to urban spatiality and especially to the consideration of just what constitutes a place. In one photo there are four small chairs on a narrow pavement in the oldest part of the city. There are no people in the picture but the arrangement of the material objects makes up a scene indicating a social gathering or interaction in urban space. In a way, these chairs materially manifest a relationship between people and that particular place and even claim ownership of that certain spot. In another photo, my attention was caught by the intermingling of private and public space (at least in the sense that we understand this) in the old city centre, where the streets are too narrow for cars. Laundry (including underwear) is dried outside on the fronts of the houses. Cleaning utensils are also stored outside. Even the smallest spaces are filled with "pottery gardens", which can be found everywhere in the most imaginative places. In the older parts of the city everyday life flows onto the pavements in many places, occupying the space so that the pedestrians are forced to walk on the side of the traffic lane. Cars, motorbikes and bicycles fill the streets side by side honking their horns and ringing their bells constantly to warn others.

In the older part of the city the streets are full of life, with dense traffic, people going about their chores and running their small businesses. The commercial areas resemble European cities, but they also are very lively and colourful. The newest parts of the city have been built into extremely pleasant residential areas, clusters of office buildings, entertainment areas and shopping centres. In these areas, the private and public spaces have become very strictly separated. The feeling of these places is very different because of the scale and also because people are not directly connected to the urban spaces through their everyday activities as in the older parts. With regard to my personal embodied experiences, it is hard even to recall any kind of sensual experience except a sort of an emptiness and isolation. It must be remembered that there are still only a small number of people in Suzhou who can afford to shop and spend time in these areas. Another difference is that the pavements are only for walking and going from one place to another; not for spending time on or loitering in social gatherings. Buildings "happen in the sky" and do not connect to the people walking on street level.

In the older parts of the city people create and maintain their places through social and spatial practices, but in the newer parts it feels as if there is metaphorically an invisible hand leading people to behave according to certain strict rules and guidelines. This resembles Henri Lefebvre's (1991:164–168) concept of "dominated space", which is invariably the realization of a master design. In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space – generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a grid or a chequerboard pattern. As a result of technology, the domination of space is becoming completely paramount. As an example, Lefebvre takes a motorway which brutalizes the countryside and the land, slicing through space



A narrow street in the oldest part of the city is under construction but is still the site of many everyday activities and social gatherings. Photo: Tiina-Riitta Lappi 2010.

View of a pleasant recently built commercial area beside a lake − but where is everyone? Photo: Tiina-Riitta Lappi 2010.

like a great knife. Dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, and void. In my view, dominated space can also be understood as dominating space since it starts to dominate people by determining for them a strictly governed role as consumers rather than allowing them to contribute to urban life as active agents in producing the city and its spatiality.

In order to be fully understood, the concept of dominated space must be contrasted with the opposite and inseparable concept of appropriation. Lefebvre (1991: 164–168) argues that the concept of appropriation can be elucidated only by the means of a critical study of space. According to him, it may be used of a natural space that has been appropriated by a certain group and modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of that group. An appropriated space resembles a work of art, which does not mean that it is in any sense an imitation work of art. In Lefebvre's view, such a space is often a structure – a monument or building – but not always. Also a site, a square or a street may be described as an appropriated space. I would call many sites in the older parts of Suzhou appropriated spaces and regard the city-dwellers as active agents in producing and altering urban spatialities. Lefebvre further adds that time plays a part in the process of appropriation, which cannot be understood apart from the rhythms of time and of life.

Multilocality, Multiplicity and Polysemy

In her article on multilocality and multivocality, Margaret Rodman argues that anthropologists often assume that places are unproblematic as a result of understanding them simply as locations where people do things. She points out that places are socially constructed and have multiple spatially constructed meanings. Based on this multiplicity, she continues, single sites or landscapes can also be understood as multilocal in the sense that they shape and carry polysemous meanings for different users. Multilocality conveys the idea that a single place may be experienced quite differently (Rodman 2003:204–223). A narrow old street under construction in the centre of Suzhou may feel like home to one person, while another might see it as just a place that belongs to a different time than the present. Places are usually thought of as something real and concrete, but people also create them through the use of imagination, extending their reach beyond the here and now to pull from memory other people, places and things not located in the present place (Gustavson & Cytrynbaum 2003). The multiplicity of places as experienced and lived spatialities raises questions which call for a variety of methodological approaches and ways of combining them.

People, meanings, and meaningful forms that travel fit badly with the conventional units of social and cultural thought. Social theorists are now repeatedly criticizing the established tendency to treat "societies" as autonomous universes, often implicitly identified with the modern form of states. In the latter view, "cultures" (in the plural) have of course been almost the mirror image of "societies", and although this conception perhaps places slightly more emphasis on the coexistence and diversity of the entities, at the same time it even more explicitly propounds the idea of bounded-

ness and distinctiveness (Hannerz 1996: 20). The work of Seamon, Pred, Thrift, de Certeau and others show us how place is constituted through reiterative social practice – place is made and remade on a daily basis. Place provides a template for practice – an unstable stage for performance. Thinking of place as performed and practised can help us think of it in radically open and non-essentialized ways in which it is constantly struggled over and re-imagined in practical ways. Place is the raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an *a priori* label of social practice. Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a fixed ontological entity rooted in notions of the authentic. Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence (Cresswell 2004:39).

Multi-sited ethnography defines as its objective the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site. Urban spaces are formed in interactions of the global and the local, as a juxtaposition of the past and the present, expressing the specificity of spatio-temporal relations. Urban spaces are simultaneously both similar to and different from other spaces. Urban everyday life in the form of social practices and cultural interpretations can be examined from a broader perspective by focusing on multiple sites and cities. The essential feature of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations and relationships across space (Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009). In terms of method, multi-sited ethnography involves a spatially dispersed field through which the ethnographer moves – actually via sojourns in two or more places, or conceptually by means of techniques employing the juxtaposition of data (Falzon 2009).

On the other hand, Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (2008:3) point out that even multi-sited fieldwork often focuses on the sites themselves, forgetting that life is also lived between and outside fixed locales. Another question has to do with how or by whom these locales or sites to be studied are defined as meaningful and relevant entities. Doreen Massey propounds another approach to spatiality. She proposes first that we recognize space as a product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny. Her second contention is that we understand space as the sphere in which the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality is possible; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity. Without space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space. If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space are co-constitutive. Massey's third proposition is that we recognize space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as simultaneity of stories-so-far (Massey 2005:9). Different kinds of urban spaces mark social, economic and even cultural differences, which we might perhaps call urban multiplicities. In my view, urban ethnology is always multi-sited or multi-

contextual in its approach owing to the multiplicity of urban environments and the spatial practices people engage in and meanings they assign to places.

From Urban Ethnology to the Ethnography of Spatiality and Back

I do not think I have come very far in making any further sense about whether to use place or space as a central concept in talking about urban environments, but that may not be so relevant in this context. What I want to stress, instead, is the problematic question of how we as ethnologists can add to understandings about humans' relations to their surroundings despite the different concepts and varying ways of defining them. Over the years, while working on urban ethnology and issues on place and space, I have been inspired by research conducted by scholars of human and cultural geography. We ask similar questions about people and localities, but our approach as ethnologists differs from that of geographers. Ethnologists, in the first place, study people and not places as such. By this I mean that we take a different stance in talking about places from that of human geographers, for example.

Geography is the study of places, while ethnology focuses on the people who occupy places and have relations to places and spatial orderings. Our perception takes a different direction from that of geographers, and for us spatiality can be understood in the first place as the human experience of being in the world. Moreover, meanings are attached to people and constructed by people since they make places meaningful through their thoughts and actions.

When talking about spatiality in the context of ethnological research, I am referring to relations between people, their surroundings and the temporality of living. Only in this way can places and spatial orderings be described if we want to see them as human constructions developed in the juxtaposition of social, cultural and historical influences.

Suzhou, with its 2,500-year-old history and its current rapid development, has a unique atmosphere of temporal, spatial and cultural multiplicity. In older parts, there are sites with a lifestyle that an outsider would call traditional Chinese. The most popular pedestrian precinct area, where especially young people spend their time shopping for labels that can be found almost everywhere in the world, is located on the grid plan in the heart of ancient Suzhou. The newest parts of the city, which feature, for example, a large shopping mall called Times Square and a luxurious waterfront area for leisure and entertainment, resemble American commercial landscapes. In between these two extremes there is a middle ground looking and feeling, at least for the outsider, rather like many European cities. All these areas differ in their physical appearance, but they are also accompanied by different kinds of urban lifestyles. Even the soundscapes are different. To give one example, traditional Chinese music is played in small shops and restaurants, while very loud rock music (usually Chinese popular music) blares out from the fashion shops along the pedestrian streets to capture the attention of passers-by. Such differences can, of course, be found in almost every city, but what makes Suzhou unique in this respect is that there are so many different feelings related to the dif-

ferent places. Multiplicity is visible, but what makes it even more explicit and interesting is that it can be felt in the atmosphere and experienced as a sense of place, even by an outsider.

In reflecting on his methodological experiment, Kjell Hansen (2003) states that fieldwork carried out in a situation where the researcher places (or is forced to place) him- or herself outside language, makes it difficult or impossible to understand and grasp phenomena such as intentionality, agency, social relations, local knowledge and lifeworlds. As Hansen (2003:158) recalls with reference to his experiment, material culture and the physical activities of people help us to understand the atmosphere of events, but not necessarily their meaning and intention. For that we need language. On the other hand, Hansen continues, the fieldwork he pursued provided him with a number of insights and a more profound sensitivity towards material culture, landscape, settings and place. To that, based on my fieldwork experience, I would add that the "fieldwork of perceptions", as Hansen calls his experiment, can offer insights to spatial practices and interaction between the social and material environments, in other words, urban spatiality based on a broader perspective. By urban spatiality I mean a relationship of the social and material environments, examining urban landscapes simultaneously as built and material as well as social and lived spaces (Lappi 2007). This, of course, calls for other methodological approaches as well as access to people's social and cultural worlds.

During my fieldwork in Suzhou, I came to think about multi-sitedness as an interpretational position. Being someone who came from another place and another culture made me aware of differences and similarities that could be sensed and detected in the urban environment even when I had no access to language − or probably for that very reason. Not knowing the place may help one see something that the locals do not see or recognize, possibly because it is too self-evident or insignificant for them. A researcher's knowledge of other urban landscapes can add to the possible interpretations and open up other insights than those stemming from the local situation. Similar sites to those newly built areas in Suzhou can be found almost anywhere in the Western world. In urban planning there is usually a built-in idea about what kind of social activities and practices should take place in these planned spaces. Unfortunately, social and cultural practices cannot be enforced or even defined by means of physical planning. It is the people who turn urban spaces into particular places through the activities and meanings that they assign to different places. On the other hand, if cities are planned according to very similar concepts everywhere, there may not be enough opportunities for socially and culturally diverse urbanities to flourish and develop.

We can certainly detect different kinds of spatial practices taking place in urban spaces in every city. But the differences in the practices between the newer areas of Suzhou and the older parts were so remarkable that it made me think about how urban planning can have a tremendous influence on town dwellers' everyday lives and on public urban culture. The fieldwork I did in Suzhou is part of a larger project I am working on, in which I focus

on *the ethnography of spatiality*. With a multi-sited approach, I aim to carry out an ethnographical study of how people interact with their material surroundings in different settings and what kind of culturally varying understandings and practices go together with these interactions. This is also related to the question of what kind of effects planning practices and alterations in material environments have on people's everyday lives and on the social and cultural encounters that take place in urban settings.

In ethnological and also anthropological research, the focus has quite often been on the meanings individuals and groups assign to places, their attachment to places and their identification with places. It is a perspective that sees place or space in terms of *what it is* instead of *what it does* and how it evolves in relation to the everyday lives of the people who dwell in it. Stressing urban spatialities in a more diversified way in order to supplement the devices of narrative and ethnographic approaches could lead to new means of detecting other meanings through and in relation to spatial practices. By focusing on the interactions between the social and material environments and employing a combination of different methodological approaches, urban ethnology can add to an understanding of how varying urban cultures and spatial practices evolve in a jumble of locally specific and globally more general influences coming together in specific places.

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Notes

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2 Maja Povrzanović Frykman (2003:59) uses the concept of "ethnographic experience" to refer to the researcher's personal bodily experiences.

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Biographical Note

Lars-Eric Jönsson, Professor in Lund

Lars-Eric Jönsson was appointed professor of ethnology in Lund 2011. He has been a member of the Lund Ethnology teaching team since the beginning of the 2000s and has functioned as the deputy head of the Ethnological Department since 2009. Before that he had a career as a researcher of the built environment, worked as an antiquarian in the 1980s and, after finishing his doctoral thesis, as an investigator for the national Ministry of Culture 1998–2001. Thus he has an exceptionally broad outlook as regards administrative issues in the cultural field and considerable experience of different tasks. His dissertation *Det terapeutiska rummet* (1998) is a thorough investigation of the cultural history of institutions for the care of patients suffering from mental illness in Sweden in the long perspective of 1850–1970. His study penetrates the mental hospitals and the logics and practices of this care with a Foucaultian starting point, focusing on spaces and bodies and the patients and their carers. He succeeds in finding interesting parallels with the development of modernity at large, both its rationalities and its rejection of city life and its admiration of nature as a healthy environment. The coercive, "scientific" and dehumanizing practices – in short, the totalitarian aspects – are well analysed.

Jönsson's own scholarly interests before and after the dissertation have led him to search for the meanings and uses of space, for the strategies applied in cultural heritage processes (*Kanon och kulturarv,* ed. 2008) and for the positions of marginalized groups: children, women and elderly. In the cultural heritage debate Jönsson has taken the stand of pointing out the selectivity, the relation between remembering and forgetting, the connectedness of the past and present, as well as the political aspects in elevating, for example, different industrial heritage sites. His latest book on mental illness, *Berättelser från insidan* (2010), is an attempt to find the intimate and personal voice of the patients themselves by analysing novels on this topic. Lars-Eric Jönsson is thus a researcher of the "new cultural history", very often using historical and other written sources and looking for the mentalities, individual and collective traits and memories.

As a leading teacher he has already had the responsibility for the postdoctoral teaching in Lund, including administrative tasks as well as seminars and courses. His fundraising ability has enabled projects and research on housing and building, the social practices of the welfare state, and cultural heritage issues. In Lars-Eric Jönsson, Ethnology in Lund has found an excellent colleague and a thoughtful researcher.

Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

New Dissertations

Older Women's Lives

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Bedstemorsnak. Et kulturanalytisk studie af ældre kvinders liv i dansk familiekultur i det 20. århundrede. Det Humanistiske fakultet, Københavns universitet. Saxo-instituttet, afd. for etnologi. 322 pp. English summary. Diss.

■ Studies of the family and the household have deep roots in European ethnology. Anne Leonora Blaakilde's dissertation, the title of which means "Grandmother's talk: A cultural analysis of older women's lives in Danish family culture in the twentieth century", continues that tradition, but with the emphasis on two fields in particular which normally do not occupy a central position in these studies: ageing in relation to the family, and narrativity. The main reason for the inclusion of the latter is presumably that the author has her background in folklore, a discipline based on oral narrative tradition.

The aim of the dissertation is to find out how the older women's life stories bear the stamp of the "development of family history and the welfare-state ideals of family, gender, and age" through the twentieth century, with special focus on ageing and "inter-generational relations". The theoretical premise is narrative constructions, more specifically *dialogic constructivism*, a concept referring to an understanding of both gender and age as verbalized categorizations formed in interaction between "the speaking subject and the surrounding speech communities".

The primary empirical sources for the study are interviews with 21 women, born between 1903 and 1952, and all of them either grandmothers or great-grandmothers. One of the main points of the dissertation is that there has been increasing age segregation during the period, which has changed both the relation of the elderly to the younger generations and the way people talk about these. Finally, based on an analysis of how one of the women plays her part as mother and grandmother, the author presents a model of how generation differences can be overcome in the future.

The dissertation has eight chapters, the first being an introduction and the last a summary of the findings. Chapters 2 and 3 present the theoretical and analytical basis for the dissertation. Chapters 4 and 5 have a more general focus on family history in a long chronological perspective, covering the last 300–400 years. Chapters 6 and 7 look particularly at (female) gender in relation to the development of the welfare state.

In Chapters 2 and 3 the author demonstrates her independence in relation to major, often over-quoted scholars, and she makes qualified use of thinkers such as Ricœur, Bakhtin, and Gadamer. While she elaborates on several elements in the analysis, she does tend to run through the theorists in a somewhat catalogue-like way, with a long list of concepts, theories, and theorists, without always explaining why she thinks they are necessary in relation to the concepts used throughout the dissertation.

The methodology, which combines social constructivism, dialogue theory, hermeneutics, and phenomenology, is relevant and solid throughout. The author is impressive for her critical reading of the established theorists in these fields, and for her elegant and lucid presentation of the analytical tools she derives from them.

As for the concepts that the author brings into her analysis, the definitions occasionally seem to lack stringency. The term *fortælling* (narrative) is defined as "all narrative sequences containing a temporality figure", "other and longer narrative sequences with *emplotment*", and "the major ordering projects that are arranged in narrative structures". The definition is composed of elements taken from Labov/Waletzky, Ricœur, and Kemp, with the aim of illuminating three aspects of the phenomenon of narrative: it is a cultural form that orders certain selected elements chronologically; it is created by a person who has an intention for the narrative; and the idea of existing collective narratives can have normative functions in a society.

The concept of *cultural tropes* is examined in just under three pages (pp. 55–58). There is no reason to object to what she says about the term trope and its background in the study of literature and rhetoric, and one cannot deny that linguistic presentations are culturally conditioned, and that they therefore can mark both belonging and its opposite. Yet folkloristics already has a catalogue of concepts that appear to cover what *cultural tropes* seeks to embrace.

Cultural tropes, like the term *narrative*, is a concept that pops up all through the dissertation without having any direct bearing on the analyses.

In chapter 4 the author "sketches" the development of family history from a Danish perspective in order to provide a framework for the women's stories. The chapter is more than a sketch, however, as it gives an excellent picture of the research situation and the discussions that have been going on; this applies in particular to the section about the welfare state (4C and 4D).

The author, besides drawing on other people's research, also uses her own empirical material to substantiate her critique of previous family research. This applies above all to the discussion of the three-generation household as a phenomenon and an ideal, reality or myth – the latter, according to the so-called revisionists (the English historian Peter Laslett and his circle). The revisionist macrohistorical studies are confronted here with microhistory in the form of qualitative interviews, and the author's material confirms the findings of other researchers who have responded to the revisionists, with the opinion that although the three-generation family was not widespread in a synchronic perspective, it was – and this is important in cultural terms – a form of family in which many people lived through one or more periods of their life.

Using the interview material, Chapter 5 shows how the women's family life and ideas about it changed during the twentieth century. It is the older women's life history that is analysed, since these women have experienced the process of societal change from the patriarchal household to the welfare state – from an ideal of the three-generation household to an ideal of the nuclear family. The author shows how women gradually changed their perception of what a family is, and with the aid of her narrative analysis of their narratives she is able to follow this process and arrive at new knowledge. All in all, the analysis is well done, providing new insight into older women's lives and conditions, along with knowledge of what a narrative analysis of life stories can yield. This chapter, together with the following ones, displays the author's analytical ability and great breadth.

In Chapters 6 and 7 Blaakilde again gets close to her own material and demonstrates her fine ability to make use of the narratives in the older women's statements. Here she also shows how gestures and other forms of non-verbal communication, besides small, seemingly random words, repetitions, and the like, can be a key to a special meaning, a special understanding, a special self-image or female image, and so on.

Chapter 7 looks particularly at concrete intergenerational relations, with special focus on the changes that made themselves felt during the twentieth century as regards the norms for family matters and not least child rearing; this supports the overall conclusion about increased age segregation. What is missing, however, is a more thorough discussion of how the cultural context is essential knowledge for performing a cultural analysis of "older women". In the dissertation this is mainly discussed in relation to a distinction between town and country – just as it occasionally happens that a women who is being discussed is said to come from "the working class" or "the middle class", but there is never any elaboration of what links there may be between age perception and different cultural contexts. Here the diachronic analytical framework, where the cultural history of the welfare state – especially as regards gender and age – is outlined, is used as the primary horizon of understanding, and here the influences are viewed as something that women as a whole are affected by. To explain the differences – and the temporal shift between the authorities' efforts and the practice as it is experienced – the author brings in the concept of *gesunkenes Kulturgut*. She has some good reflections on the different forms of "resistance" that the intentions of representatives of the welfare state encounter in the interviewed women's practice (if they know about them at all), but here one could have wished for a deeper discussion of the sense in which the women represented broad cultural categories, and hence how ageing can be tackled in contemporary times as well.

Blaakilde shows how women negotiate and renegotiate meanings, how they shift and question norms of ideal femininity – motherhood, family, work, and age. They arrive at an identity by negotiation; they think and act in relation to society's power structures. It is therefore surprising that the author does not connect this to a gender-theory discussion of actorhood, resistance and so on, but instead refers to structural gender-power theory. By proceeding from structural gender theory, the author, chiefly in her conclusions, interprets the women too much as "victims" of repressive patriarchal structures. The interviewed women's actorhood, which is admirably demonstrated in the analytical chapters, is thus ren-

dered invisible and untheorized. The men (husbands, brothers, children, etc.) who occur in the women's narratives are also invisible in the dissertation and in the analysis. They are represented solely by patriarchal structures and not by their individual practices. During her defence of the dissertation Anne Leonora Blaakilde explained that the normative analysis is a consequence of her feminist perspective.

To sum up, the dissertation is well written, well sequenced, and meticulous in its scholarship. The empirical material is related throughout to the theoretical premises. The strength of the dissertation is the complex narrative analyses, where the author creatively and independently develops her methodological tools. The theoretical survey is longer than it need have been, but this does not change the fact that the dissertation has a solid theoretical foundation. It would have been relevant to end with a synthesis and an evaluation of what the primary concepts and analytical tools (dialogic constructivism and linguistic analysis) can add to ethnology that cannot be seen through ordinary "close reading" and/or discourse analysis of interviews. The dissertation makes a substantial contribution to narrative analysis and to research about age in a cultural context. It also provides invaluable knowledge about women's family life in relation to gender, age, and the form of society, revealing the interaction between society, culture, and the individual.

Inger Lövkrona, Mölle, Niels Jul Nielsen, Copenhagen, Ulf Palmenfelt, Visby

Folk Music as Intangible Heritage

Johanna Björkholm, Immateriellt kulturarv som begrepp och process. Folkloristiska perspektiv på kulturarv i Finlands svenskbygder med folkmusik som exempel. Åbo Akademis förlag, Åbo 2011. 355 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-765-588-0.

■ In this dissertation the folklorist Johanna Björkholm studies the processes that can be linked to the ways in which *immaterial cultural heritage* arises and is evaluated, a highly relevant topic today on account of UNESCO's convention from 2003, which came into force in 2006, entitled *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Sweden joined in January 2011 to become the 134th member state. Before this Norway, Iceland, and Denmark had ratified the convention. At the time of writing Finland had not done so.

Besides the preface and postscript, index and reference list, the book is divided into four main chapters, the last of which is mainly a summary of the findings. With traditional Finland-Swedish folk music as an example, Björkholm tries to interpret the mechanisms by which certain cultural expressions acquire the status of stipulated cultural heritage, or at least are mentioned in the discourse surrounding this. She achieves this convincingly by examining how the concept of "cultural heritage" is used by Finnish authorities, international organizations, in the archive and museum sector, in scholarly literature, and in the Finland-Swedish press. The discourse touches on ethnological studies, but can hardly be said to use any traditional ethnographic methods. The author states in the introductory chapter that the method is qualitative, and she calls her approach a "close reading". She declares that her intention is not to compile a large amount of collected material, but to look for "cultural patterns" in the sources she has consulted. The study should be interpreted principally as a hermeneutic work that also uses archival material. It would have benefited, however, from the addition of up-to-date field studies, such as interviews with people active in the culture and music sector.

As her special theoretical framework Björkholm uses Stefan Bohman's (1997) model of "the cultural heritage process", which seeks to demonstrate how a cultural component becomes an accepted part of the cultural heritage. His model, which is lucidly presented in the introduction, is mainly designed to state the reasons why objects are musealized; in other words, it applies more to material culture. As used by Björkholm, as a model for shedding light on non-material culture, it can certainly be compared with the reasoning that tries to explain the processes undergone by a cultural component to be authorized at an influential level, or "canonized" (see e.g. Niklas Nyqvist 2007). In the first chapter the author also tries to define the concept of "cultural heritage". This naturally leads her to attempt to clarify the often confusing difference between what is material and non-material or intangible cultural heritage. Here she appropriately cites Laurajane Smith (2006), who seems to think that all cultural heritage is initially intangible, that is, as long as the collec-

tive still has no real ideas about the values actually encapsulated in heritage.

Chapter two is mainly a survey of the concept of cultural heritage, its history, development and frame of reference. She also comments on the research that has been done about what cultural heritage "means". And if we have not already anticipated it, we learn, for example, that research seems to perceive the concept of cultural heritage as symbolic; it is distinguished by the people as a mostly positive concept, whether it concerns physical objects (including nature) or more transcendental expressions. Yet the opposite occurs as well, as for instance when the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp becomes a World Heritage site. Björkholm otherwise supports the view that cultural heritage can be divided into three categories: material cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage, and natural heritage, the latter being the one that concerns her least. In this chapter she also examines how different cultural institutions look on cultural heritage. The common denominator seems to be that at least the Finnish [and Swedish] institutions have a view of heritage that the author calls "operative discourse". This means that certain things are selected to be retained, while other things are rejected. There is nothing strange about this, according to the author, since even Gustav Vasa is said to have argued for this. Of particular interest in this chapter is the study of the attitude of leading archives and museums to the evaluation of cultural heritage. Scholarship, on the other hand, tends to perceive this phenomenon as a construction, where the attitude of the archives and museums steers political decisions, and vice versa. Definitions of the intangible cultural heritage thus continue to be rather unbound, unlike those of the material cultural heritage. This also means that decisions by authorities on matters concerning intangible culture risk becoming abstract. At a global level, today's view of the concept of cultural heritage is clearly influenced by UNESCO, and the second chapter has a detailed survey of the content of the convention on the intangible cultural heritage. Björkholm also considers how scholars of culture view cultural heritage, that is, how the concept is defined in scientific terms. With some annoying repetitions, the author also looks at the link between the perception of certain elements of cultural heritage and the historical background to their legitimacy. In addition, she identifies the interest in peasant culture as the parent of the intangible cultural heritage and later its guardian. As a clear contrast here she points out potential examples of industrial cultural heritage, that is, memories of employment and development in urban contexts. Today these are assessed as being of lower value than other cultural heritage, and not so long ago it was considered almost unthinkable to elevate its status, as this ran against the consensus at the time. There is also discussion of how the press views cultural heritage. Björkholm places this question in an emic discourse and wants to know about the everyday use of the term, that is, how the concept is perceived among ordinary people as brokered by the press. It is particularly fascinating, of course, but scarcely surprising, that economic factors alone often play a significant role for the way cultural heritage is assessed by ordinary people. If something changes owner for a certain sum, for example, a fine old house, this can suffice to legitimize the object as cultural heritage. The general public also seems to think that the object must be accessible to everyone, even if it is privately owned; everyone should thus have the right to visit it or experience it without complications in some other way. At the end of the chapter the meaning of music as cultural heritage comes into the picture. The author then highlights articles claiming that traditional folk music is valuable from an educational point of view, especially when children learn it, and as a way for minorities like the Swedes of Finland to strengthen their identity. The chapter ends with Björkholm's presentation of the conclusions drawn hitherto. She stresses that the concept of cultural heritage is rarely defined in unambiguous terms. She also believes that processes determining the evaluation of cultural heritage, is governed by UNESCO, reflect a kind of "Eurocentrism" concentrating on the material cultural heritage in the Mediterranean region, although she claims to have noticed a certain change. In south-east Asia, for example, the concept of cultural heritage seems to have a wider meaning, with cultural processes being given at least the same value as monuments. This outlook is said to have influenced the way Westerners today regard the intangible cultural heritage compared to former times. In chapter two Björkholm often cites the geographer and historian David Lowenthal (1998 & 2005) and the ethnologist Owe Ronström (2001 & 2005), whose opinions are thus elucidated in several places and in different contexts.

The third chapter contains the study that is the core of the dissertation, and at the end of this part the significant conclusions are presented. Björkholm begins by bringing together the model she has developed about the cultural heritage process, adopted and modified from Stefan Bohman, but she also examines the concept of folk music. It is entertaining to see how different scholars view this elastic concept, and here I would follow what Björkholm cites from Karin Eriksson (2004), who dismisses as unnecessary the frequently aired obsessive idea that folk music as a concept deserves at least a total autopsy or should quite simply be abolished; we should accept that the concept, which ought to be transparent in several ways, simply means different things to different people and in different situations. The chapter also describes, and includes in the discourse, how musical performance and oral transmission work in folk music. At the same time we can read about how selected parts of Finland-Swedish folk music, canonized partly through the authority of Otto Andersson of Åbo, but also exposed to a healthier formation of variants, has affected Finland-Swedish culture and identity. Also, among the Swedish-speaking population of Finland there has long been a certain awareness of folk music as a kind of cultural heritage, even when the concept did not exist as it does today. Björkholm also emphasizes that ideological currents and cultural policy were of great significance for the continued survival of Finland-Swedish folk music through what she calls its "assumers" (*övertagare*, a term which may be compared with "tradition bearers"). Unfortunately, she uses far too many pages in this part of the book to discuss the history and politics of Finland-Swedish and Finnish folk music, a topic already studied by Nyqvist as recently as 2007. What is new in the discourse is of course that Björkholm, unlike Nyqvist, places less emphasis on the role of aesthetic and scholarly values in the selection process to which folk music has been subjected in crucial periods, and puts more stress on aspects of cultural policy and ideology. One of the more interesting points in the conclusion is the author's demonstration that folk music in Finland has not yet received official recognition as cultural heritage, but has already attained that status informally. And UNESCO's involvement in the matter of cultural heritage does not appear to have been of any great significance for this continuous process.

To sum up, Björkolm's dissertation can be described as a thorough investigation of the concept of intangible culture, where the content is necessarily a compilation and examination of already existing material, scrutinized with a critical eye. As such the dissertation is a convincing document that can probably be used in the ongoing discussion in Finland about whether to adopt UNESCO's convention on the intangible cultural heritage. Björkholm writes fluently and the book follows a logical arrangement. The text, however, has some repetitions, and at least parts of it could have been summed up in fewer pages.

Patrik Sandgren, Lund

Der Osten ist wie der Westen

*Sofi Gerber***,** Öst är Väst men Väst är bäst. Östtysk identitetsformering i det förenade Tyskland. Stockholm studies in Ethnology 5; Södertörn Doctoral Dissertations 54. Stockholms universitet 2011. 243 S. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-86069-25-4.

■ 1971 war ich im Alter von sechs Jahren das erste Mal bei Verwandten in Westberlin. Ich bin aufgewachsen in dem Land, das damals Westdeutschland hieβ oder BRD, wie es in der damaligen DDR bezeichnet wurde. Bei diesem Besuch nahmen unsere Verwandten uns mit in die Stadt, und wir kletterten auf einen Turm, von wo aus man über die Mauer sehen konnte. „Was ist das?" fragte ich. „Das ist die Grenze, und dahinter ist die DDR", erklärten die Verwandten. Ich sah die Mauer, Stacheldraht, Wachtürme und einen breiten Streifen mit Sand und noch mehr Stacheldraht. „Ja", dachte ich mit dem Verständnis einer Sechsjährigen, „da ist also die Welt zu Ende. Weiter kommt man nicht." In Westdeutschland aufgewachsen, lernte ich in der Schule später, dass es doch noch etwas gab auf der anderen Seite der Mauer, nämlich Osteuropa und den Kommunismus. Der war eine groβe Gefahr und musste deshalb ständig unter Kontrolle gehalten werden. Wir lernten, dass auf der anderen Seite der Mauer alles schlechter war als bei uns. Leute, die in der DDR gewesen waren und zurück kamen, erzählten, dass dort alles zurück geblieben sei, es sehe aus wie bei „uns" in den 50er Jahren, und es sei grau und schmutzig und die Leute unfreundlich. Das ist das Bild der DDR, was meine Kindheit und Jugend ge-

prägt hat. Im Laufe der Jahre hat sich mein Bild von der DDR jedoch um einiges verändert und wurde auch immer mehr mit Neugierde versetzt, wie man denn dort „eigentlich“ gelebt hat, auf der anderen Seite der Mauer.

Sofi Gerbers Dissertation mit dem Titel *Öst är Väst men Väst är bäst. Österysk identitetsformering i det förenade Tyskland* ist von daher auch für mich als „ Westdeutsche“ (”Wessi”) ein ausgesprochen interessantes und lehrreiches Buch und das nicht nur, weil es viele konkrete Beispiele gibt, wie eine Generation junger Menschen in der DDR, die nur ungefähr 10 Jahre jünger waren als ich, ihre Kindheit auf der anderen Seite der Mauer aus heutiger Sicht schildern.

Gerber will mit ihrer Studie zeigen, wie Menschen, die in der DDR aufgewachsen sind, den „Osten“ und „Westen“ im vereinigten Deutschland definieren, und welche Rolle diese Begriffe für ihr Selbstverständnis spielen, auch für die Auffassung ihrer Vergangenheit und ihrer Umwelt. Sie stellt diese Fragen, weil sich durch den Fall der Mauer und die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands die Beziehung zwischen West- und Osteuropa radikal verändert hat und damit auch der Inhalt der Begriffe „Osten“ und „Westen“. Ihr geht es vor allem darum zu zeigen, wie eine Generation, die selber noch ihre Kindheit in der DDR verbracht hat, dann aber nach dem Fall der Mauer in ein ganz anderes politisches System manövriert wurde, aus heutiger Sicht sich mit der DDR-Vergangenheit identifiziert oder auch davon Abstand nimmt.

Ihre theoretischen Bausteine holt Gerber von den französischen PolitikwissenschaftlerInnen Ernesto Laclau und Chantal Mouffe und deren postmarxistischer Diskurstheorie. Kurz zusammengefasst geht diese Theorie davon aus, dass Diskurse als ein „System von vorübergehender Bedeutungsfixierung“ (S. 17) aufgefasst werden. Diskurse entstehen nicht nur in Sprachakten, sondern auch in nicht-sprachlichen Handlungen, Organisationen, Institutionen und auch rein materielle Milieus werden hier als diskursiv konstruierte Kategorien definiert. Es gibt mit anderen Worten nichts, was nicht diskursiv geschaffen ist. Die Konsequenz dieser theoretischen Ausgangspunkte ist, dass in Gerbers Dissertation auch zentrale Begriffe wie z.B. Identifikation, Hegemonie, Klasse, Nation und Dislokation als diskursive Produkte aufgefasst werden. Alle diese Kategorien entstehen durch bestimmte diskursive Formationen, die vorübergehend stabilisiert werden. Mit Dislokation meint Gerber solche Veränderungen, bei denen „tief verankerte Normen und Werte verschoben werden oder ganz aufhören, eine Gesellschaft zu strukturieren“ (S. 18). Für die DDR als ein politisches System, das plötzlich aufhörte zu existieren, ist dieser Begriff ein wertvolles Analyseinstrument. Die im ersten Kapitel dargelegte Theorie ist durchaus geeignet, die in der Studie gestellten Fragen zu beantworten und sie wird von der Autorin konsequent angewendet.

Die Untersuchung baut hauptsächlich auf 25 Interviews mit jungen Männern und Frauen, die in den 1970er Jahren in der DDR geboren und aufgewachsen sind. Die meisten befanden sich demnach beim Fall der Mauer im Übergang zwischen Schule und Berufsleben oder Studium. Diese Gruppe wird heute oft als die „letzte DDR-Generation“ bezeichnet, weil sie selber noch die DDR bewusst erlebt haben, aber auch schon relativ jung in ein anderes, kapitalistisches System hineinwuchsen (S. 26). Das ist eine sehr interessante und relevante Gruppe, die sich in den letzten Jahren auch in Deutschland immer mehr zu Wort gemeldet hat, u.a. was die Bearbeitung ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit und die ihrer Eltern betrifft (siehe unten). Gerber hat eine gründliche Feldforschung durchgeführt und verfügt über gute Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache und des Landes, was ihrer Studie Substanz verleiht. Diese Kenntnisse ermöglichen es Gerber auβerdem, ihren Informanten nahe zu kommen und nicht nur schwedisch- und englischsprachige, sondern auch deutschsprachige Forschung zum Thema zu verarbeiten. Gerbers Position als Schwedin macht ihre Interviews besonders interessant. Ich werde später darauf eingehender zurückkommen.

Die chronologische Struktur der Dissertation erleichtert dem Leser/der Leserin, Gerbers Berichten und Analysen zu folgen. So beginnt der Analyseteil mit den Erzählungen der Informanten über ihre Kindheit in der DDR, einem zugleich modernen und unmodernen Land: Auf der einen Seite wird die DDR als ein Wohlfahrtsstaat beschrieben, der sich um seine Mitbürger kümmerte, auf der anderen Seite waren viele staatliche Handlungen auβerordentlich mangelhaft. Beispiele dafür sind u.a. das staatliche Wohnbauprogramm, wo allen eine Wohnung garantiert werden sollte, diese aber in ausgesprochen anonymer und konformer Weise gestaltet wurden. Als ein anderes Beispiel wird der

Mangel an Waren in den Geschäften genannt, was zur Folge hatte, dass die Beschaffung von bestimmten Waren viel Zeit in Anspruch nehmen konnte. Die Informanten berichten aus heutiger Sicht, und es wird deutlich, wie sie ihre Kindheit in der DDR aus ihrer Situation im vereinten, kapitalistisch geprägten Deutschland interpretieren. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die Erzählungen von der DDR als eine mehr gleichgestellte Gesellschaft, die auch als „klassenlos" beschrieben wird, und wo Konsumtion noch kein Lebenstil war. Es wurde eher Gemeinschaft und Solidarität groß geschrieben, wo es selbstverständlich war, einander zu helfen. Hier gilt die Kritik der Informanten implizit der heutigen, individualistischen Gesellschaft, wo jeder auf sich selbst gestellt ist.

Gerber analysiert auch die Berichte ihrer Informanten über Anpassung und Widerstand zum DDR-System. Auch wenn die Informanten noch Kinder waren und von daher als nicht verantwortlich angesehen werden können, versuchen sie, ihre Erzählungen an heutige hegemonische Diskurse über die DDR als eine Diktatur anzupassen. Wie Gerber treffend sagt, werden hier die Interviewten besonders deutlich zum „politischen Subjekt", d.h. sie positionieren sich in einem politisch stark aufgeladenen Kontext. Häufig werden die „Anderen" als die Angepassten beschrieben, wie z.B. Parteimitglieder, die durch ihre Mitgliedschaft Vorteile erhielten, während die eigene Familie versuchte, Freiräume zu schaffen und auf diese Weise dem System „schweigenden Widerstand" bot (S. 99). Hier werden die Informanten und ihre Familien und Freunde als strategisch handelnde Akteure dargestellt, während sie in anderen Berichten als Opfer positioniert werden, z.B. in Erzählungen über die Verfolgung der eigenen Familie durch die Stasi oder über die Flucht in den „Westen". Andere Studien über das Leben in kommunistischen Diktaturen zeigen ähnliche Erzählmuster auf, wie z.B. Katarzyna Wolanik Boströms Untersuchung über Erinnerungen polnischer Menschen an die kommunistische Zeit. Auch hier werden die „Anderen" hervorgehoben, die das System aktiv unterstützten oder durch Anpassung Vorteile erhielten, während man selbst entweder Opfer war oder passiven Widerstand bot (Katarzyna Wolanik Boström: *Berättade liv, berättat Polen. En etnologisk studie av hur högutbildade polacker gestaltar identitet och samhälle* (2005)). Hier wird deutlich, wie stark politisch aufgeladen solche Erzählungen sind und wie die Erzähler/Erzählerinnen sich bemühen, ihre Distanz zum diktatorischen System zu betonen. So darf im Nachhinein im Kontext eines heutigen demokratischen Systems die eigene Kindheit nicht zu positiv dargestellt werden, um diese Distanz zu wahren. Ein typisches Beispiel sind hier auch Gerbers Analysen der Berichte ihrer Informanten über deren Teilnahme in DDR-Jugendorganisationen. So wird hier häufig die Gemeinschaft als ein positives Erlebnis beschrieben, woraufhin aber sofort die Organisation als eine politische – und damit nicht ernstzunehmende – abgewertet wird. Hier markiert Gerber einen wichtigen Punkt: nämlich, dass alle Erzählungen ihrer Informanten über deren Kindheit immer auch politische sind – unabhängig davon, wie die Informanten diese selber darstellen möchten – da die Erzählungen grundsätzlich in Relation zum heutigen politischen System entstehen.

Gerber kommt zu dem Schlussatz, dass sich ihre Informanten auf der einen Seite als „Sieger" fühlen, u.a. wenn sie sich mit ihren Eltern vergleichen, die überwiegend als Verlierer dargestellt werden. Die Informanten haben den Vorteil gehabt, in der DDR Kinder zu sein, was ihnen ermöglicht hat, dieses System zu erleben, ohne für dessen Verbrechen verantwortlich gemacht zu werden. Sie erleben diese Erfahrungen sowie auch die Dislokation, als das System plötzlich verschwand, als eine Bereicherung, verglichen mit westdeutschen Gleichaltrigen, die immer im gleichen System gelebt haben. Andererseits haben die Informanten oft das Gefühl nicht richtig dazu zu gehören, was ihrer Meinung nach typisch für viele Deutsche ist, die in der DDR geboren und aufgewachsen sind. Sie fühlen sich als die „Unterklasse" oder die minderwertigen Deutschen, verglichen mit Westdeutschen. Gerber beschreibt ihre Informanten als „In-between", etwas, was auch viele Migranten empfinden, die lange in einem Land gelebt haben, aber sich dennoch nicht als voll akzeptierte Mitbürger fühlen. Auf der einen Seite wollen sie sein wie „Westdeutsche" und akzeptiert werden, auf der anderen Seite wollen sie es dennoch nicht, weil sie vielem im kapitalistischen System kritisch gegenüberstehen und gern einige positive Erfahrungen aus der DDR-Zeit bewahren wollen.

Wie Gerber selber schreibt, verschaffte es ihr vermutlich einige Vorteile, als Schwedin in den Interviews von ihren Informanten sowohl als „Outsider" als auch als „Insider" betrachtet zu werden. Outsider als Vertreterin eines Landes, das von vie-

len anderen Ländern auch als ein in gewissem Maße „sozialistisch“ beeinflusster Staat betrachtet wird; als Insider, weil sie als „Nicht-Wessi“ und deutschsprechende Schwedin den in der DDR aufgewachsenen Informanten näher stand als „Westdeutschen“. Hier wäre es interessant gewesen, diese Perspektive in den Analysekapiteln des öfteren wieder aufzugreifen, weil gerade diese Positionen das Resultat ihrer Studie mit beeinflusst haben. So hätte ich selber vermutlich als „Wessi“ einige andere Antworten erhalten als Gerber. Wie sie auch richtig erwähnt, wären die Informanten vermutlich bei einem „Wessi“ eher in eine Verteidigungsstellung gegangen, was die Offenheit während der Gespräche erschwert hätte (S. 30). Hier hätte eine kurze Diskussion über die Auffassung Schwedens im heutigen Deutschland sowie in der DDR in Gerbers Untersuchung noch vertiefend wirken können. Denn, wie die heutige Forschung in Schweden zeigt, wurde Schweden vom DDR-Regime als ein „Schwerpunktland“ angesehen, als eine Art „sozialistischer Verbundspartner“, der wichtig war für Legitimerungsversuche des DDR-Regimes und zur Verbreitung von DDR-Propaganda (siehe u.a. Birgitta Almgren: *Inte bara Stasi… Relationer Sverige–DDR 1949–1990* (2009)). Auch heute wird Schweden von vielen Deutschen noch als ein vorbildlicher Wohlfahrtsstaat betrachtet, von dem man vieles lernen kann. Nun befand sich die Forschung über die Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und der DDR noch in den Anfängen, als Gerber ihrer Arbeit schrieb, aber es wäre dennoch sinnvoll gewesen, ihre Stellung als Schwedin in diesem Kontext mehr zu problematisieren, da auch der „deutsche Blick“ auf Schweden die Aussagen in ihren Interviews beeinflusst hat. Hier hätte sie interessante Beispiele für das geben können, was sie als den „dritten Anwesenden“ bezeichnet, nämlich, dass sie als Interviewerin stets bestimmte gesellschaftliche Kontexte in den Augen ihrer Informanten repräsentiert – was sich natürlich auch in deren Antworten widerspiegelt. Generell wäre es gut gewesen, wenn Gerber ihre Begegnung mit ihren Informanten mehr analysiert und ihre eigenen Fragen und Kommentare stärker in ihre Analysen mit einbezogen hätte. Ein Problem der Darstellung ist hier, dass der Leser/die Leserin den Eindruck gewinnen kann, dass Gerber die Position ihrer Informanten einnimmt und diese auch vertritt. So werden diese oft als Opfer des Kolonisators „Westdeutschland“ dargestellt. Da die „Wessis“ selten eine eigene Stimme erhalten, und wenn, dann überwiegend in einem negativen Sinne, geschieht hier etwas, das in der Diskursanalyse auch als „Backgrounding“ bezeichnet wird: Westdeutschland wird zum passiven „Anderen“ im Hintergrund; in diesem Fall zu einem Symbol einer gierigen und überlegenen Macht, die in erster Linie danach trachtet, die ehemalige DDR zum eigenen Gewinn auszunutzen. Es soll hier dennoch nicht dafür argumentiert werden, dass Gerber genauso viele „Wessis“ hätte interviewen sollen wie „Ossis“. Sicherlich hätte das der Arbeit ein breiteres Spektrum an Positionierungen gegeben, aber es hätte auch genügt, mehr den gesellschaftlichen Kontext mit einzubeziehen und z.B. auch kritische Stimmen aus „Westdeutschland“ z.B. zur Wiedervereinigung und zum kapitalistischen System zu Wort kommen zu lassen. So gab es z.B. auch in „Westdeutschland“ eine starke Kritik gegen den Kapitalismus und Diskussionen über alternative Systeme sowie kritische Stimmen, die dagegen waren, die DDR einfach in das westdeutsche System „einzuverleiben“. Leider scheinen die heutigen Medien diese interessanten Debatten von 1989/90 weitgehend vergessen zu haben. Aber Gerber fokussiert manchmal zu stark die Ost-West-Problematik, was verhindert, Kritiken wie. z.B. gegen Konsumtion und Kapitalismus als mehr allgemein deutsche, europäische und auch globale Phänomene zu verstehen.

Auf der anderen Seite ist es ein Gewinn für Gerbers Untersuchung, dass sie ihre Informanten immer wieder zu Wort kommen lässt, bevor sie die Aussagen ihren Analysen unterzieht. Auf diese Weise gelingt es ihr zu zeigen, wie diese Gruppe von Menschen sich zu hegemonischen Diskursen in der heutigen deutschen Gesellschaft verhält, z.B. den Diskurs über die Ostdeutschen als Verlierer und „Jammerossis“, die nur nehmen, aber nicht geben wollen. Gerbers Informanten nehmen deutlich Abstand von diesem Diskurs und beschreiben sich immer wieder als starke Akteure, die ihr eigenes Leben in die Hand nehmen und nicht hilflos dastehen. Hier wird häufig die Elterngeneration als die „Anderen“ beschrieben, die stark negativ von der „Wende“ betroffen waren, weil viele nicht nur ihre Arbeit, sondern auch ihre Visionen und ihren Lebensinhalt verloren. Schon früh mussten deshalb die Kinder eine Erwachsenen-Rolle einnehmen, in dem Sinne, dass sie ihre Eltern in ein neues System zu dirigieren versuchten. Hier vergleicht Gerber das richtig mit der Situation vieler Migrantenfamilien, wo häufig die

Kinder die Aufgabe übernehmen, den Eltern einen Zugang in das neue Land zu ermöglichen.

Die Elterngeneration kommt in Gerbers Studie nur sehr selten zu Wort, was diese auch mehr in Form von „Backgrounding" erscheinen lässt und als eine Gruppe, gegen die sich die Informanten überwiegend in Opposition stellen, die sie aber auch immer wieder als Opfer der „Wende" darstellen. Genau wie bei den „Wessis", wäre es hier gut gewesen, auch die Stimmen der Eltern mehr zu Wort kommen zu lassen, entweder durch Interviews oder durch Kontextualisierungen der gesellschaftlichen Debatten in dieser Generation. Hier werden die Eltern leider relativ einseitig als Verlierer dargestellt, auch wenn Ausnahmen davon kurz angesprochen werden. Man kann sich fragen, ob das auch ein „Geist der Zeit" sein kann, die Elterngeneration „noch nicht" zu befragen? Vielleicht handelt es sich hier um ein Phänomen ähnlich wie bei der Aufarbeitung der NS-Zeit in Deutschland, dass die Generation, die als „mitverantwortlich" oder „hauptverantwortlich" für die Existenz der Diktatur und ihrer Opfer angesehen wird, vorerst ausgelassen wird, da dieses Thema als noch zu schwierig aufgefasst wird und die Eltern noch vollauf damit beschäftigt sind, sich in dem neuen System zurecht zu finden. Außerdem befindet sich Deutschland noch mitten in der Phase der Aufarbeitung der DDR-Zeit und noch immer finden Prozesse gegen frühere Stasi-Mitarbeiter statt. Aber es gibt Hoffnung, dass die Aufarbeitung dieser Vergangenheit diesmal schneller in Gang kommt als nach der NS-Zeit, wo es fast 30 Jahre dauerte, bis die Forschung auch über die mitverantwortlichen Generationen in Gang kam. Ein Hinweis darauf ist ein Artikel in der Wochenzeitung *Die Zeit* vom 11.8.2011 mit dem Titel „Wir, die stumme Generation Ost", in der Johannes Staemmler, geb. 1982 in Dresden, dafür argumentiert, mehr als bisher das Gespräch mit den Eltern zu suchen, die Vergangenheit der eigenen Eltern zu hinterfragen, Stasiakten zu lesen, um „die Mauern in unseren Familien zu beseitigen". Jetzt scheint sich hier einiges zu tun, wenn die Jungen das Gespräch mit den Älteren über die Vergangenheit suchen, und das nicht mit Ziel anzuklagen oder zu verurteilen, sondern zu verstehen. Dass dies auch für die junge Generation wichtig ist, die die DDR nur als Kind erlebt hat, macht Sofi Gerbers interessante und aktuelle Untersuchung sehr deutlich.

Petra Garberding, Uppsala

The Upgrading of Wooden House Areas in Finnish Towns

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Från kåk till kulturarv. En etnologisk studie av omvärderingen av historiska trästadsområden i Karleby och Ekenäs. Åbo Akademis förlag, Åbo 2010. 287 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-765-550-7.

■ Heritage rhetoric has been given a prominent role in community planning and policy. For the antiquarian authorities that design manifestos and policy documents, the emphasis is on the national heritage. The collective patrimony of the world, memories and future, is subject to review. A clear trend these days is the impact of the so-called small stories and individual memories. It has to do with people's search for the contexts of their everyday lives, including the personal use and administration of indispensable values. If anyone wants to discover the multitude of cultural heritage rhetoric, it is advisable to read Sanna Lillbroända-Annala's dissertation.

The ethnologist Sanna Lillbroända-Annala defended her doctoral thesis on 4 December 2010 at Åbo Academy. It is about old wooden house areas in Finland, which have been protected as cultural heritage.

Among the lower-class settlements in Finnish wooden towns, not much used to be considered to have any value. The facades were ugly and the apartments outdated, serving as a reminder of poverty in the old days. The run-down neighbourhoods gave a picture of society as it should not be. The easiest way to get rid of this was to demolish the buildings. Cities seeking a place in the future had to liberate themselves from the slums. But the interest in preserving wooden buildings increased steadily during the sixties and seventies. In the eighties began a period when it was *comme il faut* to talk about the heritage value of run-down settlements. It is against this background that Sanna Lillbroända-Annala presents her argument with the support of the theories and phenomena of gentrification and cultural process, describing and analysing the transformation of attitudes to historical wooden house environments after World War II and what the transformation meant in concrete terms.

Other researchers would probably shift to a lower gear. The aim is large, perhaps even a bit too large. But the protection of the older wooden towns was not an isolated phenomenon. Thoughts about socie-

ty's inalienable heritage opened up the political debate, both nationally and internationally. The impact of social processes and changes in the labour market became evident. To analyse the factors that led to the conservation plans for the wooden town, it is necessary to have a broad searchlight. The author works systematically and with a good knowledge of building culture in Finnish cities.

Material consumption and the search for life values affected cities during the latter decades of last century. The global world patterns of migration and the transnational cultural flows were part of the picture. Some of the heritage rhetoric was top-down and rested heavily on the world organization UNESCO's definition of "cultural heritage", says the author in the introduction. The establishment of the Foundation for Cultural Heritage in Finland in 1986 and a promotion organization for cultural events speak for themselves. Fifteen preservation centres in Finland offered advice and courses on traditional, sustainable and ecological construction and repair methods.

To carry out her intense investigations the author selected Neristan, an area in Karleby, and the old town of Ekenäs. Neristan with its low wooden houses for artisans, labourers and sailors in the old days can be followed in urban plans from the seventeenth century onwards. The Old Town of Ekenäs can be followed back in the archives to the sixteenth century. Population growth in the eighteenth century and fires and urban plans in the nineteenth century are richly documented in the archives. The traces of the eighteenth-century buildings are still there, but much of the construction took place in the nineteenth century. The social and cultural differences between Ekenäs and Karleby (Kokkola) are striking. Ekenäs has 14,000 inhabitants, of whom 80 per cent are Swedish-speaking. Karleby has a corresponding proportion of Finnish speakers, about 84 percent, and is a city with 45,000 inhabitants. Ekenäs is located in the capital's Swedish-speaking proximity. To get to Karleby you have to travel to the Finnish-speaking Ostrobothnia.

Culturally and linguistically, there are important differences between Karleby and Ekenäs, but they share old wooden building blocks that have been protected as cultural heritage. The author sees the possibility of exploring the social and economic structure of these cities and comparing conservation discussions, and the fieldwork consists of interviews, conversations and observations. It is not uncommon for researchers to examine their issues in close contact with people through intensive studies. The comparative method is one of the traditional elements of ethnological research, as are the diverse perspectives and viewpoints. This might be considered as the great value of position changes; sometimes Sanna Lillbroända-Annala observes the wooden town from a height, sometimes she moves in close to her informants. Micro and macro analysis characterizes this thesis.

There are many varying attitudes to the preservation of the wooden buildings among the inhabitants of Karleby and Ekenäs. The seemingly unambiguous heritage, expressed in the singular, is versatile light goods, ranging from hollyhocks and cosiness to the essential identity that makes memories of earlier times.

The author impresses with her critical analysis of texts in the historical documents, in particular the newspapers. The varying emphases of urban planning in the post-war period are the subject of detailed studies. The heaviest elements in the survey include interviews, a total of 21 with 23 residents. The author's own photos are of high quality. They interact very well with her text.

The introductory part II, *Conservation and gentrification of the wooden buildings*, portrays the post-war demolitions and the nascent interest in preserving neighbourhoods for posterity. Usually it was easy for local authorities to enforce demolition after World War II; the older buildings would be demolished and replaced with new ones. People were moving and urbanization accelerated, and the author discusses the principles behind the planning of the modern urban environments and driving forces in the national and local context. Rearrangement of the urbanity of cities was discussed in the press and laid the foundation for growing criticism in the seventies. Citing numerous newspaper articles and op-ed pieces explaining how the change was implemented, the author describes how the cultural values collided in community planning. Conservation arguments can be placed in two genres, with the vision of "objective values" dominating in the fifties and sixties. The overall notions of timeless values seemed critical of society's self-understanding. Later this was followed by "relative values", in line with Jonas Anshelm's scheme that was becoming more important in the seventies. This emphasized the experi-

ence of continuity. With such thoughts the individual and his personal relationship to the houses became a compelling reason to protect the older wooden town. Local ideas outweighed the arguments from the outside, the scientific assessment criteria and the modern social planning design. The human values and the "humanist" ideals also became something to reckon with. This was a kind of amicable discourse that focused on community planning and an outdated "objectivity of values" conservation policy.

The author traces the late 1900s' "cultural boom" in other conceptual forms than modernism. In doing so, her division into special phases of city planning plays a major role in the study. With the support of geographical research she works with some important concepts for the analysis, such as the translational and replacement phase, the careful restoration phase, the careful preservation phase, the replacement, renewal and revaluation phase. A growing argument concerns human well-being, social life and the humanistic ideals, representing a new era.

With the business of life change during the 1980s boom and the refinement of Karleby's and Ekenäs's commercial centres there began a period Sanna Lillbroända-Annala describes as a postmodern urban ideology. Press archives reveal the strength of preservation claims when several of the city's finest stone and wooden houses were threatened with demolition. As regards the local security plans during the eighties, the author devotes considerable attention to the important conservation arguments concerning the uniform structure of the architecture and the long historical roots.

One can sometimes question the engineering zeal with which researchers create time structures, identifying periods and phases. Phases have the peculiarity that they flow into each other, but I reluctantly accept her methodology of phases because there are few opportunities to work any differently given the complexity of the material.

In section III, *Gentrification takes form*, the author concentrates on the prevailing attitudes among her informants as an expression of a subjective, ontological and aesthetic view, with concepts borrowed from Thomas Ziehe. Informants in Ekenäs and Karleby talk about the value of the old wooden buildings in various ways, and when the author tries to investigate the differences and how they were raised, she finds it useful to divide them into four categories: "socially orientated traditionalists", "retrospective enthusiasts", "experts" and "creative aesthetics". Their experience of the older buildings varies, from personal memories to the emotional sides of prestigious housing. The author listens and analyses their views. Archive studies give evidence of a social shift. While the category of senior officials increases, the category of servants, service personnel and entrepreneurs decreases equally dramatically. This applies to both Ekenäs and Karleby.

Cultural heritage is a valuable marker for something that is important for many people, says the author in section IV, *The cultural heritage process in wooden building environments*. In Ekenäs and Karleby there is a clear influence from other urban development. Centres of consumption were located outside the old housing areas, and the old cities were profiled with small and more upscale shops than before. Press debates in the nineties were generally positive and supported the preservation of traditional wooden blocks. In keeping with a true "heritage spirit" it was important to take care of the old buildings. The author finds that the nineties introduced a new way of thinking about the intangible values of buildings, based on ideas about the "relativity of values". Her discussion of a "symbolic economy" and a new form of visibility, an "attention economy", is likely to inspire researchers in many ethnological areas.

The 1990s represented a shift to a new economy. Section V, *The administration of the historical city areas*, describes the emergence of a new middle class in the wooden towns that took on the role of a kind of pioneer and builder of bridges between the past and the present. For the author it is an important occasion to talk about "gentrification". This concept, which goes back to British sociology, links Karleby and Ekenäs to similar processes in large cities. These common and seemingly non-problematic concepts like gentrification can at worst be unclear, but the author's reasoning leads her along interesting tracks, and herein lies the strength of her thesis.

The cultural understanding of heritage and use is thoroughly discussed. The very idea that old stuff is no longer perceived as public monuments, but is a prerequisite for life and creative use, leads to further questioning. It is challenging to engage in these discussions; I can only think of cultural scholars who have concentrated on areas like Haga in Gothenburg

and Söder in Stockholm. The difference here lies in the theoretical overview and a desire to clarify ethnological analysis. Older built environments speak to people in a different way than just a few decades ago. The main idea is that the houses have to live, instead of being frozen objects, and antiquarian accuracy is not an absolute requirement in every detail. Some settlers in the old blocks read their own dreams of identity in the environment. Such shifts in the rating scale were unknown when the first thoughts about the preservation of wooden towns were expressed. Nowadays, the houses communicate in multiple languages to both traditionalists and aesthetes, including the social history and the remains of the nineteenth-century city. The memories of childhood streets are mixed up with a backward-looking aesthetics of authenticity, origin, and a sense of social security.

With compelling arguments and analytical clarity, Sanna Lillbroända-Annala points out the shift of segregation patterns in the local community. The new economy created the conditions for a clear change of the previously poor neighbourhoods. Wealthy owners moved into the houses. This did not happen at random, but with clear ambitions to establish new bases. One of the driving forces was the address, so that its residents could acquire an image of a strong identity. But this was just a loan, a value that sometimes came with the house.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala is an analytical ethnologist. The associations and the lines radiating from her study give a good picture of the state of research in the cultural and social sciences. Her references alone are interesting. Like a gardener in the greenhouse of theories, she wants them to grow, but nevertheless a gardener may worry that there are too many plants. In my opposition at the oral defence of the dissertation, I mentioned that it was a concept- intensive study. I sometimes longed for a breathing space for reflection. If there is anything that I would wish, it is that the author would set aside at least some of the concepts, taking a pause for a while. This does not, however, detract from the impression of a very thorough ethnological treatise.

An opportunity to slow down might have been to reason about the cultural fragmentation of cities in Finland and Europe. In comparison with gentrification, which is not a very precise concept to cover the processes of the nineties in my view, despite its background in British sociology and its full acceptance among social scholars, fragmentation might serve as another code word to conceive of a growing variety of identities, cultural habitats and boundaries. Based on the lifestyle concept in ethnological research, Sanna Lillbroända-Annala nevertheless puts forward some inspiring thoughts about a style of "town-centre living" which highlights the traditionalists' joy of living near services and shops in the old city centre, a "wooden town lifestyle" based on a quest for authenticity. Among enthusiasts, it is possible to discern a clear "renovating lifestyle". It may be that the innovative aestheticians' dreams and social distinction need to follow the demands of an "innovator lifestyle" with their willingness to actively influence their living environment.

In a lengthy discussion the author points to the salient features in the nineties when the older surroundings sometimes became tourist attractions and a part of the symbolic economy. The old wooden houses in Karleby and Ekenäs began to attract visitors who wanted to experience them *in situ*. They were packaged in brochures and marketing, and they became indispensable, not only for cultural but also for economic reasons. Especially in Neristan, the old environment of Karleby, "traditionalists" witnessed this change with mixed feelings. The atmosphere was more favourable in the old town of Ekenäs, which reflected the social composition of the residents. The "enthusiasts", however, understood tourism and the related commercialization of the older built environment as something essentially positive, somehow a natural trend in their eyes.

The final section that follows, *Gentrification through cultural heritage*, summarizes the thesis. The old slums, originally conceived as a cultural and architectural burden, were upgraded to a cultural capital under the influence of larger processes. An interest in heritage emerged in the seventies; the second wave came in the eighties with strong support in public opinion. A third phase characterized the nineties, with the increased interest in tourism and heritage marketing. Sanna Lillbroända-Annala explains how cultural heritage rhetoric, based on selection, valuation, identification and separation, contributed to new forms of socialities and cultural segregation.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala's thesis is impeccably written. I would emphasize how thoroughly she refers to the sources, and facilitates the reading with

appendices at the end of her thesis. The thesis gives a good picture of her capacity as an ethnological researcher, and it is both exciting and unusual in its theoretical insights. Sanna Lillbroända-Annala highlights the importance of ethnological process studies for explaining today's world. Her study rests on a solid ethnological basis, methodologically and theoretically, and links up with a tradition of research, where interviews, observations and archival studies are in the foreground.

Post-war urban transformation emerges in a new light, with the demolition waves of the fifties and sixties and the explosive interest in protecting traditional environments during the following decades. Perhaps it is a postmodern situation that we face at the end, but as an intellectual problem, what exactly is the meaning of postmodernity, what does it look like in the street? What exactly is the ethnographic consequence? The author gives some answers. I can see the benefits of her discussion of a "value transformation" linked to a rationalist and a humanist urban planning ideology.

Questions about material culture are rooted in the communication between material objects and users. My interpretation is that emotions cannot be expressed without reference to the material world; security can neither be created nor recreated without a sense of safe places and objects. Sanna Lillbroända-Annala switches her perspective, flying at a high altitude between the clouds and low above the ground. She moves between the general social, political and economic structures and the surrounding objects in everyday life, those small details. Even a window, or a garden gate, reveals something essential about the presence of human attitudes. In these respects her contribution to material studies is both impressive and exemplary. For a long time to come, ethnologists and researchers in the field of cultural heritage will find inspiration in her dissertation.

Urban transformation is a large area. The sociological ambitions were evident in the USA during the twenties and thirties and spread to the Nordic countries. European ethnologists and folklorists asked the same questions about the emergence of modern city life. Many think that it is the very movement that is interesting, and it has been said that cities die and are born simultaneously. I mentioned the long perspective during my opposition, and said that ethnologists had gathered around the same theme before. Urban expansion called for clarification, analysis, ideas and scientific explanations. In this long tradition there is an important position also for Sanna Lillbroända-Annala's thesis. The time is certainly different, but the mission has not changed.

My conclusion is that this is a strong thesis in ethnology, one of those beacons that will shine for a long time to come.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

Changing Communities of Pilots and Lighthouse Keepers

Harri Nyman, Uloimmalla rannalla. Luotsi- ja majakkamiesperheet asemayhdyskunnissaan. [On the furthest shore. Maritime pilot and lighthouse keeper families in their station communities.] Kansatieteellinen arkisto 54. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 2011. 513 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-9057-83-5.

■ Harri Nyman examines life in the outer archipelago in station communities of pilots and lighthouse keepers at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. His research period ends as these island communities die, with changes in the education system and with changes in the technique and organization of work in seafaring.

Harri Nyman's dissertation thus takes up a position among ethnological studies concerning periods of cultural transformation and work communities. In addition, ethnological village research gives a background to Nyman's work, where the physical milieu of the pilot and lighthouse villages is one starting point for the study of life on islands.

Nyman has however chosen an original point of view in his research. He focuses on the communities on islands and the narratives about what life is like there. These communities are very small, and they have been living in arduous natural conditions, partly isolated, especially during the time of frost heave. Thus, the life on pilot and lighthouse islands has been very demanding both physically and socially.

The central questions of the study concern sociocultural processes among families and communities on islands from the point of view of individuals and in the framework of archipelago geography and a professionally orientated way of life. However, the

research question is not presented in concentrated form in the work; rather it is dispersed in several operational questions which are presented in different parts of the text. An elementary question for the whole work – what are the coping strategies of communities in demanding social conditions on small and isolated islands – is first presented in the middle of the analysis on page 263. It would have been clearly better if the core of research questions had been assembled in the introduction to the work. Other more operational questions should have been structured around the central research question. The object of the work is broad both thematically and temporally, and thus very ambitious. With its 513 pages, the book is also long. If the research question had been concentrated, the unnecessary length could have been avoided.

The source material consists of the inventory reports of maritime architectural heritage, archival documents concerning the work of the pilots and lighthouse keepers, and primarily the interviews conducted by Harri Nyman with the assistance of a student group. The physical milieu of the pilot communities and lighthouse communities forms a starting point for the work. The actual target of the analysis is placed in it: oral history from the life of the maritime civil servants who lived and worked in the communities with their families.

In spite of the disconnectedness of the framing of the research question and of the unnecessary size of the work, Nyman succeeds in creating a solid interpretation of his multifaceted subject in which the different parts are interrelated. In this way the study is a multilayered description, although the operational questions have the effect of taking the study in a certain direction. The bibliography is long, indicating that Nyman has orientated himself in studies concerning the archipelago and in theoretical sources to some extent. The sources are relevant but not totally sufficient. The deficiencies lie especially in the theoretical and methodological part of the work.

Nyman emphasizes a hermeneutic theoretical framework. He sets as his target to understand the narratives he heard in the interviews. His argumentation is partly derived from Hans-Georg Gadamer. In this way the everyday work and social interaction of the communities guides the study. As Nyman states, this is highly suitable for the character of ethnological research. In it the essential focus is on people and their life in their material and non-material surroundings and as producers of it.

In the narrative analysis, oral history (*muistitieto*) is the term that Nyman uses, and the study should indeed be placed in the field of oral history. However, the consideration of the theory of oral history, and of the concepts related to it, remains thin in the dissertation. In spite of an explicit hermeneutic approach, the author does not examine in depth the different modes of narration that emerge in the interviews. He does not analyse the context of the speech in the interviews. Nor has he examined sufficiently what kind of understanding is behind the meaning expressed to him in interviews, which leaves the analysis open to his own horizon of expectation and pre-understanding. He does not go into any theoretical or methodological depth as regards the relationship between individual and collective narration, or the relationship between narrated, perceived and experienced events. This is especially essential because oral history, both internationally and in Finland, is a very advanced research field with relevant literature which Nyman does not fully utilize in his dissertation.

Nyman has resolved another theoretical discussion in an original way by placing it mostly in the references of the study. At different stages of the analysis he makes numerous remarks in which he links his own interpretations to the theoretical research literature. Here especially the social psychological theoretical discussion that Nyman uses to solve the central question of the work is emphasized. This theoretical framework and the justification of its use in the study are not discussed in Nyman's work. Many central theoretical themes are disconnected and the social psychological concepts that have been used in the work are not connected to the hermeneutic and culture-theoretical background. I do not consider this solution justified. In this form the study seems to be directed to the general public and a part of the theoretical discussion has therefore been consigned to the references. The many readers who have been excited by the lighthouse communities surely are interested in the subject matter. It is also a positive element in a scholarly ethnological text if it is accessible to the readers whose life the study deals with. The work is fluently written and thus it has excellent chances of reaching a wide reading public. However, I do not consider the placing of the theoretical discus-

sion in the references as a good solution in a doctoral dissertation. It leaves the theoretical choices unjustified, not connected to the whole of the work and not discussed as a whole.

Nyman divides the life of the pilot and lighthouse communities roughly into two periods: the time before and after technological changes in seafaring. Nyman's main attention is directed to the time before automation and the rationalization that has led to the demise of pilot and lighthouse communities. He divides the five communities chosen into case studies in his work according to different spaces of togetherness. The conceptual framework he utilizes and develops in his work is friction theory based on social psychological sources. He distributes the communities among the friction-neutral super-collectives (*kitkaneutraali superkollektiivi balanssihakuinen yhteisäkulttuuri repulsiivinen yhteisäkulttuuri*) in which the social friction does not cause problems, and communities which manage social friction well (community cultures seeking social balance; *balanssihakuinenyhteisökulttuuri*) and those which do not achieve this (repulsive community culture; *repulsiivinenyhteisökulttuuri*).

In his analysis, he is directed here by the empirical material in which he searches for information about life on islands. He does not analyse in any depth the various individual and collective modes of narration or contexts of narration present in interviews. Furthermore, he connects these types of differing community cultures to the physical types of housing on the islands. It is possible that the unspoken background assumptions of the work and the theoretical and methodological thinness have directed him towards this interpretation, so that he has not achieved an examination that is critical enough as a whole, for reasons that have been presented above.

However, Nyman use also critical tones in his analysis. The argumentation credibly brings out the fact that there are differences between different islands in how they serve as small social communities. This has also been found in earlier studies to which Nyman refers. The focus on this question in particular is valuable for producing positive and new information. Nyman's empathy in the analysis of partly very difficult social crises is skilful.

The ethical issues in the work, which Nyman has handled well in several sections, are connected to this. In critical parts of the work the empirical material is clearly anonymous. This is especially needed because the work has been written both for the general public and for those with a particular interest in lighthouse islands.

A map of pilot and lighthouse communities in the whole of Finland, marking the selected and named examples, would have been valuable. The language of the study is extremely fluent. The author is able to bring to the reader's eyes both the life as it is lived and the physical environments, even though the work is not illustrated.

Katriina Siivonen, Turku

Care and Control

Claes G. Olsson, Omsorg & Kontroll. En handikapphistorisk studie 1750–1930. Föreställningar och levnadsförhållanden. Institutionen för kultur- och medievetenskaper, Umeå universitet, Umeå 2010. 314 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7264-980-4.

■ The ethnologist Claes G. Olsson's dissertation is a contribution to Swedish disability history. Theoretically the study is based on Michel Foucault's well-known concepts of discourse, power and knowledge. In the first two of four empirical chapters, chapters 2 and 3 in the dissertation, Olsson contrasts two opposite ways of approaching disability and otherness in history, popular versus scientific approaches. In chapter 2 Olsson discusses popular perceptions of children who in pre-modern society did not develop in a normal way and therefore needed special care. A certain type of folklore or "changeling tales" tells us about the norms of previous societies. In particular Olsson is interested in the role of the mother and how the tales were a way for her to come to terms with the fact that the child had developed in a deviant manner. In the chapter Olsson illustrates how there was no absolute difference between popular and scientific understandings in pre-modern times. Both kinds of understanding could be lodged within the same person acting in the same situation.

In chapter 3 the focus is on the first of those three so-called historical breakpoints with which the study is concerned. In the chapter, a new form of scientific understanding of disability appears in history. The scientific experts that have a key role in the chapter represent a new category of conception

of disability that eventually will become more and more authoritative in society. Methodologically the chapter is focused on a number of articles on disabled individuals that were published in the Royal Academy of Science's series Transactions. The scientific gaze on disability, in the shape of four scientific texts by doctors and medical experts, is analysed. The doctor Erik Acharius wrote an article about the "cripple" Mathias Larsson Skönberg who, in spite of having deformed arms and legs, was very skilful in many kinds of work: sewing, carpentry, lace-making. The doctor Johan P. Westring described the living conditions of the scribe of a district court, Johan Scherlund, who, like Skönberg, had deformed arms and legs. In the two biographies both Scherlund and Skönberg appear as two strong individuals who in spite of their handicap were quite well integrated in their local societies. The analysed articles are characterized by a utilitarian perspective, in which the subjects are described as resourceful citizens. Professor Roland Martin, who was a famous doctor in the eighteenth century and member of the Royal Academy, is the author of the third article that is studied in this chapter, about the blind farmer Pehr Johansson of Knåpet. Professor Martin was fascinated by Johansson's talent as a card-player. This fascination was based on Martin's interest in how one perception could be replaced by another one. The blind Johansson had developed an extraordinary tactile perception that made him versatile in an activity – card playing – that usually made demands on the visionary perception. The fourth and final article of the chapter is by the author and factory manager Abraham Argillander. The article, which was published as an appendix to a medical book on children's diseases, described how Argillander gave a deaf boy, Wolfgang Heinrich Helsingius who was twelve years old at the time, lessons in how to use the speech organ.

The arrangement of the dissertation is chronological. In chapters 4 and 5 we learn about the conditions of the disabled in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Chapter 4 is focused on the first special school in Sweden that was established in Stockholm in 1809: Manilla or the National Institute for the Blind and Deaf-Mute. The school is interesting as a historical forerunner to other institutes that were opened in the nineteenth century, and as an early example of how experts now were taking control of the issue of disability in society. In the chapter we read about how the businessman Pär Aron Borg started the school and how he was influenced by the humanistic discourse of the time. By following him in classrooms and during travel, the chapter gives a picture of Borg's view of the disabled and his pedagogical ideals and methods. Borg, who favoured practical education, was eventually challenged by other teachers at the school and lost his control of the pupils after being suspended by the board of the school. Ultimately he came back and ran the school until his death in 1839, when his son Ossian Edmund Borg succeeded him.

Chapter 5 focuses on the accounts of a certain kind of inspectors, usually middle-class men but also women, who on the behalf of the state visited the homes of blind persons and reported on the ability of these individuals to support themselves. These inspection tours took place from 1903 to 1930 and were a way of making sure that the practical schools for the disabled were effective in their teaching. The inspectors took control of the situation of the blind by looking into the question whether the subjects mastered those special skills that they had learned in school and that they needed in order to support themselves, skills associated with, for example, needlework for women and basket weaving and brush making for men.

The analytical conditions of the study are presented thoroughly in the first chapter of the book. Aims and principal questions are formulated. First of all, Olsson explains that his intention is to investigate different dominating perceptions of disabilities regarding abilities to see, to hear and to move. A parallel aim is to shed light on how individuals have lived their lives as disabled in different historical periods. The theoretical linking to the discourse perspective that focuses on the power of the word is scrupulously presented. The introduction also contains a section on material and method, in which the historical records and articles of the study are discussed, as well as an exposition of previous research.

In the final chapter of the dissertation, chapter 6, Olsson delivers a more general discussion on his topic: disability history on the basis of changing discursive expressions about disabled individuals. In the chapter Olsson starts his discussion by associating the historical break-points of the study with the following events: (1) the scientific "discovery" of

some individual persons' disabilities and living conditions in the eighteenth century; (2) the establishment of special schools for disabled individuals in the nineteenth century; and (3) the growing control of the disabled regarding their vocational training and moral status in the twentieth century. The chapter continues as a sort of analytical summary of the results in the different chapters. Regarding the idea of special training, for example, Olsson concludes that a "figure of thought" that disabled individuals are educable emerged in the historical processes. Another issue concerns how the control of the disabled is linked to an increasing separation of individuals in the technologies of power in society. At the very end of the chapter (and the book) Olsson then reflects on the importance of discursive voices. These voices are linked to different individuals to a great extent in the study. However, they are also in the form of what Olsson calls "collectives of thought". As such, these important voices are fundamental for how the disabled are perceived and constructed in society and what kinds of life these individuals can lead.

It is indeed a captivating cultural history that Olsson presents in his dissertation. The theoretical foundation of the study is perhaps not so innovative. However, I enjoyed reading the empirical chapters of this dissertation on disability history 1750–1930. The text is quite descriptive and easy to read. Early modern Swedish society is problematized from the kind of different perspective that disability history may offer when it is well presented.

Markus Idvall, Lund

The Wooden Past

Elina Salminen, Monta kuvaa menneisyydestä. [Cultural Heritage and Images of the Past.] Etnologinen tutkimus museokokoelman yksityisyydestä ja julkisuudesta. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 149. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä 2010. 225 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-39-4170-3.
http://julkaisut.jyu.fi/index.php?page=product&id=978-951-39-4170-3.

■ Do private museum collections exist? Doesn't publicity or the idea of community characterize the whole phenomenon called *museum*? Elina Salminen's doctoral thesis focuses on Finnish private collections, called museums by the owners. Examples of public but individualized collections branded by the collector's personality are essential in the study, as well. Other professional museums have a minor role in the study, that is, they have the role of counter-example, an exponent of a public institution. These museums are treated as a better known and better studied phenomenon. Salminen doesn't view them through a similar ethnographic lens, as she does the private collections and collectors.

The starting point of the study was the researcher's interest in traditional rural collections in countryside, often called museums by the owners. Salminen began charting them in 1996; she had the aid of the central culture history museums in the provinces and also used an advertisement in local newspapers. She wished to get knowledge on museums/collections at peoples' homes for her doctoral thesis in ethnology. For her, all private museums and collections, regardless of their size or shape, would do. She included 80 collections from central Finland in the study; these included approximately three art collections and no collection of natural specimens. Either there is a shortage of such collections or the owners do not refer to them as museums. The latter choice seems to be plausible. It is possible as well that people have taken for granted that an ethnologist is not really interested in art or natural specimen collections. That could, for me, explain the modest variation in the study material.

In addition to the above-mentioned 80 collections, Salminen has picked some interesting examples from all over Finland. She treats all of these as cases that shed light on the main research questions. Salminen wants to examine how the past is presented and produced in private collections and how private museums/collections differ from or resemble communal or professional museums. I find it a bit strange that she presents the view of an "original" phase when the concept of a museum would have been unitary, even if the use of the word may have been socially restricted. Later on, specialization and professionalization would have differentiated professional museums from those based on enthusiastic activities. Salminen wants to eliminate this divide and, at the same time, define the concept of a non-professional museum. Actually, the definition of non-professional is due to the institutional definition of professional. The latter definition

would naturally be studied critically within the context of the changing museum profession.

Recent in Finland, the consolidation of municipalities endangers the existence of many small local heritage museums owned by former municipalities. At the same time, the public sector needs the third sector and private individuals even more than before, even in the field of cultural heritage care and preservation. Questions about the future of many kinds of museums are quite interesting just now.

The thesis very much takes into account the ethics of ethnological research. Relevant new questions on ethics flooded into ethnological discussions in Finland as Salminen already had started collecting her material in the 1990s. Salminen could then, accordingly, not help but take into full consideration the need for agreement with the informants about archiving the documents for a wider future use. It follows that she now feels obliged to demolish the materials gathered from the private informants after the research process is finished. She has other reasons not to save the document material created during the research as well: according to her, the material would be reasonably valuable only within that particular research context. The material has now fulfilled its purpose and the long process of preservation would not be justified. This attitude has wider consequences for the filing of research materials, and, I think, for museum collections as well. It suggests that keeping objects just in case they are needed in the future is no longer appropriate. Accordingly, the reasons for keeping museum or archival collections need to be articulated better, even if the reasons for preserving may change.

Salminen deals with objects (in collections) as references, as the subjects of activities and as materialized cultural meanings. According to her, a collection is about possessing and controlling, and musealisation is aimed at preserving the collection. Through the physical presence of objects, the past can be present, even if it cannot be reached. The collected objects are passive. They only exist, like all objects. This sounds a bit odd when taking the recent discussion on material culture in account. As human beings are not very much human without artefacts, objects can be seen as a central part of most human activities and active themselves, as well.

Salminen divides, in compliance with Juhani Kostet, museums into general museums dealing with a wide scale of cultural phenomena and specialized museums concentrating clearly on some restricted phenomenon or aspect of material culture. The private museums or collections can easily be divided in the same way. Characteristically, a private special museum structures the items related to a phenomenon along a time line and presents them in a trajectory. The owner has a vested interest in the museum collection either based on personal work experience or as hobby. The collection in a private special museum is more clearly the result of active collecting than is a collection in a private general museum.

The study cannot explain why some collections are called museums and others are not. A model of a private museum takes form anyway: a collection in a rural environment, deposited in a separate outbuilding. The objects have mostly been gathered from the owner's own farm. They refer to a past way of life, a time before industrialization, and to the past of that particular place. The objects have been preserved for coming generations. Knowledge of the items and of the past is in the mind of the owners; it is less common that they describe the objects in written form. How the artefacts are grouped reveals their classification in the mind of the owner. This classification is based on the purpose of the object: the artefacts have been put on display according to the former way and context in which they were used.

Salminen concludes that these museums and their "past" are about doing: the past provides the time, the place and the social connection with doing. The classification or placing of the things in the museum is nostalgic. Museum owners generally conceived of past life as hard but mostly positive. Everything had its place and meaning and the human body got enough activity and stimulation through everyday hard work and being close to nature. The collections even illustrate scarcity. On the other hand, people were skilful and able to prepare and make many kinds of things themselves. These collections were very much made of wood: an abundance of wooden artefacts in wooden buildings.

In private museums, the artefacts refer to a past time and a past way of life, sometimes even to certain persons. The memory of the collector and the keeper of the museum is mediated by she/he telling stories. This memory can vanish with that particular person and be replaced by the memory of another

person, for example what the collector himself/herself remembers. The memory can also be mediated as a tradition connected to the objects.

The author states that many of those keeping a private museum collection have also donated objects to a communal local heritage museum. They are often voluntary workers within the associations responsible for the local museum as well. Both kinds of museums tell about the same kind of past, first on the level of particular places and farms and people, and later, because of the lack written documents, about the local district and past times in general.

The examples presented by Salminen of professional or communal museums connected with strong collector persons include the Helinä Rautavaara Museum in Espoo, the Arctic Museum Nanoq in Pietarsaari, grounded in Pentti Kronqvist's activities, Rosa Liksom's so-called Soviet Design Collection in the Lenin Museum in Tampere, and the camera collection of Leo Torppa in the K.H. Renlund Museum in Kokkola. Becoming a part of a professional museum does influence and change the nature of a collector's collection. There is a tension between the museum and the private collector in the presented cases.

Professional museum workers have sometimes experienced private museum keepers and other non-professional museums as rivals consuming common resources. Local heritage museums have even been criticized for keeping idle things, as if they were generally harmful. However, the personal relationship of people to the past is a current topic within the field of cultural heritage. Salminen compares the private museums with other phenomena of the history culture: popular history writing, autobiographies and village books.

In the study, the discussion of private museums even reaches the museum-like collections of enterprisers at tourism resorts and the relationship of the antique dealers to the objects they sell.

Salminen makes use of a broad scale of sources and ethnological methods for tracking private owners' relationship to their collections. However, in dealing with museum professionals, her scale is narrower. Here she concentrates more on what is said or published in textbooks or programs than on what really happens and has happened between people and things in professional museums, and what, for example, the exhibitions, archives and storages tell us.

Finally, Salminen compares the openness and accessibility of small private museums and public museums. She remarks that the principles are different. The first ones can be as open and accessible as the second ones. But in the private museums, the owner may decide who is allowed to visit. He/she also has much more power over the collection just now than do the actors in the public museum.

The dissertation is an interesting plunge into the phenomenon of private historical collections. Salminen foretells a continuation for these kinds of private museums. We will see. Read the book and become familiar with a poorly studied but common phenomenon and Salminen's insightful and lively interpretation of it.

Sirkku Pihlman, Turku

Twin Towns Görlitz/Zgorzelec

Marie Sandberg, Grænsens nærvær og fravær. Europæiseringsprocesser i en tvillingeby på den polsk-tyske grænse. Det humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet, Copenhagen 2009. 259 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

■ "Europastadt Görlitz/Zgorzelec" – these are the first words one sees on opening the www.gorlitz.de website. The phrase that is a motto of a common tourist website for the two towns suggests that they are a unity, the "Eurocity Görlitz/Zgorzelec" that was proclaimed by both towns in 1998. But how advanced are really the integration processes in the town(s) with a double national identity divided "only" by the border, which since 2007 does not formally exist? Are the towns really only separated by a "slash" sign? In her Ph.D. dissertation Marie Sandberg tries to answer these questions by examining the German-Polish border: how it is organized, how it is administered and how it is experienced by a network of actors (as per Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory to which the work relates) consisting of people and organizations as well as notions and concepts (p. 26). The dissertation examines the European integration in practice.

As stated in the title, Sandberg presents an analysis of Europeanization, taking as an example the German and Polish twin and border towns Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Sandberg examines the border as being present and absent at the same time and attempts to describe the coexistence of these two notions

answering the dissertation's two key questions: how the Polish-German border "is performed as a multiple object in a heterogeneous network" and "in what relation to each other are the different versions of the border" (p. 27).

After giving some main definitions (twin towns, Europeanization, border) and background information on border research, Sandberg takes a good starting point in examining some events from the history of the region concerning the border. The chapter focuses on the events after 1945, as the author correctly states that this is when the activities concerning the border made it controversial (p. 47). Interestingly, further in the dissertation Sandberg shows that on both the Polish and the German side of the border the actors who deal with the history try to shift the focus from the controversial periods and stress the less controversial and more peaceful historical notions: the time of "Silesian tolerance" (pp. 101–103) and the even older historical concept of the Lusatia region (Polish: Łużyce, p. 115). I found it interesting also because, although these were the notions that somehow indicated peaceful coexistence, through her interviews Sandberg shows how the Polish and German actors today still cannot agree on one common concept. Highlighting that aspect is an important input from an outsider's perspective (neither German nor Polish) as in my opinion not enough attention has been paid to that angle, for example, in Poland and the prevailing opinion would usually stress the Second World War and the communist period as the most significant for the inhabitants of this region. (Being Polish I appreciate Sandberg's good description of the Polish-German border history in a concise version, but one mistake has to be pointed out here as it is repeated several times (e.g. pp. 37, 98). The Polish writer's name is "Tokarczuk" and not "Tukarczuk".)

In the second and third chapters of Part I of the dissertation the author describes its theoretical backbone, Actor-Network Theory (ANT), based mainly on publications by Annemari Mol and John Law. However, the vast theory is quite rightly not given a comprehensive and detailed presentation here, but it is limited to the angle and resources relevant for Sandberg's research. She brings in the performative perspective and describes the necessary tools used in the analytical chapters: Law's modes of ordering as well as Mol's multiple objects and multiple typologies (pp. 57–59). The ANT presentation also addresses some of the extensive criticism that the theory has received (although mostly by quoting Law's answers to it, p. 53).

The dissertation's strength lies definitely in the second part with its broad approach to analysis – an impressive amount of ethnographic fieldwork that the author carried out. The theoretical expectations are put to the test here when Sandberg conducts a range of interviews following many actors, using observations, visits to schools, maps (drawn by high-school students from both towns) and "walking conversations". The latter, more experimental tool has been developed by Sandberg (with some inspiration from and critique of Tim Ingold's and Jo Lee's "walk and talk" method) and seems to be appreciated and used by some ethnologists since then (or even developed into other methods like "surfing conversations", e.g. Breddam and Jespersen 2010). The interviews include the representatives of the Zgorzelec and Görlitz local authorities and local cultural and historical institutions, journalists, teachers, researchers and students, so both young and older generations are represented as well as both formal and informal structures.

In the second chapter of Part II the interviews are used to examine the notion/actor mentioned earlier, Silesian tolerance. This is presented as both endorsed and rejected as a common German-Polish concept with the Polish side presenting a rival idea, called Lusatia. Further, Polish-German cooperation and European integration attempts are analysed through interviews filtered by Law's modes of ordering, showing both "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches to this issue. Sandberg applies three modes of ordering: administration, enterprise and border allocation (p. 129), giving a detailed analysis of how the cross-border cooperation in border towns is conducted. She points out here an important aspect of the integration, stating that it "could have a bottom-up character, for example, among young people themselves, it is allocated to be relevant "somewhere else" (p. 155). Generally Sandberg's interviews give a picture of uninvolved youth who are more likely to leave the towns after they have graduated from high school than to get involved in the integration work.

Chapters 6 and 7 of Part 2 concentrate on the young people living in both towns. The first of these is an analysis of the daily activity maps that they drew for the researcher and the second describes

young people's meeting points in Görlitz. Through the analysis of the drawings Sandberg identifies four different ways of experiencing the border by young people, while the description of the problematic and controversial use of the Görlitz town squares by young people who are considered to be troublemakers shows how it reflects the towns' social problems (e.g. unemployment). The analysis in which again the notions of present and absent border are used gives good support to one of the dissertation's theses stating that the border is a complex and multiple concept and cannot be described in simple categories (p. 180, 203).

Just as all good research work should, Sandberg's dissertation both answers and raises questions, in this case concerning how the way the present/absent border is enacted impacts European integration. The cooperation agreements and European treaties and programmes, financial means, institution and technology may be in place, but the everyday life and relations on the local and regional level often seem to show a different picture and point to a different practice, which Sandberg manages to exemplify well in her research. She shows the actors and the heterogeneous network that they are involved in, but often it is obvious that it is still divided into German and Polish parts and their relation to each other still needs to be worked on. It is only a shame that, due to the language and a difficult theoretical perspective for a non-researcher, the dissertation is not easy reading and will probably not be available for the actors involved in Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Searching the Internet I have found Sandberg's presentation of her dissertation at a ICME-ICOM Annual Meeting in 2010 that also included a tour of Zgorzelec, but I have of course no knowledge of whether any of the local authorities or NGOs were able to attend.

Maja Chacińska, Gdańsk

Women in Trousers

Arja Turunen, "Hame, housut, hamehousut! Vai mikä on tulevaisuutemme?" Naisten päällyshousujen käyttöä koskevat pukeutumisohjeet ja niissä rakentuvat naiseuden ihanteet suomalaisissa naistenlehdissä 1889–1945. ["Skirt, trousers, divided skirt! Or what is our future?" How the ideals of womanhood were negotiated in the discussion of female trouser–wearing in Finnish women's magazines, 1889–1945.] Kansatieteellinen arkisto 53. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 2011. 458 pp. Ill. English Summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-9057-81-1.

■ Arja Turunen's doctoral thesis discusses fashion and dress. It focuses on women's trouser-wearing that is seen as a part of the modernization process of everyday life in Finland during the first half of the 20thcentury. The research focuses on cultural meanings and is located in the field of ethnology as it studies changes in the ordinary dress of Finnish women. Turunen's contextualization of various discussions of women's trouser-wearing have led her to a multidiscipline approach. She explores several related areas like sports and leisure as well as war, work and political history. She also has widened the scope of the research to the field of media studies.

Even though the book is full of interesting details as well as explanatory quotes from women's magazines, the book is perhaps even too extensive in its examples. What is won in detailed descriptions is lost in consistency. However, the book is a pleasure to read as the quotes are illustrative, the language is rich, and the story in general is fascinating. It is hard to determine whether one should laugh or cry when reading about the petty rules for women's dressing: how to be feminine and simultaneously practical – but not mannish.

The methodological approach of the research is critical discourse analysis as presented by Norman Fairclough. Turunen has analyzed hundreds of volumes of over more than 20 different women's magazines and distilled three discourses that reflect, contribute, and legitimate the discussions about trouser-wearing. Turunen explains that these discourses "identify the argumentative strategies in women's magazines used in discussions of *women's wearing of trousers*, where representations of *women in trousers* are being constructed." Trouser-wearing was a symbol of the new, independent, active woman, but she was still expected to "understand" – obey – the limits. Those limits were discussed in women's magazines as they negotiated the ideals and norms of femininity. Turunen summarizes the limits related to gender-specific behavior and habitus. However, in her multidisciplinary, theoretical orientation package, the feminist literary references are surprisingly thin. Is this a sign that gender studies have become so mainstream that it need not be mentioned

separately? In my opinion the results of this study are important for gender studies even if the researcher doesn't make such a commitment.

The work by Turunen is important as it backgrounds present discussions about the way women dress and it will certainly be used also by feminist researchers. The focus is on central issues of feminine identity construction: male and male dressing is the norm; woman is an exception and also an object of control. How will society react when women appropriate fields reserved to men at work, home, or leisure activities? This issue has been hotly debated and shows no signs of diminishing. Lately the issue has emerged around the slut walks: When is her attire too feminine?

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, when the characteristics that had previously only been associated with masculinity were associated with femininity, women's magazines warned readers that those who wore trousers were likely to adopt masculine body techniques such as a masculine walk or stance. Turunen points out that the adoption of women's trousers did not undermine the gender division of public (male) and private (female) spheres. She argues that this division was strengthened by the advice given by women's magazines. During World War II, women were allowed to wear trousers as an everyday garment. But because trousers were associated with masculinity, women in trousers could be mistaken for men. This impression was strengthened when a woman in trousers did something that was considered specifically male.

Turunen writes that the adoption of women's trousers became possible as the idea of a woman as a fragile and passive being was replaced by the ideal of the active and independent woman who exercised and had her own career. Therefore neither work, nor war made the breakthrough; it happened in sports, specially skiing.

Turunen found three categories of discourse practices in women's magazines: a) anti-fashion discourse, b) rational-improvement discourse, and c) fashion discourse. These discourses occurred in different magazines. The anti-fashion discourse was used in the magazines associated with the women's movement – like Palvelijatar (Service Maid) and Työläisnainen (Female Worker) – and in the oldest women's magazines of the labor movement. In this discourse, women's fashion and women who followed fashion were criticized as shallow and irrational. Turunen gives the corset as an example: it was condemned because of its negative effects on women's health. The social aim of the anti-fashion discourse was to construct a feminist identity of woman worker, by placing her in opposition to the "fashionable woman" who was a victim of fashion.

The fashion discourse was found in commercial women's magazines where fashion was not criticized. The rational-improvement discourse dominated the early commercial women's magazines and magazines attached to women's organizations that were not part of the women's movement. In general, women's magazines took on the role of educator in their advice columns. Readers were taught how to dress: columnists provided detailed instructions on how to choose the right outfit and accessories for different occasions. The practical and functional qualities of women's dress were emphasized as the standards of modern dress.

One of the issues in critical discourse analysis is the question of the context of the discourses – in this case, magazines as they were the context of published texts. Turunen has taken this issue seriously and avoids a fairly common problem of "researcher's reading" – she carefully explains the discourses she found and what data they are based on. Here Turunen has taken two paths. She contextualizes the discourses well with multiple research fields dealing with the contemporary changes in people's lives and habits at work, leisure, war, and the farms. She also exercises a diligent critical eye towards her data – women's magazines. A third set of data analysis would have been possible, but she chose not to tackle it. As the data consists of magazines, volumes and issues, Turunen could have included statistical data about the frequency of different kinds of discourses and story types. At least it would not have done harm to her narrative and analytical text. When reading historical academic texts I have often wondered why figures and summary tables are not used as they could illustrate the main points for the reader in an easily readable format.

Media researchers in Finland apply critical discourse analysis quite often, but they are mostly interested in public affairs, not on the media that publish the texts. They also try to contextualize the public debates with history, sociology and other related fields of research. Rare is an approach that also tackles the medium, as Turunen does.

One of Turunen's most important points is that

each of three discourses she found was strong in different kind of magazines. This, of course, is related to the fact that magazines differ considerably on the basis of the values behind each publication. Magazines are not neutral data banks that provide objective information about, for example, women's lives. On the contrary, magazines are framed by the values and goals of their publishers and the content is intentionally created to fit them. Thus all media content analysis, especially analysis of magazine content, should take into account the values, goals, and ways of creating readership relations as well as the work processes and resources.

Turunen has not seen magazines as neutral data banks but has elaborated on the category of "women's magazine" more closely. She has listed (p. 116) basic information about 22 women's magazine and has categorized them into four groups. The first group, named "Organs of the Women's Movement", consists of four magazines like Naisten Ääni (Women's Voice) 1905–1945. The second group "Magazines of Other Women's Organizations" consists of ten magazines like Kenttälotta (Field Lotta) 1941–42 and Palvelijatar (Service Maid) 1905–1906. Turunen makes a distinction in the group of commercial women's magazines, dividing them to those resembling magazines of women's organizations (third group, four magazines) and those which were distinct (fourth group, four magazines). In Finland, women got political rights before they became consumers; therefore political magazines were published before commercial ones and had a heavy influence also on popular content. Turunen describes the differences between magazines in terms of membership figures of the organization, attitudes towards home and work, as well as differences in work processes.

Turunen understands the inner contradictions in women's magazines: different and even contradictory discourses are presented in different parts sections of the publications. In advice columns, the suggestions can be quite different from those presented in profiles and interviews. Turunen addresses this central issue in an analytical way not often seen in media studies.

Magazines are an important source of information for historical research, especially on issues of everyday life and practices. In this research, one of the most valuable contributions is the incorporation of media concepts with data analysis. Turunen has made detailed inspections into why and how magazines have produced their differently framed contents and topics. This makes the dissertation excellent as media research and will become an important source for future researchers of magazines in general, as well as specific women's magazines.

Turunen also points out that magazines published by women's organizations have too often been overlooked in historical analysis of magazines. She has started to elaborate on a missing part of Finnish media history – the history of women's magazines. I hope this work continues in future years.

One final comment about the visuality of magazines. It is not a central focus in this research, but one can hope that in the future someone takes visuality and texts and their relationship under analysis. This is not a problem in analyzing the early magazines as they had very few illustrations or pictures, but in the 21st century more than half of magazines' content consists of visual material, not written words.

Maija Töyry, Helsinki

Book Reviews

Sites of Memory in Denmark

Inge Adriansen, Erindringssteder i Danmark. Monumenter, mindesmærker og mødesteder. Fotografier af Per Bak Jensen. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 2010. 516 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-6353173-3.

■ For a long time there was a striking difference between the great attention generated by monument projects in the latter half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century on the one hand, and on the other hand the comparative lack of interest in studying the monuments themselves and the symbolism, the ideological and cultural fashions expressed in the monuments. For most art historians this kind of public art was the diametrical opposite of what was created by the geniuses of modernist art working alone, often as a deliberate reaction to the figurative, nationalistic ideals that dominated around 1900. For many art scholars, the monuments were troublesome for another reason, since their history was associated with politics in the public sphere rather than the traditional aspects considered by art history. For historians it was the other way around: they did not touch historical artefacts at all, since the past, according to prevailing scholarly ideals, was mainly to be found in the archives. The fact that their predecessors had sometimes taken the initiative to erect monuments, contributed to subscriptions, and delivered solemn speeches at the plinths of statues did not make the matter any better. The monuments were a reminder of a time when many historians uncritically gave their services to nationalism, as Lars Berggren has shown.

This development was reversed a few decades ago, in Sweden and elsewhere. More and more scholars in different disciplines have taken an interest in the significance of monuments for the politics of memory. In the now rich array of research on monuments there are general discussions of the persons and events that were considered worthy of attention, and the ones that were ignored. Moreover, researchers have explored the significance of the place and the crucial meaning of the monuments in the landscape of memory, and the negotiations in countries with serious conflicts of interest that have resulted in compromises involving the inclusion of various special symbols. In addition, there are ethnologically inspired studies of people's encounters with memorials on ceremonial and everyday occasions (e.g. Lars Berggren & Lennart Sjöstedt, *L'Ombra dei Grande: Monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma (1870–1895)*, 1996; Jonas Frykman & Billy Ehn (eds.), *Minnesmärken*: *Att tolka det förflutna och besvärja framtiden*, 2007; Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape*, 2009).

One of the most recent contributions to the genre comes from the Danish cultural historian and museum curator Inge Adriansen, in this huge survey of more than 300 monuments, memorials, and meeting places, *Erindringssteder i Danmark: Monumenter, mindesmærker og mødesteder*. Adriansen is well equipped to tackle this – in a dual sense – monumental task since she has written a great many articles about monuments, memorials, and museums, especially about the politically and culturally controversial area of southern Jutland, and about national symbols in the kingdom of Denmark from the early nineteenth century to the present day.

The large number of study objects may give the impression that this is a complete survey, but this is not the case. In collaboration with the Heritage Agency of Denmark and all the municipalities in Denmark, the survey has comprised 3,500 monuments and memorials. Few of these are recent. Although the Second World War and the German occupation resulted in statues, other aspects of modern history, such as membership of NATO and the EU and the growth of the welfare state have not been manifested in this way.

It is perfectly clear from this richly and skilfully illustrated book that monuments to women are seriously under-represented. In the whole of Denmark there are just 28, and of these only nine are non-royal. Workers in bronze are likewise few and far between. On the other hand, the liberal party, Venstre, has a considerable number of politicians with memorials, mostly because the role played by the party in the introduction of the parliamentary system coincided in time with the zenith of monument building around 1900.

Earlier research shows that, although many monument projects were initiated in capital cities, the people in power had to consider local and regional elites. Adriansen adds to this discussion by

highlighting the presence of a large number of monuments in western Jutland. Her explanation is that the distance to Copenhagen is so great that there was space for a locally based culture of independence.

Another interesting aspect underlined by Adriansen is the monuments that were erected without being an expression of traditional patriotism. In Broagerland in south Jutland, a number of monuments were raised after 1918 to men who had fallen in the First World War. What is remarkable is the lack of references to patriotic virtues. The explanation is that the men fought and died on the German side. Instead of paying homage to the nation's victims, these monuments express sorrow for the fallen.

In the introduction to the book there is a figure in which material and non-material memorial sites are placed at the intersection between individual and society and at the centre of concepts such as cultural heritage, identity, imagined community, memory politics, historical awareness, and the use of history. The "memory products" of this kind that Adriansen treats are important, but it is theoretically problematic to make them into the measure of all things in this way. Monuments, memorials, and sites of memory are undoubtedly related to all these concepts, but in different ways at different points in time. This objection should not detract from the impression that Adriansen has written a standard work in this field. It is useful both for those who are interested in individual Danish monuments and for those who are looking for patterns that apply to Denmark as a whole and which are also relevant for other countries' memory politics and monument traditions.

Ulf Zander, Lund

Legends of War

Camilla Asplund Ingemark & Johanna Wassholm, Historiska sägner om 1808–09 års krig. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland. Helsingfors 2009. 236 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-187-3.

■ It is a beautiful book that I hold in my hand. The cover is discreet in its colouring. When I have read it for a while I am struck by how well-written the text is; the language is pithy. That feeling follows me all through the reading. The book aims to answer the question of how the Finnish War was perceived in oral tradition in the Swedish-speaking countryside in Finland.

At the start of the nineteenth century there were major upheavals all over Europe. In 1808 and 1809 Sweden and Russia were at war. The outcome was that Finland became an autonomous grand duchy under the Russian tsar in 1809. After more than six centuries as one kingdom, Finland was thus separated from Sweden. The war is still perceived today as a crucial turning point in the modern history of both countries. Sweden lost one third of its territory and a quarter of its population. Finland became a part of the Russian Empire, and its inhabitants were transformed from Swedish to Russian subjects. The bicentennial of this occasion was commemorated in 2009 in both Sweden and Finland. The folklore committee of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland raised the idea of publishing historical legends about the war of 1808–09. According to the committee, it is important to illuminate the folklore that is preserved about the events. This is a way to highlight the war that left its mark in the narrative tradition.

The book was written by the folklorist Camilla Asplund Ingemark and the historian Johanna Wassholm. It has two parts. One of these, "The Finnish War 1808–1809 and Historical Conceptions of Russia and Russians" is by Wassholm. The aim in this part is to survey how people in Sweden and in Finland have regarded Russia and the Russian people. The author discusses Russophobia and its origin. This knowledge is necessary, she writes, if we are to understand the references to all things Russian in the legends. The Swedish and Finnish perceptions are then placed in a larger and wider context, that of Europe. Without the European context the legends cannot be correctly interpreted, she claims. There is also a discussion of identity formation. National identities are always shaped in relation to something else. When it comes to national identity in Finland, it has been constructed in relation to both Russia and Sweden, as the author underlines.

Wassholm also reflects on how historians in different periods have related to historical legends. It used to be that little interest was devoted to legends because they were deemed to be of low value for scholarship. Attitudes are different now. One reason for this change is the growing interest in "ordinary" people and everyday life. This is also expressed in research on war and warfare. After this discussion

come the actual legends of the war, which occupy the major part of the book.

The second part, "Historical Legends as Oral Tradition", is by Asplund Ingemark. The aim here is to find out what people in the countryside a century ago found most memorable about the war of 1808–09, and why they thought the memories were worth preserving. The authors also seeks answers to questions about which events were particularly significant and which aspects of their own history the people wished to highlight. The questions are answered with the aid of the oral narratives that were collected in the Swedish-speaking part of Finland and recorded in writing.

The legends that are analysed were collected roughly a hundred years after the war of 1808–09. Since 1887 the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, which was founded with the aim of collecting evidence about the origin and development of Swedish culture in Finland, has built up an archive of folk traditions. The collecting was mainly done in the countryside because it was thought that old folklore was best preserved there. Moreover, older people were regarded as genuine bearers of folk culture, and it was mainly to them the collectors turned. It was feared that this cultural heritage was vanishing because of general education and the radical transformation of society. The collecting was first done by people who were given grants to do it; they were often primary school teachers or students. From 1908 onwards it was "competent specialists" who collected legends. Apart from leading to increased specialization, this caused a wider gap between the storytellers and the recorders, who were city academics.

Asplund Ingemark distinguishes nine different themes in the legends about the war of 1808–09: "The only way out: escape to the countryside"; "The evil Russian: cruelty and outrages"; "The triumph of resistance: popular opposition and guerrilla warfare"; "Hunger: a shared concern"; "A life in captivity: the situation of peasants obliged to provide transport"; "The theatre of war as a site of memory"; "Battles and engagements in the local environment"; "Deceitful lords and heroic men"; "The hardships of war: life in the field"; and "What is memorable about the war of 1808–09". The text on each theme is built up in the same way. An introduction with general commentary is followed by the selected legends. This arrangement entails a risk that the reader may be tempted to skip the legends. Reading up to fifty different legends, with no text to link them, may provoke resistance. At the same time, I understand the decision to retell many legends which provide such good illustration of the terror and cruelty of war. Yet I still wonder whether a different arrangement might have been better.

It is interesting to see what the legends say about the war of 1808–09, about people and their everyday life in the midst of the horrors of war, about their opinions as to why the war ended in Swedish defeat, and about their views of Russians and Swedes. As we learn from the book, the legends also served as everyday knowledge about how people can act in extraordinary situations. They highlight the individuals as actors, although their freedom of action was restricted. The legends also convey the norms and values prevailing in the peasant community. Collected a hundred years after the war of 1808–09, the legends also reflect the values and the narrative traditions of that time. The book will be found readable on both sides of the Bothnian Sea.

Mirjaliisa Lukkarinen Kvist, Surahammar

Collecting Field Material in the Nineteenth Century

Palle Ove Christiansen, De forsvundne. Hedens siste fortællere. Gads forlag, København 2011. 237 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-12-04620-2.

■ The schoolteacher Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) was a great collector of folklore in Denmark at the end of the nineteenth century. In this book Palle Ove Christiansen of the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen describes the journeys on foot undertaken by this collector in 1873. He visited poor people, both women and men, in some of the sparsely populated districts on the Jutland heath, where the vegetation was dominated by heather. The informants had small patches of land to cultivate. Some of them earned a living as craftsmen, for example, as weavers or tailors. Those who were worst off were given a small payment for assisting with the collecting of the material.

Tang Kristensen sought out people of whom he had heard that they could tell old stories and legends or that they could sing folksongs and ballads. He was careful to note down different variants of the

tales and songs. In 1876 some of the collected legends were published in *Jyske Folkesagn*, which according to the author Tang Kristensen were "collected from the mouth of the people". The aim was to make the material available to the general public. Some of the collected tales and songs are quoted in their entirety in the book reviewed here.

Some of the informants were not just good storytellers and singers but also practised folk medicine. They did this with the aid of hand-written magic books that they owned. These old folk traditions were combated, however, by the Home Mission, a pietist revival movement that began to grow vigorously after 1870. Tang Kristensen had personal experience of this opposition several times during his collecting travels. Once an old mother was prevented from telling old stories and singing folksongs by her son who belonged to the Home Mission. The old traditions were regarded as pagan, the work of the devil. Ballad singers who joined the Home Mission turned to more religious material, influenced by their faith in God and a longing for the life to come, but Tang Kristensen was not much interested in these new songs. He wanted to search out the old traditions while they still survived among the common people. He thought he was on a rescue expedition.

Tang Kristensen was acting on behalf of the language scholar Sven Grundtvig (1824–1883) at Copenhagen University, with whom he was in constant contact. Grundtvig gave continuous commentary on the newly collected material and wrote letters of encouragement to the collector out in the field.

In 1895 Tang Kristensen returned to the same area that he had visited in 1873. With the help of the photographer Peter Olsen, the previously recorded informants were photographed in their everyday surroundings. These photographs are reproduced in the book, and Tang Kristensen had some of them published in 1898 in the magazine *Illustreret Tidende*. Moreover, the artist Hans Smidth painted the barren natural scenery and some of the simple houses that Tang Kristensen visited. Many of these works are published in colour in the book; they date from the 1860s and a few decades onwards. In 2010 Palle Ove Christiansen commissioned the art photographer Henrik Saxgren to take pictures of the places where collecting had been done in 1873. In some cases the informants' simple dwellings still survive today. This new collection provides additional information compared to the photographic portraits from 1895.

The merit of this book is that the reader is able to follow the work of a great folklore collector in an early phase of collecting at the end of the nineteenth century. Tang Kristensen left detailed notes about his contacts with the informants in different field situations and thus did not just present the material he collected. Posterity has not hitherto known so much about the field methodology and collecting contexts of the time.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Deportation Home to Ingria

Toivo Flink, Kotiin karkotettavaksi. Inkeriläisen siirtoväen palautukset Suomesta Neuvostoliittoon vuosina 1944–1955. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 251. Arkistolaitoksen toimituksia 10. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura & Kansallisarkisto, Helsinki 2010. 320 pp. ISBN 978-222-183-4.

■ Finland belonged to Sweden during the years 1155–1809 and formed a kind of buffer zone between Scandinavia and Russia (Novgorod). This meant that Finland joined the Western European cultural area, but, at the same time, was engaged in continuous conflicts on the eastern border of the country – and affected by several peace treaties with Russia. When the first of these peace treaties was concluded at Pähkinäsaari (Swed. Nöteborg, Russ. Orekhovets) in 1323, there was no land connection between Sweden and Finland, but this did not hamper travel or trade, because they were connected by the sea. In the Peace Treaty of Täyssinä (Swed. Teusina, Russ. Tyavzino) in 1595, and especially in that of Stolbova (in Ingria) in 1617, the territory of Sweden grew in the east to include wide areas of the bottom half of the Gulf of Finland, Ingria and the province of Käkisalmi (Swed. Kexholm, Russ. Priozersk). In this way, Sweden became a great power. It lost this status, however, during the Great Northern War: de facto in the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and de jure in the Peace Treaty of Uusikaupunki (Swed. Nystad) in 1721. After this, the eastern border of Sweden (in Finland) continued to move westwards, first in the Peace Treaty of Turku (Swed. Åbo) in 1743 and then in the Peace Treaty of Hamina (Swed. Fredrikshamn) in 1809 when Sweden ceded the whole of Finland to Russia.

Unlike how we here in the West are used to remembering this part of our history, this expansion of the eastern border was begun by us "Swedes". As the border moved east, the people of the conquered areas also moved or were moved by force. The conquerors were, in the beginning, Catholics and, after the Reformation, Lutherans, whereas the people in the conquered areas were Orthodox. A great part of the Karelian population of the area moved east and the present Karelian population in the areas of Novgorod and Tver is an example of this migration. Finns from the areas of Savo and Karelia near the area of Lake Ladoga (Finn. Laatokka) moved into the villages, which had been left empty, already in the 16th century, but especially after the Peace Treaty of Stolbova in the 17th century. In addition to the empty houses, they also chose to move there to avoid more severe taxation and being recruited into the Swedish army in Finland. Those that moved there were Lutherans, ancestors of the present-day Ingrian Finns.

The author Toivo Flink is Ingrian himself, and he has written a dissertation in cultural history at the University of Turku in 2000 about Ingrians. The present book by him is based on a broad range of archive materials, including private archives, and literature. According to him, Ingrians did not have a problem with their territory being ceded to Russia after the Great Northern War. On the contrary, the suppression of serfdom in Russia in 1861 strengthened the identity of Ingrians and gave them hope for a better future. Instead, the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Civil War and the Peace Treaty of Tartu in 1920 caused problems. The Ingrians were not party to the peace negotiations and had to leave their aims in the hands of Finnish negotiators. Their aims for autonomy could not be taken into consideration because the Finns had more important interests in the north. But the negotiators did agree upon cultural autonomy for the Ingrians according to Russian legislation. Unfortunately, even this did not come to pass, as the Russians began to impose collectivization upon the farmers deported the more wealthy famers, the "kulaks", to the east, closed Lutheran parishes and Churches and began to arrest Lutheran priests if they did not succeed in escaping to Finland. This was why the first Ingrian refugees came to Finland already at the beginning of 1920s and they established here organizations to promote the case of Ingria.

During the summer of 1941, German troops occupied most of Ingria as they rapidly made their way towards the surroundings of Leningrad (St. Petersburg). Sometimes the conquerors treated the local inhabitants well, but at other times they did not. Most of the men were serving in the Soviet Army, so that the local population consisted mainly of women, children and old men. Some of the women sided with the occupying Germans and could then make a living for their families. In any case, a great part of the area was a major theatre of operations during the war and the Germans moved groups of Ingrians away from the front to Estonia and Latvia. A group of women were even moved to Germany to work in agriculture. But, nonetheless, there was not work for everyone and a part of the population suffered from famine. This gave Finns the idea of moving Ingrians to Finland, where men were at the front and where there was a labour shortage in agriculture. This idea was promoted mostly by the same people and organizations which before the war had promoted the case of Ingria, among others the Academic Karelia Society (AKS) and the Lotta Svärd Organization (Finnish voluntary auxiliary paramilitary organization for women). Also, quite familiar leaders of these organizations were active here, like the chairman of AKS Vilho Helanen or the head of Lotta Svärd Fanni Luukkonen. There were also well-known representatives from Finnish science and diplomacy who supported this idea, people like L.A. Puntila,

T.M. Kivimäki and Martti Haavio, as well as leading soldiers like Rudolf Walden and Paavo Talvela. In this connection they, however, did not represent their own organizations or ideologies; instead, they served the state of Finland. Professor Pentti Kaitera was nominated as the head of the entire operation. The evacuation of Ingrians to Finland started at the beginning of the year 1943. Between the year 1943 and the spring of 1944 63 000 Ingrians were evacuated, including also some of the original Orthodox Finnish inhabitants of the area. Only 20% of them were male and, of these, only 7% were of working age. However, women were also used in farm work.

Generally speaking, and considering the circumstances, the Ingrians felt satisfied in Finland; in some cases they even were happy. There arose many Finnish-Ingrian friendships, relationships and even marriages. The problem was that the Ingrians were

not Finnish citizens and that the salaries in farm labour were low. But many Ingrians had bitter experiences as well, like Finns taking advantage of their distressed situation or even sexual abuse. This cannot be seen as surprising. But their stay in Finland was cut short because Finland signed a truce with the Soviet Union on 22 September 1944 and the control commission of the Allies (Soviet Union) arrived in Finland to supervise it already two days later. The Finns needed to strictly abide by the terms of the truce so that the final treaty could be accepted. There were no clear orders regarding the deportation of the Ingrians, but foreign minister Carl Enckell felt that Finland should here follow the Russian interpretation. The Finnish interpretation should have been that only prisoners or those foreigners taken to Finland by force should have been deported, and the Ingrians did not belong to either of those categories. The Russians, however, demanded that all Ingrians to be deported from Finland. The Russians promised to move them to their original home districts.

The Ingrians had been in Finland, at most, a little less than a year. Now they hesitated on whether to stay or leave. Many of them should have stayed in Finland, but on the other hand they were homesick for Ingria. Some also thought that those who would return voluntarily would get better treatment than others who later might be taken to Russia by force. The result was that two-thirds of the Ingrian evacuees in Finland returned either voluntarily, under pressure or even by force from the Finnish authorities. One-third succeeded in hiding in Finland or moving to Sweden with the help of Finns. Also, some of the passengers on the train for Russia succeeded in escaping, when the staff of the train slowed the speed at suitable places along the railway. For those who returned, the promises made by the Russians did not come true; they realized this when the trains drove past Leningrad (St. Petersburg) without stopping. They were not allowed to return to Ingria before the mid 1950s; instead, they were placed to the areas of Kalinin (Tver), Novgorod, Pskov (Pihkova), Velikje Luk and Jaroslavl. Later, many of them moved to Soviet-Estonia, the Karelian Republic (Petrosavotsk [Petroskoi] or Sortavala), Leningrad and some even, in the beginning, secretly to Ingria. The book gives the impression that the Soviet leaders really tried to take care of the returned Ingrians in the areas chosen for them, because they really sent orders and instructions concerning this to those places. Local authorities, however, did not want to follow the orders and instructions and so the deported people experienced difficulties in their new places of settlement. But even those people were fortunate compared to those who were destined for prison or who were executed. The latter included especially those who had served in the Soviet Army and who had been taken as war prisoners by the Finns and had served after that in the Kin Battalion in the Finnish Army as volunteers.

In 1990, when the Soviet Union still existed, the president of the Finnish republic Mauno Koivisto said on TV that, Ingrians should be accepted into Finland as re-migrants. This had already been negotiated with the Soviet authorities in the previous year and the Soviet Union had nothing against this kind of interpretation. The background for this was the labour shortage in Finland at the time. As result of this agreement, 20 000 Ingrians moved to Finland, and the re-migration is still going on, in spite of the fact that the conditions for entry into Finland have been made more strict at some stage. For next summer, Finland intends to put a stop to this status of re-migrant, so that the movement of Ingrians would then cease. Koivisto had given the reasons for his decision, not by citing the labour shortage, but by arguing that we have a debt of honour to be paid to the Ingrians. By debt of honour, most Finns had assumed he was referring to the period after the war when the Finns had deported the Ingrians to the Soviet Union. Television editor Martti Backman has recently (9.2.2011) corrected this impression in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. He had in 1998 wished to have Koivisto participate in a MOT programme on TV 1 about Ingrians, but Koivisto had refused. Later he had, however, phoned Backman and told him that, in his opinion, this debt of honour had originated already during the Peace Negotiations in Tartu in 1920. According to Koivisto, Finland had then encouraged Ingrians to develop their national identity and had demanded cultural autonomy for them within Russia (Soviet Union). This nationalism became expensive for them and brought its own punishment during Stalin's persecutions, as has been mentioned above. Toivo Flink's research, however, shows that the Ingrians themselves had been active during the Tartu Peace Negotiations and had trusted the Finns in their aims. At the end of his research re-

port, Flink states that the Finns are also not in debt to the Ingrians because of the peace negotiations of Tartu (1920) or because of the fact that they were deported after the Continuation War (1941–44). According to him, Finland has always done its best for the Ingrians and has also helped them a great deal. This is not just the opinion of a researcher, but is based on empirical source material.

The Peace Treaty between Finland and Soviet Union was concluded in Paris in 1947, but the deportations of Ingrians continued to some degree even until the year 1955. Toivo Flink finishes his research by stating that the year 1956 opened a new era in relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, where the Ingrians played their own role. It will, however, be a research project of a different sort. There will be continuation of the topic according to the next chapter in Ingrian history and Ingrian-Finnish relations.

Pekka Leimu, Turku

Changing Cottage Culture in Norway

Norske hytter i endring. Om bærekraft og behag. Helen Jøsok Gansmo, Thomas Berker & Finn Arne Jørgensen (eds.). Tapir akademisk forlag, Trondheim 2011.200 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-519-2790-1.

■ A while ago, I had the opportunity to interview one of Sweden's most productive illustrators of children's books. He talked of his childhood house memories: "I recall returning to our summer cottage after a long winter, the sensation of cold, stale air, moist sheets and the ticking sound of those wood-boring beetles that were eating away at our good old cottage." As I too have those memories, I knew what he was talking about.

As a Swede it is both easy and difficult to understand the Norwegian cottage phenomenon, now examined in the anthology *Norske hytter i endring: Om bærekraft og behag*. Easy since I am familiar with the habit of having a second home that is materially more modest than the primary one. I share the sensory experience of cottage life, not only with the Norwegians but with most Scandinavians. Nevertheless, the similarities also make it difficult. The small differences seem remarkably full of meaning, most likely because I hardly perceive them nor could I express them in words. It is like a retouched picture – similar but not quite the same. One thing is clear, though: the cottage plays a central role in Norwegian culture in a way that Swedish crofts or summer houses cannot match. That is the starting point of this anthology in which twelve different researchers try to pin down the problems and opportunities that cottage culture offers society.

The book is the result of discussions held by researchers at the national cottage exhibition in Trondheim 2009. There are several annual cottage exhibitions in Norway, and what could be a more appropriate, or let us say functional, meeting place for researchers who deal with cottage life than one of these commercial exhibitions? The pragmatism expressed by the choice of meeting place also seems to permeate the book project. These writers are not afraid to suggest measures of great political importance and do not fear solutions that may not be as radical as the results of their research seem to demand.

As the title indicates, the main theme of the book is Norwegian cottage culture related to sustainability issues. The theme has been given a wide interpretation. Since there are no scholarly Norwegian studies concerning cottages, the editors have chosen to include many perspectives and aspects. For instance, we learn about the cottage as it appears in literary classics (Rees). The coming into being of the Norwegian cottage culture is also well presented (Jørgensen) and cottage mobility as a cultural phenomenon is yet another example of all the aspects treated in the texts (Hidle & Ellingsen). The breadth is of course thoroughly reflected. The publication is part of an interdisciplinary series of scholarly studies connected to the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies of Culture at the Norwegian University of Technology and Science. However, several of the twelve researchers have dedicated their work to the environmental consequences of the social and cultural patterns of society. The texts are indeed coherent and refer to one another in a most reader-friendly way.

The anthology is part of a well-established international field of research often referred to as second-home, or multiple-dwelling research. The common concern is the second home, but the field contains a wide range of areas such as tourism, urban planning, sustainability, place, power and identity. Renowned studies are *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* (Coppock, 1977) relating to contemporary

urban planning issues, and *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (ed. C. M. Hall & D. K. Müller, 2004), which present second-home studies from several western countries. Most recently, an interesting dissertation, *Torpets transformationer: Materialitet, representation och praktik från år 1850–2010* was presented in Stockholm by the human geographer Maja Lagerqvist (2011). It deals with important aspects not thoroughly treated in the anthology, namely the previous or original function and meaning of the second home cottage and its transformation over time.

Most of us agree that, from an environmental point of view, it is not reasonable to maintain and sometimes heat two different homes at the same time, one of them staying empty and unused. Yet this is what goes on in many western countries. The overwhelming statistics presented in some of the texts constitute an important contribution to contemporary debate. As several writers show, the energy consumption includes not only heating but also transport and other expenditure on maintenance and management. In "Cottage use and environment: An arena for economy or overconsumption?" Carlo Aall gives a thorough account of the energy consumption connected to cottage culture and relates the figures to those of other leisure activities. It turns out that consumption has doubled since 1973. Both the number of cottages and their size have increased dramatically, and when it comes to recently built cottages the material standard is much higher. The character of the cottages may vary, but as Aall points out, the trend is clear: the Norwegian cottage culture increasingly resembles the continental summer-house tradition with its roots in upper-class norms and prerequisites.

In Eli Støa's and Margrethe Aune's contribution "The dream of an easier life – foundation of a more sustainable cottage culture?" the researchers examine the consequences of these changes and suggest that architecture contributes to an environmentally more sustainable development. Dreams of easy living do not necessarily mean dreams of primitive living. Many of the cited interviews clearly show that ease or simplicity may just as well imply high standards (easier to deal with everyday tasks), or small habitable space (easier to heat and to stay close to family members). The notion of easy also alludes to time: travelling to the cottage should be easy in the sense that the distance should be short.

Instead of condemning the attitude of their informants, which may sometimes be tempting, Støa and Aune choose a pragmatic approach when suggesting future measures. They want to focus on the environmentally most promising aspects of present-day cottage culture. Use people's dreams and everyday experiences when dealing with issues of architecture and urban planning, they argue. This is a practical and probably quite necessary attitude, even though one may argue that politicians should be pragmatic, while researchers should plead for radical actions when trying to change the very habits of energy consumption.

Asceticism is no longer an unambiguous ideal of Norwegian cottage owners. Maybe it never was? In Finn Arne Jørgensen's "The first cottage crisis: Planning, images of nature and the tragedy of common lands", the post-war expansion of Norwegian cottage building is described as the coming into being of a "social democratic infrastructure for nature experiences" (p. 39). The right and potential to experience nature was indeed the goal, and in order to achieve it cottages had to be kept plain. The private cottage, Jørgensen writes, represents the further development of the Norwegian collective outdoor life ideal into post-war consumer society, where maximized nature experience is a private matter. As a result of the changes, the wilderness that cottage owners once came to experience has grown into a landscape arranged by humans and imbued with technology and cultural meaning.

Norske hytter i endring constitutes an important assemblage of texts which concern the whole western world. The fact that the cottage culture, *hyttekulturen*, is strongly attached to the Norwegian identity certainly is challenging to those responsible for development and physical planning in Norway, but the main question concerns us all: Is it possible to solve the environmental problems due to our everyday practices and visions of life, with the aid of planning, legal measures and architecture? Yes, claim these researchers. There are solutions that do not involve coercion, and keys that can open new doors. Considering the gloomy facts and figures presented in the book, this appears like a courageous attitude and at the same time the only reasonable one. In my opinion, it is the main quality of the volume that the writers not only investigate and explain the situation

but also strive to come forward and present alternatives. Within the field of cultural sciences, this is rare enough.
Eva Löfgren, Gothenburg/Mariestad

Methodology and Reflexivity

Etnografiska hållplatser. Om metodprocesser och reflexivitet. Kerstin Gunnemark (ed.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2011. 270 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-07315-6.

■ It was with great interest that I noticed that Studentlitteratur had published a new book on method. When I finally held it in my hand I realized that it is based on one of the sessions at the "Building Stones" Congress of Ethnology and Folklore in Helsinki in 2009, where I even attended parts of the session and acquired many new impressions.

The title means "Ethnographic Stops" and the book contains eleven articles where the authors discuss the choice of method during the research process. The volume is not intended to serve as a textbook of ethnological method; instead the articles describe the researchers' choice of direction in practice. One of the strong sides of the book is that it deals with several relatively new and therefore not so often discussed methods, such as the use of gatekeepers in fieldwork, auto-ethnography, photo-eliciting, and texts by writing circles as research material.

I find it very interesting to read about ethnographic fieldwork where the researcher and the interviewees lack a common language. It is highly instructive to read about Lisa Wiklund's experiences in Japan and New York. I feel greatly moved by reading about auto-ethnography using blogs about anorexia as source material, and I start to wonder whether I could have thought more like Ann-Charlotte Palmgren when working on my own dissertation.

Signe Bremer writes about bodies and about ethnologists' competence when it comes to informants with mental illness. The theme feels familiar from research seminars in my own subject – we are not psychologists – and very important, since interviews about difficult experiences often have a profound effect on both the interviewee and the researcher. Bremer's questions immediately make me wonder about the tools I provide my own students with when it comes to field methods.

Two articles are about the various ways in which scholars of culture can use photographs or pictures as sources and photography as a method. Carina Johansson writes about the use of pictures to deconstruct mindscapes, while Anna Ulfstrand examines how photographs can function as an entrance to interviews. Grete Swensen and Oddun Sæter talk about doing fieldwork in shopping malls, which sounds like a fascinating way to create source material. Kerstin Gunnemark writes about how autobiographical material from writing circles can be used as sources for research, which leads me to ponder on the writing courses I have taught, and whether I ought to have done things differently there. All these articles give me new ideas – right now I want to do fieldwork in lots of different projects with lots of different methods and just see what happens.

The preface tells us that the authors of the book are at very different stages of their research careers. This is also clear to the reader, but actually the effect is, more than anything, an illumination of the importance of not unthinkingly falling into old tracks and fixed patterns – no matter whether you are working on your first research project or your twentieth.

As I read I wonder about what context this book could be used in. I do not think it would work on "Ethnographic Field Methods", our course for second- and third-year students. That would require a more basic book about fieldwork, for example, *Etnografiska observationer* (ed. Arvastson & Ehn 2009) or *Etnologiskt fältarbete* (ed. Kaijser & Öhlander 1999).

On the other hand, it strikes me that a few years ago, when I was grappling with the sprawling and intractable source material for my doctoral dissertation, I might have benefited greatly from this book. So perhaps at the end of master's studies, when long essays are written, and right at the start of doctoral studies, would be the time when a book like this is needed.

In my experience there is great curiosity about methodological development in ethnology and folkloristics. Here too I think that *Etnografiska hållplatser* can fill an important function. If you are one of those who feel that you need some new impulses in order not to stagnate, then I can recommend you to spend a few afternoons with the articles in this volume! It deals with methodology from a variety of perspectives. Depending on previous experience and

current research interests, there are plenty of titbits to enjoy.

Discussions about reflexivity, alongside methodology, are a theme running through the book. The authors consistently declare that reflexivity is not the same as automatically writing a few lines about the author's background and leisure interests. Instead reflexivity is regarded as a means to deeper research, but how this should be done is a matter about which opinions differ.

In the very last chapter of the book an important point is made, one that nowadays, unfortunately, is often ignored. There the editor Kerstin Gunnemark divides the chapters into different types of ethnological stopping points, such as the choice of field of study, approaching the field, relations to key persons, and so on. I view this little text as reading instructions for the whole book. It could well have been given a more visible position. If it had, I think that many more undecided researchers would have found inspiration and comparative material in *Etnografiska hållplatser*. This is a very interesting and inspiring collection of articles.

Johanna Björkholm, Åbo

Foreignness

Nordic Perspectives on Encountering Foreignness. Anne Folke Henningsen, Leila Koivunen & Taina Syrjämaa (eds.). Histories 1, General History. University of Turku 2009. 116 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-29-4161-2.

■ The multidisciplinary network *Enfore* (Encountering Foreignness: Nordic Perspectives since the Eighteenth Century) was formed in 2006 when the founding members prepared the session *Encountering Foreign Worlds – Experiences at Home and Abroad* for the 26th Nordic Congress of Historians in Reykjavik.

The core of the network consists of historians, anthropologists and ethnologists from the Nordic countries at various stages of their academic careers. Their aim is "to contribute to deconstructing the dichotomy of foreign versus indigenous by showing the subjectivity of foreignness and its liability to shifting meanings". One result of the efforts of the network is an edited volume where some of its core members are represented. In seven articles, covering a broad range of topics, geographical location, periods and analytical strategies, different aspects of foreignness are exposed.

A common point of departure is to consider foreignness as an "essentially imagined quality, something which is considered to be related with that which is abroad." But it can also be strategically claimed as a component of identities. They want to see foreignness as a subcategory of the more frequently used concept of otherness.

Foreignness and familiarity along with centre and periphery, constructions and displays are ingredients in the articles, and they all contribute to a smorgasbord of examples of different aspects of cultural interaction, seen from the semi-peripheral position of the Nordic countries.

Examples of topics presented here are Danes in twentieth-century Iceland, how Finnishness was created and presented at the first general exhibition of Finland in Helsinki. Exhibitions of foreignness are also evident in other articles in the volume, for instance ethnographical exhibitions in Copenhagen around 1900. Coastal tourism culture in southern Norway in the early twentieth century is the subject of another article where an interesting mix of foreign and home-grown elements is made visible.

A running theme of the volume is the unfixed character of foreignness together with mobile and negotiable aspects of the concept. It is about the Foreign versus the Familiar, where it is made visible that foreignness is not a stable category but rather a process of cultural negotiation.

By focusing on the Nordic countries and their experiences of foreignness, the volume contributes to an understanding of the complex phenomenon of cultural interaction during the age of imperialism and nationalism from a Nordic perspective. Until recently the Nordic voice has been missing from this debate.

Göran Hedlund, Lund

Heritage and Cohesion

Heritage, Regional Development and Social Cohesion. Peter Kearns *et al*. (eds.). Fornvårdaren 31. JamtliFörlag, Östersund 2011. 222 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7948-235-0.

■ *Heritage, Regional Development and Social Cohesion* is a volume publishing the articles from the PASCAL Östersund Conference, June 2010, which

dealt with cultural heritage and learning. The articles, however, are not straight reprints of the lectures but specially written and edited, and for this *Fornvårdaren* deserves thanks, since it means that the journal lives up to its declared purpose, which is to be "the County Museum of Jämtland's periodical for research-based texts".

Both the conference and this book were intended, as we read in the introduction by Peter Kearns, to "consider the role of culture and heritage learning in the socio-economic development of communities, their sense of identity and cohesion, and the quality of life of people", and in particular to do so by examining the newer roles of museums and libraries and, especially but not exclusively, with South Africa as a starting point, the role of these institutions in nation-building, although this should really be described as a traditional role if we think of Europe's national museums. Finally, there is a third aspect that receives particular consideration: heritage-learning in regional development. The latter takes place, not least of all, under the influence of the growing recognition of the role of culture and the contribution of cultural institutions to economic development in the emerging "creative economies", and their significance for identity creation is not forgotten either.

Like all such composite volumes, *Heritage, Regional Development and Social Cohesion* has both excellent and more average contributions, but generally speaking the editors have succeeded in producing a relatively uniform volume, with a very broad palette of empirical examples from the whole world which all, in one way or another, manage to stick to the topic, thus combining to make a good reading experience. This is not the place to search for exhaustive investigations of the matters covered, but the notes enable readers to pursue further reading in any part of the field they might be interested in, and into which the individual papers give good insight, precisely because most of them feel obliged to follow current practice in museums (and other heritage institutions), whether it concerns proper teaching, the use of volunteers in historical re-enactment, political positioning between rival narratives about what the nation is, was, or ought to be, its place in a rapidly growing event economy, or as a creator of identity in the reshaping of a city from a run-down industrial backyard to a buzzing cultural capital of Europe. And much more besides.

The volume might serve best as a collection of articles providing food for thought, provoking discussion in the institutions and their political, economic, and academic hinterland; in other words, reviving the topics and discussions of the conference, continued or started at home in the institutions and their surroundings.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

The Swedes of Finland

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, I fänrikarnas, martallarnas och dixietigrarnas land. En resa genom det svenska i Finland. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 754.) Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 2011. 382 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-225-2.

■ The folklorist Sven-Erik Klinkmann agreed to undertake a difficult assignment from the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, to write a survey of Swedish culture in Finland. The request came in connection with the preparations for the society's 125th anniversary in 2010, thus giving the assignment a rather official character that did not exactly make it any easier. But the result was not an official book – besides which the end result did not appear during the anniversary year. Klinkmann's massive survey can therefore be read without any reference to the original reason for its existence.

The study of the Swedes in Finland is a genre of considerable scope. Linguists, ethnologists, historians, sociologists, and others have written a great deal over the years about the position of this group and their relation both to the Finns in Finland and to the Swedes in present-day Sweden. There is nothing surprising in this; on the contrary, it is self-evident that the minority position is described, tested, and discussed in the Finland-Swedish research community, especially since the topic scarcely occurs in Finnish research or Swedish research in Sweden. But the amount of work that has been done makes it difficult to contribute anything new, as Sven-Erik Klinkmann must occasionally have thought as he was writing this book. Moreover, because the topic comes under several disciplines, it can easily lead to digressions into other academic subjects.

Another relevant factor is that the Swedes of Finland are a "people of the book" (p. 11), meaning that Swedishness in Finland is most clearly – and prefer-

ably – made visible and articulated in print. In published Swedish the heterogeneous group actually becomes more homogeneous, which must surely be significant both inwardly and in relation to neighbouring language groups. It therefore makes sense that the identity of the Finland-Swedish collective constitutes a scholarly genre.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann has tackled his task by considering a number of fields where, according to the author's introduction, it is relevant to investigate the presence of Swedishness. He begins with brief analyses of four fields in the autonomous Finland in the first half of the nineteenth century: the nobility and its educational ambitions, the Gothic novel, the circus, and tourism, in other words, four rather different fields. He then considers the author Johan Ludvig Runeberg who shaped an image of Finland – in Swedish – that is still alive, an image of its two peoples and its landscapes that is mostly expressed today in Finnish.

The third section deals with the transition from the old society of the four estates to a democracy, reflected in "the three discursive formations of language politics, nationalism, and modernity" (p. 21). More specifically, he examines the literature and posters of tourism. It was during this era of nationalism and nation-building that the term "Finland-Swedish" was coined and quickly became established. Klinkmann's conclusion is that the Swedes of Finland after the First World War, that is, in the new and independent Finland, found themselves in a complicated position, since they were "both a minority and a part of a nationality" (p. 181). They had to combine loyalty to their own language group with sentiment for the nation where the majority spoke a completely different language.

The subsequent parts of the book deal with popular music, first a section about Finland-Swedish jazz and early rock, including the 1970s phenomenon that is important in this context, *hurrarrock*, performed in Swedish in an emancipatory spirit and originating in schools in Österbotten. (*Hurrit* is a Finnish nickname for the Finland-Swedes.) More modern pop and rock, both Finland-Swedish and Finnish, is the subject of the next chapter, where Klinkmann happens to be on home ground after having written several works on the topic. Here he delves into contemporary names and details, treating them in a sure and fond manner, and making several thought-provoking observations. The choice of language to sing in – should Finland-Swedish artistes choose Swedish or English, or even Finnish? – is a crucial strategic issue relevant to identity and with commercial implications. Should it be the English of rock music, which is most authentic, besides concealing the Finland-Swedish origin and thus reaching a wider audience? Or should it be Swedish, which risks sounding home-made, but on the other hand is authentic in a different sense? And what about the bilingual artistes who are free to choose and who moreover have a bigger job market?

The last field chapter in the book is about two metaphors, "the duck pond" and "Moominvalley", as designations of the Finland-Swedish group, probably used most frequently within the group. Of the chosen fields, this is the one with the most internal references, although Klinkmann enlists the aid of theoretical tools to raise the level above being something purely for the initiated. In addition, it is the part of the text that is most situated in its time, since the analysis uses newspaper columns, blogs, and other ephemeral material. But presumably the author is obliged to tackle these metaphors in a survey of Swedishness in Finland.

Klinkmann's most important concept is *double bind*, launched by the anthropologist Gregory Bateson. In this case the double bind exists between Swedish and Finnish in Finland, but also between Swedish in Finland and Swedish in Sweden. These binds lead to dichotomous thinking – from both sides. And the double bind homogenizes, not to say simplifies, the groups – both internally and *vis-à-vis* the other group. The double bind is sibling-like in character, meaning that the groups are tied to each other, no matter what they might think about each other.

The concept of the double bind is the starting point for the discussion that rounds off the book, and this is open in character rather than aiming at a conclusion.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann has read a tremendous amount of literature to achieve a full view of the subject. Perhaps this is why the book is slightly too large. One thing I particularly appreciate is that he includes works in Finnish. At times, however, the text is just a summary of the literature, especially in the historical parts not based on the author's own primary research. When it comes to popular music, as we have seen, the situation is different – and references to other scholars are less frequent. The his-

torical sections give depth to the survey, besides which they present many important circumstances, but they nevertheless function as a prelude to the parts about popular music, where Klinkmann can move with greater freedom.

Even if the reader does not need to know anything about how the book came about, the commission nevertheless has a background in language politics which puts the book in a certain light. The Swedish language in Finland is currently struggling against tough opposition. This situation helps to explain the commission to write this book, but it also colours the author's account. In places Klinkmann, who is used to writing in the press, even enters into a topical debate (pp. 251ff). His text, in short, is characterized by both commitment and analysis.

Anyone who wants a picture of Swedishness in Finland, up to date as regards both research and society, will benefit from reading Sven-Erik Klinkmann's survey. He provides many facts and suggests interpretations. And he adds yet another brick to the edifice of scholarly knowledge about the Finland-Swedish existence.

Gunnar Ternhag, Falun

Swedish Legend Types

Bengt af Klintberg, The Types of the Swedish Folk Legend. Folklore Fellows' Communications 300. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki, 2010. 501 pp. ISBN 978-951-41-1053-5.

■ Classical folklore studies engaged in comparison in order to find the original form, the time and place of origin, and the channels of diffusion. In order to fulfil this task a couple of catalogues and indices were needed. At the beginning of the twentieth century quite a number of these were published in order to render comparison possible.

Later on folklore studies changed into a more socially minded discipline combining theoretical tools from anthropology, ethnography and linguistics, but neglecting problems such as the prerequisites for generalization, or the relationship to anthropology and linguistics proper. In many cases the immense archival collections of folklore were more or less ignored as valid material. Fieldwork became central, whereas historical perspectives became scarce.

In the 1960s Bengt af Klintberg started a project to create a type catalogue of the folk legends in the archive of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, Sweden. Due to several circumstances he was unable to follow his plans and finish the work within a feasible time span. Perhaps this was all for the better, for now, in 2010, the catalogue is published and it comprises not only the texts in the Nordic Museum archive but legends from all of Sweden. He picked his material from four great tradition archives in Sweden, those in Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala, as well as from printed sources. Some 150 books and articles are mentioned in the source list. All in all he reports 1,800 types.

The book starts with an introduction in which af Klintberg describes his personal relationship to his task. However, he also refers to the history of scholarship when telling the story of how legend research arose and how it was formalized thanks to several conferences and meetings all over Europe. This kind of report on the history of folklore studies is valuable, the discipline being quite young with an often orally transferred history – as long as those who were there still are able to tell it.

The introduction also discusses central concepts such as "type" and "legend", taking into consideration how they are comprehended in other languages and in research about other genres than the legend. For example, af Klintberg refers to the discussion about the difference in understanding the concept of "type" in legend and folktale scholarship. Such a discussion takes us directly to the time when the need for classification, taxonomy and systems was felt to be crucial in relation to other scholarly disciplines, a circumstance that later on, to some extent, was forgotten or overlooked.

This type index has some restrictions. It omits all kinds of texts that would have been accepted in another context. Memorates, belief accounts, anecdotes and chronicates do not occur in the catalogue, but the legends from which these genres have drawn their content are listed.

The concept of Swedish is also analysed. The author states that Swedish to him in this book is a linguistic concept rather than a geographical one. Therefore, we do not find Sami legends, nor do we see anything about the Finnish tradition in Värmland or northern Sweden. But this does mean that we find very many references to the Swedish legend tradition in Finland, which is extremely laudable,

for the Finland-Swedish folklore has not often been treated in any international language.

"Folk" means the pre-industrial population and the time span is *c*. 1500–1950.

Bengt af Klintberg also gives a survey of other type catalogues dealing with Nordic legends, including the Finnish and international ones. He pays attention to the Swedish folklorist, his mentor Carl-Herman Tillhagen as one of those who encouraged of the index.

The Swedish legend is divided into 24 sections in this catalogue, starting with texts about supernatural circumstances and ending with "historical" material. Each section begins with a general description of the type and its place in Swedish (Nordic) culture and folklore. This introduction gives an overview of the type according to cited scholarly investigations from the time when legends were studied with typology as one of the main issues. Thereafter follow subcategories of the type, with their central traits, and subtypes described in short sentences. For each subtype the published and unpublished sources are listed. The book ends with a list of references to relevant scholarly publications and a table demonstrating the ATU types in the book. There is a highly valuable subject index at the end of this catalogue.

Comparison in order to find the original text is no longer *à la mode* in folklore studies. One might ask why such a catalogue is important today. Today, history is a highly favoured discipline. However, folklore is often neglected as a source of historical knowledge. Indeed, folklore has its weaknesses, being anonymous, having no date, often lacking almost any kind of acceptable and reliable information concerning "when", "where", "why", or "who". In the school of mentalities history, however, folklore did find a place and a value. When one wants to understand how people in general regarded the world, what world view they preferred, why they reacted to something in a certain way, folklore is important and highly valuable. Certainly, the material needs a special skill to understand and interpret it. For instance, a folklorist dealing with legends must never forget that the legends mirror values in a society in which the motifs were so appreciated that people remembered them and told them for hundreds of years, and in doing so preserved the value system with the aid of which they ruled their lives – and created historically acceptable documents. The folklorist needs to know quite a lot about the historical circumstances in the society in which the legends were told. But the historian would also be better for knowing something about the folk culture that was the base for the people being investigated. With a thorough, historically grounded and theoretically acceptable method of interpretation, the study of legends can broaden our understanding of history, of values and ideals in a past society.

A folklorist who, for instance, wants to know something about the difficult problem of respect for property in Swedish morality and ethics no longer needs to read 150 collections of legends, but can easily get an overview thanks to catalogues such as Bengt af Klintberg's. Let us hope that this book will function as an eye-opener to many young students of folklore in times gone by.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

New Openings in European Ethnology

Ethnology in the 21st Century. Transnational Reflections of Past, Present and Future. Jussi Lehtonen & Salla Tenkanen (eds.) Turun yliopisto, Turku 2010. 392 pp. Ill. Maps. ISBN 978-951-29-4382-1.

■ What is European ethnology and what could it be? A diverse and comprehensive publication, *Ethnology in the 21st century. Transnational Reflections of Past, Present and Future,* edited by Jussi Lehtonen and Salla Tenkanen opens new perspectives into what ethnologists should now focus on.

The articles are connected with the international seminar Localities, Pluralities and Postnationalities in a Transnational Context: The Role and Vision of Ethnology in the 21st Century, which was organized in May 2008 at the University of Turku for the 50th anniversary of the discipline of European ethnology. The book is based on the keynote lectures and workshop presentations held during the seminar. The publication is dedicated to Professor Pekka Leimu, who retired on the 31st of July 2010.

The editors have grouped the keynote lectures and a variety of workshop presentations in three parts: past – present – future, because they considered it almost impossible to organize the articles thematically. Such a structure is basically logical, but the reading experience remains fragmented. I wonder if the articles containing information about how adaptive and multidisciplinary ethnology actu-

ally is, might have been grouped in the first part of the book. Other articles could then have followed, categorised according to the workshops.

Being quite complex, the book can be read from several angles. It aroused my interest in how European ethnology as a discipline could serve the late-modern society. The book introduces plenty of new directions into which ethnologists can and into which they should go.

Its main article, Konrad Köstlin's keynote lecture "European ethnology − What does it mean?" is placed in the *Present viewpoints* category, but it could well open the book, as it introduces a number of new, exiting approaches. To Köstlin European ethnology has always been a result of and an answer to the modernisation process and changes within European societies. He states that it is a discipline that is able not only to communicate with neighbouring disciplines but also to provide incentive for others. The strength of ethnology lies in its approach.

The book serves as an introduction to exploring various approaches within the discipline. The researches guide the reader into considering big and essential issues. Most of the articles are quite specific but are linked to other interesting articles in the book. It is not surprising that one of the key themes is cultural heritage − how it can build identity, social awareness and knowledge of history. Museums are more than places for cultural heritage on display. For example, environmental education by museums can move us from ideas to action as Kirsi Hänninen states in her article "Environmental ethnology opens an ecologic of thought and action". Sirkku Pihlman argues in her article "The changing museum and changing concepts of the museum" that spontaneous consequences of museum can prove to be as important as predicted ones, perhaps more so.

Maija Mäki in her article on industrial heritage and urban planning "From a modern power plant to a factory of culture – Hanasaari A power plant as an object of industrial heritage in Helsinki 1957−2007" examines the many phases of the "Hanasaari A" plant, beginning with its construction state in the early 1960s, continuing through its decades of intensive use, and concluding with its final phase as a standby power plant and its use in conjunction with cultural production. The final decision to demolish "Hanasaari A" was made by the Helsinki City Council in December 2006 in order to make space for modern housing units although the workers of "Hanasaari A" often raised the alternative of museum use and other leisure activities. Mäki states that these changes reflect deeper social changes in Finland.

Ethnology is relevant on an individual level, and that is the strength of our discipline. The ability to examine how one experiences time, place and social group, creates knowledge, which can also be made use of in other disciplines. Annamaria Marttila's article "The personal and retold past in the experience of a traumatic brain-injured person" leads the reader to understand how one person's experience can be used more widely. This and other texts reflecting the individual's everyday life help us understand that ethnology can help us solve huge global problems, because it truly is an area that gets close to the individual and everyday life. Many researchers argue that ethnology can provide the kind of essential information that other disciplines cannot.

Ethnology is a useful discipline when it comes to immigration and multicultural issues. Anna-Maria Åström's article "Cultural encounters and questions within pluralistic societies" suggests an interesting idea. Cultural pluralism, rather than assimilation of immigrants, could, according to Åström, be the cornerstone of a state. Johanna Rolshoven writes in "Mobile cultural studies − Reflecting moving culture and cultural movements" that a growing number of people have – for various reasons − two or more homes and they practice multi-local living. She points out that cultural studies, for example, can draw on the insight of migration research, which leads us to understand the ambivalence of multilocality as a kind of normality.

Ethnological research may also help solve geopolitical problems. One example of this is the fieldwork carried out among the Setu people living along the Estonian-Russian border. Art Leete explains the research conducted on Setu identity. Ethnology can also be a useful tool in social policy. Jonas Frykman's article "Looking for the Future − The Labour Market and the analysis of culture" or Sanna Heikkilä's "The protected and threatened good childhood – Models of Finnish childcare cultures in the transformation" show examples in this area.

Climate change should certainly be extensively examined in ethnology as well. One tool for that is environmental ethnology, which should have a

larger role within our discipline. Helena Ruotsala points out that cultural environmental research can contribute in a great way by studying climate change.

The Global issue of what people will eat in the near future is literally vital. What could the role of rural areas be in this? In his article Pekka Leimu states that – while the Finnish countryside has been chancing rapidly – producers have become entrepreneurs. Maria Wieruszewska raises an important perspective on rural studies. She states that the main axis of division between researchers studying the problems of the rural community and agriculture runs between economics on one side and ecology on the other. The demarcation line separates those who see farmers as the trustees of natural and cultural values and those who, concentrating their attention on matters of competition, think that the future belongs mainly to large, modern farms producing goods for the market and who, simultaneously, repudiate arguments of the "small is beautiful" type. Wieruszewska suggests that a farmer is beginning to be perceived as a husbandman – a guardian of natural resources that have global value, and also as a trustee of a nation's cultural traditions. She writes that this symptomatic turn can not only be linked to the crisis of the rural community but also to the recognition of ecological threats.

Pirjo Nenola, Jyväskylä

People in the Cold War

Kriget som aldrig kom – 12 forskare om kalla kriget. Andreas Linderoth (ed.). Marinmuseum, Karlskrona 2010. 224 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-633-8547-6.

■ For almost half a century the cold war played a significant role in societies in much of the world, on the level of high politics as well as in the daily life of ordinary people. In this edited volume, *Kriget som aldrig kom* ("The war that never came"), we get some insights into this history from the perspective of Swedish society. Twelve contributions present different aspects of Sweden, Swedes and the cold war situation in a neat fusion of written text and visual illustrations. The book has been launched together with the exhibition "Surface Tension – the Cold War in the Baltic 1979–89" at the Swedish Naval Museum.

The contributions cover a lot of ground. There seems to be no overall focus or approach except for the common reference to the political cold war situation. Some of the articles are directly related to military issues, while in others military and high politics are only part of the general framework. The authors are similarly diverse, made up of ethnologists and historians in architecture, economics, military studies and art.

The introductory contribution by the Danish historian Thomas Wegener Friis takes us through the military doctrines and strategies regarding the Baltic in the relevant Warsaw Pact countries in question. The article reminds us of the high priority – and huge financial resources – devoted to the territorial trial of strength, although it took place behind the scenes and was unknown to the general public. The article stresses the point that the eastern side went through a shift from having plans for attack – based on military superiority (which is not really supported by the table presented on p. 13) – to recognition of inferiority after the mid-eighties.

The majority of the articles investigate the impact of the cold war on Swedish society from a more everyday perspective. These articles are rather diverse in character. Thomas Roth looks into the great importance the preparation for a potential war had on the way Sweden was organized. The concept of "total defence" seemingly made up the fundamental pillars on which the whole society rested. This was a system that many Swedes were more or less in contact with, many of course directly through the compulsory military service, others more indirectly through different kinds of voluntary work. Almost three million people were estimated to be part of the total defence in some way or another at the beginning of the 1980s. Roth points out that the Swedes themselves were not necessarily aware of the thorough and detailed regulation of their well-organized society – or to its relation to a total defence – but he shows convincingly how this organization can benefit from being viewed alongside the building of the Swedish "People's Home".

Other contributions – such as Sverker Oredsson's about fear, Andreas Linderoth's about local newspaper images of the war and Peter Rosengren's about enemy images – have narrower focuses and are based on more limited material (such as newspapers and other media). In all cases the grounding of a Soviet submarine in the skerries outside Karlskrona in 1981 plays a significant role in the repre-

sentations and the discourse more generally. This incident literally brought an otherwise rather intangible issue up to the surface.

Fia Sundevall has another take on creations of the cold war period, namely the gender question. She describes how women in the voluntary defence service – known as *Lottor* – were caught in between being an important part of the total defence and at the same time being regarded as inferior by a significant share of the male staff within the military ranks. In addition, they were exposed to contempt from representatives of the anti-militaristic currents from the 1960s onwards.

An important aspect of cold war Sweden was the geographical location of the country, divided from the enemy only by the Baltic Sea. Beate Feldmann presents the everyday life of civilians and military personnel in three small island communities of strategic significance: the Swedish island of Gotland in the middle of the Baltic, Rügen in the German Democratic Republic, and Ösel in the Soviet Union. Anna McWilliams gives a thought-provoking picture of the many aspects related to the border challenge in an investigation of the Polish endeavours to keep a potential enemy out, and – not least – keep the local population inside. Pawel Jaworski's contribution about Swedish-Polish relations in the wake of the Solidarnosc wave of the 1980s lays bare the dilemma of the Polish government confronted with the Swedish authorities that on one hand, were very critical of the USA – and hence a kind of friend – and on the other hand criticized the suppression of Solidarnosc.

The three concluding articles by Samuel Palmblad, Per Strömberg and Marie Cronqvist deal with the legacy of the cold war and its potential afterlife in memory and in cultural heritage in terms of the many huge installations, such as air-raid shelters, bunkers and the like – an issue that society needs to make up its mind about now that the cold war is beginning to be regarded a distant past.

Kriget som aldrig kom is not a book with discussions with other scholars – and references are generally absent – or with an overall perspective under investigation across the contributions, but it can be read for its refreshing curiosity about the strange political conditions that the cold war generated and the way it influenced different aspects of our daily life.

Niels Jul Nielsen, Copenhagen

Built Heritage as the Viewpoint of National History

Linnoista lähiöihin. Rakennetut kulttuuriympäristöt Suomessa. Pinja Metsäranta (ed.). Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 1274. Museoviraston rakennushistorian osaston julkaisuja 33. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura & Museovirasto, Helsinki 2010. 240 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-191-9 / 978-951-616-206-8.

■ The National Board of Antiquities maintains a list of nationally significant cultural landscapes. The inventory serves as a tool for professionals and as a recommendation for planning. It also offers information for anyone interested in built heritage in Finland. The latest version of the inventory was published on the Internet in 2009. The book *Linnoista lähiöihin. Rakennetut kulttuuriympäristöt Suomessa* provides a selected sample of cultural landscapes from the inventory in printed format.

The book is a thematic introduction to Finnish cultural landscapes, including both built heritage and archaeological remains. It is divided into twelve chapters that are categorized according to the purpose of the architecture, the character of the area or the cultural history related to the environment. At the end of the book, there is a complete list of nationally significant cultural landscapes defined by the National Board of Antiquities. In contrast to the thematic nature of the book, the list at the end of the book is arranged in regional order as is the virtual inventory published on the Internet (http://www.rky.fi/).

The first six chapters in the book are organised by natural landscapes and partly geographically due to the variability of the Finnish terrain. The other half of the book is assembled more according to the function of the buildings. Despite the twofold structure of the book, it still takes on an unbroken and complete form. Thematically assembled chapters lead the reader to the end of the book, so that after finishing the book the reader must remind himself of the fact that after all, the description wasn't chronological, cartographic or typological. It actually was more like a considered confection of different kinds of built-up areas introduced in thematic and accessible order.

For example, the first chapter, which deals with cultural landscapes situated in the archipelago, navigates between a lighthouse community and a fishing

village in Northern Ostrobothnia, as well as a village community in Kymenlaakso and a summer villa community in Southeast Finland. The chapter covers cultural landscapes from all over the Finnish insular area. The featured historic areas are also used for different kinds of purposes. The most mind-catching contribution in the first chapter are the petroglyphs of Hauensuoli – the unique island cluster in Uusimaa, filled with petroglyphs from the 17th century to the early 20th century. The second chapter continues with the theme a notch closer to the mainland: the chapter is titled "Seaboard" and it consists of landscapes from all over the Finnish costal area.

The argument for organizing the places has, therefore, not been either the purpose of the buildings or the locality, but the common theme of the area. As outlined above, the chapters are organised in a very creative way. For an ethnologist who reads about built heritage categorized by style or function ad nauseam, the particular thematic approach has much to offer.

The rest of the chapters deal with cultural landscapes along the coastline, in old rural environments, along the river banks, in the lake and forest areas and in the mountains. Defense construction, industry and transportation, education, science and technique, and travelling, recreation and culture form their own entities as well. The last chapter is about urban planning in the 20th century, post-war reconstruction and modernism.

Which cultural landscapes have then been selected for the compilation? The selection could not have been easy – after all, there are 1258 cultural landscapes listed in the official inventory and only 125 of them found their way into the book. Therefore, the editorial board has decided to include environments as comprehensively as possible from all over Finland, environments having various purposes and different types of landscapes from many decades.

As for my point of view, the selection has succeeded, although some of my own interests have remained outside the book. The book introduces us to built heritage that is studied less comprehensively than what is tend to. Hence, the book increases environmental awareness – it fulfils the task for which it presumably has been intended.

As a product of collaboration, the book published by the Finnish Literature Society and the National Board of Antiquities together spread the message about cherishing our enduring mutual heritage. To go back to the preface of the book, editor Pinja Metsäranta writes: "The targets selected for the book delineate the built heritage in Finland in as versatile a way as possible in terms of the timing as well as geographically and with regarded to the subject matter. The book opens viewpoints to familiar places and increases an understanding of built heritage and its values".

Therefore, the book has something to offer for all kinds of readers. It can be approached as entertainment, as a professional reference book or as a source for increasing awareness about our home region. The book should be of interest for anybody interested in built heritage as the framework for Finnish culture and national history.

Aura Kivilaakso, Pori

Material Culture and the Materiality of Culture

Materiell kultur og kulturens materialitet. Saphinas-Amal Naguib & Bjarne Rogan (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2011. 385 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099- 630-8.

■ In 2011 the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages (IKOS) at Oslo University published a large volume with wide-ranging essays on the research theme of material culture. According to the foreword, the volume came about just after several departments had been amalgamated to give IKOS, where there are several different disciplines. The usual strategy for the increasingly frequent amalgamations of this kind in the university world is to find common denominators and synergies for future research and teaching. The new department at Oslo University united around the theme of "Material culture in a globalized world". One result of this focus is the present volume, where ethnologists, anthropologists, museologists, philologists, linguists, and scholars of religion assemble around the topic of material culture and its meaning. The reader will find a rich and varied content, with some fascinating texts.

Research with a focus on material culture has grown and become nuanced in the last decade. In the last chapter of the volume Bjarne Rogan provides a well-informed and instructive survey of all the ten-

dencies and debates generated by this research; this chapter alone would justify the purchase of the book. The editors begin with the customary summary of the content, and declare that the sixteen chapters all have a theoretical starting point, focusing on two central concepts: "materiality" and "objectification".

In this context "materiality" means that the researchers wish to point out the *social* meanings of objects, as an added value and a complement to analyses proceeding from the physical properties of things. The editors refer to the archaeologist Christopher Tilley, who says that the concept of materiality refers to the possibilities, as well as the limitations, that objects give us in our social world. This is linked to the term "agency", which has been much debated in material studies in recent years: things possess agency, an "effective force" that influences our social and cultural life, whether we like it or not. The agency of objects seems to refer to the interpretative potential of virtually any object that we handle in our lives, but two general examples of objects filled with an increasingly effective agency today are the computer and the mobile phone. The effects of these innovations (which of course comprises not just the artefacts as such but also complex systems of technology and information exchange) have fundamentally changed our patterns of communication and our professional lives. With inspiration from now classical studies such as Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986), some thinkers in this field have drifted so far in their interpretations of the active and subject-filled properties of things that other scholars, such as Tilley, have criticized them for over-interpretation tending towards animism. There is a risk that the researcher will let the analysis slip from talking about the *effect* of things to claim that they are capable of *action*, thus becoming active agents, and if the analysis is combined with a social constructivist approach, the result has almost animistic allusions; things are perceived as active subjects. With a more moderate interpretation of agency research, things give us possibilities and power (e.g. weapons) but also limitations (we usually drive cars on roads that are specially constructed and demarcated for the purpose). Yet the dilemma of adopting too mild an application of agency as a basis for interpretation is that the conclusions tend to become trivial, almost self-evident.

The other concept in focus, "objectification", refers to the ability of things to be charged with varying cognitive and social content: "Things are not containers for a given meaning, but they can be perceived as media for the continuous production and reproduction of cognitive social content, in the encounter between thing and person" (p. 10). Perhaps a good example of the objectification of things would be the Volkswagen "Beetle", initially a symbol of collectivism in Nazi Germany, representing subordination to a totalitarian ideology, but later recoded in a diametrically opposite sense when the vehicle became associated with things like American individualism, the freethinking hippie culture. The artefact can thus be the same, but its social and cultural meaning can vary greatly over time and place.

As we notice, however, there are no clear-cut lines between the references to materiality and those to objectification. With materiality the focus may be more on the thing itself and its potential effect; with objectification the researchers seem to be alluding more to the social and cultural contexts of things. To this it could be added that there is also a third trend in research: actor-network theory (ANT), which appears to be a variant of traditional discourse analysis. Here the significance of things is seen in relation to heterogeneous constellations of networks which can consist of both human and non-material technical "actors" (or "actants") which together exert an effect. Here the computer and the mobile phone would of course be perfectly suited for an ANT analysis. ANT has appealed to theorists who focus on the understanding of technical systems and practices, such as Michel Callon or Bruno Latour, whereas the approach is not so well represented among the researchers in this volume; only one of the sixteen refers explicitly to ANT as a basis for analysis.

Turning to the content of the articles, it can be observed that the editors have divided the volume into four themes, besides Rogan's concluding survey of research, which stands on its own. The first theme is "Science and Classification", comprising three articles. The museologist Britta Brenna uses ANT as an explanatory foundation when she proceeds from the subject of her study, the Trondheim bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus, seeking to interpret why this churchman in the second half of the eighteenth century devoted so much toil and energy to collecting, describing, and studying natural speci-

mens. Gunnerus turns out to have been part of an international network of collectors and scholars who embodied the vision of the Republic of the Learned, where Linnaeus would later become the central figure. Brenna's article points out that the things Gunnerus collected acquired their meanings in the context of his social and professional network. The bishop died in the early 1770s, at the same time as research on natural history lost its state support in the Western world, so that his collection, in a way, died along with him (Linnaeus's collection was likewise split up and sold after his death). Brenna's article gives fascinating insight into a scientific and social context that has not seen much research. As a reader, however, one is left without an answer to the opening question of *why* the bishop collected, and *how* the things themselves affected the collectors.

In the following article Lise Camilla Ruud and Terje Planke give an interpretation of how the Rollstad loft-store from Gudbrandsdalen has been ascribed varying meanings and political connotations over 230 years. Here the authors try to view the history of the building in terms of the history of science: restoration and management practices, interpretation of techniques, and culture theory. In short, this is an applied artefact biography, showing how the meaning attached to an object can vary according to the changing scientific and political climate of society. The approach is effective, succeeding in its aim of reflecting the shift of meaning that continually takes place as objects are given new social and political charges (compare, for example, the Ornäs loft in Sweden). It may be added that similar studies have been conducted elsewhere, such as Camilla Mordhorst's interesting Danish study of the Museum Wormianum (2009) and how selected items in it have wandered through learned institutions and scientific discourses. We shall probably see more artefact biographies, since this is an excellent method for applied late-modern material research. The cultural historian Bjarne Rogan likewise succeeds in the next study, about folk dress, provinces, and bourgeois tourists in rural nineteenth-century Norway. Rogan shows how folk costumes are given agency as regional and cultural markers, and are also assigned a national symbolic value, finally acting as "evidence" in the major theory of cultural evolution that dominated during the nineteenth century.

The second theme in the volume, entitled "History and Memory", begins with a study by Bernt Brendemoen, a scholar of language and literature, of the complex way in which the author Orhan Pamuk and the characters in his novels relate to things. An author like Pamuk can use things to create moods and correspondences with the emotions and intentions of the characters; the roles they play can be as important as those of active human subjects. The cultural historian Kyrre Kverndokk writes in the next article about the fortress of Akershus and the memorial grove there. The analysis of this memorial site of war focuses on the collective and the use of ceremonies and monuments for handing down memories and for symbolic identity politics. The theme is linked to the now classical research by George L. Mosse and Pierre Nora about official memory culture. Kverndokk, however, identifies a tension between nationally oriented heroic iconography in the memorial grove and the more recent *Monument to the Deportation of Norwegian Jews*, where the existing and symbolic status of memory feels more indeterminate, uncomfortable, and ambiguous. The tension in collective memory, according to Kverndokk, ranges from a traditional and national reference to the ethically globalized universalism of the Holocaust monuments. To round off this part of the book, the cultural historian Saphinaz-Amal Naguib writes about the modern Egyptian use of history, where ancient culture is given new symbolic interpretations that result in a new public aesthetic and use of monuments. In the combination of cultural encounters and politicization, a "neo-Pharaonism" arises, where references to the past are physically reproduced with new contemporary meanings in the construction of buildings and monuments borrowing from classical art and architecture.

The third part of the volume concerns "Body and Person" and starts with the Korea expert Vladimir Tikhonow who, somewhat unusually in this context, focuses on the reified *person* through a study of slavery in Korea under the Chosón dynasty (1392–1910). Tikhonow notes, to begin with, that different times and cultures have kept slaves, with their social status varying from that of potential citizens (in the Roman Empire) to being regarded as no more than "living objects" that could be sold and treated exactly as the owner pleased (in certain periods in Korea). Slavery in Korea seems to have been legitimated by a fundamentalist tradition of state hegemony –

slavery was accepted because it was a trade that favoured state interests. Korea's slaves were not "aliens" but they were at the very bottom of the collective state hierarchy and could therefore be dehumanized. It thus differed from historical slavery in the Western world, which was traditionally legitimated through a social distinction: the alien and thus "barbarous" status of the slave. Tikhonow's study points out the hypocrisy behind the use of an economy where at times about 40% of the provincial population were slaves, while the official Confucian ideology of the society dictated that everyone should be considered equal, under the supremacy of the king. Next comes the ethnologist Kari Telste with her study of the jail in the town hall in Kristiania and the materialized outlook on punishment. She tackles the topic by highlighting the religious freethinker Hans Nielsen Hauge, who was imprisoned here for a few years in the early nineteenth century. In 1924 the jail became a part of the Norwegian Folk Museum, because Hauge had been a prisoner there. The memory acts here as materialized evidence of bygone state intolerance and censorship. Telste's article thus focuses on the materiality of imprisonment and the existential tension between freedom and compulsion that is manifested in the boundaries drawn within the rooms in the prison. Part three ends with a study by Ragnhild Jonsrud Zorgati, orientalist and scholar of religion, about the Turkish or Moorish bath (hammam) and its practice. The hammam cannot be interpreted without the necessary analysis of materiality and sensuality. Zorgati dwells on the cultural analysis of the senses, referring to David Howes' "sensual culture studies" when she points out that *sight* is primary in western culture, but more senses are an essential part of forms of culture outside the West. Touch is the sensual experience, according to Zorgati, that has been ranked lowest in European modernity, while the complex sensory experience is a precondition for the reproduction of the hammam and its cultural content.

The fourth part of the volume deals with the theme of "Religion and Belief", more specifically how religiosity is expressed through various forms of material culture. Here the orientalist and Japan expert Mark Teeuwen begins with a study of religious actors in Buddhist Japan. It is an open question whether Buddhism presupposes liberation from materiality, or if materially oriented rituals are essential for learning the powerful religious meaning of the Buddha. Teeuwen elucidates why the material religious practice cannot be separated from the religious content of Buddhism. The subsequent article by the historian of religion Hanna Havnevik presents a study of the popular religious use of Buddhist texts in Tibet and Mongolia. She argues convincingly that these material scriptures are perceived as being dissociated from the religious content of the texts. On the contrary, the texts themselves are given subject-like properties, associated with intention and the ability to convey religious revelations. Working in the same discipline as Havnevik, Nora Stene then studies how Coptic children relate to given religious objects, with a comparison between Cairo and London. The objects are Coptic religious icons and their significance for passing on religiously coloured practices and basic values. The anthropologist and historian of religion Berit Thornsbjørnsrud then writes about the establishment of the Orthodox church in Norway, having studied the intimate connection of that religion to material objects. Icons, censers, and candles have a transformative power; they belong to rituals that turn the room and the objects used into holy substances. To conclude part four, the cultural historian and scholar of religion Arne Bugge Amundsen has studied the materiality of the church interior at the transition from Catholicism to Protestantism, specifically in Østfold 1537–1700. His study indicates both continuity and discontinuity in the religious use of the material content of the church interior. The Lutheran doctrine that true faith required a separation between the material and the spiritual did *not* mean in practice that the religious cult was freed from the use of objects. The priests preached from pulpits, they christened babies in (originally Catholic) fonts, and they administered communion with ritually charged objects. Moreover, economically and socially strong individuals had ample scope, through donations, to shape the churches into memorial arenas, with tombs, plaques, and adornment. This brings us to the end of this survey of the contents.

To round off, it should be said that the compact print in the book and the excessively shiny paper make it difficult to read (yet another example of the significance of things!). At times one can also feel that late-modern research seems to have forgotten Occam's famous razor: one should not cite more perspectives than necessary to explain a phenome-

non. It gives no added value to launch new concepts and terms for phenomena that can be described just as efficiently with the established nomenclature. To be fair, I must say that the authors mostly express themselves comprehensibly. As I see it, what is new about late-modern research on material culture is primarily that the interpretations of things are now seriously linked to social and cultural practice. Researchers no longer stop at the interpretation of artefacts as being reason enough for a study. To sum up, this edited volume is well worth reading for anyone interested in the research field. The multidisciplinary approach gives the reader new angles of approach and encourages shifts in thought. Few readers are likely to be interested in all the articles and topics in the book, but the introduction and the concluding chapter alone are valuable enough for those who wish to learn more on the theme of material culture.

Richard Pettersson, Umeå

Uses of History

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Historiens forvandlinger. Historiebrug fra monumenter til oplevelsesøkonomi. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Århus 2010. 326 pp. ISBN 978-87-7934-561-4.

■ While working on the review of the book *Historiens forvandlinger* ("The Changes of History") I was reached by the sad news that Niels Kayser Nielsen had passed away on Good Friday this year. As a historian Niels Kayser Nielsen was extremely productive. The uses of history was one of his research fields, but he was also interested in, for example, food history and sports history. Among his recent publications one can find books such as *Krop og kulturanalyser* ("The Body and Cultural Analysis", 1997), *Madkultur – opbrud og tradition* ("Food Culture: Break-up and Tradition", 2003), *Steder i Europa* ("Places in Europe", 2005) and *Bonde, stat og hjem* ("Peasant, State and Home", 2009).

With *Historiens forvandlinger*, published in 2010, Niels Kayser Nielsen wanted to remedy the lack of a basic book in Danish on the uses of history. In addition to introducing the research field, the aim of the book is also to demonstrate some of the themes and issues in contemporary research on the uses of history. The book not only addresses university students but also a broader public interested in history. Thus there are two basic introductory chapters where different perspectives on the research field are presented, along with key concepts such as historical culture, the uses of history and historical consciousness. In a separate chapter the author also discusses research on the uses of history in other countries as well as related research fields. It is evident that Niels Kayser Nielsen is highly inspired by research on the uses of history conducted in Sweden, not least by the historian Peter Aronsson and his book *Historiebruk* ("The Uses of History", 2004). Several ethnologists/folklorists who have done research in related fields are also frequently referenced in the book.

Niels Kayser Nielsen discusses different aspects of both the conscious political use of history and more non-reflexive uses in everyday life. Personalized and materialized uses of history are discussed in separate chapters, along with uses of history in cultural history and everyday life. Finally Niels Kayser Nielsen reasons about experience history, uses of history between cultural heritage and experience economy as well as memory and forgetfulness. A characteristic of the book is that more theoretical discussions are interspersed with numerous examples and case studies, drawn from different periods but above all different countries. The author not only uses examples from Denmark and its neighbouring countries but also from other parts of Europe, especially Eastern Europe. Thus when Niels Kayser Nielsen, in the chapter about materialized uses of history, discusses naming he not only gives examples of street and road names in Denmark, but also discusses the names Bratislava, Kaliningrad/Königsberg and so on. In the chapter about the uses of history in cultural history the author similarly uses the Danish *Højskolesangbogen* ("Folk High School Songbook") and the discussions about the Russian opera *Khovanshchina* as examples. With few exceptions, the book is well written and the examples well chosen to illustrate the different aspects of uses of history that Niels Kayser Nielsen discusses. The examples also help to identify the field research and to introduce some of the work that has been done in the last few decades about the uses of history. In addition, parts of Europe's history that may be relatively unknown to many people are now made more visible by the author.

Historiens forvandlinger testifies to Niels Kayser Nielsen's broad knowledge, not only in the uses of

history but in history in general. As a basic book for university students, *Historiens forvandlinger* would work well. It gives an introductory view of the research field and will also inspire further studies. The many references at the end of each chapter also help those who want to immerse themselves in different aspects of the uses of history. The book can also be recommended to a broader public.
Fredrik Skott, Göteborg

Analysing an Interview

Haastattelun analyysi. Johanna Ruusuvuori, Pirjo Nikander & Matti Hyvärinen (eds.). Vastapaino, Tampere 200. 469 pp. ISBN 978-951-768-309-8.

■ Anyone who has tried to teach students how to conduct research knows how problematic it can be to put into words the multidimensional analysis process and to give concrete guidelines. Similarly, anyone who has experienced sitting down for the first time to analyse interview material knows how scary it can be. The fact that this process is not independent but is interwoven throughout the different parts of the research does not make the task any easier. A guidebook entitled *Haastattelun analyysi* (Interview Analysis) will therefore – I suspect – raise expectations among both university students and teachers. The book complements a recently published anthology dealing with the interview process (2005), and the two together thus cover a wide area of interest to ethnologists.

The contributors to the book come from both the humanities and the social sciences, Jyrki Pöysä representing cultural studies. Ethnography as a research method is discussed in many articles, with Laura Huttunen and Anna Rastas placing special emphasis on it. The anthology comprises 19 articles all together, starting with a clear introduction written by the editors guiding the reader through the different analytical phases. At the end of each article is a list for further reading, which will no doubt help those who are inspired by the methods described in the book.

On the meta-level of analysis the process seems to be very much the same regardless of the discipline. The fact that knowledge is produced in interaction between the researcher, the informants and the social circumstances is the starting point in both social sciences and humanities. Many articles emphasise the importance of contextualising the source material – and not without reason. The fact that the researcher's expectations may not correspond with the reality within the source material, and the need to move forwards and backwards in the conceptualising process are also cross-disciplinary phenomena. The description of the process will no doubt be of help to anyone who experiences a lack of confidence when thinking about the various directions in which the source materials may lead, reassuring them that it is an inevitable part of the process and, as such, a necessary phase. The concrete descriptions of the different phases, such as grouping and organising, identifying and listing (Anna Rastas), and the different levels of analysis (Tarja Aaltonen and Anna Leimumäki) dissipate the needless scientific glamour from what is a truly down-to-earth phase of research.

Most of the book is dedicated to giving examples of different ways of conducting analyses. It is here that the disciplinary differences become visible. Some of the methods and viewpoints may seem (too) mechanical and sometimes (too) quantitative for an ethnologist, but they do give an insight into the various approaches to interview material – which in itself is largely obtained by similar means within diverse disciplines.

The main starting point, however, is the same: choosing one's methods of analysis in relation to the field and the research questions (the determination of which is, of course, a process in itself), as Laura Huttunen writes. One major difference becomes visible when ethnographic fieldwork with interviews is compared with conducting separate interviews with looser connections to the field in terms of how the researcher contextualises the process. This raises interesting issues, especially from the perspective of Finnish ethnology and the current change to a more comprehensive repossession of the field.

On the positive side we have been adept at problematizing the nature of remembering and sharing experiences and memories for some time now. Where we have less competence is in analysing the way the new ethnographic interest affects how we interpret these experiences. We may very well ask if and how the way we understand 'fieldwork' also affects to the way we see the dialogue between the field and the researcher. The role negotiation between the researcher and the researched that goes on during the dialogue affects the substance – in terms

of both the means and the forms of the narration – and the process of analysing the interview, as Jyrki Pöysä points out.

The book ends with several articles dealing with concrete aspects such as transcription, working with translated interviews and conducting interviews in a language other than one's own: all of these are important, practical and very topical issues. For me the most relevant question addressed in the last section is in an article dealing with the computerised analysis of qualitative data. In fact, the authors Outi Jolanki and Sanna Karhunen raise a question that bothered me somewhat when I was reading through some of the preceding articles concerning how computer programs can cope with qualitative research. Is it not too mechanical a tool for that purpose? The authors draw an analogy between the production of qualitative analysis and of handicrafts, in which process the actor and her creativity are in the focal position. They emphasise, however, that the programs are geared more to mastering and archiving source materials than to being used as analytical tools. Reading through some of the articles on computer- aided analysis, however, I found the process – in a word – too mechanical. This is not to say that the resulting insights are thin or unimportant. It is just that they represent a very different kind of world than I, as an ethnologist, am used to.

I am not advocating that all that is unfamiliar should be swept aside. On the contrary, some of the methods that are seldom used in ethnology such as group interviews, and the relevant analytical processes, could also bring a new perspective to our research themes.

The book incorporates a multitude of viewpoints, so much so that you may feel a little lost at first. Some of the articles also dive so deeply into specific analytical processes and the theoretical perspectives underlying them that it may be difficult to understand them properly within the short presentation the format allows. As Jukka Törrönen points out, the same empirical material can lead to different conclusions according to the theoretical perspective, and the reader can test the empirical questions of the researcher with the help of the concrete interview extracts and their interpretations in the different articles. At least I found myself making my own interpretations, which did not always concur with those given in the book.

My advice to the reader is to be open-minded with regard to all the articles, but always to bear in mind the basic principle: choose the method of analysis that suits your field. As Matti Hyvärinen writes, doing narrative research is not a solitary process or method, but neither is it mere impressionist evaluation. This comment applies to all interview analysis. The process demands hard work, and also improvisation and creativity – and this combination is its real essence.

Pia Olsson, Helsinki

Some History of Finnish Furnishings

Leena Sammallahti & Marja-Liisa Lehto, Kalusteita kamareihin. Suomalaisten keinutuolien ja piironkien historiaa. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1258. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2010. 220 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-952-222-165-0.

■ This book tempts a reader interested in the subject: the book looks stylish and feels good to touch. It seems to open a door, at least slightly, into the history of Finnish furniture. Anyone interested in folk art and furnishings feels a temptation to sit down with this book, and she or he will be intrigued by the story.

In fact, this book tells two different stories. The first one is about the position of the rocking chair in Finnish homes. The story continues by describing how the traditional chest was replaced by bureaus and closets as the main pieces of furniture for storage. The writers ambitiously describe how Finnish people began to use these new types of furniture in their homes.

The origins of this study date back to the early 1960s as part of a project financed by the Ministry of Education and the Finnish Cultural Foundation. From the material collected then and later, several articles and two doctoral theses have been published. The material is also being presented as part of a four-part working series on popular furniture. The first part of the series was published in 2006, *Suomalainen sänky* (*The Finnish Bed*), which discusses the history of popular bed pieces. This book comprises the second part of the series.

At base, this is an ethnologic study, one which has been written with the strong personal voice of narrator. The sections describe regional and chronological modifications to the furniture and how it was

used. The study seems to be accurate and precise. The language is fluent and nice, though the verbal descriptions contain much specific terminology which can in some places even be off-putting to the uninitiated reader. The authors themselves report that they found it difficult going through all of the existing listings and any old materials to put together this historical study. This is what might have influenced the scholarly language somehow.

Curiously enough, they mark sections concerning the most traditional scientific research as being products of their own research – the different sections are separated using different colours. The white pages seem mostly to contain this ethnologic study. The grey-coloured pages give a slightly different cultural-historical perspective wherein there seems to be some of the most interesting background information gathered in the form of local stories and personal memories. This division makes the book more reader friendly and might even make it easier to follow the story.

Even though the heading of the book promises information mostly about rocking chairs and chests of drawers, the text touches upon other furniture as well. The familiar old furniture types have affected the birth of the new furniture. The influences have also come from the circle of ecclesiastical equipment. Even the interior decoration of churches has been inspiring for the improvement of homes.

The powerful gentry of the 1700s gave an example to the common people of how to decorate via their European-style country houses. Later on there were other contacts with foreign countries, such as by migrants who went to America. Surprisingly often there have been various influences in furnishing that have been received from abroad. The origins of furniture are fascinating.

The process of adapting new innovations that make life more comfortable has taken a long while. The early beginnings are in the 17th century. In the 18th century, various new types of furniture were more widely taken into use. But the real breakthrough in home furnishings occurred closer to the turn of the 20th century.

The furniture made by local craftsmen became status symbols in the 1800s when the ordinary people could afford to buy more than just the bare necessities for their homes. The rocking chair was a special seat, which was offered to the guest of honour or in which an earned rest was spent after the working day. The chest of drawers, which hid the precious handiworks, representative linen and other rare treasures, was representation furniture. In the 1800s it also was an important part of the bride's dowry.

As important as the 1800s were to home furnishing, numerous old photographs are also important in describing the process that took place during this period. In this book there are abundant and versatile illustrations. The illustrations show interior decorations from both the halls of the manor houses and more modest chambers and give a comprehensive picture of the separate object types. The authors have skilfully chosen early photographs and old sketches. The illustration based on this original material is probative and descriptive. Just the publication of these pictures as such alerts the reader to the fact that there has been a huge amount of collecting and analysis of the information, which has gone on over the course of several decades.

Traditionally, one can think that these historical pictures have been meant only to supplement an actual text. When using this book, however, the pictures can be studied in the opposite way as well. The list of illustrations, with all of the photographs and drawings, works like a directory or another table of contents. Every picture is in a particular place – and there still could have been even more of them. The artistic cooperation of text and pictures is both beautiful and practical.

The previously mentioned specific jargon makes this book an excellent instrument for conventional museum works, specifically those focusing on listing and describing objects. It gives a helping hand in identifying and naming furniture and their components. Though there is no proper glossary at the end of the book, all of the professional vocabulary is very well presented within the text itself. This book works well as a lexicon within the museum field.

It seems that the book can even double as a survey of Finnish museum work and object study. In a way, the whole publication works as a documentation of museum work during its early days and all of the documentation subsequently done in museums. This is due to the massive review of old collections. This portrayal gives on outlook to past decades and the vast efforts of the collectors.

It has been most courageous to concentrate on a time-honoured and even a kind of old fashioned material research. This book pursues a social context in a deeply knowing manner. The authors present all of

the period pieces in a considerate and understanding manner.

As a whole, the book requires much careful reading and enthusiasm on the part of the reader. The authors seem to have written it by putting their hearts and souls into the endeavour to provide information. This book will function very well if the reader is as interested in and passionate about the subject as the expert writers are.

Sanna Eldén-Pehrsson, Turku

Swedish-Finnish Relations

Svenskfinska relationer. Språk, identitet och nationalitet efter 1809. Maria Sjöberg & Birgitta Svensson (eds.). Stockholm, Nordiska museets förlag 2011. 182 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7108-545-0.

■ In 2009 two hundred years had passed since the war of 1808–1809 in which the eastern part of Sweden was lost to the Russian Empire. We call this part, roughly one third of Sweden, Finland today and since 1917 it has been an independent country, and is now a member of the EU.

In 2009 the Swedish Literary Society in Finland took the initiative to start a research project about the connections between Sweden and Finland, and to try to find out how much there is, still, that is similar in the two countries. The very comprehensive project was called "Svenskt i Finland – Finskt i Sverige" (Swedish in Finland – Finnish in Sweden), involving a great many actors, both institutions and individuals, and it has hitherto resulted in several publications. The collection of articles reviewed here is one of them. Nordiska Museet (the Nordic Museum) in Stockholm, Sweden, has published them as an outcome of a seminar on the topic. The authors of the articles seek to answer the question of how scholars have tried to explain the differences and similarities in Sweden and Finland over time; some of the authors also have themes of their own to tackle.

Most of the articles were written by Swedish scholars. Mikael Alm's aim is to describe what happened in Sweden when King Gustavus III was overthrown and the revolution took place, leading to enormous changes in constitutional and geographical respects. The outcome of the article is that there were different kinds of nationalisms that affected the consequences of this *coup d'état*.

Torkel Jansson concentrates his article on the Swedish judicial heritage, demonstrating how the Swedish law code from 1734 was taken over and accepted by the Russian emperor, how it influenced the administration of justice in Finland and slowly changed. According to Jansson, Sweden and Finland did not lose one another in any profound sense, for the legal system was common to both countries. Jansson also considers how the relationship between Finland and Sweden was viewed on the European continent. He introduces a list of similarities and differences that can be seen today, and mentions some examples of Finns who were appreciated in Sweden and Swedish inventions that were accepted in Finland.

Anders Björnsson deals with political matters and concentrates his article on similarities and differences within the agrarian parties in both countries. An agrarian topic is also central in Ann-Catrin Östman's contribution about how Finnish and Swedish agriculture changed in different ways and at different rates. She refers to earlier scholars and their efforts to answer the question why Finland and Sweden did not reach the same level at the same time, and presents several explanations for this. As a contrast, Klas Nyberg demonstrates how people acted in procedures in connection with the inheritance of great fortunes when the Kingdom of Sweden was divided and the physical property suddenly was not located in the owner's country. As an example he gives the Björkman family who owned a couple of ironworks.

The collections of articles claim to deal with identity matters. Language is certainly one factor that should be considered in detail. The Swedish language in Finland and its role over time is glimpsed here and there in the book, but Matti Similä actually concentrates his study on this topic. His starting point is that Swedish was the language of power and authority in Finland. Therefore, he gives examples from the church and its efforts to make the inhabitants of Finland good Lutherans, from the state who denied the existence of dialects and presented a form of standard Swedish for all more or less official occasions, which certainly was made easier by the work in schools and facilitated general communication in press, radio and television. The core of his article is a study of how Swedish and Finnish schoolbooks present the historical course of events in both countries, thus also presenting their self-image.

Two of the articles do not fit into the strictly his-

torical perspective demonstrated above. Charles Westin gives an overview of migration matters and ponders on what the relationship between Finland and Sweden will look like in twenty-five years. If nothing unforeseen happens, the population in both Sweden and Finland will be more multicultural than today. Matters influencing migration will change the populations by both immigration and emigration, old minorities will be supplanted by new ones, such as Somalian Finns. Eva Silvén discusses the Nordiska Museet's exhibitions in relationship to minorities in Sweden. She concentrates on Finns in Sweden. Both so-called Sweden-Finns (Finnish-speaking Finns who have immigrated to Sweden) and Tornedalen Finns (a population speaking a variety of Finnish called *Meänkieli*) are examples of how Swedish authorities have exoticized or suppressed people who were not regarded as "real" Swedes. The Nordiska Museet was, of course, the voice of leading ideas and presented its collections according to those ideas. Now, Silvén states, it is time to find new ways of exhibiting museum objects in order to demonstrate that all groups of inhabitants in Sweden are capable people.

This collection of articles, as I stated above, was written from a Swedish perspective. Moreover, we have to take into consideration that they were written in connection with a bicentennial. Therefore they sound very polite and even politically correct. In contrast, Max Engman's contribution is more critical. He points to many of those factors that blur the relationship between Sweden and Finland. His article is full of ideas about how to pursue research on the topic. Among other things he discusses the two countries' relationship to the EU. Is Finland's way of accepting and adjusting to the EU a consequence of having been part of the greatest terrestrial empire for a hundred of years, whereas Sweden's approach could be the result of the mentality of a country that had no war for two hundred years, that had no internal or external conflicts for such a long time? The relationship between Finland and Sweden is not at all as harmonious as the other articles would make it seem; there are ideas about feelings of inferiority, of stupidity, weakness, harmlessness, toothlessness, rudeness, envy, whatever, which make the relationship between the two countries much more complicated than the articles demonstrate.

This book makes good reading. I suppose that the editors think that it might be a good introduction for Swedes in general to read about Finland, a neighbouring country of which most of them know nearly nothing. I do not really know, however, whether it fills a gap from a scholarly perspective. If one writes about the relationship between Sweden and Finland I think that the Finland-Swedes, i.e., the population of Finns speaking Swedish as their daily and often even only language, should have had a greater role to play than just popping up here and there. I think that the differences between Finnish Swedish and Swedish Swedish deserve a mention. To what extent can teenagers in both countries understand each other today, and are there regional differences? Swedish has not been unproblematic as an everyday language since 1809. The title of the book comprises "identity", this vast and multifaceted concept, but it is not central in the articles. Last but not least, I would have liked to see a theoretical chapter about comparison. I wonder about the scholarly defensibility of picking a phenomenon, looking at it from Swedish and Finnish perspectives and stating something about difference or similarity. My critical points, however, concern only the scholarly use of the book. All in all, my opinion of the articles is favourable, for they give a good overview of the history of the two countries and present readers with a great many interesting details and problems that can be further dealt with.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

The Materiality of Museum Objects

Fra kaupang og bygd 2011. Festskrift til Ragnar Pedersen. Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen *et al*. (eds.). Hedmarksmuseet, Hamar 2011. 285 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-91326-30-6.

■ It is uncommon for a Festschrift to be reviewed, but there is good reason to draw attention to *Fra Kaupang og Bygd 2011*, which is both the annual of the Hedmark Museum and a tribute to the professor and museum director Ragnar Pedersen on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Based on Pedersen's scholarly achievements in the study of artefacts, the volume reflects an interesting development in the way artefacts have been viewed. Agrarian history has always been Pedersen's main topic, and four of his previously published articles have been selected for republication

here. They range from a functional analysis of scythes to a discussion of how butter moulds can be regarded as materializing interpersonal relations. The butter moulds reveal the significance of butter, as a gift, as a social marker, and as ritual. Butter and butter moulds represent some important interests in Pedersen's research: aesthetics, agrarian history, and food. In his historical studies of diet, food culture, and meals as an institution, he has also combined his analytical ability with practical cooking and delight in food.

The book contains many interesting contributions from former colleagues and pupils. One example is Knut Fageraas, whose article about "Objects as Curiosities: The Form of the Storhamarlåven Exhibition as an Example of Alternative Museal Visuality" applies a Foucaultian perspective to museums and exhibition principles and the significance of materiality. Here he points out a paradigmatic difference between later scientific methods and the Renaissance practice of natural history, from thinking in terms of analogies and resemblances to a practice with differences as a classifying principle. Foucault describes this as objects being viewed as signs or signatures which have to be interpreted to reveal underlying similarities and the whole analogical system. In this respect, physical objects did not differ from the written word. In his article about the exhibition at the Storhamarlåven museum Fageraas has an interesting discussion of the site and the narrativity of the objects, the exhibition as aesthetics, the museum's alternative visuality, and the museum as an arena for the inquisitive gaze, which goes back to the Renaissance idea of vision as the most important sense for the acquisition of knowledge and the perception of reality.

Besides being a tribute to Ragnar Pedersen on his birthday, this Festschrift is also a valuable survey of the way objects have been viewed and analysed from the cabinet of curiosities of the Renaissance to modern-day museum practice. The illustrations in the book also deserve congratulations!

Göran Hedlund, Lund

Aristocratic Life in Finland

Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, Sophie Creutz och hennes tid. Adelsliv i 1700-talets Finland. Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors/Atlantis, Stockholm 2011. 271 pp., Ill. ISBN 978-91-7353-448-2.

■ Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, professor of Finnish history at Åbo University, presents here the world of the late eighteenth century, with the focus on south-east Finland. The title of the book means "Sophie Creutz and Her Time: The Life of the Nobility in Eighteenth-century Finland", and in it we follow some noble families and their destinies over several decades, with Countess Sophie Creutz as the central figure. Her marriage to Lars Glansenstierna and her close friendship with her brother-in-law Göran Magnus Sprengtporten are the themes running through the account. We also follow Sophie Creutz's daughter Vendela Glansenstierna and her husband Anders Munsterhjelm some way into the nineteenth century. Life for the main characters in the book was heavily influenced by contemporary political developments, especially the relations between Sweden and Russia, the Swedish-Russian War of 1788–1790, the conspiracies against Gustav III, high treason and its consequences. Through Sophie Creutz's eyes and networks, the reader also learns about the everyday life and festive occasions of the eighteenth-century nobility.

Opposition to the king emerged in the circle around Sophie Creutz, where ideas of a republic and liberation from Swedish autocracy flourished. Several of the noblemen were discontented with Swedish rule, and some preferred to join Russia as along as they were allowed to retain their privileges. As a consequence of Gustav III's Russian war and the Anjala conspiracy, this noble family suffered nine death sentences among its relatives, two of which were executed and the rest commuted to banishment. Life as a prisoner of war in Russia was a reality for several of the men in Sophie Creutz's family and kindred, and we gain insight into the years in exile, partly through Anders Munsterhjelm's dairy. Sophie Creutz's husband, Lars Glansenstierna, first spent a number of years in St Petersburg, where her son Magnus also moved, but later ended up in Holstein.

It is striking how the noble families were interlinked in an international network, sometimes through family connections woven by marriage. A cosmopolitan lifestyle is depicted, with French as the chief language of conversation, along with German, and it was also an advantage to know Russian. The men and the women had their given roles, but married noble women could often act with great independence and to some extent dispose over their

own assets, even if they were in reality subject to the authority of their husbands. When the men were far from the homeland, the women had to manage the estates and deal with business matters. Generally speaking, however, the women did not have much formal education, as is evident from the poor spelling in their letters.

Prisoners of war were also a part of the cosmopolitan culture. The Swedish prisoners lived in rented rooms among ordinary inhabitants of Nizhny Novgorod on the Volga, where they could spend their days reading, playing cards, playing the violin, and doing household tasks. They could mix freely with other people, attend suppers and balls, and participate in social life. Despite that, most of them longed to get home to Finland.

We follow the main characters up to the 1820s, when Finland had become part of the Russian Empire. It is obvious that the Swedish central government had not understood the depth of the dissatisfaction with Swedish rule among many of the nobles in Finland, especially in the south-east corner of the country, which had suffered more than others from the border wars. When peace was concluded in 1809, Finland was allowed to retain its Lutheran worship, to go on using Swedish as its official language, and to follow the Swedish tradition of justice and administration. At the same time, Göran Sprengtporten was an ardent supporter of an independent Finland. He spoke Finnish when he could, and he required his subordinate officers to know Finnish. Through his ideas he can be regarded as a predecessor of the nationalist current that would later encourage an interest in the distinctive Finnish character and a Finnish national literature.

This book gives fascinating insight into the nobility in Finland on the border with Russia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Political developments dictated the obvious framework for the lives of the main characters, whose personal letters paint a picture of how they thought and felt. One is touched by Anders Munsterhjelm's loving letters to his wife Vendela, where his affection for her and the children is evident. "My dearly beloved wife – delight of my heart," he writes from the fortress of Svartholm in the bitter cold February of 1808. "Our sweet little youngsters," he writes another time in a letter from the front where he asks his wife to remind the children that he loves them, in case he should die. But Munsterhjelm survived the war, and sincerely hoped that neither of his sons would choose a military career. Despite their father's wishes, however, both of them became soldiers, and the new nation to which they belonged sent them far away from Finland, to the most distant parts of Russia. In most respects, however, life for the Finnish nobility remained much the same after Finland became a part of the Russian Empire. Many of them preferred the metropolis of St Petersburg as a capital city to the more countrified Stockholm.

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