



Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME 51 • 2021

Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY

ISSN 0348-9698

Published by

THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Editorial office: Division of Ethnology, Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University, Box 192, SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden.

www.kgaa.nu/tidskrifter.php

Editor: Lars-Eric Jönsson, Lund

E-mail: lars-eric.jonsson@kultur.lu.se

Assistant editor: Margareta Tellenbach, Bjärred

E-mail: margareta.tellenbach@kultur.lu.se

Editorial board: Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen, jcd470@hum.ku.dk

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm, birgitta.svensson@etnologi.su.se

Pia Olsson, Helsinki, pia.olsson@helsinki.fi

Tove Fjell, Bergen, tove.fjell@ahkr.uib.no

Valdimar Hafstein, Reykjavik, vth@hi.is

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Photo: Laments in the mire. Noora Kauppila has been inspired by the structure or surface of flora, moss, peat, and mud.

Photo: Kirsi Haapamatti 2019 in Seinäjoki, Karvasuo mire.

Ethnologia Scandinavica is printed with the support of the Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals. The journal publishes peer reviewed papers in English and German based on all branches of material and social culture, and in reviews, biographical notes and reports reflects ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries. One volume of Ethnologia Scandinavica comprises approx 250 pages, published in one issue yearly. Subscription price for volume 2021 is SEK 350:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to www.eddy.se

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Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

With a certain stubbornness I have, in my editorials, repeated that the content of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is an index of what is going on in Nordic ethnology. I still think this is true. One of many advantages of this is that the journal offers a very convenient and concentrated body of material if you want to grasp the latest half-century of scholarly ethnological development in the Nordic countries.

The founder and former editor of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* Nils-Arvid Bringéus argued in the first volume, 1971, for the need for an international journal and a Scandinavian forum where research findings would be available and distributed to European colleagues. In this sense *Ethnologia Scandinavica* replaced the older journal *Folk-Liv* (1937–1970). Although with a certain emphasis on “material and social culture”, Bringéus also opened for folkloristic contributions, even though this aspect of ethnology had its special forum since 1945 in the journal *Arv* (like *Ethnologia Scandinavica* owned by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy).

The first volume highlighted food cultures. However, Bringéus underlined that in the future the journal would not be bound to specific themes. My impression is that the journal, from the start, was supposed to be an open, general forum for Nordic ethnology. In 2001 the editor Jonas Frykman confirmed this tradition when mentioning how the dual aim of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* was “to show where the research front runs in Scandinavian ethnology, and to be the regional voice from the cultural area that the Nordic countries together constitute” (Frykman 2001:3).

Ten years ago, in 2011, Nils-Arvid Bringéus wrote a reflection on the first 40

years of the journal. The journal was introduced after a discussion between Professor Bringéus, Professor Gösta Berg and the antiquarian Harald Hvarfner. At the same time the name of the discipline changed from “Nordic and Comparative Folklife Studies” to “Ethnology, especially European” (Bringéus 2011:6). It is well known how the discipline during these and the following years, to a certain extent, changed direction from an exclusively historical discipline with a certain focus on peasant society to a discipline without any such barriers and thriving both in the past and in the present.

Right from the start the editorial work was organised with an editor and an assistant editor (Margareta Tellenbach) with support from an advisory board with members from the Nordic countries. Just as today, the board members functioned as channels into their national networks, responsible for acquiring article manuscripts and reviews.

As the first 50 years of the journal now have passed, I would like to express my gratitude to my predecessors Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Jonas Frykman and Birgitta Svensson for starting up (Bringéus) and developing the journal. I would also like to emphasize Margareta Tellenbach’s importance for the existence of the journal. With perseverance, accuracy, patience and tons of work, Margareta has made the journal possible. Having said that, I would like to stress the importance of all the scholars who choose to publish their research results in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. Without all these contributions there would, quite obviously, not be any Nordic journal of ethnology at all.

Since *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is celebrating its 50th anniversary, we, the ed-

itors, asked four younger ethnologists – with the journal as their starting point – to choose and reflect on disciplinary themes. We wanted to get understandings of how Nordic ethnology and folkloristics have changed during this half-century and how such changes have taken shape in the journal. Initially we had planned to add and hold a session at the congress in Reykjavik in 2021. For well-known reasons this was not possible. Instead, we celebrate the anniversary in two steps. First, in 2021, we offer this issue of the journal. Second, we still hope to meet our colleagues, readers and writers in 2022 at the postponed congress in Reykjavik.

This volume starts with the four anniversary articles. John Ødemark starts with C. W. von Sydow's concept of *oikotype* and the study of cultural borders. Ødemark shows how the concept contained possibilities to recognize and understand hybridity and cultural diversity. He also observes how disciplinary borders between history, anthropology and ethnology were negotiated and discussed and that even in the 1980s an ethnologist could expect that his or her colleagues would prioritize the historical dimension. Katarzyna Herd follows up by deepening our understanding of the presence of historical perspectives in ethnology and how the disciplinary interest in bygone peasant society slowly but clearly has been marginalized. Kirsi Sonck-Rautio continues with how the relation between human and nature has been investigated and what ethnological perspectives has been taken on this relation. She observes, not least of all, how the research has paid particular attention to humans' utilitarian perspective on animals and nature. Michael Andersen closes the ES50 section with an article on

medical perspectives in ethnology. He focuses on three themes: hygiene and cleanliness, childbirth and sexuality, medicine and care. Andersen concludes how ethnologists have as a common denominator that we contextualize both health and disease, be it, as Andersen puts it, environmental, social or cultural.

From here the volume continues with articles without a common theme. Gabriella Nilsson starts with an investigation of how writers in traditional media see and understand the phenomenon of influencers in digital media. The question is, of course, concerns not only "old" and "new" media. There is also an ongoing discussion of generations and gender. In short, the young influencers, according to the older generation, seem to have too much money, too soon in life and with no connection to proper work.

Jenni Rinne follows with an investigation of affective relations to and experiences of landscapes with the example of Maausk perspectives and practices in Estonian rural landscapes. The meaning of the landscapes, Rinne argues, is a compilation of elements such as narratives, histories, heritage and bodily experiences. She also shows how the landscapes themselves have agency. Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti continues with a landscape perspective and takes the reader to the landscapes of Finnish mires. Through the concept of "artivism" she investigates how artists use their expressions to engage in landscape issues in general and in safeguarding mires in particular.

Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius leads us into the digital world of music and humour and shows how classical music becomes material for creative, playful and humorous

memes, shared on the internet. He analyses how bonding works in this culture, how history is transformed (often in a comic sense) and how the memes provide opportunities to show performative, technical and historical competences. Line Førre Grønstad continues by analysing how (un)manliness comes into play when men change their last name in heterosexual partnerships. Her starting point is the Norwegian word “tøffel”, which in this context means a man who has retired from his manly position as responsible for the welfare of the family in favour of a “weak” and unmanly position.

Johanna Pohtinen and J. Tuomas Harviainen show with their case study of people who identify themselves as “kinksters” how the bizarre may also be understood as something mundane. What is seen as normal for some appears abnormal for others. Pohtinen and Harviainen deal with identification, power and how kink may be considered as serious leisure in search of authenticity. For some it means escapism and daydreaming, for others it means a way of everyday life.

Everyday life, but from another empirical angle, is also Karin Salomonsson’s interest. Here she problematizes the seemingly uncomplicated practices of borrowing and lending. Sharing is a basic but still overlooked way of consuming, not least in times when environmental sustainability is a growing issue. What is even considered as a loan? And what can be borrowed and what cannot? Hanna Jansson follows with an examination of how rituals relate to official regulations. Her example is ash scattering rituals. They are obviously regulated by law, but in different ways in different countries. Such rituals, Jansson observes, are also subject to change, not least in

terms of individualization.

Annie Reuter investigates the history of Ingrian Finns, their diaspora during the Stalinist period, their collective and individual memories from this period, transferred from one generation to the next. Reuter demonstrates how such family history can be a missing link between micro and macro history. Migration and diaspora are also of interest to Talieh Mirsalehi, but from quite a different angle. She investigates how migrant children use language and objects to understand and position themselves in a liminal state of migration. In this case children use their embodied experiences of health and medicine to reflect on their transitory position. Tiina Suopajarvi’s article represents a third take on mobility. She deals with women’s professional career paths in academia and shows how research mobility is strongly connected to gender and family relations, as well as, of course, the conditions given in academia, not least the difficult step from PhD student and postdoctoral researcher to a senior researcher responsible for research projects and groups.

Tine Damsholt ends the article section with the most contemporary theme in the year of 2021, that is, Covid-19. Damsholt turns her interests to the new micro practices generated by the pandemic situation. It is well known that everyday life changed for most of us. She observes and analyses how such practices became domesticated and normalized, how new everyday scripts developed from a state of exception to a new normality. Methodologically, Damsholt perceives and utilizes this gloomy and sad situation as a laboratory for the observation of the development of small, silent micro practices.

From here *Ethnologia Scandinavica* moves into the subsections biographical notes and reviews. As before, the review section is, together with the article section, the backbone of the journal. If you want to know something about where the “research front runs” in Nordic ethnology, the article section is a good start and the review section just as good an ending.

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The Oicotype and the Cultural Stuff of Identity

Cultural and Disciplinary Borders in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (c. 1973–2017)

By John Ødemark

In the science of botany ecotype is a term used to denote a hereditary plant-variety adapted to a certain milieu (seashore, mountain-land, etc.) through natural selection amongst hereditarily dissimilar entities of the same species. When then in the field of traditions a widely spread tradition, such as a tale or a legend, forms special types through isolation inside and suitability for certain culture districts, the term ecotype can also be used in the science of ethnology and folklore.

C. von Sydow (1934). "Geography and Folk-Tale Oicotypes"

The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.

F. Barth (1969). "Introduction", *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*.

Introduction: Cultural Hybridity and the Return of the Oicotype

In *Cultural Hybridity*, the cultural historian Peter Burke equates the Swedish folklorist C. W. von Sydow's concept of *oicotype* with the more fashionable concept of "hybridity" associated with Edward Said and Homi Bhabha (Burke 2009:51). Folklorists who follow the debate about cultural globalization, glocalization – and hybridity, Burke asserted, "must have a sense of *déjà vu*, since we are witnessing the return of the oicotype" (ibid.:52). Although "less known today", the notion of the *oicotype* is thus "equally illuminating [...] in the study of cultural change" (ibid.). According to Burke, the insight taken from von Sydow's article on "Geography and Folk-Tale Oicotypes" – published in *Béaloides*, the Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society, in the 1930s – is as relevant for the study of contemporary cultural transformations as the approaches of Bhabha and Said (von Sydow, C. W. 1934; von Sydow, C.-O. & Bødker 1948). Burke thus uses key terminology from Nordic folkloristics, and

what he refers to as "Sydow's paradigm", to underscore how local "variants" come to differ from "international movements", and to pinpoint the importance of "the formation of new oicotypes, the crystallization of new forms, the reconfiguration of cultures, the 'creolization' of the word" (Burke 2009:51–52, 115).

Burke's analogy between oicotype and hybridity almost stubbornly assumes the continued value of old approaches and paradigms from Nordic folklore and ethnology to new cultural context (like globalization and its concomitant cultural hybridity). In this article, I will echo Burke's approach – and attitude. I will probe the archives of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (hereinafter: ES) assuming the continued value and relevance of past intellectual paradigms. The task assigned to me is to examine the discipline of ethnology as this has been represented in ES. Evidently, I cannot here cover the recent intellectual history of ethnology in a comprehensive manner, nor the complete intellectual output presented in the journal. Hence, I will focus upon (i) how some salient contributors have investigated cultural borders, and (ii) the inter-disciplinary relations to adjacent disciplines like anthropology and history. My method will be a close reading of a few selected texts, and I will refrain from making global assertions about the journal – or ethnology in the period. "Sydow's paradigm" will serve as my frame story. In contrast to Burke, however, I have found a clear disciplinary rupture in the articles examined. My last article (from 2017) invokes J. Butler and M. Foucault, but unlike Burke, does not cite von Sydow or any other older ethnologist or folklorists. Hence, my metahistory (cf. White 1973) of ethnology is more tragic than Burke's romance.

There is an empirical reason internal to the history of ES behind the choice of boundaries as my topic. Two intellectual ancestors of Nordic ethnology and folklore, the Norwegian ethnologist Knut Kolsrud (1916–1989) and the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko (1932–2002), published on borders and boundaries in the 1973 edition of ES.¹ In addition, there is an external reason: The notion of what constitute Scandinavian and broader Nordic culture has changed in the period, with migration as a key factor behind this cultural change. In the 2000 issue of ES, Barbro Klein (1938–2018) has an article called “Foreigners, Foreignness, and the Swedish Folk Life Sphere”. Here she references the “*unprecedented immigration to Sweden during the last thirty or forty years*” (Klein 2000:5, my emphasis). Has this “unprecedented” historical event changed Swedish and Nordic ethnology and folklore – or more precisely the way in which these disciplines construct cultural borders?

Firstly, I deal with the border between anthropology, history and ethnology by reading Gunnar Alsmark’s review of an attempted anthropology of Norway. Next, I establish a further frame of reference, namely the devaluation of the “cultural stuff” in the anthropology of ethnicity and identity. Something similar to a paradigm shift took place in the anthropological study of cultural boundaries in 1969, with the publication of F. Barth’s *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. In contrast to the traditional ethno-folkloric focus on “content”, cultural patterns and traits, the authors of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* underscore the social organization of ethnic identity. Barth and his co-authors thus

question the priority of the “cultural stuff” of tradition, which had been the key object of research in ethnology and folklore as these disciplines had developed from the nineteenth century with a focus on cultural traits and their dissemination. Then, I examine how two of the most salient Nordic ethnologists and folklorists, Knut Kolsrud and Lauri Honko, work out an approach to cultural boundaries in the 1973 edition of ES. Finally, I trace the theme of boundaries in later issues of ES, and with an emphasis on how new groups and multicultural contexts have been made into objects of ethnological investigation. Here the focus is on B. Klein’s “Foreigners, Foreignness, and the Swedish Folk Life Sphere” (2000). This article also takes us back to my frame story, the oicotype and the question of whether “Sydow’s paradigm” has survived in Nordic ethnology and folklore.

Passing the Ethnological Border Patrol – Ethnology and History against Anthropology

In 1984, the Norwegian anthropologist Arne Martin Klausen published an edited volume called *Den norske væremåten: Antropologisk søkelys på norsk kultur*. The Swedish ethnologist Gunnar Alsmark (1941–) reviewed the book for ES the following year under the title “Being Norwegian” (Alsmark 1985). *Den norske væremåten* was an early attempt by a Norwegian anthropologist to do what has been called “anthropology at home” (Klausen 1984; cf. Larsen 2003:194). As such, Klausen’s volume represented a crossing into a field until then mainly investigated by ethnologists and folklorists – ordinary or vernacular Norwegian culture. Alsmark’s review represents a response to

this border crossing from one of the centres of Nordic ethnology, Lund.

The review section functions as a textual and disciplinary border zone where the relation to the theories and methods of neighbouring disciplines (like anthropology), and hence the identity of ethnology, is examined by reviewers serving as, we could say, a disciplinary border control (obviously sharing this function with the anonymous peer reviewers of articles). ES has regularly reviewed books from different disciplines, but mostly the reviews have been about books dealing with Nordic material. Thus, relevancy for the journal has been defined by a particular geo-cultural area. The principle behind the inclusion of work for review accordingly appears to be the identity of the subject matter, not the theory and method of cultural analysis more generally.

In the case of Alsmark's review of *Den norske væremåten*, the ethnologist is generally critical of the transfer of an anthropological approach to the Nordic context (i.e. the favoured empirical domain of ethnology). Alsmark questions the cross-cultural approach, and its applicability to the Norwegian case, and he debunks the authors' penchant for finding "exotic" anthropological categories (like seeing social democracy as a "totem") in Norway (Alsmark 1985:158). The "translation problem" involved in applying anthropological categories is, Alsmark maintains, "quite larger than what many scholars imagine" (ibid.). By calling out this translation problem, Alsmark apparently wanted to underscore the cultural difference of the Nordic countries – their cultural-historical singularity – and the cultural contexts where the analytical categories of anthropology had been devised. As we shall see below, Klein devel-

ops this assumption when she argues that knowledge of how others have been treated in the Swedish folk life sphere is necessary for understanding current attitudes to cultural diversity in contemporary Sweden.

One chapter passes Alsmark's ethnological border control. The chapter in question is by Henrik Sinding-Larsen. Alsmark calls it "an exceedingly insightful analysis of folk music" (ibid.). In contrast to his anthropological colleagues, Sinding-Larsen does not represent what the ethnologist considers as an "*ahistoricalness*" that constitutes "a *serious weakness* in the [other] authors' discussion of Norwegian behaviour" (ibid., my emphasis). Most interestingly, the antidote to such "ahistoricalness" is, Alsmark maintains, found in ethnology. Actually, the key assumption of the review is that "modern ethnological culture analysis" represents a more adequate approach than the anthropological.

The superiority of ethnology has to do with the historical dimension. Alsmark states this in the following way:

The good point, and a *distinctive* one relative to the majority of the remaining content of the volume [*Den norske væremåten*], is that Sinding-Larsen applies an *historical perspective* to his object of study. With something *resembling modern ethnological cultural analysis* he studies the cultural recharging of folk music from the days of Ole Bull in the mid-19th century to contemporary neo-traditionalists and their battles against American "gas-station culture" (ibid., my emphasis).

The historical approach is the hallmark of "modern ethnological culture analysis". Alsmark further insists that:

Merely straightforwardly *describing different cultural patterns* seems a little sparse and unsatisfac-

tory. It would have been far more interesting to ask from a *processual perspective* what it is that *gives rise to, changes and sustains a particular cultural pattern* (ibid., my emphasis).

Ethnographic description (as practised in *Den norske væremåten*), thus needs to be supplemented with a *historical analysis* of the processes behind the cultural pattern investigated: its origin, its continuity – or its alteration. The success of one anthropologist-contributor to *Den norske væremåten* in the review section of ES turns out to be explained by the fact that Sinding-Larsen lives up to criteria of excellence already defined by Alsmark as a characteristic of modern ethnology.

My aim, then, is to examine some salient contributions to ES on cultural borders. Learning from Alsmark, I will examine factors that “change and sustain” ethno-folkloric inquiry as a particular cultural and epistemological “pattern”, and hence differentiates it from other kinds of cultural inquiry (such as anthropology). To do this it is wise to keep what Alsmark sees as the constitutive relation between ethnology and history in mind, namely, what we could call the “epistemic unit” of ethnology implicit in the review:

1. Description of a cultural pattern
+
2. Historical account of the pattern in question.

To trace my (to be sure, very partial) history of the issue of boundaries in ES, however, I will need to further contrast ethnology and folklore with an external yardstick. This I will find in the work of Klausen’s Norwegian colleagues on ethnic identity.

The Cultural Stuff and the Social Organization of Identity

The authors of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* questioned the historical analysis Alsmark advocated. Barth’s approach to ethnicity and its social organization formed a part of a process of disciplinary boundary maintenance in Norwegian anthropology. What was referred to as cultural history had long been construed as “old-fashioned”, and even as the “enemy” of the exciting new social anthropology younger generations sought to establish in Norway after the Second World War (Klausen 1981; cf. Simonsen et al. 2009).²

In line with this, the authors of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* wanted to shift attention from the “cultural stuff” – such as language, religion, customs and laws, tradition, material culture, cuisine, etc. – to the social organization of ethnic relationships (Barth 1969:11ff; cf. Baumann 1999:58–59; Jenkins 2008). This approach also underscored the fluidity of ethnicity, which from now on appears more like a commodity than as destiny. In Barth, “common culture” is an effect of social organization, not the “cause” of group formation and group identity:

The *sharing of a common culture* is generally given central importance. In my view, much can be gained by regarding this very important feature as *an implication or result*, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnic group organization (Barth 1969:11, my emphasis).

In *The Multicultural Riddle*, G. Baumann emphasizes this “liberation” of identity in, and through, the 1969 publication. After the focus had shifted from the “tribalist

preoccupation with the ‘*cultural stuff*’ that ethnic groups may share” to the “social processes of boundary maintenance”, a new view of ethnic identity, presumably “non-tribalist”, became possible:

With the focus shifted in this way, Barth and his collaborators found the most impressive evidence, not only of ethnic boundaries being maintained *but also of individuals crossing these boundaries in systematic ways*. In Pakistan, a Pathan can become recognized as a Baluch; in Sudan a Fur can assume the ethnic identity of a Baggara [...] (Baumann 1999:59, my emphasis).

People thus have ample space to pass from one identity to another, and the cultural “stuff” that “tribalists” (and other essentialist) would see as *coextensive* with the social – so that the group would be inseparable from the cultural stuff it shared – are really more like floating signifiers that can be articulated with different forms of social organization. This approach, it has been argued, comes close to making the “cultural stuff” irrelevant:

In insisting that there is no simple equation between the seamless tapestry of cultural variation that is the human world and the discontinuities of ethnic differentiation, it prevents us from mistaking the *morphological enumeration of cultural traits* for the analysis of ethnicity. It also reminds us that where or how any particular ethnic boundary is drawn is arbitrary, rather than self-evident or inevitable. However, this might also suggest that the “cultural stuff” out of which that differentiation is arbitrarily produced and reproduced is somehow irrelevant, which surely cannot be true. For example, a situation in which the As and the Bs are distinguished, *inter alia*, by languages that are mutually intelligible for most everyday purposes – as with Danish and Norwegian – would seem to differ greatly from one in which the languages in-

volved are, as with English and Welsh, utterly different. Similarly, relations between groups of rival Christians are likely to be different – although not necessarily better – than between a Christian and Muslim group (Jenkins 2008:111, my emphasis).

The “sharing” of a “common culture” and “cultural stuff” along with “the morphological enumeration of cultural traits” had traditionally been the primary object of ethno-folkloric inquiry. Consequently, it is not surprising that the cultural stuff is not a dependent variable, but the main subject of both Kolsrud’s ethnology and Honko’s folkloristics – even four years after the publication of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*.

Barriers, Borders and Cultural Traits in Folklore and Ethnology

There is no editorial text that frames and motivates the focus upon boundaries in the 1973 issue of ES, although boundaries is clearly the theme. The issue opens with contributions from two doyens of Nordic ethnology and folklore on the theory of cultural boundaries, and is a rare example of predominantly theoretical work in the journal. The two papers are followed by an ethnological case study of boundaries in Tornedalen: “Tornedalen – a Divided Entity” by Harald Hafner and Asko Vilkkuna. For both Honko and Kolsrud, visual representation and the mapping of the distribution of cultural traits (farming techniques and artefacts, folk beliefs and folk tales) in geographical space is crucial. As we shall see in more detail below, this penchant for mapping also testifies to the continuing importance of diffusionism, and the map as an epistemological tool (even as late as 1973). As I will show, an idea taken from Kolsrud will mediate between the

tradition barrier and the cultural boundary.

In “Tradition Barriers and Adaptation of Tradition”, Honko explicitly references Barth’s research on boundaries (Honko 1973:33). Barth has, he writes, “sharply criticized the interpretation of the traditional boundaries of *cultural traits* – *material as well as spiritual* – as ethnically significant boundaries” (ibid., my emphasis). In line with what we have already established, Honko thus underscores the move from cultural stuff to the social organization of ethnicity and identity. Honko cites this position approvingly: “A conglomeration of cultural traits does not as such represent an ethnic group” (ibid.).

Despite this turn to Barth, the Finnish folklorist will remain faithful to the cultural stuff of traditions. Honko’s approach to cultural boundaries is actually secondary to his interest in “tradition barriers”, and these are actually hindrances for the assemblages of the cultural traits Honko calls traditions (ibid.). The concept of a barrier, Honko asserts,

is used to mean *all the selection thresholds* that can be met by any and all elements of a tradition or by material which later takes the form of an element of tradition (ibid.:31, my emphasis).

The perspective is here clearly upon the cultural stuff – in the guise of “an element of tradition”. Moreover, the “selection thresholds” are thresholds met by pieces of tradition, which may or may not pass the thresholds. A case in point is the diffusion of Wellerisms from the West to Finland “through the *medium* of the Finnish-Swedish population” (ibid.:31, my emphasis). It is plain here that the centre of attention is the genre of mock proverbs or

anti-proverbs³ – not the individual or social carriers of the mock proverbs. On the contrary, these people only serve as the “medium” of transmission.

As a “medium” for transmission, the ethnically and linguistically defined transporters of Wellerisms are not without ethnic identities and cultural properties and traits; they speak and/or understand both Finnish and Swedish, for instance, and thus can serve as bilingual translators of the Wellerisms. Cast in the role as the “medium” the bilingual population is, however, not the true hero of Honko’s tale. Honko himself is completely clear about his research priorities:

Since we are *more interested in the preservation of tradition than in the social destinies of individuals or groups*, our interpretation of the life of traditions is constructed according to that premise (ibid.:38, my emphasis).

As observed, the “selection thresholds” are thresholds met by pieces of tradition, transported by the agent of diffusion called “tradition carrier” to new places – where the offering of a new tradition (or an “element” or “piece” of tradition) may be welcomed or refused at the border. This situation, Honko maintains, “should also be considered as the point of departure for *diffusion*; an offer of material exists, but the future fate of the material is a yet unknown” (ibid.:31, my emphasis).

The idea of the oicotype is a central element in a more detailed investigation of how newly arrived material, when the “offer of material” is accepted, is further “implanted” in the target culture. Honko seeks to establish what he calls a “tradition ecology”, the roots of which he finds

in “Sydow’s paradigm”, and perhaps more surprisingly, in Gunnar Granberg’s research on the biological boundaries of the dissemination of beliefs and legends (ibid.:42). Honko asserts that von Sydow himself disregarded the “tradition-ecological” implications of the concept of the ecotype, and often used the term merely to denominate a “local redaction” of a tale. In contrast to this tradition-ecology without nature, Gunnar Granberg (1906–1983), “actually draws a number of tradition-ecological conclusions”, but “does not, as far as I know, use the term oicotype” (ibid.:42). A case in point cited by Honko is how Granberg relates the dissemination and transformation of the so-called *tibast* legend to the geo-ecological boundary known as the *limes norlandicus* (ibid.). On the south side of the boundary, the tale is about a forest spirit (*skogsrået*) who presents itself as an erotically enticing woman who tempts men, and is the subject of stories in “the masculine tar-boilers’ and charcoal-burners milieu”. On the northern side, however, the spirit presents itself as an erotically enticing man – while women herding cattle to the mountain pasture tell the tale here (ibid.). In short, here natural conditions and forms of production have an impact both on the narrated events and characters that constitute the fictive world of the tale and on the gender identity of the teller of tales.

Honko turns to Knut Kolsrud to shed light on the “offer” of new cultural stuff – across a barrier, i.e. the situation that constitutes the point of departure for *diffusion*; an offer of material exists, but the future fate of the material is as yet unknown” (cf. above). Even more intriguing, the Norwegian ethnologist is called upon

to supplement Barth’s notion of cultural boundaries (which, as we know, Honko distinguishes from “tradition barriers”). Most importantly for Honko is Kolsrud’s concern with what he refers to as the “evaluative” aspect of cultural boundaries. Honko here cites an earlier paper by Kolsrud on “Diffusjon og grense” (“Diffusion and boundary”) (Kolsrud 1960). A case in point of such evaluative processing of boundaries is the identification with a form of life and agricultural practices that farmers refuse to abandon “even if purely economic calculations indicate that they should” (Honko 1973:33). Hence, the most important trait for the determination of boundaries is not the artefact or the practice in itself, Honko asserts (citing Kolsrud), but “the *boundary of valuation*” that is operative *when offers are accepted or refused*. “Kolsrud’s model of boundary structure deserves the attention of folklorists”, Honko concludes, as he also immediately adds that the cartographic approach deserves further attention in folklore. Let us also note that Kolsrud’s model potentially fuses the “cultural stuff” as translatable tradition material with the social organization of reception along a moral dimension of identification and commitment (“I/we cling to this practice even if it goes against economic reasoning”). Moreover, as Honko also did, Kolsrud relates the issue of the cultural boundary to nature – through a quotation, and an intertextual attachment to the words of disciplinary ancestors.

In the first part of his ES article “On Cultural Boundaries as an Ethnological Problem”, Kolsrud cites the Swedish ethnologist Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968). Erixon, Kolsrud maintains, “wrote that cultural boundaries must be compromis-

es between nature and history” (Kolsrud 1973:5). Kolsrud calls upon the textual authority of the previous generation of ethnologists to assert the agency of nature on cultural borders. “Boundary”, Kolsrud adds (in his own voice), “means a *termination* of something, in our case of a *distribution* of popular, cultural phenomena in geographical space” (ibid., my emphasis). In Kolsrud’s definition, then, “boundary” marks an *end* – a terminus – of a particular thing, a “something” defined as both “popular” and “cultural”. Hence, the boundary makes itself felt by an end, and by the *absence* of certain “popular, cultural phenomena” – on a map.

Kolsrud traces the movement of things; in this particular case, the example is the ard plough, from geographical spaces where the ard is present to places where it is absent, i.e. to its terminus as a cultural trait. To be sure, this directionality in the mapping of boundaries – moving from presence to absence – is the visual form of representation of a particular ethnological paradigm or style of reasoning, namely diffusionism. The kind of empirical and methodological mapping Kolsrud practices – and argues for – is furthermore dependent upon ethnological collection practices, which were created to collect different kind of cultural stuff that can be formally defined and distributed in space through the kind of “morphological enumeration of cultural traits” that Barthian analysis opposed (cf. above). It is actually quite impossible to think Kolsrud and Honko’s notion of boundaries without the map of cultural traits as the epistemological instrument, and tradition archives and a system of collecting information from “the folk” as the means for producing and storing the data.

Kolsrud’s mapping of cultural boundaries, however, is not merely an index of empirically real relations, the presence and absence of cultural traits distributed in real geo-cultural space. In addition, it has a clear and explicit methodological – and even what we could call a constructivist dimension. In the ethnologist’s own wording:

The thesis is that the boundaries of distribution *must be designed* so that they provide either a *new* insight or the possibility of addressing *new* questions to the material (ibid.:6, my emphasis).

In so far as the “boundaries of distribution must be designed” in a particular way, it is evident that the normative injunction contained in Kolsrud’s “thesis” is directed to ethnologists, and refers to methodological issues. The boundaries in question here are explicitly seen as an inherent product of the ethnological research process, which sustains and furthers the research process in the sense that it can create new questions to the (same) material. The mapping of cultural boundaries, then, is both a form of presenting the data – and an ethnological heuristics for creating new insight into the distribution of morphologically and functionally cultural traits.

Kolsrud’s focus on the terminus of a thing, the place where things stop being present on a map, apparently differs radically from Barth’s focus upon individual agency and how people (not cultural traits be they ards or wellerisms) cross boundaries. The ability of “a Pathan [to] become recognized as a Baluch; [...] a Fur [to] assume the ethnic identity of a Baggara [...]” is also the ability to *move between the cultural stuff and morphological traits thought to characterize Pathans and Fur*

(Baumann 1999:59, cf. full quotation above). Such individual passages would not be registered in the kind of mapping approach Kolsrud presents. This is so because the “cultural traits” essentially remain the same – and are used and reused in identity management in manners not predicable by the distribution of the cultural stuff in space. Nevertheless, there is also an underlying sameness in both these approaches to boundaries, since both actually assume the intersubjective description of cultural patterns from a seemingly objective, external vantage point.

The new anthropology of identity, we could say, still rest on ideas of ethnic groups produced by diffusionism. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, there is an unquestioned access to patterns and “cultural stuff” typically taken to characterize the Pathan, the Baggara and the Fur. If not, the description of the ethnic passage would be impossible – and meaningless. A person cannot pass from being an X to become a Y if there is no discernible traits characterizing X and Y, and if informants, the Pathan, Baggara and the Fur and others, did not actually believe (erroneously, according to Barth et al.) that there is cultural stuff that distinguishes different ethnic groups, often in a very radical way.

Cultural Diversity and Path Dependency – the Folk Culture Sphere

Barth’s approach underscored the fluidity of cultural identity, and the possibilities of passing from one identity to another, using the cultural “stuff” as a resource or commodity. As noted, in “Foreigners, Foreignness, and the Swedish Folk Life Sphere”, Barbro Klein speaks about the

“unprecedented immigration to Sweden during the last thirty or forty years” – and relates this to how the cultural stuff organizing both institution and common sense about cultural identity restricts both passages between identities and integration (Klein 2000:5). Has the “unprecedented” historical process changed how ethnology as a “cultural pattern” construct cultural borders?

The 2017 issue of ES has an article entitled “Respecting *Swedish* Muslims” (Gunnarsson 2017, my emphasis). To be sure, this could be seen as an indication of how migration has changed the ethnological field of inquiry and perhaps even its disciplinary “pattern” (to stick to Alsmark’s vocabulary). On the one hand, we observe that the field of investigation here remains restricted to Sweden – and the tension between national and religious identity – as the subtitle further underscores: “Claims of Truth Concerning National and Religious Belonging *in Sweden*” (ibid., my emphasis). A similar continuity and identity in terms of the geo-cultural research area (in Scandinavia, but mostly defined nationally and restricted to one nation) can be found in all other contributions on cultural encounters and boundaries in the journal; it is usually about “them” coming “here”, as in Magnus Öhlander’s “Problematic Patienthood: Immigrants in Swedish Health Care” (2004).

On the other hand, however, there is clearly a discontinuity in intellectual traditions between “Respecting *Swedish* Muslims” and the ethnological tradition. The web of quotations we encountered above, which make up a disciplinary tradition as an intertextual conversation (as when Honko cited Kolsrud against Barth

and deliberated between von Sydow and Granberg) is simply not a productive present here. However, I also noted that Burke cited “Sydow’s paradigm” in *Cultural Hybridity* to highlight how local “variants” come to differ from “international movements”, and “the formation of new oicotypes, the crystallization of new forms, the reconfiguration of cultures, the ‘creolization of the world’” (Burke 2009:51, 115). Burke thus – still, in 2009 – made “Sydow’s paradigm” a part of a cultural-historical web of intertexts – where Swedish folklorists from the past are as relevant in the context of globality and cultural hybridity as Bhabha and Said. In contrast to both Burke and Honko, there is little or no intellectual continuity between these last-mentioned articles from ES and the textual archive of ethnology. Gunnarsson, for instance, constructs his research object by citing J. Butler and M. Foucault, and defines his task as that of examining the regimes of truth in the discourse on Islam in Sweden. Hence, Foucault has both defined the object of investigation and the manner of proceeding. If, then, a discipline is defined as an intertextual web of quotations weaving the present and the past together the disciplinary thread here seems to be broken.

With an attitude similar to Burke, Klein cautions against breaks with the intellectual tradition of ethnology and folklore, even when addressing the “unprecedented”. Her claim is that “to understand the contemporary relationship between the folk cultural sphere and cultural diversity one needs *historical reflection*” (ibid.:6, my emphasis). In line with Alsmark, she is concerned with the historical processes that constitute a cultural pattern, namely the accommodation of migrant culture in

the “old” sphere of “folk culture”. Klein sketches a kind of path dependency where older forms of national boundary maintenance and management of the cultural stuff attributed to the people affect current possibilities for recognizing cultural diversity. Hence, without using the term oicotype, she is concerned with the manner in which particular Swedish institutions and cultural understanding will contribute to the “crystallization of new forms” and “the reconfiguration of cultures” in Sweden. The implication seems to be that to understand this, one needs to account for national histories – and not stick to general claims about the West (or Europe), “otherness” and “orientalism”.

The relation between “cultural diversity” and what Klein calls “the folk cultural sphere” is of vital importance in such a project; it has to do with the manner in which Swedish (and wider Nordic) culture can recognize and accommodate migrant culture, how institutions devoted to national and nationalized cultural stuff can relate to “foreign” cultural stuff:

in the year 2000, the paradoxical idea that the folk arts are specific to nations or cultures, still remains more or less taken for granted within the folk life sphere (ibid.:8).

The broader issue of diffusion is left out (“The vast topic of cultural diffusion cannot be further pursued here” [ibid.]). Instead, Klein concentrates on the relation between the Swedish folk life sphere and migrant cultures, and what she claims to be the paradoxical fact that ethnocentrism “still” governs the “folk life sphere”. With the terms “folk life sphere” and “folk cultural sphere” Klein refers to

such intellectually close relatives as the folklife museums and the folklife archives, the academic fields of folkloristics and folk life research, and the movements dedicated to traditional crafts (*hemslöjd*), local history, folk dance and folk music (ibid.:5).

The sphere thus encompasses a range of diverse activities such as “to study, preserve, celebrate, present, promote, redesign or sell aspects of vernacular, expressive life forms” (ibid.). We also observe that this sphere is defined with reference to an empirical domain associated with folk culture. In a footnote it is added that the idea of “sphere” is also indebted to J. Habermas’s notion of “public sphere” or “*Öffentlichkeit*” – “a domain of social life” where opinion is formed and contested, and where “exclusionary practices” can be challenged (Klein ibid.: note 2).

Klein claims that ways of inclusion and exclusion have a history, and that this local history must be examined to tackle the current situation and the “unprecedented migration”. Therefore, exclusionary gestures such as the Swedish Handicrafts pioneer Lilli Zickerman’s location of Sami crafts “outside the boundaries” of Swedish craft should be tackled (Zickerman cited in Klein 2000:13). This is because old principles of inclusion and exclusion serve as a kind of historical palimpsest underneath present acts of exclusion and exclusion (Zickerman cited in Klein 2000:13).

The “folk cultural sphere” also constitutes a boundary in the cultural sciences. Scholars in ethnology and folklore are associated with other actors in the sphere, such as museum people, and even vendors of folk art. The “folk cultural sphere” apparently constitutes a kind of “natural”, empirical domain, with a range of objects pertaining to it (let’s say, folk tales and folk

costume), but also widely diverse forms of action (such as selling folk art and writing a dissertation about vernacular arts).

In Klein, then, the objects pertaining to the sphere can be nationalized and commodified, but they are not “entities” wholly constructed by discourse. Decisive for the relation to cultural diversity in the new context of immigration, is that this disciplinary boundary – serving (as in Kolsrud) as a *limit of distribution*, but here of academic engagement – separates ethnology and folklore from adjacent disciplines like anthropology and other social sciences not concerned with the “folk cultural sphere”. “[M]any ethnologists have worked to *strengthen their ties* to the social sciences and *deconstruct their links* to the folklife sphere” (ibid.:5), Klein maintains. Her contention is that this rearticulation is worrying both for the social relevancy of ethnology and folklore, *and* for the further recognition of cultural diversity in Sweden. Referring back to Alsmark’s attempt at disciplinary boundary maintenance, we could say that his attempt failed; anthropology and other social sciences have apparently swamped ethnology.

Klein’s version of the “cultural stuff” bears a resemblance to Kolsrud’s (material artefacts morphologically defined, like the ard) and Honko (verbal traditions morphologically defined, like Wellerisms). Klein, however, also includes a rudimentary institutional history of the “folk cultural sphere” and the institutions of this sphere, such as folk museums. Knowledge of this sphere and its institutions now emerges as vital for the understanding of new ethnic groups and new kinds of cultural diversity.

Klein is mainly concerned with the equivalents to works of art in the folk cul-

tural sphere. One example she uses is the stonemasons from Turkey who built the Syrian orthodox Saint Afram Cathedral in Södertälje. The masons ended up using a new stone (light concrete) to be able to carve ornaments in the traditional way, using traditional technology and tools (ibid.:15). This example and Klein's argument more generally presupposes something similar to "Sydow's paradigm" and the notion of the oicotype. The idea of the national as a historically formed "target culture", which inevitably affect the attempts to understand and exhibit new cultural diversity, adds sociological depth to the concept of the oicotype.

Klein, however, also denies the founding fathers of the "folk cultural sphere" a basic insight into the cross-cultural nature of this sphere. She references the "exclusions and tacit assumptions" that conditioned "the Swedish folk cultural sphere in their relationship to foreigners and foreignness" (ibid.:6). The reason "Sydow's paradigm" appealed to Burke – in the context of cultural hybridity – was that it already was expressive of the insight that the movement of cultural stuff between groups was the norm, not the exception. Hence, the ethno-folkloric archive may contain more openness to cultural diversity than Klein acknowledges (cf. Ødemark 2014).

Burke also observes that the notions of "oicotype" and "hybridity" have both been adapted from the natural to the human sciences. Regarding the first, he adds that

"Oicotype" or "ecotype" was originally coined by botanists to refer to a variety of plant adapted to a certain milieu by natural selection. Von Sydow borrowed the term in order to analyse changes in folktales, which he viewed as adapted to their cultural milieu (Burke 2009:51).

Burke does not delve further into the cross-disciplinary implications of this move from the natural sciences to the humanities; what, for instance, would be the cultural equivalent to "natural selection" (cf. "coined by botanists to refer to a variety of plant adapted to a certain milieu by natural selection")? Like von Sydow (as he is portrayed by Honko), Burke seems satisfied to use the concept to point to changes in an artefact or cultural trait when this is "implanted" in a new cultural context. In the age of the so-called Anthropocene, when the challenges coming from climate change necessitate thinking and writing across the divide between natural and human history, the oicotype could be an even more intriguing interdisciplinary resource from the ethno-folkloric archive.

John Ødemark

Professor

Postboks 1010 Blindern

NO-0315 Oslo

email: john.odemark@ikos.uio.no

Notes

- 1 The year H. White published *Metahistory* and C. Geertz *The Interpretation of Cultures*.
- 2 It has had a remarkable success; the book was for a long time on the list of the hundred most cited works in the social sciences (Lenka et al. 2018).
- 3 E.g. "Everyone to his own taste," as the old lady said when she kissed the cow."

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Ethnologia Scandinavica – Fighting (Yet Respecting) Stereo-types since 1971

By Katarzyna Herd

In this text, concerning 50 years of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, I shall follow ethnological development in the context of the object of study that in itself came to influence the shape and character of Nordic ethnology as a discipline. It is no mystery nor surprise that the roots of ethnology, which were in the study and collection of material from a dwindling pre-industrial society, were acknowledged and cherished as peasant society and their complex struggles were at the core of many initial papers published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. I also include anglers' communities in that category, as they formed a part of the changing landscape of progressing industrialism. My aim, thus, is to trace the change from the archive-based peasant society studies, to other forms and focuses of studying society, illustrated by papers published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*.

The selection of the articles was based mainly on the thematic focus. I scanned issues from 1971 until 2019, looking for the topics represented. I became intrigued (in a rather modern manner) by the plentiful titles including peasants and fish. Present-day issues did not seem to be as popular. It was (mostly) the problems and upheavals of the nineteenth century that preoccupied ethnologists. As my own research interests include a historical perspective and the production of history, I have been drawn to the (over)indulgence in the archives that is visible in the material. I would even risk a statement that it reflects in a way the concept of communicative and cultural memory, developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann (1988, 2011). History that can be communicated from person to person, from the actual source to younger listeners, lasts about 90 years, according to Jan Assmann. Could

one say that archives were more “alive” in the 1970s? Sigurd Erixon, one of the early ethnologists defining the subject, died in 1968. The archive that he helped to build was still represented by a living person until the late 1960s.

Spatio-temporal frames in the articles from the 1960s and 1970s are often impressive and almost intimidating to a modern ethnologist. Orvar Löfgren (1974) not only refers to a time span from 1750 to 1900, but also includes diverse locations in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Veikko Anttila starts the saga of seine-fishing Finns in 1550s, by focusing on the period between 1885 and 1967. Alan Hjorth Rasmussen (1974) discusses peasants in Denmark, landscape and ecology within the period 1887–1972. Orvar Löfgren, in another article from 1976, goes back with the peasants to 1800 and finishes in 1970. The changes described mostly concern changing economic realities. Even Löfgren's family patterns (1974) are framed as “means of production”.

By 1978 peasants seem to be adapting to bourgeois culture, as Palle Ove Christiansen wrote about changing cultural patterns among Danish peasants since 1860s and noticed increasing consumption in peasant households. The *Ethnologia Scandinavica* issue from 1980 also contains articles about pre-industrial society. The past seemed important. It was accessible too, as Orvar Löfgren commented on the amount of material:

The Scandinavian source material for this type of historical reconstruction is superior to that of most other countries. Thanks primarily to a long tradition of zealous bureaucrats, the Scandinavian demographic data from the mid-18th century onwards is both highly reliable and varied, including

not only population censuses but, more importantly, very accurate parish registers as well as legal and fiscal records (1974:17).

Löfgren juxtaposed this with Scandinavia as an “uncharted scholarly wilderness” (1974:17) which represents his (and others’) justification for that particular research focus. The archives were there and stuffed to the brim with data. Hence Bjarne Stoklund, for example, could make an interesting remark about worries of deforestation and overcutting of royal forests in Denmark in 1570 (1976:90). Even though some of the ethnological articles resemble historical sketches, and others, in my view, read like economic history, they strove to present a different picture, with the emphasis on “different”. Disturbing classifications, questioning categories, and fighting stereotypes seems to be the unifying feature of many texts concerning peasant societies.

Orvar Löfgren wrote at the beginning of his article from 1974 that “Scholarly interest in pre-industrial family structure has increased greatly during the last few years” (Löfgren 1974:17). One wonders why. No comprehensive parallels to modern situations are given in those earlier articles. The problems of the nineteenth century tend to stay in the nineteenth century. If one has easily accessible heaps of material and one considers the field to be “uncharted wilderness”, of course, then a return to the past is easy to justify. I would argue, however, that the salient point of the historical approach was to disturb and unsettle, the ethnologists publishing in early *Ethnologia Scandinavica* tried to muddle the ancient waters and hoped to paint a more nuanced picture. Change, adaptation and flexibility

of the studied subjects emerge. The changes do not just happen to peasants or anglers. They are resourceful, able to accommodate change, like Stoklund’s pre-industrial Danish peasants: “the peasants of the woodland had adapted themselves to the ever changing conditions inherent in the exploitation of resources before the radical changes introduced in 1805” (1976:91).

Hence, phrases like “peasant adaptation” appear; change and flexibility are stressed. Additionally, the ethnologists were adapting too. By 1979, Nils-Arvid Bringéus wrote an article on cultural communication that is active, adaptive, complex and changing, while referring to the previous “research darlings” and a need to move forward:

Our measurements are always valid for older buildings, but not for newly-constructed houses. Our analysis of objects includes those made of wood, iron or natural fibers, but not plastic objects and artificial fibers. The forward limits to material research have thus often been drawn at the emergence of industrialism. [...] If we turn our attention to the symbolic function of things, the study of objects those of the Age of Plastic can be just as exciting as in pre-industrial society (Bringéus 1979:14).

We know now that Bringéus was right. Wooden houses in woodlands were abandoned and the urban jungle became the preferred setting for ethnological studies. However, it was still a rarity when the 1980 issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* came, marked with an interesting debate about the embourgeoisement of the peasants.

As I mentioned, Palle Ove Christiansen wrote in 1978 about changing cultural patterns in Danish peasant society. He referred to an earlier study by Sven B. Ek. According to Ek’s own article from 1980,

Christiansen misunderstood his points totally. Sprinkled with phrases like “excellent body of material” in a “stimulating article” by a “young Danish researcher”, we find an unapologetic attack and discontent with how Ek’s own work was presented. To a modern reader, this is both curious and frightening. Sven B. Ek lists “misinterpretation of details”, states that, “Christiansen’s explanation is incorrect”, complains that the young Danish researcher missed a paper by Hermann Bausinger from 1971. But the gravest sin of them all, Christiansen misunderstood, criticized and misrepresented Ek’s research, although Ek did exactly what Christiansen did, just that he did it 20 years earlier (1980:42). Ek’s conclusion – Christiansen was not educated enough in the discipline of ethnology:

But perhaps this presumed lack of knowledge is instead a manifestation of a general research problem that came about as a result of a particular set of circumstances. [...] a certain discontinuity of knowledge exists in ethnological research today and that this is grounded in some form of what we might call a paradigmatic change. [...] The Swedish university system was reorganized. Mandatory course instruction was introduced and suddenly room was made for an entire generation of young scholars and teachers. [...] they had demanding instructional duties and had to work within limited timeframes. The time they had at their disposal was mainly devoted to more in-depth knowledge in line with the new trends. If [...] a certain information gap arose between the older research generation and the younger, it is neither strange nor reprehensible. [...] The crucial thing in this connection is that the new generation of teachers, and hence the new students, accordingly came to run the risk of disinheriting itself from the estate of an older body of knowledge that might have been used for new research purposes (Ek 1980:42–43).

Poor Christiansen became an example of the growing ignorance of the up-and-coming ethnological generations. The new was approaching, though slowly, as the 1980 *Ethnologia Scandinavica* issue is just peasants on peasants and pre-industrial realities galore. The past was still the Golden Age. Yet, the ethnological gaze started to shift towards the present, which meant abandoning the villages and fisheries, shorter studies, cramped historical perspectives, and less archives. In other words, ethnology started to mature to what it is today. It fed well on historical sources, grew strong and shifted its focus, including present and future, rather than excluding the past, as Ek was afraid would happen. Even though the older ethnologist reacted with well-structured fury at the newcomer’s scholarly attempt, they both actually tried to question, disturb and muddle familiar categories and pondered on new interpretational possibilities. The New was listening to the Old, only not in the expected way.

Throughout the issues from 1980s, one sees diverse themes, as identities, communication and urban environments begin to feel more comfortable on the pages of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. Peasants still appear, though more sporadically. In the issue from 1986, Bo Lönnqvist and Juhani U.E. Lehtonen both tackle the question of peasant identity and peasant change in two different articles. Both present historical sketches painted with rather thick brushes, going through the entire twentieth century and even further, as Lehtonen connects the twentieth century to the eighteenth. We learn that peasants had felt both the pressures and possibilities from urban environments for centuries. The change was narrated as inevitable, but seeing the process

seemed to have a soothing effect. There is talk of patterns, themes, and reoccurrences. In other words, one accommodates changes, gets used to them. The change is not new, then; it is an old trick of nature, even though it might speed up a bit when approaching the end of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the long storylines in many of these older articles in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* served the purpose of creating steady enough continuity to facilitate the break with the past. If all continues, like a long, spiral conversation (Bringéus 1979) then one does not have to fear the future. It will all be a continuity. Bo Lönnqvist remarked in his article “Social Ideals and Cultural Patterns in Twentieth-Century Finland”:

Culture is something that must be constructed and reconstructed as a continuous process. Cultural artefacts are comprised of ideologies, systems of belief, moral codes and institutions, among other things. The internalization of our values takes place through language and communication and is expressed in our system of classification (Lönnqvist 1986:19).

The continuous process reveals itself slowly. The *Ethnologia Scandinavica* issue from 1989 brings another time travel to the 1860s, on this occasion located in Western Jutland, as Ellen Damgaard gradually presented the small town of Lemvig, which was akin to Siberia, apparently, in terms of relative remoteness and, well, wilderness comparing to the Copenhagen region (1989). There were “striking similarities” between Lemvig and sixteenth-century Dutch farmers (1989:108) as they expressed more “urban” aspiration for consumption, something that Damgaard traced carefully through time. Western Jutland was not, then, a Siberia, but a specific region with

growing possibilities and access to other parts of Europe (1989:124). Damgaard questioned centre and periphery. The capital just did not understand the core position of Lemvig. The margins were a matter of perception, even in the nineteenth century.

While following the common patterns, Damgaard broke them, challenged them. This became a theme of dealing with the past. One did not have to strive just to preserve it. One could also play with it. The old was not as fragile as one might consider. As I looked through different volumes of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, one text from a later issue (2011) made me gasp. It was Niels Jul Nielsen’s “Always on the Edge: Prostitution in Debate and Cityscape”. Obviously, hardly any peasants there, but it made me connect to the book from the 1970s that had the biggest impact on me from all the founding ethnological literature that we were presented with as PhD students. It was Jonas Frykman’s *Horan i bondesamhället* (Whores in Peasant Society). The impact was not the subject of this doctoral dissertation, but the opening lines. In the first paragraph, Frykman presented the question for the dissertation: why were there so many whores and why were they so unevenly spread? (1977:9). A brilliant question, if you ask me. But in the second paragraph, the plot thickens: Frykman stated that he was not going to answer that. Instead, it would be about the cultural and social factors behind the process. A rebellion. A protest. A break with the past.

Hence, encouraged by my previous rebellious whore-encounters, I eagerly read about Nielsen’s whores, this time in Copenhagen, Denmark. The time span was similar, 1850 to 1910. The settings,

obviously, different. The Danish capital instead of the Swedish countryside. And the style (after spending too many evenings in ethnological 1970s and 1980s) was beyond recognition compared to the older texts. No whores really, mostly space and place, though juiced up with Immanuel Kant, Martin Heidegger and Henri Lefebvre, so steamy reading it was nevertheless, yet I could not help but become a bit puzzled by the style of an academic argument I could recognize so well from what I have tried to master myself during the past years. Perhaps I was all too eager to jump again to the past, encouraged by the dates clearly spelled out at the beginning of Nielsen's article. However, Nielsen's analysis, though working on the older material, kept me firmly in the present. It had the taste of present-day ethnology that I have been encouraged to embrace and compose.

It is not easy to frame the old, and it is equally tricky to contextualize the new. One gets almost jealous of the pace one could write with decades ago. That pace could take you centuries and centuries back without apologizing for not focusing on an issue from the last couple of years. The possibility to draw parallels with the remote past is also something that can trigger envy. Professor emeritus Timo Leisiö, in a very interesting text from an edited collection from 2000, connects his (rather) modern material of a riddle game "back deep to the Iron Age" (Leisiö 2000:282). Even the Ice Age is mentioned in another text in that volume, as a starting point for later Viking Age performances (Bregenhøj 2000). How one would love to be able to do that. At least I would. To have the voice and authority, deep knowledge (or a substantial, well-phrased hint) of the continu-

ous cultural processes that could go back not only centuries, but also millennia! Would I dare to include 200 years and four different countries in an article 8,000 characters long, nowadays? Hardly.

Somewhere around the year 2000, a balancing act took its final shape. Ethnologists balanced the past and the present, it would seem, and the scales tipped, making space for a modern focus, and more present-day fieldwork. We have become factual, focusing more on the events nearby, in our time-frames. Alternatively, events and happenings were brought to the present with the modern analytical toolbox. Careful referencing systems meant a firm grip of the fields, authors, things done and discussed, but they also created limitations. We cannot (should not) fantasize about the bygone, or imagine connections and interpretations. We have professionalized thinking and perhaps made writing more organized than creative. It is a process though, an ongoing conversation, a spiral of communication that goes simultaneously up and down and sideways, as Nils-Arvid Bringéus showed in a neat and beautiful diagram (1979:13).

Peasant society once constituted the core of ethnological research. Tracing that research is like tracing change and tradition simultaneously, rebellion and preservation. Slowly, the disappearing peasant society evaporates from the pages of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, not completely, but it is treated in a different manner. It helps to answer questions about the present. Other landscapes opened and with them possibilities. After all, there is so much to research and so little time. Ethnology could not stay in villages and small towns forever. It had to make the journey to the big industrialized spaces. It had to open for topics such

as migration, commodification, digitalization, and spread the networks.

So peasants did not disappear really. Nor did time-frames. Nor did diagrams. They are just not part of the current cultural communication. We might still focus on peasant cultures, and massive time-frames, and even be enchanted by diagrams again. I urge you to go to Nils-Arvid Bringéus's text from 1979. Although not about peasants, it paints a picture of a connection. Of swirling thoughts that rush to reach the new, unique and undiscovered, but including the past, relating to the past, coming from the past. I thought I knew the story, I thought I could guess what the old articles would bring, but I was surprised. The past really is, as David Lowenthal (2015) writes, a foreign country.

Katarzyna Herd
PhD in Ethnology
Dept. of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University
Box 192
SE-223 62 Lund
e-mail: katarzyna.herd@kultur.lu.se

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Nordic and Nature

The Human-Nature Interface in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1970–2020

By Kirsi Sonck-Rautio

In 2020, as I am writing this article, environmental issues such as climate change, biodiversity loss and plastic waste have become embedded in virtually all sciences, and wicked problems concerning the intertwined relationship between society, culture and nature have emerged at an increasing tempo. As scholars are tackling these problems within the context of their own disciplines, ethnologists are no exception. Environmental change, however global its origins maybe, has local effects, and the consequences and circumstances of each change can be best detected and interpreted from the local perspective. Therefore, in order to fully understand the meaning and impact of any environmental change, it is essential to examine the ways they are embodied in the local context. The best possible informants about these local impacts are the people living with the environment, whose experiences and local ecological knowledge give them tools to observe and interpret the changes that are happening in their living environments – not only with the flora and fauna, but also in networks that act between the human and non-human, living and non-living elements of the environments. This is where ethnologists' expertise is needed and why it is interesting to see how ethnology as a Nordic discipline has developed in tackling these current issues.

For this article, I put on environmental lenses and examine the articles published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* from 1970 to 2020 in order to examine how the human-nature relationship has developed over centuries according to Nordic ethnologists, and how this relationship has influenced both human communities and their surroundings. I also examine how the paradigm and frameworks for studying and

interpreting such relationships have altered in research during the last five decades published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*.

The human-nature relationship is by no means static, and it has changed over time in many ways; nor is it homogeneous – the meanings people ascribe to nature are closely related to any contexts they inhabit on this earth. Gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, and subsistence modes are all factors, and this list is not even remotely comprehensive. There would be a vast potential history of human-nature relationship to cover, but as my aim is to examine this topic through the articles published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* between 1971 and 2020, I will consider the period roughly from the fourteenth century to the present, the time scale of my material. At the beginning of our time scale the groups examined are predominantly agrarian, not surprising given that we are dealing with ethnological articles.

Up until the eighteenth century the notion of nature existing for humans to exploit was mostly undisputed, and there was no apparent controversy regarding whether all other living things and species were made for humans. This attitude was justified by noting that the order of things was dictated by the creator. At the same time, however, there were processes taking place among natural scientists – such as the formulation of the Linnaean taxonomy – which laid the foundation for the way we see the world today (Nedreliid 1991). By the end of the eighteenth century Romanticism had transformed wild and hostile nature into romantic nature – a view that was espoused mainly by the upper classes, not by peasants. In the nineteenth century, according to Nedreliid (1991), forests were given the

role of providers of privacy and places for spirituality. Consequently, the bourgeoisie and city dwellers started to acquire second homes in the countryside, and among the upper classes nature became something to value and conserve, at least for the purposes of recreation. Nedrelid (1991) also makes a good point in noting that we have a much better idea of how the bourgeoisie viewed nature than the views of farmers and peasants, but from ethnological research we can certainly find implications of these views.

Agrarian Nature

From early ages, rural communities' everyday lives were to large extent dictated by access to a steady supply of energy – that is, fuel – that was needed for fire, heating and preparing food, a prerequisite for human life, together with access to nutritional resources. Communities and households were self-sufficient, and the exhaustion of any source of fuel would lead to depopulation or relocation of the community. This was especially true in settlements in cold areas such as the Nordic countries. Wood was most commonly used as fuel, which in many places led to deforestation, but utilizing peat as a fuel also enabled settlement in areas with less forest (Östereng 1972). This type of direct dependency on natural resources surely had a major impact on the meanings people gave to nature, and in agrarian communities the meanings were utility-driven. Access to certain fuels or other resources dictated not only the location of the settlement, but also the rhythm of life. For example, the above-mentioned peat-cutting was a job that took time and skill, which had a major effect on the division on labour, for instance (ibid.). For winter-seiners, weather conditions, sea-ice

and access to large quantities of Baltic herring influenced the whole of society during the winter months (Anttila 1974), whereas the communities on the Faroe Islands were influenced by the migration schedule of pilot whales (Joensen 1976).

Traditionally ethnological research has been interested in rural communities, and thus rural livelihood also formed the core of many studies, especially in the early days of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (e.g. Östereng 1971; Anttila 1974; Rasmussen 1974; Stoklund 1976; Löfgren 1976). These studies were mainly conducted by applying cultural ecological frameworks which embraced the notion of nature's role as human utility, but also as the ultimate force behind the formation of human cultural traits, such as an example of peculiar and usually frowned-upon behaviour of Faroese whalers as they observed a school of pilot whales (*grindahvalir*) approaching, called “grinda-man's conduct” (Joensen 1976). It must be noted, however, that even if these studies were inherently a form of cultural ecology, they did not apply it without criticism.

While human communities are influenced by their natural surroundings, humans also have a major impact on the environment around them. Grazing, using wood as fuel and material for tools and housing, and clearance of forests and meadows to make room for agriculture caused deforestation, are the most obvious ways humans have shaped their landscapes. After the agricultural boom in woodland areas in the eighteenth century it even became the case that any other mode of subsistence for a peasant besides farming was considered a threat to his primary subsistence mode (Stoklund 1976). Woodland farming was

not, however, the only form of subsistence, or only “ecotype” as Löfgren (1976) puts it, as there were also fishing peasants, cattle-raising peasants, mining peasants, mountaineer peasants, slash-and-burn farmers, and peatland farmers, to name a few (Löfgren 1976; Stoklund 1976; Linkola 1987). Each of these ecotypes changed the surrounding ecosystems differently, each of them creating new types of ecosystems – slash-and-burn cultivation, for example, created vast areas of grasslands and meadows resembling those that result from natural forest fires (Linkola 1987).

Cultural ecology started to face a lot of criticism by the 1970s and ecosystem theorists and political ecologists took notice of the fact that no culture or community exists in a void, and each system is affected by external factors. This criticism was noted by Nordic ethnologists also, and Stoklund (1976) points out that even though peasants customarily exploited resources in a way that would nowadays be seen as misuse – such as letting cattle graze in the forest and eventually thinning out the landscape – macroeconomic and political factors had a major impact on the ways peasants exploited their environment. Löfgren (1976) follows up Stoklund’s views by highlighting the importance of the macro-economic framework. Löfgren also notes that besides the actual resource exploitation methods and practices we need to be more aware of the people’s perceptions of the resource they are exploiting, and that in studying these perceptions terminology and classifications are important – Löfgren describes language as an ecological mirror (Löfgren 1976). The ecological approach to ethnology in the 1970s follows the principle of studying the tangible and mutual influences between humans and

nature, but not as much attention was paid to actual intangibilities of this relationship – but Löfgren’s notions do indeed mirror the emerging interest in human-nature perceptions and meaning-making which would characterize cultural-ecological approaches in the following decades.

Wild and Tamed

The forest offered resources for rural people, and this practical approach can also be detected from the historical human-nature relationship. Virtanen (1998) explains how Finnish children were taught to respect nature, not for the sake of empathy, but for the sake of utility. There were many double standards with regard to this respect – those species that had no values for humans could be mistreated as cruelly as one wanted. For example, children were encouraged (or at least not discouraged) to mistreat magpies or kill snakes, but killing a spider, which had a value in household as a pest controller, was forbidden. There was even a superstition claiming that to kill as spider is to kill one’s parents (*ibid.*).

The juxtaposition of nature and human partly stems from the notion of nature being an object for exploitation, and this juxtaposition consequently created mixed feelings towards forests, as they were seen as untamed, wild and scary. Virtanen argues that for children who had to herd cattle in the forest, the task was horrific. Forests were seen as very dangerous places, not only due to wild animals which were known to seize children, but also due to the risk of getting lost. According to Virtanen several people got lost in the forest, never to be found, and these disappearances were explained by people being “hidden” by the forest. Being “hidden” meant becoming invisible to the

people searching for them, who could not find the missing person even when they were standing side by side. There were, however, several tricks that one could use to break the “hidden” spell, such as turning one’s clothes inside out (Virtanen 1998). The dangerous reputation of the forests was, according to Nielsen (2000), visible in many places in Scandinavia; in farming areas the forest was kept away from the house by cutting the trees around it and keeping a large area around the farmstead open so as to keep the forest at a safe distance. In fact, Nielsen points out, extensive cultivation in the country in question was a precondition for a culture of tending gardens and parks – countries which were still mostly covered with forests did not share the love of arca-dian nature, nor did a person feel a need to bring nature into their backyard. Up until the nineteenth century rural gardens and parks were only for the very entitled, and for a farmer it was considered much more civilized to keep one’s yard clean of any other plants than those of utility value (*ibid.*).

Virtanen argued: “The common aesthetic attitude to the forest appears to be coloured by man’s needs and his dominant ideology” (1998:47). This is evident also as we draw closer to modern days. The relationship between forest and people in general started to shift from fear and utility to more aesthetic evaluation. The sentimentalization of nature can be traced back to the eighteenth century, when the bourgeoisie of Europe was embracing the idealistic views triggered by the rise of romanticism (Nedreliid 1991; Nielsen 2000), but sentimentalization and aesthetic value did not mean that the utility perspective of nature serving a purpose was lost; the ways of utilizing nature merely changed.

Nature and Leisure

By the 1990s industrialization and urbanization had superseded the nature-based livelihoods and rural lifestyles, and instead of nature being perceived as a source of material resources, it was now seen as a source of well-being, of national identity and an enabler of leisure activities (Nedreliid 1991; Nielsen 2000; Ren 2006). Scholars were interested in how the nature-culture dichotomy came into being, and in the form of the human-nature relationship or interface past and present. The paradigm had changed and nature was more connected to myth, meaning making and representations.

While urbanization drastically changed the vocational structure of the Nordic countries, it also changed the meaning nature was given. The natural environment was no longer primarily a place providing subsistence, but rather a place of leisure. The change from agrarian lifestyle to leisure was not sudden, but happened gradually. For instance, in Norway, outdoor activities, which are considered to be an essential part of Norwegian national character, were for long time still connected to activities that used to be part of everyday life, activities such as hunting and fishing. Practising old livelihoods in a recreational spirit could have legitimized outdoor leisure, creating a sense of doing something useful. At the same time, forests started to develop a reputation as peaceful places, places where one can meditate and feel pleasure. As it was discovered that being in nature evidently contributes to human well-being, no excuses were needed any longer – it was good for people to enjoy the outdoors without practising any particular activity other than the virtue of improving

oneself (Nedrelid 1991). Nedrelid points out that outdoor activity has become such an important part of Norwegian national imaginary that being outdoorsy is almost like an official policy in Norway.

The newly established recreational value of nature has not been without problems, of course. Nature has been, yet again, harnessed for human benefit. As Carina Ren (2006) put it, “using nature actively as a means of recreation is becoming an increasingly contested field, as ways of perceiving nature as an aesthetic backdrop for recreation and self-improvement are complemented by a view of nature as a resource for increased earnings and profit” (Ren 2006:5). Recreational nature activities have created an enormous range of outdoor activity providers and a vast sector for outdoor tourism, a phenomenon that Carina Ren (2006) demonstrated through her case study of the Breckenridge ski resort on Colorado, USA. Perceiving nature as a contributor to human well-being has spread from emotional well-being to economic well-being, which in turn has created a necessity to justify the existence of nature by demonstrating the services nature provides for humans. The concept of ecosystem services gained popularity after it was introduced by Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) with the presumably good intentions of making visible all the benefits nature has to offer, highlighting the fact that humans cannot survive without these services and at the same time motivating people to protect these service providers, which are often taken for granted.

The Politics of Nature

Seeing nature as an ecosystem service or a commercial place of leisure creates a new

set of problems, as both views risk a tendency to have a utility-driven agenda for exploiting nature. Accordingly, the ecosystem services approach also objectifies nature and its value to science and scientific knowledge systems, and in addition puts a price tag on services that are in fact priceless. Among ethnologists, the framework and understanding of meaning making started to shift towards something more political. Ren (2006) points out that as the leisure industry becomes the major supplier of outdoor recreation, it leads to social injustice in access to nature, and also of who gets to decide about the proper use of the environment. This type of environmental conflict is a classic example of issues scrutinized through the political ecological framework which gained ground in Nordic ethnology by the 2000s (Ren 2006, Saltzman 2006; Flygare 2006; Holm-Jensen 2006). These conflicts ultimately stem from the contradictory meanings that different people, groups or stakeholders ascribe to the environment, as demonstrated by Holm-Jensen (2006) in her study “Between Management and Conservation: Nature’s Challenges to Modern Agriculture”, a classic and still current example of conflicts over who has the right to determine the proper way of utilizing nature and how the concepts we apply and whose perceptions are valued make a difference.

The 2000s also saw an interesting development in social sciences and humanities in general, which highlighted the importance of interpreting the meanings of nature not only from the perspective of man, but from the perspective of other living beings – post-humanism and multi-species ethnography. This view is well demonstrated by Katarina Saltzman in

her paper “Challenging Nature: A Site for Hazardous Waste and Rare Birds” (2006) in which Saltzman uses the bird habitat preservation area of Torsviken, which also has a history as hazardous wasteland, as an empirical point of departure to reflect the ways in which “nature” is determined and defined, and shows through Bruno Latour’s actor-network theory (ANT) how Torsviken is constantly created and recreated through the network that consists of birds, humans, algae, technologies, organizations and bicycles, to name but a few. With her research, Saltzman concretizes the underlying problem within sciences. For an ethnologist (or any other humanist for that matter) it is rather unfamiliar to address actors such as algae or nutrients in research regarding cultural landscapes. The division of science into silos of natural sciences, social sciences and humanities, to say nothing of disciplines, creates categories through which we interpret the world, even though these are both unnatural and artificial. This problem does not only apply to researchers, but creates the same disciplinary silos for the general public as well. It also brings to the fore a new question – whose knowledge should we base our views and decisions upon?

The juxtaposition of different knowledge systems offers a rich source of research for ethnologists, whether in the context of conservation, ecological discussion, biodiversity, environmental and cultural heritage, to name put a few. Frida Hastrup (2013), for example, explores the encounters of Danes and the tropical nature of India, and the way ambiguous nature has been produced by creating category systems, which create categories but simultaneously undermine them. Hastrup asserts

that the Indian tropics do not fit into any comprehensive or ready fixed knowledge systems, and highlight the complex and fluctuating nature of knowledge production in general. This notion does indeed raise the question of whether we should really trust it as blindly as we do? Similar types of observations were made by Signe Mellemsgaard (2004) as she studied the collections of the Copenhagen Natural History Society (1789–1805) through the framework of ANT – she wanted to see what kind of agency, if any, these objects had. She points out that collections are not just products of a knowledge system, but are also instrumental in creating a knowledge system. They are actants in a network which consists of the collectors all around the world, donors, exchange partners, locations, harbours – and the knowledge produced within this network does not only affect humans. Yet this knowledge and the science behind it can mean different things to any actant in the network, and the original meaning is lost.

Animals in Nature

Posthumanism, multi-species ethnography and Latour’s ANT were quickly adopted in ethnology, and recently it has been rather widely acknowledged that not only humans have agency. Giving agency to non-human beings, such as animals, has allowed space for an animal turn in research. Animals have, of course, been studied in natural sciences as long as there has been science, but to zoom in the relationships between human and animals, or to examine the agency of animals within the networks in which they act, is a field of study that has emerged only in recent decades. Nature is no longer seen only as a resource,

or as a symbol, but as something we are part of and share with other living beings, such as animals. It is not only a question of the human-nature relationship, but also about sharing nature with other species. In *Ethnologia Scandinavica* the animal turn has been visible in many forms, most visibly perhaps in a paper authored by Riin Magnus and Ingvar Svanberg (2017) in which they examine how wild animals have assisted humans. Magnus and Svanberg paint an interesting and fascinating picture of how and in what dimension humans and animals interact and share common interests, if not common perceptions.

There are also many examples of mutual aid between humans and animals if they have common interests, but for different reasons. For example, birds are very welcome creatures for households, as they eat harmful and annoying insects. Some bird species can be used to warn humans of danger or of approaching shoals of fish. Hedgehogs have traditionally been allowed to nest on farms because they keep away snakes, for example. Spiders, which were previously used as an example of animals with a utility value for humans, are a good example of mutual aid, as they are effective in getting rid of pests in the house, in return for which they are provided with shelter and hunting grounds indoors (ibid.). Magnus and Svanberg's article supports the assumption that early agrarian people's relationship with nature, including animals, was utility-driven, but on the other hand it shows that this relationship had and has many other dimensions. This relationship is, naturally, subject to change with any other changes in the environment, whether it be political, ecological, cultural or societal. Kajsa Kuoljok (2019) demonstrated

this changing relationship in her study of the interaction between reindeer herders and reindeer, and how this relationship was also a source of extensive ecological knowledge. The relationship has changed since the development of GPS tracking devices, which enable reindeer herders to observe the movements of their herd from a distance; new technology provides them with new possibilities and new types of knowledge, but does not give them a personal relationship with individual animals, a relationship that cannot be replaced.

Nature and Future

For current and becoming researchers the future offers a variety of frameworks to develop further. Although, as this article suggests, it is hard for humans to distinguish nature from its utility functions, there is hope that in the future we will be able to do that. Nature has provided humans with livelihoods and energy, wood, land and animals. Later it was harnessed as a place for leisure and again it provides us with subsistence in the form of leisure and tourism. Nevertheless, nature still provides us with resources, in an ever-increasing speed. Increasing population requires more food and energy and we are faced with extremely wicked problems such as climate change, biodiversity loss and use of virgin materials. In the future our relationship with nature may become even more complex, but on the other hand, there is clearly a development which guides us to pay more attention to how we can preserve nature instead of over-exploiting it. We can no longer view nature as something that never changes, because climate change has shown us that it has and will change radically for the future generations. Climate

change is a global phenomenon, but it presents itself locally, and the adaptation measures need to be planned as such. The same goes for biodiversity loss. This is a window of opportunity for ethnologists, as we are the experts on local human-nature relationships and local communities. As we try to tackle future challenges that the changing nature will bring, a circular economy is one solution. Implementing solutions such as a circular economy, people as citizen-consumers need to be engaged. Whether it is a question of littering, animal protection, of reducing plastic waste, it is essential to study people who are integral and essential to this change.

Kirsi Sonck-Rautio

Ph.D.

Åbo Akademi University

Faculty of Social Sciences, Business and Economics

Tuomiokirkontori 3

FI-20500 Turku, Finland

email: kirsi.sonck-rautio@abo.fi

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Medical Ethnology

Health and Disease, Hygiene and Cleanliness, Childbirth and Sexuality, Medicine and Care in Ethnologia Scandinavica

By Michael Andersen

Ethnological studies of topics related to medical humanities or medical anthropology, such as health and disease, are not a new phenomenon. As a term, medical ethnology, is nonetheless hardly used as much as medical anthropology or medical humanities. This is not to say that the term medical ethnology has not been applied, however. In 1915 the book titled *Medical Ethnology* by the naval officer and doctor Charles Woodruff was published posthumously. Rather than introducing an intriguing approach to a new field of study, the book made its claim to fame by presenting theories of race and disease – arguing why certain races were better equipped to withstand their local climates. As can be deduced, Woodruff harboured some inherently racist ideas and invoked phrenology to argue, for instance, that illiteracy was due to a lack of national or racial intelligence rather than opportunity, and that illiteracy diminished when the size of the brain increased. On this basis Woodruff argued that Scandinavians were the most intelligent race (1915). Suffice it to say that Woodruff's ideas represented a dark chapter in human history, but the book is interesting to the extent that it also represented a contemporaneous view of the connectedness between *environment* and *ethnos* from a disease perspective.

Although it would certainly not be fair to compare Woodruff to the early cultural historians that paved the way for ethnology, the interest in how contemporaneous practitioners of medicine considered disease as connected to a certain milieu was an object of analysis in Troels-Lund's renowned study *Sundhedsbegreber i Norden i det 16. århundrede* (1900). Here Troels-Lund details – amongst numerous other subjects –

how the common adoption of humorism in sixteenth-century Danish medicine implied that seasonal changes were considered to impact human health. Thus, while winter was a time with an increase in phlegm, spring in blood, summer in yellow bile and autumn in black bile, the imbalance caused by an excess of any of the humours on human health could be directly tied to the seasons notwithstanding individual humours that could compensate for any such imbalance. However, as Troels-Lund notes, since humorism was conceived primarily in Greece by Hippocrates and Galen, it did little to explain the cause and effect on the seasons in the Nordic countries:

If there was anything in those explanations [of humorism and health] that might suggest that they had been conceived among a people and in a climate where the human minds and seasons have a different character – in the North, for example, one would hardly describe the autumn as dry – then it was forgotten in favour of their incomparable ability to provide a credible answer to every question. And this ability increased the broader the question asked. The trickiest question of all, the reason why people differ in their outer appearance, abilities, character and entire way of dealing with life, was explained in an easy and natural way with the simple but crucial answer: their humours are different (Troels-Lund 1900:42–43).¹

There is an obvious difference between the medical ethnology presented by Woodruff and Troels-Lund's assertion that discredited humourism, partly because it did not consider the climate of the North, but they share the similarity that their writings represent a development and period in modern medicine in which the environment had gained credence as an explanation of disease, or as Linda Nash puts it:

Understandings of environment and health in the nineteenth century were shaped by broad cultural and political currents – European medical geography, debates between contagionists and anticontagionists, transatlantic racial theories, American expansionism, the political crisis over slavery. But they were also shaped by the physical experience of individuals and the material realities encountered in specific places. Laypersons and physicians alike believed that both disease and cure could be understood only in their specific contexts. [...] At least until the mid-1880s the overwhelming majority believed that the source of health as well as disease lay primarily in the local environment and that the only way to gauge an environment's effect on health was to live in it (Nash 2006:49).

So, while it could be argued that the very early ethnologists would embrace the discourses on health and disease in modern medicine, what has happened since then?

In this article I will be going through the articles in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* between 1971 and 2020 to trace some of the shifting paradigms or developments in the studies that could arguably be framed as medical ethnological, and that have taken place throughout the history of the journal. I will do so by singling out four major topics within the overall theme of medical ethnology that I identified when revisiting the publications in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* from 1971 onwards. These topics are: *Health and disease*; *Hygiene and cleanliness*; *Childbirth and sexuality*; *Medicine and care*. In spite of their connectedness, these topics are singled out for the sake of clarity, and to provide the reader with a sense of how they have been investigated. Also, in order not to broaden the scope too much, I have chosen not to go into articles that primarily deal with other major topics such as body, gender, ageing or ethnicity.

Before diving into the four topics, however, I will begin by discussing an article in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* that approaches the question of what actually constitutes the seemingly overarching theme of medical ethnology, namely health and disease.

Health and Disease

Any definition of health and disease always seems to come up short, and quite naturally so. Being socially interactive yet elusive entities of negotiation, the terms “health” and “disease” express the difficulty of categorizing experience. When for instance approaching “disease” from an analytical point of view, one can attempt to separate the *ontological* from the *physiological* – e.g., as done by the historian Owsei Temkin (2006 [1977]). In Temkin's terminology, the ontological refers to the existence of disease in and of itself, and the physiological connects a disease to the individual being diseased. Or, as Arthur Kleinman famously argued, there is a distinction between disease and illness – illness is the patient's experience, and disease is the medical view (Kleinman 1988). In effect, a synthesis of the perspectives of both Kleinman and Temkin would argue that humans do not experience disease or health in a one-to-one relation to the medical description of that disease or what healthy is; instead, we experience it as mediated through our situated bodies – bodies situated in space and in time.

In the article “Medicine, Disease, and Culture” the ethnologist Lene Otto explores a similar line of thought when paraphrasing William McNeill's (1984) claim that diseases of the past were not only different but impossible for us to understand on the basis of our present-day experiences

(1993).² What Otto also points out is that medical history until the 1960s tended to be written by doctors that would emphasize the positivist idea of the accumulation of knowledge. As Bruno Latour has similarly shown, many of these medical historical narratives praised the ingenuity of the singular doctor, e.g. Pasteur, in the discovery of a cure, while this in fact could be attributed to several actors, human and non-human, as well as events (Latour 1986).

Otto's line of inquiry follows in the footsteps of Michel Foucault's critical approach to disease, health and medicine, which again can be traced to Georges Canguilhem who argued that the creation of the pathological became more related to a concept of "the normal" than to health with the developments of medicine during the nineteenth century (2008 [1966]). Central to Canguilhem's argument was that modern medicine was premised on the idea that the organism was primarily characterized as pathological if it did not have the ability to overcome the conditions of the milieu, or as the philosopher Mary Tiles puts it: "Disease is characterized as a reduction in the margin of tolerance for the inconstancies of the environment" (Tiles 1993:738).

This instituted a shift in the concept of health in itself – becoming more associated with normalcy – and became an essential discourse in the medical sciences, as it linked to the possibility of a scientific medicine; a scientific medicine that, through the naturalization of pathologicalization, paved the way for a more quantitative medicine. In turn this would account for the claim of objectivity in medical science, seeking the underlying vital phenomena thought to cause the everyday life experience of

illness. Disease was thus situated within a medical semiotics of pathological and normal, where the singular could only appear to be a failure (Canguilhem, Marrati & Meyers 2008 [1966]). Foucault expanded on this argument in *The Birth of the Clinic*, by arguing that by the eighteenth century the medical sign replaced symptoms by transforming the bouquet of symptoms into a sign, which meant that disease was simply a collection of "unnatural" symptoms, observable to the clinical gaze (Foucault & Sheridan 2003). Furthermore, this idea of the definition of disease as related to the organism in its milieu was further developed by Foucault to argue that modern medicine tied morals and discipline to disease.

Otto's approach to medicine, disease and illness stands as an exemplary showcase of a critical Foucauldian engagement with the medical sciences that could be seen in many of the articles dealing with issues relating to medical ethnology in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* during the 1990s. Foucault's ideas were similarly, although to a lesser extent, present in medical ethnological articles in the early 1980s (e.g. Frykman 1981), and continue to be somewhat present in some of the more recent articles (e.g. Jansen 2018; Winther 2018).

Hygiene and Cleanliness

Clearly inspired by Foucault's work on morals and discipline in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Frykman's paper "Pure and Rational. The Hygienic Vision: A Study of Cultural Transformation in the 1930's. The New Man" (1981) describes how the new middle class in 1930s Sweden, that both departed from and had its roots in Victorian bourgeoisie, emphasized the individual adherence to multiple

forms of hygiene e.g. mental, sexual, food, inheritance etc., as indicative of one's morals and willingness to uphold the ideals of contemporaneous society through the disciplining of one's body. Similarly, when writing on hygiene, Mellemggaard argues that the policies on health and hygiene during the nineteenth century did not represent "objective" solutions to questions on sanitation and health, as much as they represented certain bourgeois ideals of what good life was and should be – again tying hygiene to morals (1992). The link between morals, discipline and hygiene is also present in the article by Maartman (2000) that deals with the role of societal norms, ideals and conventions on cleanliness in inter-war Norway as crucial to the hygiene movement and the subsequent incorporation of the medical gaze on one's own body. As a rare example of writings on hygiene that does not reference Foucault, we find the 2003 text by Klepp in which the author presents the case that the change in textiles and the developments in the textile sector necessitated heavier washing, and that although increased hygienic standards could be said to have come from this process, hygiene and morals were not at the forefront in the increased washing of one's clothes. Interestingly, no articles have been published on hygiene since the article by Klepp. This is most likely to change in the years to come, seeing how the pandemic could arguably have altered public perceptions of clean and dirty and to that extent what constitutes hygienic behaviour – an area ripe for ethnological exploration.

Childbirth and Sexuality

As with much anthropology in the mid 1970s, the – to a large degree structuralist

and diffusionist – interest in cartography and the use of statistics did not evade ethnologists. The earliest article of this type featured in this review, by Jonas Frykman (1975), investigates illegitimate births in Sweden from 1831 to 1933, by studying statistics, maps and general demography. Although Frykman's article does not solely rely on cartographic and statistical data, but also includes cultural historical insights, the overwhelming part of the article *is* based on the insights drawn from the cartographic analysis and a methodological discussion of the use of the different maps. What Frykman finds is that extra-marital fertility in the first decades of the 1800s was caused by casual sexual relationships, and that new ways of living together without being registered as married from 1831 onwards resulted in many children being registered as illegitimate (1975), something that could have had the potential to put the children in a difficult moral spot.

Similarly approaching childbirth in relation to morals, Tove Fjell's (2005) article on childless women underscores how biological birthing has become the ultimate culturally desirable trait of feminine identity, more so than being a mother. In the same issue as Fjell's article, Nylund-Skog (2005) investigates the relationship between birthing and sexuality, arguing that although midwives have a role in childbirth their role is diminished, partly because of the intimate and sometimes sexual experience of childbirth. Skog's article is particularly interesting when seen in light of Knut Weibust's (1988) writings on parents' needs of alternative childbirth practices. Here Weibust writes that advocates of alternative childbirth stress the importance of an emotionally supportive

environment and an activation of inner resources in childbirth, and it is obvious that the discourse on childbirth practices in the late 1980s has changed so that common practice now accommodates this more “alternative” approach to contemporary childbirth in hospitals.

Experiences of intimacy, sexual desire and sexual exploits have been the topic of articles in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, particularly from the 1990s onwards (e.g. Lützen 1996; Löfström 1997; Telste 1993; Thorsen 1987). While many of these articles deal with perceived relational gaps, for example, between people who identify as men and as women (Telste 1993; Löfström 1997), between classes (Thorsen 1987), between nationalities (Schröder 1997), they all express an endeavour to investigate how and when taboos around sexuality manifest themselves in society and have a possible impact on individual identity formation. Particularly the article by Löfström (1997) puts an interesting emphasis on how sexual ability has only recently become an important property in the definition of manliness in the Nordic countries, thus highlighting the impact of global perceptions of sexuality on individual identity formation.

Medicine and Care

By the late 1990s ethnologists moved into healthcare settings to a much larger degree than in the previous decades. Thus, healthcare and the patient as informant became an increasingly common feature in ethnological studies. In *Ethnologia Scandinavica* we see examples of this in Öhlander 2004; Ideland 2007; Idvall & Lundin 2007; Andersen 2013; Tveit 2014; Idvall 2017. In many of these articles we see how the medical gaze (e.g. Idvall 2017; Andersen

2013) has come to be an important aspect to medical ethnological studies, which points to the way in which medical diagnosis has become an integral part of everyday life. To that effect, the way in which many contemporary informants assess their health and well-being is through the use of an ever-expanding medical vocabulary, in which notions of medical risk, for example, may dominate crucial decisions in life (e.g. Idvall & Lundin 2007). Issues particularly relating to mental health are explored in Thorhauge 2005 as well as in Lundén 2005; the latter deals with burnout, an affliction that continues to plague modern society, and an area which is currently seeing an increase particularly in medical anthropological and sociological attention (e.g. Neckel, Schaffner & Wagner 2017). From around 2010 onwards what we also see is an increased focus on, and access, to medical lab settings (e.g. Winther 2018), following in line with the work of Bruno Latour and STS, theoretical positions that have arguably had a decisive impact on medical humanistic, sociological and anthropological studies of health and disease. Lastly, it is worth mentioning the article by Jansen (2018), which touches on the subject of the 2009–2010 swine flu pandemic in Norway, and now reads almost as a premonition of the issues that would come to haunt us in the current pandemic, such as vaccine hesitancy and the related trust in public health authorities.

From the 1990s onwards an area of study that seems to fade away is that of traditional folk medicine. While Räsänen in 1983 more concretely deals with the spiritual healing practices of Hannah the Healer, and Alver and Selberg (1987) treat the relationship between scientific med-

icine and folk medicine, Birgitte Rørbye develops an approach to traditional folk medicine as a form of alternative therapy (1982). She argues that folk medicine expresses a holistic approach that is not to be found in scientific medicine, and that for this reason folk medicine will continue to be of relevance alongside scientific medicine. Although, the scientific medical establishment could arguably have said to have pervaded every corner of the Nordic countries, this is an interesting thought, as alternative medicine has seen a steady incline, in particular due to the global availability of medicines through webshops etc. As a mixture of folk medicine from around the world and new persuasions based on pseudo-science, the availability of off-the-counter medicine that tends to promise more than it can keep has become a hot market for an increasingly individualized society. Whether this is due to an individual longing for a more holistic approach stands unanswered, but as with the study of hygienic practices mid-pandemic, this area similarly seems to be begging for further ethnological studies to be published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*.

Conclusions

I would argue that ethnologists with an interest in medical ethnology have picked up on the idea of a correlation between the surrounding environment and its impact on health and disease, and used it to analyse both medicine itself, and how the impact of the environment in modern medicine has affected our everyday lives, and how it continues to do so. As we have continued this endeavour, the most important aspect, albeit banal, has been to never consider health and disease as entities in themselves, but

always in relation to a particular context – be it environmental, social or cultural – and most often all at once and inseparable from each other. To that extent, it is fair to say that disease and health serve as a monitory comment on society, a comment that places the real in opposition to the ideal and, in doing so, creates a rationale for social action.

What seems to become very obvious when reading through the volumes of the journal is that we as ethnologists have gradually become more and more involved in medical studies, which can be seen by the number of articles since 2000 that deal with this subject matter. To a large extent this can be explained by our participation in major multidisciplinary research centres (CESA in Denmark, Bagadilico in Lund etc.), and so the question is how this involvement with the medical sciences has shaped our ethnological knowledge production. Has a very critical Foucauldian approach to the medical sciences been supplanted by a seemingly less critical STS approach, or a phenomenological emphasis on individual lifeworlds, and if so, are we at risk of once again embracing the powerful discourses of the medical sciences rather than critiquing them?

Rather than moan about a potentially perceived lack of critical engagement, I would argue that we are much better seated to put our general ethnological points across in interdisciplinary collaborations with the medical sciences now than we have ever been, and that neither STS nor phenomenology as theoretical approaches are necessarily less critical, they are just more willing to take part in a dialogue with the medical sciences than e.g. poststructuralist theories ever were. To that end it is my humble opinion that, as long as we

are willing to engage in this dialogue and don't forget our Foucauldian critical legacy, medical ethnology will continue to be of relevance for years to come.

Michael Andersen

Ph.D., Teaching Associate Professor
The Saxo Institute
University of Copenhagen
Karen Blixens Plads 8
DK-2300 Copenhagen S
email: mican@hum.ku.dk

Notes

- 1 My translation from: "Var der end maaske noget i disse Forklaringer, der hist og her kunde antyde, at de vare opstaaede hos et Folk og under et Himmelstrøg, hvor Menneskesind og Aarstider havde et noget andet Præg — i Norden vilde man f. Ex. næppe være faldet paa at betegne Efteraaret som tørt — saa glemtes dette ganske over deres uforlignelige Evne til at give troværdigt Svar paa alle Spørgsmaal. Og denne Evne tiltog netop, jo videre de Spørgsmaal vare, der stilledes. Det vanskeligste Spørgsmaal af alle, det om Grunden til den store Forskel mellem de enkelte Mennesker indbyrdes i Ydre, Evner, Karakter og hele Maade at tage Livet paa, det klaredes saa nemt og naturligt ved det simple men afgørende Svar: Deres Vædsker ere forskellige."
- 2 Full disclosure: Otto was my mentor and Ph.D. supervisor on a part of my doctoral dissertation before her untimely passing.

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Detesting Influencers

Print Media Perspectives on the Phantasmagoria of Influencer

Life Worlds

By Gabriella Nilsson

Influencer life worlds arouse strong feelings in Swedish print media. Journalists and columnists describe how they are “disgusted” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 6/7 2019) by the idea itself, how they want to “swallow cyanide” (*Dagens Nyheter* 16/2 2018) when they hear about the phenomenon, and how they would rather “shoot [themselves], immediately” (*Dagens Nyheter* 6/10 2018) if someone were to call them influencers.¹ It seems unproblematic to publicly detest those “young girls who sell their souls for some free samples” (*Aftonbladet* 23/2 2018); those “poor but beautiful looking youngsters with diagnoses” who are suddenly “stinking rich because they sold out their lives” and who are now “imitating power” (*Aftonbladet* 11/2 2019). “Sure, it’s not nice to laugh at people making fools of themselves, but sometimes it’s hard to resist – especially if they don’t get it” (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 22/2 2019).

It is argued that girls have become “hy-pervisible” in contemporary popular culture (Handyside & Taylor-Jones 2016; Formark et al. 2017). The ethnologist Ann-Charlotte Palmgren, in her work on Swedish bloggers in the early 2000s, describes how already in the late 1990s “the girl figure entered the public space with a bang, and questioned cultural expectations of what a girl is, should be, or could be” (Palmgren 2019:130). The ethnologist Magdalena Petersson McIntyre describes how media representations of bloggers during the first half of the 2010s evolved from moral panic-like condemnations of young women’s superficiality to celebrations of their entrepreneurial spirit (Petersson McIntyre 2019; cf. Palmgren 2019). However, even though many influencers today run listed companies with multi-million turnover,

it still seems common for print media to detest them. “If there is anything that can be ironized over in 2019, it is influencers” (*Resumé* 22/2 2019). Why is this? This article analyses *the detesting of influencers* in Swedish print media during the period from 2016 to 2020. How does it take shape and how can it be understood?

The work as influencer can be described in terms of visibility labour, or emotional labour, and is defined by a wide range of practices, platforms and social relations that includes monetization of private life upon which advertorials for products and services are premised (Marwick 2014). The phenomenon in the last decade that more young women in particular have chosen to transform their private lives into more or less lucrative digital businesses, what I like to refer to as *influencer life worlds*,² has received increasing attention in the Swedish media (Petersson McIntyre 2019; Palmgren 2019). There has been a gradual increase in the number of texts that mention influencers or deal with the phenomenon in detail, from the year 2015 with only 150 hits in the media database *Retriever Research*, to a formal explosion of texts in 2019, with 10,830 hits. Narrowed down to print media texts published in the largest and mid-sized Swedish newspapers only, 6,330 texts were published during the period 2016–2020. These were all coded manually using the program NVivo. The texts consist of everything from portraits and gossip to articles that treat the pros and cons of influencer marketing as a business model. A relatively large number of texts discuss the very existence of the phenomenon, such as how influencers negatively affect the climate, youth mental health, politics, fashion, feminism, cultural life or the

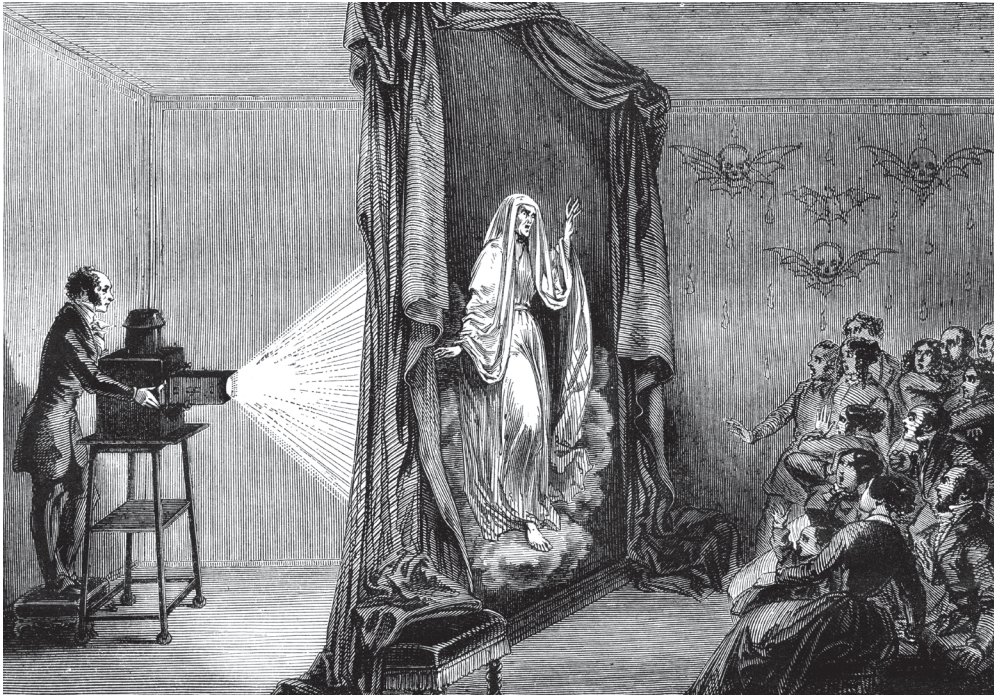
labour market, to name just a few themes. Approximately 250 of these texts, mainly chronicles and editorials, are explicitly critical, if not hateful, in nature. This article is based on an analysis of these 250 print media texts.

The denomination print media is selected to encompass vague notions such as “traditional media” or “old media”, even though all the newspapers analysed here exist in digital form as well as in print. The 250 texts have been closely read with particular respect to answering the purpose how the detesting of influencers takes shape. The texts quoted in this article are the ones that treat the phenomenon most generally, as the selection is above all made

to highlight the strong emotions that influencer life worlds arouse. The word “detesting” is employed as an analytical concept to mean not only a feeling but an action; an explicit practice performed by journalists and columnists in the form of their writing. This is not to say that all journalists hate influencers, or even that all the selected texts are hateful, but that the texts, and thus their writers, partake in legitimizing a hateful discourse.

Phantasmagoria, the Magic Lantern and the Ghost

In this section I will sketch a theoretical framework out of three components: the phantasmagoria, the magic lantern and the



A terrifying influencer of the 19th century? Illustration by Moreau from 1849 depicting a *laterna magica*.

ghost. Visually, I imagine this framework looking something like the picture in the figure.

Thus theoretically, this article examines the hypotheses that what print media writers – journalists and columnists – *see* when they observe, or rather, envisage, influencer life worlds, is this image. I will argue that what they *depict* when they write about influencers, is something horrific.

A phantasmagoria can be defined as a shifting series of illusions or deceptive appearances; a bizarre scene that constantly changes; a dreamlike state where real and imagined elements are blurred together. Phantasmagoria, writes Magnus Florin in his review of the Swedish release of Walter Benjamin's unfinished work *The Arcade Project*, is "a word of suggestion that points to the amusement theatre's illusions: light images are projected in smoke, ghosts appear and fade away, the audience screams" (Florin 2016, translation by the author; Benjamin 2015). In many ways these definitions stand out as the very essence of influencer life worlds – worlds where the boundaries between real and unreal, public and private, presence and absence, are dissolved and rendered insignificant (Petersson McIntyre 2019) – all as part of a game of rapidly changing illusions, for example such "imitations of power" referred to above, evoked with optical means on digital platforms such as Instagram and YouTube.

Walter Benjamin used the image of the phantasmagoria to understand the Arcades of glass and iron, functional but at the same time imaginary, that took shape in early nineteenth-century Paris; spectacular rooms for the mix of capital and desire, which cut across the city blocks without an outside, as at the theatre or in the dream (Benjamin 2015; Florin 2016). The

Arcades, in Benjamin's view in turn a metaphor for the changing ideologies of modernity, allowed for other values and hierarchies to be illuminated and experienced, which had a seductive appeal to the masses (Cohen 1993; Ristilammi 2003; MacLure 2006). As Florin expresses it, "they offered an uncertain terrain of rites of passage and threshold experiences, a nasty mix of promises and doom" (Florin 2016, translation by the author). Is it possible that this is how the digital platforms housing influencer life worlds appear from the outside, from the "real world"? Are Instagram and YouTube experienced as the phantasmagoric Arcades of the twenty-first century? In a similar way to the Flaneur, one of Benjamin's modern characters, is the image of the Influencer evoked as a similar archetype of the present?

As will be shown in this article, in many ways, these questions seem possible to answer in the affirmative. The Influencer commonly figures as a symbol of uncertainty and change, surprisingly often mentioned in the same sentence as other current cultural themes, such as "climate crisis" and "fake news". Thus, the narrative of doom and decay that is conjured up in the print media texts about influencers and influencer life worlds – and which makes writers want to "swallow cyanide" – is in line with the loud-voiced criticism of "post-modern" society. In fact, the chronicles and editorials can be seen as effective stagings of the "strange new landscape" of post-modernity that Frederic Jameson anticipated already in the early 1990s (1991:xxi).

In this article, however, I wish to elaborate the phantasmagoria ever further, and particularly make theoretical use of the illuminating function of the magic lantern.

For obviously, the phantasmagoria is not only a metaphor for destabilized societies, whether in the nineteenth century or in the twenty-first. In its concrete form, it is a horror theatre that uses magic lanterns to project frightening images, such as skeletons and ghosts, onto walls or smoke, using rear projection to keep the lantern out of sight (Ristilammi 2003). With this definition of the phantasmagoria, the analytical question is not only what values are threatened or demolished in “the strange new landscape” of influencer life worlds, but what the magic lantern that is Instagram and YouTube illuminates; what skeletons and ghosts (see MacLure 2006). In the theoretical framework sketched here, influencers will be viewed as ghosts, projected on smoke by a magic lantern. But if the influencer is a ghost, what, then, does a ghost represent?

The sociologist Avery F. Gordon, in her book *Ghostly Matters*, argues that the ghost is a social figure with real presence, repressed by policy, custom or the grim pursuit of progress, that demands its due (Gordon 2008). Forasmuch as referring to the living and breathing that takes place hidden from view – people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas – the ghosts appear when the trouble they represent is no longer being blocked from view; a notification that what has been suppressed or concealed is very much alive and present. Haunting is thus the situation when those who are meant to be invisible show up without any sign of leaving, perhaps even smiling in a scandalously unsettling way (Gordon 2008). More concretely, according to Gordon, haunting refers to a socio-political-psychological state where *something from before*, prompts a *something-to-be-done*; a state that evokes

feelings that this *something* must be done differently than before. Gordon suggests that, methodologically, we learn to talk to ghosts, rather than banish them, for once in our view – once illuminated by the magic lantern, to put Gordon’s thoughts in the context of the phantasmagoria – the haunting will go on, until something is done (Gordon 2008). “The ghost demands your attention. The present wavers. Something will happen. What will happen of course, is not given in advance, but something must be done” (Gordon 2008:23).

Influencers as ghosts, illuminated by the magic lantern of Instagram and YouTube, smiling scandalously unsettling, thus remind us of the living and breathing that has taken place hidden from view – such as the group of “poor but beautiful looking youngsters with diagnoses”, referred to above. These lives, these ghostly presences, have shown up with no intention of leaving, and they have become “stinking rich”. In this article, the journalists’ and columnists’ reactions to this haunting, in the form of critical, or, rather, hateful, print media texts – their public detesting of influencers – will be analysed. Inevitably, this analysis calls for a conceptualization of power. Indicated by the quotation above, such conceptualization would need to include the intersection of gender, age, class and functionality. Intersectionality is a theoretical concept with which it becomes possible to describe how different categorizations or systems of power intersect and have consequences for how individuals are understood and granted spaces of action in different contexts. Intersectionality is thus a contextual concept that assumes that the meanings and relationship of different categories in a power relationship must be an-

chored in temporally and spatially situated social processes (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005:125). For the purpose of analytical depth, but also for empirical reasons, which will become apparent later on, this article will focus mostly on the intersection between age and gender. I will argue that the ghost is a girl; a living and breathing that is almost always described as being of the wrong age, the wrong gender; doing the wrong thing in the wrong way and in the wrong place (Skelston 2000; Frih & Söderberg 2010). Girls, in a similar way to Gordon's ghosts, often need to claim their rights to be in a certain place, to actively demand their due, which often puts them in conflict with existing power structures (Mitchell & Rentschler 2016; Palmgren 2018, Nilsson 2019). Whereas boys utilizing their digital media and technology skills to build multi-million companies, as did Facebook's founder Mark Zuckerberg, are rarely accused of making the wrong priorities in life, this is often the case with girls/influencers. Their (ghostly) practice of taking "selfies", as described by Magdalena Petersson McIntyre, can be interpreted as their colonization of the visual space and aggressively taking power over representations of the female body and of "femininity" (Petersson McIntyre 2019) – as haunting.

Girls and Ghosts

In the spring of 2015, the vlogger Lisa "Misslisibell" Jonsson was appointed Super Communicator of the Year by the business magazine *Resumé*. "Welcome to today's condition", the appointment was commented on, "the business world is run by 13-year-olds [...] whose posts are mainly about horses and make-up" (*Filter*

20/1 2016.). This "condition" was then further elaborated: "Welcome to a world where YouTube is bigger than television and where a 14-year-old can charge tens of thousands of SEK for posing with a bottle of Festis on Instagram" (*Filter* 20/1 2016.). The tone in these quotations exposes an astonishment that is recognizable in many other similar texts. They quite literally illustrate a "strange new landscape" where the traditional hierarchies are turned upside down (Jamison 1991), a landscape where young girls are paid tens of thousands of SEK and where horses, make-up and soft drinks are what matters. YouTube and Instagram are where this bizarre phantasmagoria happens. Notwithstanding the astonishment, it is clear that this is perceived to be wrong.

There is information that the Wahlgren child [referring to Bianca Ingrosso, an influencer in her twenties from a family known in Sweden from show business] earned SEK 17 million last year from "influencing". It is most certainly innocent young people who are exposed to this incomprehensible pandemic. Where the money comes from is also incomprehensible. Can there really be an economy this incomprehensible? In that case, it must be of a parasitic nature (*Värmlands Folkblad* 11/9 2019).

What all these descriptions indicate is that what seems particularly provocative is the connection between money and a specific age-gender intersection. Or, rather, the "condition" that it is a different age-gender intersection than normally, that has access to money and now "runs the world" – this while smiling about it in a scandalously unsettling way. The critical views of influencers and influencer life worlds, the "parasitic nature" of the profession, expressed in the print media texts, sometimes disguised

as astonishment, can thus be seen as reactions to, or perhaps resistance against, the “incomprehensible” fact that 13-year-old “horse girls” and other female “children” are now haunting the business world demanding their due.

After this introduction to the influencer as girl/ghost, I will continue to exemplify, in short quotations from the texts, how this resistance takes the form of a systematic downgrading of what an influencer does. Descriptions of the work influencers do are almost always pervaded with ignorance, belittling and sarcasm. This is also true for texts which are basically positive about the phenomenon. Journalists seem to lack the ability, or will, to comprehend what components make up the work as influencer and where the money comes from. What influencers do, according to the print media texts, is “talk about themselves and their lives close to the camera” (*Borås Tidning* 25/11 2016); “tell what they eat for breakfast”; “pick up goods from packages” (*Barometern* 23/3 2019); “pose with slanted head and puffy mouth in dripping lip gloss” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017); “snap shots of themselves and their coffee lattes” (*Hudiksvalls Tidning* 13/5 2019); “broadcast their childbirth” (*Aftonbladet* 9/10 2020); “pretend to eat pasta and take ‘self-empowering’ butt selfies” (*Dagens ETC* 27/12 2019) and “enjoy silk lingerie and make-up” (*Expressen* 21/1 2019). The general judgement can be summarized in the word nonsense: “What on earth is she doing? Get to the point so we can all leave the screen and do something meaningful!” (*Barometern* 23/3 2019).

The view of influencer life worlds as incomprehensible and exotic is in line with how the internet has been described ever

since it began to be broadly used in the mid-1990s, when a distinction was made between the “digital natives” and “the digital tourists” (Prensky 2001; Dunkels 2018). Still today, adults who wish to enter certain digital platforms are said to need to learn “a new language and a new culture” in order to fully understand what it is they are looking at (*Ungdomsstyrelsen* 2014:9). Thus, a generational perspective is built into the whole idea of digital life (Zimic 2017), which is indicated, for example, in the quotation above, in how “leaving the screen” is described to be what adults covet. In some texts, the exoticization of the internet is exaggerated, as a way to further ridicule the phenomenon of influencing.

I am thinking about changing professions and becoming an influencer. An influencer can make millions, I read in the tabloid. I would gladly do that. And it does not seem to be that difficult either. The trick is to get a *blog*, you know, *one of those pages on the Internet*, and there make yourself popular by telling about yourself and your life (*Nerikes Allehanda* 31/3 2019, italics by the author).

Thus, in many of the texts, the generational aspect is what stands out the most, not least because of the superior, chuckling tone that permeates many of them. The “meaningful” off-screen reality in the quotation above is defined from the perspective of the adult (Heikkinen 2017). In this respect, the texts can be situated within a long tradition of degrading views, and moral panics, about “today’s youth” (Frykman 1988; Natlan 2007). Ann-Charlotte Palmgren argues that it is reasonable to assume that the discourse on influencers is different today than in the early 2000s; that the media view has less of a moral panic today, when the work is more clearly linked to earning money (Palmgren

2019:131). The analysis conducted here indicates instead that it is the making of money that is the problem. Formulations such as influencers making money from having a break can be linked to widespread notions of young people as lazy, spoiled, irresponsible and immoral. “Do they call that a job!? Is breakfast, lunch, clothes showing, nail fixing and afternoon coffee a job? Isn’t that what you call a break? So they work with having a break all day – and are all stressed out about it?” (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 23/9 2017). The influencers’ presumed lack of moral standards when it comes to work functions as a warning example and a demarcation symbol of the distinction between the (productive) adult and the (non-productive) young persons.

When the famous Swedish artist Ernst Billgren, in the reality TV show *Äkta Billgrens* [True Billgrens], tries to explain what it is that his daughter, the well-known blogger and influencer Elsa Billgren, does for a living, it is literally the voice of the sceptical parent we hear: “She photographs her breakfast, as a job” (*SVT* 23/1 2020). Recurring during the series, alternately upset and impressed, father Billgren reflects on what negative consequences it may have, presumably for morality, at such a young age as Elsa, to be able to afford to buy an apartment at a fancy address in Stockholm, something he himself was not able to do as a young artist. He is reassured as Elsa actually earned the money herself, but his reflections still reveal the norms around how it is imagined that young people’s lives should be. Only after some years of hard work and struggling should the life of the young transform into the stable and comfortable life of the adult. The privileges of adult life must be earned. Johansson

and Krekula argue that accepting age as a power relation makes it apparent the way that we organize age on a societal level and the way that we do age on the individual level creates and consolidates age hierarchies and unequal conditions for different age groups to be involved in society autonomously (Johansson & Krekula 2017). An explanation why such strong emotions arise when the phenomenon of influencers is discussed, is the view that influencers have made too much money too fast and too soon in life, this despite the fact that many of the most successful Swedish influencers today, such as Elsa Billgren as well as the above-mentioned Lisa ‘Misslisibell’ Jonsson and Bianca Ingrosso, have worked hard and dedicated for many years, often since their early teens (Jonsson 2018). This exemplifies how legitimate it is, still, to describe the Other in a negative, stereotypical way, when the Other is a child or young person (Johansson & Krekula 2018).

Thus, the print media texts analysed here are examples of how age categorizations work as expressions of power. As a matter of fact, an age-signifier is sometimes used as the preamble to a critical remark. “I will do my best not to sound grumpy, but...” (*Dala-Demokraten* 27/10 2019); “At the risk of looking old, tired and bumpy, I think that...” (*Sundsvalls Tidning* 9/12 2019). Though at first these signifiers seem like excuses, in reality they are made from the firm conviction of a superior position (see Heikkinen 2017). That age, and, obviously, gender, function as a system to organize power, where adults/journalists are made superior to girls, is further evident from the fact that it is presented as something positive *not to know* what an influencer is, and *not to understand* what influencers do. “I

myself hardly knew the word influencer” (*Sundsvalls Tidning* 7/12 2019); “In fact, I did not have a whisper that an influencer [...] is now a professional title [...]. I am very pleased to be able to avoid this” (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 21/1 2020). Here, paradoxically, not knowing or understanding become ways of doing superior age (Johansson & Krekula 2017; Laz 1998).

In this section I have exemplified how the critical print media texts about influencers and influencer life worlds can be seen as resistance against money, success and public exposure being connected with the “wrong” age-gender intersection; against the relation between high fees, multimillion turnover and girls. As part of this resistance I have shown how superior age is done as a means to counter this development; a way of refusing to accept the bizarre images lit by the magic lantern in the phantasmagoria.

The Mediocre, the Superficial, the Feminine

So far I have shown how resistance takes the form of a systematic downgrading of what an influencer does. In the following, I will analyse how descriptions of what influencers are, and the things they care for, function in the same fashion. Influencers are described with words and concepts that carry strong negative connotations. Among other things, an influencer is “superficial”, “eating-disordered”, “filler-sprayed”, “mediocre”, “vain”, “anxious”, “constrained”, “flirtatious”, “attention-seeking”, “housewifely”, “stupid”, “immature”, “frivolous” and “unscrupulous”. These words and denominations have a clear connection to stereotypical notions of women and femininity (Hirdman 2001; Jarlbro 2006;

Ambjörnsson 2011). Thus, the covariance between what is considered to be “typically female” characteristics, and the print media characterization of influencers, often appears total (see Petersson McIntyre 2019; Palmgren 2019).

The negative properties are often presented as symptoms of a contemporary disease or drug use. “Influencers’ popularity must be the ultimate proof of a decaying society. If religion is opium for the people, influencers are an overdose” (*Dala-Demokraten* 27/10 2019). Quoted in the previous section, influencing was compared to a “pandemic” of a “parasitic nature”, and several texts take the opportunity to humorously compare the word *influencer* with the word *influenza*. “The word influencer is related to the wretched and regularly widespread ailment formerly called the Russian cold or the Spanish flu” (*Aftonbladet* 7/10 2016). “Can you get vaccinated against influencers?” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 8/2 2019); “On with the face mask, forward with the disinfectant – it’s flu season. And a particularly vulnerable group is teenage girls with an immune system that is not yet equipped for this aggressive virus” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017). From this perspective, femininity by definition becomes interchangeable with an ailment that should be countered; an aggressive virus that young girls in particular should be protected from. As a matter of fact, the most explicitly expressed danger that influencers are considered to pose is the harm they do to other girls in the form of a spread of negatively coded femininity (see Palmgren 2019). “The superficiality of it, I think, pushes boundaries, normalizes in a way that is extremely harmful, and moves us women back to the 1950s” (*Aftonbladet* 10/6 2018).

This negative femininity is further manifested in the assumed dullness and worthlessness of the objects that influencers, according to the journalists and columnists, care for the most. The examples given of what products influencers promote seem selected to reinforce the image of influencers as stupid, superficial and ridiculous. They market “detox tea” (*Lag & Avtal* 26/1 2017); “horses and makeup” (*Filter* 20/1 2016); “perfectly organized berries, styled avocado sandwiches” (*ShapeUp* 20/6 2017); “lip gloss, port-swiggling face mask or tight jeans” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017); “duvet cover set” (*Eskilstuna-Kuriren* 28/4 2018), “a kind of magical beauty pill” (*Aftonbladet* 3/2 2019), “everything from butt implants to pickled vegetables” (*Ystads Allehanda* 21/1 2020); “juices (to lose weight, but above all to purify the blood, be cleansed from within, get better skin, find harmony, detoxify and yes, you know)” (*Expressen* 21/1 2019); “creams and garments and handbags and a thousand other strange things” (*Aftonbladet* 7/10 2016). In the previous section I showed how the age of influencers, and a generational aspect, stand out as a central parameter to understand the detesting carried out in the print media texts – the view that influencers had experienced success and earned large amounts of money too early in their lives. Here it becomes clear that, additionally, the reactions cannot be understood outside of a gendered context. The ghost is undoubtedly female.

The long tradition of belittling women and their achievements in order to undermine progress in terms of gender equality, and to exclude them from the public eye, is well studied (Puwar 2004; Jarlbro 2006; Wahl et al. 2008; Hammarlin 2019). The

print media texts about influencers analysed here clearly draw on this tradition. “Why do we care so much about what influencers think? They have seldom done anything to deserve that attention” (*Folkbladet Västerbotten* 19/10 2019). “Influencer. When did a truly wise person put this title on their business card?” (*Dagens Samhälle* 15/8 2019). “The mediocrity is stunning” (*Dagens Nyheter* 1/8 2019). The denial of legitimacy for influencers to claim space – the view that they have “seldom done anything to deserve that attention” – and the suppression of their right to live and breathe in the public eye (Gordon 2008), is motivated by the pure ridiculousness of the “creams and garments and handbags and a thousand other strange things” that they choose to include, and grant value to, in their public lives. An explanation for the strong, and seemingly exaggerated, resistance against the existence of influencer life worlds is thus that women and girls make themselves visible, take place and take charge, not only of the phantasmagoria of the digital world, but also penetrate traditionally male arenas, such as the business world, the stock market and the industry, and get “stinking rich” doing so. Or as Magdalena Petersson McIntyre describes it, that they are “questioning the boundary-drawing practices that place production, masculinity, the public sphere, and disembodiment on one side of what counts as a ‘legitimate economic practice,’ whilst issues of reproduction, femininity, the private sphere, and the body, on the side of consumption” (Petersson McIntyre 2019:56). That influencers are deemed to be “imitating power” when acting on these arenas, and when showing off their wealth by wearing expensive watches, driving expensive cars and inhabiting fashionable ad-

dresses, reveals how illegitimate and wrong their presence there is still considered to be; that they are “intruders” (Palmgren 2019; see Puwar 2004). Or, differently put, that they are haunting these male arenas without any intention of leaving (Gordon 2008).

What makes the concept of the ghost, in the sense that Gordon uses it, particularly striking in this analysis is that the use of the title *influencer* defies any tendencies of “tall poppy syndrome”. Not only do these influencers/girls/ghosts demand their due, they do so while smiling in a scandalously unsettling way (see Gordon 2008). To many, it seems to be this self-proclaimed importance that comes with the title that provokes people the most. Just who do they think they are? “I have a hard time coming to terms with the idea that an ‘influencer’ [...] could recommend me a wine after my sixty years of practice” (*Aftonbladet* 21/10 2018). “They call themselves influencers, but influencers of what? What do you want to say and give? That’s the worst I know. I cannot respect that. If you have a platform, then find what you want to say. Don’t just be someone to influence” (*Damernas Värld* 5/3 2019). I will get back to this presumed hierarchy of meaningful topics to “influence” about below.

Whores and Imposters

It is rare, I would say, that women and girls are talked of in a critical fashion without refereeing to their (lack of) morals (Frykman 1993; Nilsson 2019; Hammarlin 2019). Above I have touched upon influencers’ presumed lack of work morality; that they “make money from having a break”. In this section I wish return to this theme in further elaborating the views in the critical print media texts about what

an influencer is. It will be shown how a negative image of the phantasmagoria is evoked, and how the influencer is situated on this bizarre and immoral scene, for example, by the denominations and parables used in the texts.

A common way of belittling the work as influencer is to compare the profession to other negatively charged professions, such as peddlers, mongers, beggars and prostitutes. “They are called influencers. Peddlers, that is. The mongers of our times. Only a bit more up-to-date. A bit more famous and hip, like” (*Aftonbladet* 7/10 2016). They are “the rats of marketing” (*Dagens ETC* 14/4 2019). Employing parables like these, the texts draw on a long, and still existing, tradition of negatively describing those Others who dare to publicly take up space, in both sexist and racist ways (Egardh 1962, Svensson 1993, Lennartsson 2002, Nilsson 2013, Mulinari 2018). Even more apt, alongside the flaneur, characters like these were the ones inhabiting, or constituting, the phantasmagoria of Walter Benjamin’s Arcades (Benjamin 2015).

The most common denomination, however, is to liken influencers to walking advertising pillars. “Influencers, they are called, today’s advertising pillars” (*Norrköpings Tidningar* 6/9 2017); “In the past, we called such people ‘advertising pillars’, an invective that is probably long gone. Anyway, they were the ones who sold themselves to anything. Completely without reservation, and always without blinking” (*Dagens Nyheter* 6/10 2018). Instead of the shady public movements of deviating characters such as mongers, beggars and prostitutes, the connotations evoked by the “walking advertising pil-

lar” are a bit more ludicrous. The concept carries images of people standing outside stores with billboards – promoting 2 for 1 – on their chest and back. However, the walking advertising pillar, too, still represents a suggestive performance where desire and commerce are blurred together (Florin 2016).

The Swedish ethnologist Emma Eleonorasdottir, in her thesis on women using drugs, shows that for women, the epithet “whore” is sticky (Eleonorasdottir 2021). In many contexts, when women are described in a negative fashion, it is not a long way to call them whores (Frykman 1993; Ekström 2002; Gilmore 2017). This is also true in the analysis of print media texts about influencers. “Being offered a free trip and being expected to write on social media how nice it is at this destination. There is nothing wrong with that, but isn’t the word ‘whore’ more accurate than influencer?” (*Hänt Extra* 12/3 2019). The activities of whores and influencers seem interchangeable: “There is no authenticity, just an exchange of money” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017). The concept of whore makes visible what is considered to be the problem with influencers: that they “sell themselves”; that they “can be bought”. “What separates influencers from lousy commercial journalism is that you can actually buy them straight off” (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 23/9 2017). “It is important to be terribly vigilant when scrolling through your flow. Anyone who was not for sale yesterday may be today” (*Sydsvenskan* 8/7 2018). “Bought influencers make a living by advertising various brands. When they tell about it, it is called collaboration. Of course it sounds much nicer than saying ‘I sold my smile to a cor-

poration”” (*Folkbladet Västerbotten* 19/10 2019). “OH-MY-GOD how they annoy me. Selling a product is one thing. It is another thing to sell your soul” (*Västerbottens-Kuriren* 23/9 2017).

Thus, it is not necessarily the activities per se, but the possibility of earning money from them, that seems to provoke and haunt; more specifically that assumed feminine and/or girly activities and preferences can generate economic value. Or perhaps even more so, that women and girls themselves can profit from this value. As a counter-means, falsehood is emphasized to be the very essence of the profession, and consequently, the being, of the influencer. “Influencer: a profession where authenticity is always curated, and thus never genuine” (*Sydsvenskan* 22/1 2020). As a matter of fact, it seems the falsehood – the selling of the smile and the soul – is what legitimizes the print media critique. The moral wrongdoing in “selling your soul”, implicitly to the Devil, is a classic narrative that indicates that the person who did this has herself to blame for any negative consequences that might follow. Thus, by performing the “curated” profession of influencing – by selling their souls if not to the Devil, then to a “corporation” – seemingly, in the eyes of the journalists, the influencers themselves have turned false.

From attributing influencers the property of being false, it is not a long way to deem them fraudulent deceivers and imposters (see McRae 2017). “It is important to build your fraud slowly. Creating trust takes time” (*Aftonbladet* 23/2 2018); “Hidden marketing in various forms from unscrupulous, bribed influencers” (*PC för Alla* 3/6 2019). Although I will not elaborate on the topic of “hidden marketing” in this paper, this

is one of the major categories among print media texts about influencers. These are not least texts about the growing number of convictions against influencers who did not properly label their posts as advertisement. However, the term imposter is not only attributed to those accused of illegal marketing, but is used as a description of the work of influencers more generally. “Influencers, a complete mess of opinions and advertising where it is impossible to tell which is which. A nightmare for the evaluation of information” (*Aftonbladet* 4/8 2019); “It’s selfies and self-deception in a fine hotchpotch” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017); “A kind of fake friends” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 15/09 2019); “A mix between scam and grandiosity” (*Aftonbladet* 3/2 2019); “It’s just theatre” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 13/4 2019). In many ways, these descriptions, and in particular the use of words like deception, grandiosity, theatre and nightmare, seem to be in line with what constitutes the sham world of the phantasmagoria. This is further accentuated in texts that associate influencers and influencer life worlds with the more general “strange new landscape” characterized by, for example, “fake news”. “We know that truth is not always the main guiding light in a time of fake news, misinformation, bought opinions and news, influencers who mix life and brand” (*Dagens ETC* 15/1 2020).

Influencer is often used as an epithet to describe “our time” in a negative sense. Influencing is perceived as a contemporary phenomenon, and since we detest the strange new landscape of the present, we detest influencers. Depending on political stance, the influencers are made to represent either the post-modern or the neo-liberal society. Either way, the strange new landscape is a phantasmagoria. The con-

cept of the phantasmagoria is particularly apt since influencer life worlds are seen as scam worlds. “The world of influencers is a giant unregulated advertising or propaganda machine where the most skilled become billionaires” (*Norra Skåne* 7/8 2019); “It is not reality” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 28/1 2018); “Their lives appear as augmented reality on the verge of fiction [...] The whole affair gives me a sense of post-apocalypse and nihilism” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 3/12 2017); “The phenomenon is further proof that the development backwards is approaching the knowledge darkness of functional illiteracy” (*Lag & Avtal* 26/1 2017); “What on earth kind of meta-world is it? I find it pretty disgusting” (*Kvällsposten* 15/1 2020); “I fear that the kind of democracy and conversation culture I lived with is being ploughed away” (*Upsala Nya Tidning* 22/10 2017).

In this scam world, people are no longer people. “Social media creates fluid boundaries between advertising and people” (*Aftonbladet* 23/2 2018); “When the ‘true selves’ of these influencers are constantly shaped by who pays for what, they no longer appear as human beings” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 3/12 2017); “They do not want to differentiate between themselves as human beings and themselves as products” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 3/12 2017). In fact, this is how influencers are often described, even in research, as cyborgs (Petersson McIntyre 2019).

In this section I have portrayed how influencers are seen when lit by the magic lantern – how the images of whores and imposters in female shape are projected on smoke – and thus to stipulate how horrifying this haunting, in the form of girls/ghosts demanding their due, must look in the eyes of the journalists and columnists. In the next section I will introduce the

Ghost Buster – a countermeasure inserted in the print media texts.

Greta – the Ghost Buster

Another theme in the detesting of influencers is to describe them as hypocrites and turncoats. “One week the influencer sells one thing, the other week they go to the competitor and sell something completely different” (*Svenska Dagbladet* 18/11 2017). The view of influencers as hypocrites is not least common regarding burning issues such as the climate crisis. “Like when so-called influencers write something obviously insignificant about caring about the climate the day after they post pictures from their flight to the other side of the globe” (*Upsala Nya Tidning* 22/7 2019); “The same influencers who not so long ago boasted of being globalists and metropolitans, at the expense of the climate, are now sitting with their new smartphones and boasting of having cancelled a trip to Thailand” (*Piteå-Tidningen* 11/5 2019). A concept used to describe these turncoats is the “bought influencer”. Hereby a distinction is made between hypocritical, fraudulent (and plain stupid) influencers, and those genuine and steadfast influencers who believe in, and fight for, a “real” cause. “There are, of course, many different types of influencers. Some of them are opinion leaders, artists, performers or writers. People who make their money elsewhere. Bought influencers, on the other hand, make a living by advertising various brands” (*Folkbladet Västerbotten* 19/10 2019). “Is it not the case that she who, with a hard-nosed smile, continues to assert the superiority of the lavish lifestyle not only appears offensive but also outright stupid?” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 6/7 2019).

Starting in 2018, in particular the global environment activist Greta Thunberg, “the 16-year-old girl with superpowers” (*Aftonbladet* 3/10 2019), is made to represent the genuine and steadfast category of influencers while the vast majority of others end up in the “bought” category. Explicit comparisons between Greta Thunberg and other influencers are not uncommon.

Greta is for real and she wants something important. Suddenly the old definition of influencer becomes something dusty and passé. The very idea of urging your followers to constantly buy new clothes and new makeup to “express their true personality” is basically a real scam. While Greta is being herself and uses her very special personality to create opinion and move mountains, the old kind of influencers urge their followers to change sofa cushions to “show who you are” (*Göteborgs-Posten* 6/7 2019).

This quotation exposes the core of what seems to be considered wrong with digital media in general and influencer life worlds in particular. The quotation reclaims a clear distinction between *what* is deemed valuable – “changing sofa cushions” or “moving mountains” – and between *who* is deemed valuable – the personality “expressed” with clothes and make up or a person who is “real”; who is “being herself”. The comparisons also highlight the strong degree of being *either or* – either sexy or genuine, superficial or smart, bad influence or a role model (Palmgren 2019).

[Greta] really is a straight, stubborn and thoroughly reflected Pippi Longstocking. With a liberating sense of humour when she dismisses her worst detractors, who unfortunately are to a very large extent older men like me. The traditional patriarchy. Those who think that young Swedish girls should be sexy, as they were before (*Aftonbladet* 3/10 2019).

I would argue that distinctions and comparisons of this sort function as counter-measures; as resistance against haunting in the form of images projected by the magic lantern. The use of Greta Thunberg can be seen as an attempt to clean and purify the room, the space (see Ristilammi 2003). And to purify space, can in turn be seen as a way to fight off the ghosts. By directing the spotlight on Greta Thunberg, the girls/ghosts with “hard-nosed smiles” end up in the background. The “real world” is lit up at the expense of the illusions of the phantasmagoria. Greta Thunberg is a “blessing” in comparison to “superficial influencers” (*Aftonbladet* 3/10 2019). This can be analysed as a way of taking back the defining power over who may be seen and who may not – over what living and breathing should take place hidden from view (Gordon 2008). If a girl is to be in the public eye, in the eyes of the adult world, at least let it be the right kind of girl, with the right kind of message. The childlike and unpretentious appearance of Greta Thunberg is often highlighted (*Expressen* 27/1 2019). Where she sits in all modesty with her handwritten poster she is everything a superficial influencer is not; and she most definitely is not for sale. “We should be able to agree that Greta Thunberg’s environmental struggle is more important than Bianca Ingrosso’s search for even more sponsorship from unscrupulous ‘lifestyle companies’” (*Ljusnan* 18/2 2019). “I am aware of the importance of entertainment, but one can certainly wonder if some celebrities and reality TV contestants would not do more good as assistant nurses than as influencers” (*Sundsvalls Tidning* 9/12 2019).

The use of Greta Thunberg as a means to criticize the actions, behaviours and pref-

erences of other girls of the same age, describing her as a “blessing”, makes it visible that aside from the age-gender intersection, parameters such as class are at play. The girl that Greta Thunberg is made to represent is considered to be everything but the poor, beautiful girl who imitates power. Greta Thunberg *has* power in terms of class, more specifically, in terms of middle-class morality, something the “poor girls selling their soul for some free samples” and who would “do more good as assistant nurses” do not (see Skeggs, 1999). Moreover, the use of the word “blessing” to denominate Greta Thunberg is particularly striking in a context where other girls are deemed “whores” who have “sold their souls”. Thus, the distinction made between Greta Thunberg and other influencers quite literally draws on the perhaps most commonly used way of defining and regulating femininity in term of class and morality – the Madonna and the Whore dichotomy. However, the media narrative about Greta Thunberg is paradoxical, which shows how important an intersectional perspective is to understand how power is exercised. It was only Greta’s *femininity* that was “right” (and solely in comparison with other influencers). Her *age* was still “wrong”, and a plethora of critical texts urged a child like her to return to school.

The Detested Images from the Magic Lantern

Analytically, in this article, I have utilized the word *detesting* as an active verb in the sense that it is not only a feeling but an action; an explicit practice performed by journalists and columnists in the form of resentful or hateful print media texts. More specifically, I have argued that the detesting of influencers is a practice that works

to fight ghosts. Further, I have shown in examples from the texts that the ghost in this setting is a girl, a social figure known, and historically repressed, for being of the wrong age in the wrong gender; for doing the wrong things in the wrong way in the wrong place. In their work as influencers, girls claim their right to be seen, their right to live and breathe in the public eye and by doing so they are in conflict with existing power structures, and this evokes strong reactions and resistance. The aim of this article has been to analyse the reactions against girls/ghosts demanding their due.

How haunting of this sort is met, how the resistance takes shape, could be understood from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. He argues that the relative “volume” of the resistance depends on the balance of power within a certain field. While it is in the interest of the dominant position to maintain silence – and preferably to silence the objectors without the need to explicitly defend the dominant position – the dominated strive for the opposite; they break the silence to extort a loud defence (Bourdieu 1991). More specifically, as the philosopher José Luis Ramírez aptly describes it, when the deviating word, eventually, is seen or heard, it is essential for power to avoid the mistake of getting into polemics, for the wise ruler knows very well that the explicit denial of this word does not erase it, but helps to multiply it and keep it alive (Ramírez 1995). The relationship between the deviating word of the dominated – the haunting by the suppressed – and the silence of power, can be summarized thus: the less resistance required to maintain the balance of power, the more secure the power. Thus, a valuation of the acts of resistance can be used to measure the power ratio in a certain situation. As a

consequence, I have argued elsewhere that it is conceivable that there is a rising scale of increasingly activity-demanding resistance, from a more implicit resistance, such as concealment and trivializing practices, to the more explicitly oppressive, slanderous, disqualifying and eliminating defence strategies (Nilsson 2009).

If we return to Gordon’s perspective it becomes clear that the haunting carried out by influencer girls is an indication of a change in the power balance; a sign of a potential change of the existing power structure. The detesting of influencers in the print media is literally, I would argue, a screaming resistance that puts the dominant in a vulnerable position. The ghosts/girls have shown up without any sign of leaving, “with hard-nosed smiles” demanding our attention, leaving us in a situation that wavers. “Something will happen. What will happen, of course, is not given in advance, but something must be done” (Gordon 2008:23). Perhaps what is perceived as most provoking is not that poor girls imitate power, but that they demand, and are on the verge of getting this power. This is something that apparently some of the journalists are aware of. “For even if the occasional representative of the old media industry smiles at YouTube and Instagram and dismisses much of it as light-hearted entertainment, the laughter gets stuck in your throat as soon as you start looking at reach, audience and revenue” (*Borås Tidning* 25/11 2016).

Gabriella Nilsson
Associate Professor
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences, Division
of Ethnology
Lund University
email: gabriella.nilsson@kultur.lu.se

Notes

- 1 All quotations from print media have been translated from Swedish by the author.
- 2 The article was written as part of the project “Influencer Life Worlds: New Work in a Changing Time”, financed by the Swedish Research Council 2020–2024. Within the project, the term life world is employed to mean the online lives, the offline lives and the travel and interrelation between these two parallel worlds and identities. Whilst this article concentrates on how these life worlds might look from the outside, the main focus of the project is the experiences and practices made by influencers themselves.

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Affective Place Experiences and Landscape Meanings among Estonian Native Faith Practitioners

By Jenni Rinne

In this article I look at the role of affective experiences when cultural meanings are formed and reformed. In this case the analysis focuses on affective place experiences and how they are part of the meaning making of a particular kind of landscape in Estonia. This is done by analysing the affective place experiences of a specific cultural/religious group called Maausk (earth faith), which can be labelled a modern paganism or native faith (Aitamurto & Simpson 2013; Rinne 2016). Maausk practice is inspired by Estonian folk beliefs and the practitioners have a special connection to nature (e.g. Rinne 2016; Kuutma 2005; Västriku 2015).¹

Affect has lately been the focus of scholarly attention because some researchers have voiced the need to address the part of the human experience that is not much reflected on or is not easily described. This part of the human experience has to do with body's ability to sense and be affected. (e.g. Clougg 2007; Gregg & Seighworth 2010; Thrift 2008). It is about corporeality and not the body as culturally constructed and symbolic. Even though sensory and affective parts of our experiences are difficult to access, they are seen to be vital for the constitution of culture (Csordas 1994; Wetherell 2012; Pink 2009). In this article, affect is investigated in relation to cultural meaning making (Wetherell 2012:4), which makes it relevant for discussions about the relationship of affect and its cultural context.

I became interested in writing about landscapes while doing ethnographic fieldwork on the practices and formation of Maausk between the years 2011 and 2015. While doing the fieldwork, I travelled in cars with the practitioners to various plac-

es and found the trips full of interesting material about their ideas, worldview and their relationship to nature. To be more specific, the trips included several affective emotional experiences when encountering something meaningful in the landscape, which is illustrated in the following description from one of the drives. The affects were usually experienced during the stops at particular places that were initiated by my hosts. They were mainly orally described to me, but on some occasions they were also visible to my eye as physical reactions.

From the recording it is possible to hear that Ene and I are driving slowly on the bumpy road. Ene is telling me, "you need to be in nature and see the history that is hidden within it: hiding places, traces of forgotten farm fields, old fortresses, sacred trees, and stones. By being in nature, in connection to these places, I have understood that I am original and indigenous." We start to talk about the sacred places that are so important to Maausk practitioners. Ene tells me, with a forceful voice in a meaningful manner, "the sacred is everywhere around you. When I am attending my vegetable plot and kneeling to the ground, I can feel the earth. It surrounds me. It is a good and secure feeling. It moves me. When I attend my bees, the same feeling is there as well."

A little later on, we stop next to a cemetery and step out of the car. Ene hugs an old oak tree with warmth and affection and tells me that some of the sacred trees have been preserved in the church gardens and burial grounds and not cut down. "They are everywhere, one just needs to know where to find them," she says.

I realized that my perception of the landscape was radically altered after these drives. The landscape that was being formed during these journeys and stops along the way was different from the run-

down kolkhoz buildings, the Soviet-built townships and agricultural farm land that I saw. What the Maausk practitioners were perceiving were sacred places, trees and stones as well as disappearing signs of old county borders, roads and historical housing structures, to name a few. But they were also encountering something in the landscape that was not visible to the eye, something affective and embodied. And it was especially this part of the experience that I became interested in. These moments when the practitioners were “feeling the earth” or sensing something in the landscape, as Ene did. I become curious about the connection of the cultural meaning making and these affective experiences. Thus, in this article my aim is to analyse some of the affective experiences in places and then analyse how affective place experiences influence the cultural understanding of the landscape.

The approach of the analysis is to apply a particular kind of affect theory in order to unpack the affective place experiences and their relationship to landscape meaning making. I use the concept of affect here to refer to the emotional or affective state or to the narrative of the state that people are in. I understand the affective moment to be a combination of perceptions, cognitions and performances, as well as corporeal sensations. I also understand that affects happen in relation to something that affects us, whether that be materiality or ideas originating from society or our private lives (Rinne 2016:36). Furthermore, the most important aspect of my understanding of affects is that they can be understood to be embodied meaning-making processes (Wetherell 2012:4). This aligns with the argument made by Thomas Csordas about

embodiment being an essential part of culture. Csordas argues that body is not only a site of symbolic understanding but that the lived, experiencing and moving body is productive and constitutive when it comes to culture (Csordas 1994:4). Thus, I suggest that affective place experiences are lived sensorial embodied experiences that produce, reproduce and constitute the cultural meanings of landscapes. Therefore, landscape meaning is mediated through the affected body while it is in places.

In this article, I apply the social psychologist Margaret Wetherell’s ideas about affects. She understands them to be complex patterns that are made up of personal and social histories, discourses, narratives, embodied and sensorial experiences. These patterns can, through repetition, become social practices tied to meaning-making processes that are embedded in the emotional lives of people (Wetherell 2012:4). Wetherell’s conception of affects allows me to analyse affective place experiences as culturally and socially contextualized. In addition, it allows me to understand the cultural meaning-making process of landscapes in relation to affective place experiences. I ask: What kind of elements are the affective patterns of place experiences formed from in the context of Maausk practitioners? What kind of landscape perceptions are formed in relation to affective place experiences?

By choosing this approach towards affects, I claim that affects are profoundly tied to social and cultural contexts. An affect takes place in an individual that is connected to his/her culture, discourses, narratives, history and personal and social memories. This view differs from other formulations of affects that see them as

pre-personal and pre-social autonomous forces that have the potential power to move the subject and that reside outside of the subject and outside the cultural context that individuals might be conscious of (Massumi 2002; Thrift 2007).

I will start by describing the material and methods and then move on to explain what I mean by landscape in the context of this article. I then turn to analysing the affective place experiences through three different examples. Finally, I discuss the implications of place experiences for the perception of landscape and show how they are connected. I finish the article with a few concluding points.

The Sensory Ethnography of Affective Experiences

The main empirical material used for this article comprises three taped journeys with Estonian Maausk practitioners travelling through and being in the landscape. All three journeys were recorded on smartphone with voice recording app and all of them were transcribed, with notes of surrounding sounds and mood changings. The trips varied from 1.5 hours to almost 3 hours. In addition to our conversations, the recordings contain sounds of driving on a bumpy gravel road, walking in a forest bed, stepping on fallen sticks, raindrops on a raincoat, to name but a few. Because of these sounds some parts were impossible to transcribe. The journeys were initiated by the research participants and were therefore not planned by me. I reacted to these spontaneous situations so that I took out my phone and taped them. I had a basic Olympus voice recorder with me in the fieldwork for recording the actual interviews happening in practitioner's

homes for instance. But my smartphone was the easiest option to use in the situations when we were on the move because it was all the time close at hand. In addition, as research material I used my fieldwork notes which I wrote about the drives right after they had happened. In one case I taped my fieldwork notes into my phone with the voice recording app. My fieldwork in total meant also participating in the joint rituals and events in people's homes and sacred places as well as interviews in different locations.² In this article I only focus on these three journeys since they bring out the meaning of the landscapes while we were travelling through them stopping from time to time. These were the only journeys that I recorded.

One of the research participants was born in the late 1970s, one was born in the late 1960s and one in the late 1950s. Two of them were academically educated and one had vocational training. One was working as a teacher, one was in the service sector and one in agriculture. All of them were active Maausk practitioners who periodically visited the historical sacred places in the forest and held certain natural objects to be personally sacred to them, such as particular trees. Historical sacred places in Estonian nature are known to the wider public as cultural heritage sites. Some of them are protected by public institutions. To the interviewees these historical places were perceived to have agency and subjectivity, and sites where they could meet fellow practitioners or connect to nature. Further they had also personal sacred places that gave a possibility to connect with a particular tree or a stone that helped with their personal troubles and relieved the tensions of life.

Maausk is a registered religious organization in the highly secular Estonia. The formation of the group can be linked to the social and political turmoil of Soviet collapse when the search for a new identity was at its height, but the movement is still gaining popularity if we look at the Housing and Population Census (<http://stat.ee/phc> 2011). Similar pagan movements exist all around eastern and central Europe and they are referred to as native faith. Even though each has its own histories and contexts, the shared features of these groups are their emphasis on the ethnic identity with common ancestors and local ethnic pre-Christian tradition as the basis of their practice (Aitamurto & Simpson 2013:4–5). Shared goals of these groups are also “the construction of authenticity, indigenous, personal and group identities” in the face of the globalizing forces in today’s Europe (Roundtree 2015:2). They also share concerns of nature which manifests as environmental and political activism (Aitamurto & Simpson 2013:4–5). All of these features also fit the Estonian native faith. One of the interviewees had also been involved in a court case dealing with the protection of a natural sacred place.

Maausk practitioners live ordinary Estonian lives, as did these participants. They do not imagine a radically different utopian future with communal living for instance. They do dream of the possibility of living in the countryside, closer to nature, but not many have that possibility because of the conditions of a modern way of life in that jobs and other opportunities are in the cities. Two of the interviewees lived in a city, but had spent a substantial amount of time in family farms or other locations

in the countryside. One of them was living and working in the countryside.

The ethnographic fieldwork was influenced by sensory ethnography as developed by the anthropologist Sarah Pink (2009). According to her, paying attention to sensorial and embodied experiences while interviewing and doing ethnographic fieldwork reveals much about the cultural values, meanings and practices that we are embedded in (Pink 2009:1). This means that sensing is not only a bodily reaction but is tied to the context and meanings of the situation where the sensing is happening. And this is one of the reasons sensing can be understood to be cultural. I have had a sensorial focus in my fieldwork in general that has directed my attention to moments in which the research participants have been bodily moved or have talked about their embodied experiences, and this focus has also benefited my interest in affects since being affected is often a sensorial and embodied experience (Rinne 2016:45–47). I claim that with the help of sensory ethnography, since it focuses on sensing and embodiment, it is possible to direct the attention to those moments when affect is experienced or when affect is talked about. For example, that affective moment when one gets tears in the eyes is a multisensorial experience.

The methods of studying affect have not been much developed. However, one edited volume touches upon the issues dealing with researchers’ emotions and affective experiences while doing fieldwork (Stodulka, Dinkelager, Thajib 2019). Still, the issue of how to observe, identify and collect material about affect is something that needs to be discussed more, especially because of the known fact that it is difficult to describe the affective experiences in

words and sometimes people are not even conscious of their affective experiences.

Ethnological analysis is quite often based on what research participants have said or written about their experiences. The material that focuses on the senses, affects and embodiment seeks to bring the lived experiences into the analysis. Even though they are difficult to describe in words, they are still important when cultural meanings are being formed and reformed. What I have done in my fieldwork is that I have focused on moments of sensory experiences that I have interpreted also as affective, while also looking at the verbal descriptions of these moments, if there has been any. But most importantly I have focused on what is generally being discussed or said in the moments of being affected, which might not be directly describing the sensation or feeling of experience but still has a close relation to the affect. As I have noted earlier in this text, affect is not separate from discourses, past experiences and the context when it happens. So, focusing on affect does not mean that what is being said is not important in the analysis, but it is the combination of these that helps us understand the connection of affective experiences and culture.

Embodied Landscape

Research on landscape meanings in cultural studies has traditionally focused on the landscape as something visual and something that is seen from a distance. The gaze of the viewer has been understood to be situated in a very similar manner to the gaze of a landscape artist, as a detached observer as opposed to a sensuous attached living body (Wylie 2007:55; Tilley & Cameron-Daum 2017:1). This approach towards

landscape can be understood to be a particular way of seeing. It can be understood as a product of the European and western practice of distancing oneself from what is being seen. From this viewpoint, the world is perceived as a separate entity from us, and landscape is understood as a scenery.

However, we also often inhabit the landscape and not only observe it from a distance. According to Wylie, the tension in landscape studies lies in the question of whether we observe the landscape or inhabit it. Does the meaning of landscape come from its qualities as a site of cultural practice and values, or does standing back and observing it reveal its meaning, even if this is done by close contact and the inhabitation of it (Wylie 2007:5–6). The perception of landscapes has been widely studied in the perspective of national or local heritage, identity and memory. The heritage and memory landscapes both play a role in identity construction and sense of belonging (e.g. Strathern & Steward 2003; Storm 2014; Laviollette 2011; Kõivupuu 2020). However, in these studies the meaning of landscape is understood as representations and cultural constructions summoned up in a landscape by a detached viewer even though people might live close to it. Landscape is then a symbolic and not lived and embodied while a person is in it. Tilley and Cameron-Daum points out that, for example, people's relationships to materiality are not taken into account in landscape meaning making since the majority of landscape studies focus on discourses and representations of it (Tilley & Cameron-Daum 2017:4). These are not irrelevant ways to approach the landscape and people's connection to it. They are also important for this study. However, the understanding

of the process of meaning making would also benefit the focus on the embodied and lived side of the human experience.

Tim Ingold is one of the scholars who argues that the meaning of a landscape is formatted through actually being in it. According to him, the significance of a landscape comes from people's relational engagement with the world, which in turn is created through dwelling or being in the landscape. Thus, the landscape becomes part of us as we are part of it (Ingold 1993:154–154). Aligning with Ingold, landscape in this article is not understood as something onto which meanings can be projected from a bodily disconnected viewpoint, but instead, meanings are connected to a sensing and feeling subject who continuously does things and is in the landscape.

Ingold's view of landscape is inspired by the phenomenologically oriented cultural analysis that focuses on the lived experiences of people. Phenomenology opposes the duality of mind and body that is emphasized in western thought as a part of Cartesian philosophies. Quite a few landscape scholars nowadays try to overcome this dualism in their work (e.g. Benediktsson & Lund 2010; Tilley & Cameron-Daum 2017). Influenced by Ingold's arguments, some landscape scholars have adopted the approach in which the lived affective and sensory experiences have been brought to the centre of attention. One example of this approach is by the cultural geographer John Wylie (2006), who has written about how a gazing subject perceives the aspects of a physical landscape that are hidden in the depths and valleys of the terrain. Another scholar, Tim Edensor (2012, 2013), has analysed

the experience of darkness and illumination while being in the landscape in relation to cultural meanings of light. He has also addressed the affective experiences of landscape that require a kind of attunement that directs people's experiences and contributes to the atmosphere of a particular landscape. This attunement is formed from partly sensorial and affective experiences as well as from memories of previous experiences (Edensor 2012:1105). There are also studies about the memory and heritage landscape that takes the lived experience into account (e.g. Seesmeri 2018; Adjam 2017). Maryam Adjam's study about the memories of the Estonian refugees in Sweden who fled Estonia in 1944 shows for instance how walking in the actual landscape of their past experiences and looking at it from the pictures creates different kinds of memories that question single truths (Adjam 2017). Also, there are collections of articles about imagining landscapes of the past that understand the practice of imagination not as a capacity to construct mental images of landscape "out there", but as a way to live creatively in the world while participating "within" through perception and action (Janowsky & Ingold 2012:3). Studies that take the dwelling and lived experiences while being in the landscape into account are akin to this study.

In recent years, studies about the environment and landscape have emerged that look at more-than-human materiality and agency (e.g. Tsing 2017; Kuoljok 2019). This so-called post-humanistic approach that takes into account the agency of others could be used here, but I have chosen to study the experiences of people, even though the borders between subjects and objects are sometimes blurred in the re-

search material. Finally, I will mention studies that question western ontologies and epistemologies when looking at people's relationship to their environment (e.g. Lehtinen 2012). This usually happens in relation to indigenous studies. However, Estonians cannot be seen as having anything but a western perspective on the world. What could be relevant, however, is the decolonial perspective that is used in indigenous landscape studies. Questions such as who gets to define the landscape meanings and who is silenced are important. In some cases the decolonial theoretical starting points have been applied to a post-socialist context, and it should be worth looking at the legacy of the hegemonic Soviet system (e.g. Koobak, Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert 2021). Even though I do not reject this perspective, it is not used much in this article, since the analytical focus is on embodied affective-sensorial experiences and their linkage to cultural meanings and meaning making.

The way I understand landscape in this article is inspired by the phenomenological approach according to which looking at the embodiment of the landscape is the starting point. My more specific approach to analysing landscapes is to look at affective place experiences while being in the landscape. This means the observance of the emotional and affected body in specific moments and specific places and how the affective body relates to the cultural understanding of the landscape. However, while focusing on sensing and feeling places, the analysis is conducted in relation to narratives, discourses and memories of the places and also of the landscapes. Thus, my argument is that the affected lived body and representations of the world are not

separate in people's experiences and meaning-making processes (Wetherell 2012).

This means that, in this article, landscape is understood as something that takes its significance from the affective place experiences that spread out and connect with other places, formatting and, at the same time, giving meaning to the landscape. This is because, if we use the phenomenological perspective to look at lived experiences, people are always situated in one place instead of the wider space. Our bodies cannot be situated in many places at the same time (Casey 1996). The idea that the meaning of a landscape comes from emplaced experiences is also shared by Ingold. According to him, people primarily inhabit places and not the whole. A nexus of places then comes together and can be called a landscape (Ingold 1993:155). The similar idea that landscape is "a set of relationship between places" is also stated as a starting point by the anthropologists Chris Tilley and Kate Cameron-Daum in their study of landscape. By stating this they refer to the influential phenomenological study about human-place relations by Keith Basso (1996) (Tilley & Cameron-Daum 2017:2).

The Affective Layer of a Taskscape

Tim Ingold argues that the significance of a landscape is formed through what people do in the landscape, not only by inhabiting it. It is composed through tasks. The entwining of tasks and the environment forms what Ingold calls a taskscape (Ingold 1993:158). I understand this to mean that people are all the time in particular relational engagements with their surroundings through the tasks they do in particular places in the landscape. This relational engagement is embodied and

sensorial. I would, however, like to add another layer to the embodied and sensorial experiences of the taskscape. I propose that people's place experiences of the landscape are not always directly connected to task in hand, that is, what they do in the landscape, even though their experiences are formed in relation to the tasks. The task places them in a particular place and because of the task they have an intimate connection to the place. That is why taskscape is important. But their relational engagement with landscape might be produced through other experiences not directly connected to the task while doing the task.

This is illustrated, for example, in the following incident with one of the Maausk practitioners that I have named Triine. Triine and I were on our way to Tallinn from a Maausk event in the fall of 2015. We had spent the night in the countryside in the north-eastern region of Estonia and left early in the morning in order to pick mushrooms on our way back to the city. We had stopped at Triine's usual spot in the forest, and after a short walk, she recalled an event that had taken place earlier that year while picking blueberries:

Triine: Jenni! I think it was here. (We had stopped walking, and there is a quiet moment on the tape.) Yes! There. You see the open area there. I was there picking blueberries. It had been raining a little bit during the day. There was a rainbow. The colour of the moment was golden. You know when the sun is shining between the clouds? And then came the rain again. I had to kneel there in the ground!

Jenni: Why did you have to kneel? Sounds beautiful. I know that colour.

Triine: I felt connected. The raindrops were somehow [...] I don't know. I felt connected to the forest bed. There was the soft sound of the drops hitting the moss and the leaves – on the forest bed.

I could feel a kind of gong sound of the earth.

Jenni: The earth was making a sound?

Triine: Yes. Or more like I could feel it vibrating I guess (long pause on the tape). I was on my knees. It was so beautiful. I felt something like a sense of connectedness. And the colour! It was golden!

I understand the moment Triine is describing as affective place experience. Triine's living and moving body was affected in relation to the place and situation. The sudden rupture from the everyday task of picking berries, brought about by the sensorial experiences of the sight and sound and something else that she describes as a sense of vibration, arrested her attention and caused her to kneel down. She was visibly moved when trying to explain what the experience had meant to her. Thus, the experience is not about picking berries, but it is about affective experience of relating to the place and earth that produces the relational connection.

Berry pickers usually know the good spots to find berries, and they can find them from a familiar landscape quite easily. Bardone and Pungas have called such foraging sites "gathering landscapes" (2012). It can be argued that a gathering landscape is formed through particular tasks of foraging practice. Because of the task, the nature of the landscape is intimately known through the body's involvement. For example, one bends down to or kneels on the forest bed in order to reach berries. Experienced foragers know the kind of terrain on which a particular type of berry grows, and they look at the sunlight and vegetation in order to find berries. However, Triine's affective experience is not about berry picking, even though she would not have been in the forest or know

it intimately without this practice. The task itself does not cause Triine to have the affective experience, but it just serves as the context and something that enables the intimate knowledge of the landscape. It is then not only through tasks that Triine's relational engagement with her surroundings develops, but it can evolve also because of the sensorial-affective experiences that rise in relation to other things besides the task.

I would suggest that affective experience can be understood only in relation to how Triine connects to and understands nature. Maausk beliefs and practices vary by individual, but what is shared by all is the understanding that nature is alive – alive in the sense that it is possible to interact, reciprocate and sometimes manipulate the forces within it. Nature is perceived to have an active subjectivity and agency in the same sense as humans, and breaking the branches of a tree for no reason, for example, is not recommended because it causes harm and pain to the tree (Rinne 2016:105–110). Triine had quite a loving and respectful relationship to nature. For example, she perceived several trees to be sacred, and she visited them, gave them gifts, told her worries to them and took care of them. She was also a frequent visitor to sacred places in nature which, for many of the Maausk practitioners, were considered particularly sacred and having healing powers, for instance. Regarding this perception of nature, it can be argued that Triine's sensorial-affective experience had a particular Maausk-influenced context apart from berry picking, which might allow experiencing the agency of nature.

Triine's affective experience as a pattern (Wetherell 2012) is arguably formed based on at least three elements: her own intimate

knowledge of the forest through the task of berry picking, the actual sensorial experience and the Maausk understanding of nature that has agency. Wetherell suggests that affective patterns are sometimes “multimodal”, which means that they are not only about human subjectivity but about, for instance, materiality, and animals can have affective power as well (Wetherell 2012:88–89; e.g. McCormack 2013; Bennet 2010). Triine's affective pattern is also multimodal in the sense that nature has the power to affect her. Wetherell also suggests that affective moments are about embodied meaning making (Wetherell 2012:4). In Triine's case, it could be that her affective experience reinforces the meanings of nature being an active subject shared by the Maausk community. She had here such a strong affective-sensorial experience of nature being alive that she responded to it by kneeling down.

History Preserved in Affective Nature

Another of the practitioners of Maausk, whom I call Ene, took me for a drive around her home region located in the middle of Estonia. She was a third-generation beekeeper as well as a consultant for small businesses that produce honey. Because of her livelihood, she had intimate knowledge of the surrounding forest and nature where the beehives were located. She also spent time in the forest because of her wild berry and mushroom picking practice. Similar to Triine, an affective-sensorial place experience while being in the forest for a specific task was also illustrated in Ene's account. However, Ene's experience was described in relation to the history of the landscape in addition to nature being understood as an active subject. Ene was very interested in

local history and had gathered quite a lot of information about historical events and sites in the region. Being knowledgeable about local history was common among Maausk practitioners since inspiration for their practice was drawn from the past folk practices and beliefs of bygone agricultural society and, if possible, from local traditions. The differences between local practices in Estonia were constantly discussed and emphasized among the practitioners in order to connect to local roots instead of Estonian roots (Rinne 2016:89).

Ene took me for a ride to introduce the region she lived in. While driving, we would sometimes stop at the locations that Ene particularly wanted me to see. At one of those stops, she took me into the forest a few hundred metres from where we had parked the car. She told me how the forest is the keeper of historical knowledge. She pointed towards particular trees whose branches were much more sparse on one side:

Ene: The forest holds the old roads inside it, for example. The branches indicate where the roads were. You see here? In the time of the Polish war, there was a busy road here. Did you know that mushrooms only grow where humans have been? Without humans, there would not be mushrooms. In that sense we are inseparably intertwined. The history books say that nothing has been saved, but it has! The past is visible in nature if you know what to look for while walking in the forest! The people here know about it: there was a smith's forge there. That river used to be a marsh. There was a path through the forest beside that field. History is not from another planet. We learn it, but at the same time it is present here. We go along this road. We live in the same place. The trees are the same. The air is the same. The people have lived wisely so that everything is still the same. Nothing has changed in these respects. It can be felt here.

Jenni: What kind of feeling is that?

Ene: When I go to the beehives, I sometimes lie on my back on the ground between the hives, and then I listen. I can hear the humming of the bees, and I can hear the family around me in nature. These are connected. I am so grateful for that continuity. I feel warm. It is a warm feeling to listen to the humming.

Ene, like Triine, is describing what I understand as an affective-sensorial experience while lying between the honey beehives. She hears the humming, feels the warmth and connects it to the family around her and is grateful for that. This family, as I interpret it, contains the people from the past whose marks she sees in the surrounding nature, in the landscape. This family could also contain the bees that make the humming sound and also the active living nature. Ene also talked quite a lot about the sacredness of nature as well as the sacredness of humans. She said several times that the relationship between nature and humans is vital and very important to cherish. She emphasized the reciprocity between people and nature.

Ene's experience is not about the task itself, even though the tasks of a beekeeper enable her intimate relational engagement with the environment. For Ene, the perceived history that is preserved in nature is an important part of her affective-sensorial experience. The experience connects her to the past and creates a sense of connection and continuity as she describes it. This connection is embodied through a sensorial-affective experience, and it is related to the idea that humans participate in the cultural world with and through their bodies (Csordas 1994:4). People embody culture. This can mean, for instance, that while doing everyday tasks that involve sensing and feeling bodies, meanings and histories can also be incorporated into these experiences.

This is obvious if we look at more habitual bodily practices such as dancing. Not only are the automatic body movements incorporated into these experiences, but also the cultural and personal meanings of the dance as well as the materiality (Högström 2010; McCormack 2013). Thus, I suggest that Ene's affective experience between the beehives can also be understood as the embodiment of particular cultural ideas and meanings that are shared by Maausk practitioners according to whom history has a specific significance that creates continuity and a sense of identity. Furthermore, similarly to Triine's account, Ene's also shows how nature is understood to have agency in the sense that it has the power to affect Ene in a particular way. Her affective pattern would thus at least include the specific idea of nature with agency and particular way of relating to history by connecting the signs of history to nature.

As I have noted, both Ene's and Triine's affective experiences have a sensorial quality to them. Sarah Pink argues that the sensorial experiences must be taken into account in cultural analyses. I agree that the sensory aspects of both experiences have cultural contexts. In other words, Maausk understandings and meanings that are tied to the perception of nature and to the importance of local history are hidden in nature, as something that can be sensed. However, according to Pink, contextualizing sensorial experiences should not be done at the expense of the objectification of bodily experiences by a rationalizing mind, which would mean there is a separation between the intellect and the sensing body (Pink 2009:25). I also try to be careful not to represent sensorial-affective experiences and cultural contexts as sepa-

rate from each other, because human experience is about the intertwining of the two. Sometimes, however, the analytical separation of categories is beneficial in order to interpret, in this case, the affective patterns. The sensorial experience of Ene and Triine, on the other hand, must be understood as embodiments of cultural meaning making that are not detached from more discursive and narrative meaning making.

Sacred Places as Forceful Places of Resistance, History and Memory

I met with Mart at the bus stop in the middle of Estonia. During our trip to his parents-in-law's self-sustaining farm, we ended up stopping at several places on the way, including a well-known sacred place in nature. There are about 500 recognized sacred places in Estonia, and they are located in nature all around the country (Kõivupuu 2009:224). Some of them are protected by different institutions. However, many Maausk practitioners felt that these places were in danger of disappearing or of being disrespected to the extent that the practitioners began to actively protect them, for instance, through court cases that halted logging or other landscape alteration plans. Mart was one of these practitioners. In addition of being an active protector of such locations, he and his wife had also taken on the task of mapping out and visiting all the sacred objects and places in the area. Because of this task, he also knew the landscape intimately in a similar fashion to Ene and Triine.

Mart³ explained to me how he had come across a black-and-white photograph of a sacred stone in his parents-in-law's family album. The stone was sitting in the yard of a house that we had just passed by on our

drive. He then directed my attention to a rusty sign next to another sacred stone in a field by the road. The sign marked the sacred offering stone as Estonian heritage. Mart explained that the sacred places were not only big groves, but also single objects like trees, stones and springs, and quite a few seemed to be located along our way. Then we stopped next to a tree that was surrounded by bushes. Mart clarified that the ideal state of a sacred place was that it should be left untouched in its natural state. Tree branches and grass were not allowed to be cut. There was also an old rusty sign indicating that the location was an archaeological heritage site (Rinne 2016:106).

When we got back to the car, Mart told me a story about a hill in a *kolkhoz* nearby where, in Soviet times, the officials had wanted to build something because of the high grounds. According to Mart, the locals resisted the plan because the hill was considered to be a sacred place, and the knowledge of this specific place had been preserved there because of the remoteness of the area and the relatively stationary population. This was the only time that a *kolkhoz*, Soviet housing or any other structure was ever mentioned during these drives with Mart, Ene and Triine. And it was only mentioned as a site of resistance.

During our drive, we ended up at a well-known sacred grove in the middle of Estonia. It had wooden knocking boards between the trees at the entrance, and inside there were two sacred stones located next to a young oak tree. The oak had some ribbons tied to the branches as gifts, and the two stones had some coins placed on them. Mart had brought some homemade pastries that he placed on one of the stones. He was quiet for a while and stood there preoccu-

pied with his task. In his own words, he had paid respect to the spirits of the place. He then started to reminisce about how he had been there with his wife and a daughter a few weeks before. They had offered some food and then had a picnic there. Mart told me, at the end of the visit, that he had to ask his daughter not to yell so much in the forest. He said that loud noises disrespected the sacred places and the spirits of nature. Later on, he told me a story about a local boy who had fallen ill after eating a mushroom from a sacred hill. He had recovered only after another person had found out about his actions and returned some of the mushrooms that the boy had picked. He told me that it was important to him to value these places as his heritage as well as to recognize their forces, which could cause very concrete consequences. In order to demonstrate the power of the places, he also told me a story about a sacred place that had turned a person into an alcoholic who had stayed there in a tent. Thus, nature was perceived by Mart as having agency just as Triine, Ene and many other Maausk practitioners have emphasized.

It is clear that the places we passed by on our drives had a special meaning in Mart's life, and the way in which he talked about them could be described as affective. According to Jonathan Flatley, it is often the things or moments that matter to us the most that can be described as affective (Flatley 2008:18). Every time he spoke about the significant places, his tone of voice, his stress on words and his slowed-down speech were indications of the significance of the places for him. In some moments, there were also bodily reactions involved that I have interpreted as being affective. When he talked about

the hill in the kolkhoz, he seemed to be emotionally moved, with moist eyes, by the idea of local resistance and maintained heritage. And when he performed his own small ritual in the sacred place, he grew silent and still. However, the moments when he spoke about the sacred places were not about sensorial experiences in the same way as they were with Triine and Ene. Moments with Mart could be characterized more as shifting moods that lasted through the time he spoke about the sacred places. They were embodied to some extent but were not about connecting with the active nature in the same way as Triine and Ene had done. However, I understand them to be affective, which connect Mart's stories to Triine's and Ene's.

In addition, I want to pay closer attention to one brief moment that occurred when Mart spoke about the potential power that the sacred places had. Mart had actually visibly shivered when he told the story about the boy taken ill by eating the mushroom from the sacred hill. It was a kind of shiver that one can have when encountering something sickening or disgusting. But with Mart it was more about being in awe with respect or fear when thinking about the place. The shiver can be understood as a sensorial but also an affective experience, and when put in relation to the story about the sacred hill, it becomes something similar to Triine's and Ene's stories. The experience stems from the idea of the force and agency of nature as it does with Triine and Ene. Thus, I argue that Mart's shiver is also an affective pattern in which the Maausk idea of nature having agency plays a part in addition to the importance of history attached to the surrounding nature that is similar to Ene's account. I also

argue that the drive we had been on and the discussion topics of the sacred places, their qualities and forces, had actually attuned Mart in a particular way that became part of the sensorial-affective pattern of his shiver. Edensor suggests that, before affective experiences, people can sometimes become attuned to them through, for example, reminiscing earlier events in places as well as repeated visits to them (Edensor 2012:1114).

With respect to all three empirical examples, the affective place experiences were formed in relation to tasks that connected the people to the landscape in their everyday life through their bodies and movement. Furthermore, they were influenced by the Maausk understanding of nature and the meaning of history as a source of heritage and roots, which were also observable in nature to the educated. Thus, affective place experiences have contexts and they form a pattern of the elements described above. Finally, through these place experiences, Maausk practitioners develop a kind of relational connection to their everyday landscape through sensorial-affective place experiences to which I turn in the next section.

From Place Experiences to Landscape Meanings

So far, I have analysed sensorial-affective place experiences as patterns and focused on the Maausk cultural context of the affective pattern. I will now examine the relationship between the affective patterns of the place experiences and the landscape meaning.

The phenomenologically oriented philosopher Edward Casey (1996) writes about the character of place. According to

Casey, while we dwell in places, we simultaneously constitute the places as well as absorb from them. What Casey means by this is that places gather histories, memories and thoughts. Places are not only physical things, but they happen together with their occupants, and they reflect their occupants. The occupants are culturally informed, which means that they carry culture in their bodies to places while also always drawing new experiences from these places (Casey 1996:24). In my view, Casey's understanding of places reflecting their occupants and places gathering histories, memories and thoughts could also be understood to be the components of affective patterns of place experiences. Affect then happens in relation to particular Maausk place histories, memories and understanding. This is illustrated in the empirical examples of the affective place experiences with specific Maausk contexts. This also means that place meanings are constituted through the embodiment of the Maausk meanings through affective experiences that reflect the people who inhabit the places.

Furthermore, according to Casey, experiences in places also constitute the space between places. The space between places and the actual places can be understood together to form a landscape that is informed by the gathering power of places while also always renewing it (Casey 1996:25). The understanding of landscape formed by place experiences aligns with Ingold's ideas, according to which "place in the landscape is not cut out from the whole. Rather each place embodies the whole [...]. A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there – to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And

these, in turn, depend on the kind of activities in which inhabitants engage" (Ingold 1993:155). This is because, while being in a place, the experience of it informs and is informed by the whole inhabited area, that is, the landscape. According to Ingold, a landscape does not have physical boundaries, but is produced through human action and dwelling in it. A landscape is recognized only through place experiences (ibid.).

Therefore, in line with Ingold and Casey, I suggest that the affective place experiences of Triine, Ene and Mart actually contribute to their perception of landscape. This means that, if affective patterns of place experiences are situated within a Maausk context, the same context applies to the landscape that is visible on the drives with Triine, Ene and Mart. That is, the affective place experiences constitute the landscape meaning. Similarly, Laura Seesmeri has analysed memories of sensory experience of Finnish saunas. She has shown how sensory sauna memories contain a particular Finnish cultural landscape with agricultural land with lakes, fields, wooden houses and saunas. According to her each memory of sauna experience is about embodying a particular Finnish cultural landscape while reforming the meaning (Seesmeri 2018). Anna-Leena Siikala also argued in a similar way when she wrote about "a mental landscape" of the Siberian indigenous Khanty people. Landscape in Siikala's understanding is experienced through encounters with particular topographic landmarks that are often not seen by the uneducated eye of those not familiar with the meaning of the landmarks in the landscape (Siikala 2011:137–138). The "hidden landscape" of Maausk practitioners, not perceivable

by the uneducated, was also observed in my fieldwork, as I noted at the beginning. It became clear to me, for example, how the landscape was perceived and represented by Mart on our drive. He emphasized the sacred places along the way and that dominated the perception and representation of his landscape. Ene's landscape was also full of places that held the local history as well as the potentiality of encountering the active nature. The agency of nature was also present in Triine's account, and it could inform her landscape as a potential for similar experiences and encounters in particular places on the way.

However, it is only through the accounts of the affective experiences of the places within the landscape that it became clear to me that the meaning of each landscape was directly connected to these moments. I suggest, then, that Ene's, Triine's and Mart's multi-layered affective patterns of place experiences are something that influence and reinforce the meaning of the landscape that contains traces of history, sacred places, and the possibility to encounter nature's agency. The affective experience thus creates and reinforces a landscape meaning as something related to Maausk ideals. Thus the landscape is mediated through the body's experiences in a particular context.

The landscapes that are revealed through Ene's, Triine's and Mart's embodied affective-sensorial place experiences are not the landscapes that would contain the visible elements of the Soviet past, such as kolkhoz buildings. Especially Mart's and Ene's accounts both emphasize a history preserved in the landscapes, in sacred places and nature, that is older than the Soviet period. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Estonians have felt the need

to claim back their history, which official Soviet history had left out of the public sphere (Kõresaar 2005:18). This led to a boom in the investigation of local histories. I argue that perhaps something similar happened when Mart engaged in research on the sacred places as well as when Ene became interested in the local history that she perceived to be hidden in physical nature.

Interest in local history among the interviewees was also motivated by another factor, namely, the Maausk practice of searching for historical roots and authentic origins by looking for information about the past practices and beliefs. This, I argue, had an impact on how Mart as well as Ene perceived the rural landscape as something other than a landscape marked by Soviet rule with kolkhoz buildings and Soviet-built constructions. Instead, for them, what the landscape contained was a traditional romanticized rural landscape with traditional sacred places of the Estonian folk belief, which meant that it could be also a source of particular identity and origins. Mart's story about the locals who had protected a sacred hill and his practice of mapping out the sacred place presents a possibility of an alternative interpretation apart from Soviet history that focused on the local history before Soviet times (e.g. Rinne 2016). Ene's way of seeing signs of the past in the landscape that might not be visible to the unsensitive and uneducated eye (see also Siikala 2011; Lukin 2011) could also be understood as claiming back the local history that many people say has disappeared. It also concerns claiming back the roots and continuity of local life that included the forces and spirits of nature as affective-sensorial senses of a family. Thus the more symbolic understanding

of the landscape is intertwined with lived affective experiences while being in the landscape.

Wetherell suggests that affective patterns are sometimes positioning acts. Thus, affective patterns can build identities (Wetherell 2012:90; e.g. Ahmed 2014), as in the cases of Mart and Ene, local, non-Soviet people with long roots and belonging to the local area and to Maausk.⁴ Furthermore, these affective patterns happen in relation to places containing mystical powers, the history of the ancestors and sites of resistance and memory which colour the whole perception of the landscape as something that builds identities and belonging, but not from the outside of the landscape, but while being in the landscape.

My interpretation of Maausk landscape explains how it is beneficial to try to overcome Cartesian dualism, according to which we can only experience landscape as a visual entity outside of our bodies, projecting meanings on the landscape. Instead, the feeling and sensing body in a place is an existential part of the meaning-making processes of a landscape that is tied to shared ideas, histories as well as active materiality and the surrounding nature. Affective place experiences that stretch across a landscape were a way to embody Maausk-related cultural ideas and so enforce them. Thus, I have approached the meaning of landscape to Maausk practitioners through their particular affective place experiences. Affective place experiences can be understood to inform the perception of a landscape while also directing future experiences tied to it by creating the potentiality and attunement to similar experiences that can happen anywhere in that landscape.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that place experiences stretch across landscapes and contribute to the landscape meaning-making process. Meanings are not, then, attached to the landscape by distant viewers, but they are lived while people are dwelling in places. As Ingold remarks, the very becoming of a landscape needs participation from within through perception and action (Ingold 2012:3). Place experiences that inform the landscape meaning become observable, for instance, while travelling through the landscape with people who dwell in it and who have intimate knowledge of it. My own initial understanding of the landscape was only based on what I saw in the landscape. It was based on what was most visible to my uneducated eye, which was the Soviet material past with some additions to old farmsteads from the first period of Estonian independence. However, it became clear that, to the Maausk practitioners I was travelling with, the landscape contained so much more than what was observable to the eye. In this paper I argue that the affective place experiences were essential for understanding the Maausk landscape meaning and its production.

To be more specific, I have shown how sensorial-affective patterns experienced in specific places constituted the meaning of the landscape while, at the same time, the affective sensing body was being influenced by the places in which histories, memories and ideas about them were gathered. As Wetherell has argued, affective experiences can be understood to be complex patterns made from a variety of elements such as narratives, histories, sensory and other bodily experiences and emotions (Wetherell 2012:4). The affective patterns

in all three cases first had a strong sensory element, such as sensing the vibration of the earth, feeling the warm humming sound of the bees and a shiver. Second, all of the patterns had a shared Maausk idea of nature as having active agency, which could be loving, as it was in Triine's and Ene's experiences, or even harmful or, at least, powerful, as it was in the case of Mart's experience. Third, Mart's and Ene's affective patterns also contained an important aspect of the Maausk ideal of knowing a particular history, heritage and one's past that was not about the Soviet past. This past was perceived to be incorporated in nature and in the sacred places.

According to Sarah Ahmed, when studying affects and emotions from the cultural viewpoint, it is important to look at what they do (Ahmed 2014). They can, for example, create borders between us and others (Ahmed 2014). They can move people in such a way that creates social change (Flatley 2012). Or, they can be seen as experiences that influence our decision making (Saresma 2020). The affective experiences described in this article were understood as part of a cultural meaning making process (Wetherell 2012:2). The research task of this article was not only to identify the elements of affective patterns of place experiences but also to interpret how these influenced the landscape meaning-making process.

In agreement with Casey, Ingold, Seesmeri and Siikala, I argue that the landscape is comprised of place experiences. In this article, affective place experiences are understood as patterns that create meaning. The affective patterns that were experienced while being in the places created and recreated the particular meanings of landscape, the first of which was a landscape of hid-

den historical knowledge and resistance; the second, a landscape of tradition and heritage of a particular community; and third, a landscape in which potential encounters and reciprocity with living nature was possible and could also lead to sacred experiences. The landscape meanings were maintained through affective-sensorial experiences, dwelling and doing tasks in the landscape. As Ingold has claimed, tasks done in the landscape create a taskscape that enables the relational engagement with the landscape (Ingold 1993:158). However, I add that the tasks were only important in the sense that they created an intimate connection to the terrain of the landscape. However, the relational connection with the landscape could evolve also in relation to sensorial-affective experiences that happen while one is doing the task but it is not about the task.

Examining the landscape through the affective-sensorial place experiences of its inhabitants, I found that the meaning of the landscape could be constructed, but it was neither a purely symbolic cultural construction or a purely lived experience of the world, but rather an interconnectedness of the two. The landscape becomes mediated and constructed through the affective-sensorial body that is located in the places, while the affective-sensorial body is also informed by the narratives and shared ideas of Maausk.

In this investigation, landscape was not understood as something that is only a visual representation of what can be seen from the distance but as something that can be experienced through a context bound lived body while being in the landscape. The distinction between an indifferent viewer and an invested viewer can, of course, still be made. But in this paper, I have looked more deeply into the embodied and affective pat-

terns through which the landscape comes to mean something to those who are intimately familiar with their environment.

Jenni R. Rinne

PhD

Department of Cultures

University of Helsinki

P.O. Box 59

FI-00014 Helsinki

Finland

e-mail: jenni.rinne@helsinki.fi

Notes

- 1 I studied the Maausk group in my doctoral thesis (2016) in which I had a twofold aim: first, I introduced the movement's history and context, and second, I investigated the everyday experiences of practicing *Maausk*.
- 2 For more about my fieldwork see Rinne 2016: 43–53.
- 3 I have previously written about Mart in relation to corporeal experiences in scared places but not in the context of landscape (Rinne 2016: 119–120).
- 4 I have written more extensively about Maausk identity elsewhere, Rinne 2016: 83–101.

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Fieldwork

Three recorded journeys made with Mart in the 2012, with Ene in the 2014 and Triine in the 2015 and fieldwork diaries. All the materials have been transcribed and are in the possession of the author.

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Mire Art

Environmental Activism and Future Agency in the Landscape of Mining By Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti

I think *the duty* of an artist – or my duty as I understand it – is that I have a chance to comment on things, and *a kind of duty to monitor and give them a certain context*. Otherwise, I don't find any meaning in making art if it does not have a comment or give anything (11).

Mires are important for our future well-being as they act as an atmospheric carbon sink.¹ Various minerals located under and next to mires are mined for contemporary technological devices, despite the knowledge that the natural areas are vulnerable to the consequences of mining. In contemporary culture in Finland mires provide a context for art, which reflects the importance of nature and human-nature relationships. There are a growing number of artists who have chosen the theme of the mire for their art projects, which are performed either in the mire or indoors, for example, in galleries. However, only a few of them deal with potential environmental changes due to planned mining; instead the projects reflect artists', residents', and other people's love of the mire.

The artist quoted above, the opera singer Amanda Martikainen, had a musical ritual for the audience in the bird tower in Viiankiaapa mire in Lapland, Finland. Her ritual can be seen as activism, connecting art and activism. In recent years, interest in artists like Amanda and their voluntary artistic contribution in promoting sustainable development has been studied in a multi-disciplinary way (e.g., Benish & Blanc 2016; Jónsdóttir & Antoniou 2018).

Mires provide a lot of open space suitable for various audience-centred and collaborative art genres. Research on mire art deepens our understanding of the agency of artists, especially their willingness to stand for nature and encourage people to visit the mire. They are unique arenas to use activism

as a tool for engagement at the local level. I argue that the art-related events in relation to mining plans near or under the mires can be regarded as a weak but intensifying signal of mire artists' future agency, through their conscious pro-environment behaviour. In my research material, artists have themselves decided to situate their art in mires. In addition, they have for instance invited the local politician from the Green League to give a presentation at the opening of the mire art project. In addition, the ecological importance of mires motivates NGOs like the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation to invite artists to collaborate with them. Besides art, the collaboration between the artist and associations may include workshops, guided tours led by experts as well as scientific presentations.

Ethnological research exposes cultural meanings and helps us to understand why and how certain environments and landscapes are used in site-specific art. To understand the cultural meanings of mire art in a threatened landscape, a more nuanced examination is required of artists' experiences, aims, and agency. By analysing interviews with artists, I will examine contemporary mire art from the perspectives of sustainability in relation to *glocal* (combining global and local levels) contexts and agency. For example, environmental struggles against mining are known globally, but in every struggle the meanings and emotions attached to mires apply locally in the specific environment.

The research questions this article will answer are the following:

- How strongly is *artivism* connected to mire art in Finland in an eco-sensitive anti-mining context?

- In what ways may mire landscapes be understood as a venue for art(ivism)?

The following part introduces theoretical framework with key concepts, then presenting the research material and methods. After that comes the analysis, in which I present analytic categories in mire art (controversial, artistic, and affective landscapes) and various types of agencies (future agency, site-specific agency, and non-human agency). Finally, I will present the conclusions.

Theoretical Perspectives

Sustainable Development

As the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future (1987) defines it, “sustainability is the ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.² There is no fixed approach to sustainability; often three or four dimensions (ecological, economic, social, and cultural/socio-cultural) are used. They are understood in relation to each other in various ways in humanities and the social sciences. Culture itself has been understood in the framework of sustainability in many ways. I find it relevant to approach it according to a model by Dessein et al. (2015:30), in which culture adopts the free-standing (culture in), the mediating (culture for) and the transformative roles (culture as) in the sustainability. The second of these, culture for sustainability, states that culture has a connecting role, acting as a driver of sustainability processes, such as mire art in my analysis.

Cultural sustainability means different things depending on the context and the

researcher, e.g. cultural diversity, memory, and sensibility, the right to define the development of one’s own culture, understanding cultural literacy, recognizing and acknowledging culture as a process, in which heritages are used, transformed, and developed by communities and/or individuals according to their values and practices, e.g. in human-nature interfaces (ENEC 2018; Birkeland et al. 2018:6–7; Gaston et al. 2018; Siivonen 2018; Huhmarniemi & Jokela 2020:2; cf. Meireis & Rippi 2020). I find all the above aspects important. For me, actions are not culturally sustainable if they exclude local communities by using a top-down model. I would stress the importance of recognizing communities, listening to them, collaborating with them, and including them in the processes, what might be the start of a whole new procedure.

Since the 2000s the concept of *environmental citizenship* has been widely used by researchers in various disciplines (see review: Dobson 2003; Bell 2013). The European Network for Environmental Citizenship (ENEC, CA16229) has defined the concept recently. It highlights the responsible pro-environmental behaviour of citizens who act to achieve sustainability. The behaviour includes the private and public sphere, local, national, and global scale, through individual and collective actions. At the core are people who act and participate in society as agents of change. They aim at developing a healthy relationship with nature and preventing the creation of new environmental problems by acting individually and collectively using democratic means (ENEC 2018).

Environmental Art and Activism

Since environmental art began to gain suc-

cess in Europe in the 1970s, mires alongside forests and other outdoor areas have been used for artistic purposes.³ Art may increase environmental awareness and broaden perspectives (Huhmarniemi & Jokinen 2020:14; Huhmarniemi 2016:32). A relatively new concept for combining art and activism, *artivism*, refers to artists with activist aims (Golanska & Kronenberg 2020; Nossel 2016; Diverlus 2016). Having said that, it is worth noting that artists may have an explicit or implicit role as agents of social change. In addition, artists surely bear varying amounts of responsibility to make their audiences and communities socially engaged. Artivism can be envisioned, for example, as an educational, performance, and creative tool for art and activism (Diverlus 2016:189–191). *Environmental activism* is more common in countries where environmental citizenship is more pronounced and people hold stronger pro-environmental values (Liobikienė & Simas Poškus 2019:13).

Global and local processes are intertwined and present in the natural environment. Economic, political, and recreational uses of natural areas are linked to each other e.g., in tourism. In Finland, the questions of responsibility and rights have increased particularly in the north of the country. The right to use natural resources, the responsibility for the limits of nature, as well as the tools for safeguarding the mires have evoked discussion and resulted in action.

Research Material and Methods

My research material consists of open theme interviews conducted in 2020 with four artists: Noora Kauppila, Anne Immonen, Satu Vaarula, and Amanda Martikainen. The performing artist Kauppila

is a singer who has paid attention to environmental sorrow. She contextualizes her project on laments with the concepts of environmental art, eco-musicology, performance, and ritualistic art. The photo exhibition of Immonen and Vaarula was entitled *Suo mun elää* (“Swamp My Life” 2019). The mire in question is situated in southern Finland, where Kauppila has also performed during her tours in 2018–2019. Furthermore, Martikainen is an opera singer who has performed in Lapland in 2017.

The interviews are part of the Mire Trend research project in the University of Eastern Finland, in which I have conducted a total of 25 interviews. A mining theme came up unelicited only in these four interviews and caught my attention. Before that, I was not aware that potential mining areas include even protected mires.

I began the interviews by asking about the participants’ childhood experiences in mires and their relationship with nature. The questions were organized in the following three sections: (1) Mires in the mental and physical landscapes and current opinions on their uses; (2) Mire and art; and (3) Environmental crisis and art. The questions included e.g., what kind of emotions do you associate with the mires? How would you describe the mires (as a space, landscape, region, natural area...)? Why have you chosen a mire for your art project? What features does the mire bring to art? The atmosphere of the interviews was informal and often intensive as the themes touched the artists’ childhood and professional aims.

I listened, close-read, and analysed the material by applying the method of cultural analysis to affective ethnography and landscape-oriented heritage studies. Landscape

is seen as both mental and physical, subjective as well as objective, including temporally parallel heritages and landscapes (e.g., Ehn et al. 2016; Ehn & Löfgren 2001; 1982; Gherardi 2019; Waterton & Watson 2015; Harvey 2015; Atha et al. 2019:xxi; Jokinen 2019:69.) My hypothesis was that the use and cultural meanings of mires are becoming more diverse and as an environment, landscape, and place they are meaningful to various communities in new ways (e.g., sports, art, festivals). The mires are changing culturally and are used by individuals and communities to highlight new aspects in the context of eco-crisis. They represent not only nature or the long period of past culture, but also future values.

I focus on the expressions of mire landscapes: in what ways sites were understood, described, chosen, and used as a venue for art(ivism). From the interviews, I found three landscape categories which I used to guide the analysis. The categories are not separate but entwined: (1) controversial, (2) artistic, and (3) affective landscapes. These categories seemed to reflect both the intangible (e.g., knowledge, practices, values) and tangible (e.g., buildings, surface of the land, peat, plants) dimensions of mires, pinpointing diverse types of agencies.

Controversial landscape reflects power relations, guidance, multi-voiced communities on land use and exploitation of natural resources for economic growth. It considers the site in terms of the needs of leisure and well-being and on the other hand employment and money. Controversial landscapes are in potential transition, which generates emotions. Controversial elements of mires motivate individuals to join and play their part in safeguarding them.

Artistic landscape is visual, practical,

but dynamic. It includes the vision of the artwork in the mire and its boundaries from the start to the end of the artwork (where to meet the audience, how to choose spots for performance, how to use the landscape during the performance: to walk, to dig partly into the peat, to climb or roll over, etc.). It reveals artists' personal attachment to the mire and ways to connect to local community. The degree of activism varies. Artistic landscape is site-specific, pro-environmental action, in which the future agency of artists and its potential impacts are in focus. Participatory creative methods are used to diversify and promote action and to reinforce the public message.

Affective landscape highlights the presence and embodied knowing of artists and audience. The artwork may need to spend time in the mire, in the state of flow, where nature and the artist co-create the artwork *in situ*. The mire may be experienced as timeless or including all the time levels. This resonates with non-human agency, nature, and the mire itself, manifesting the positive human-mire relationship including bodily emotions, feelings of peace and joy as well as understanding of the ecosystem.

Cultural meanings are attached to relations between landscape categories and features connected to nature as well as contradictions, e.g., past-future, nature-culture, life-death. Intangible heritage is our memories of taste, smell, hearing, sight, and touch (Scounti 2009; Ehn & Löfgren 2001:157–158, 169). Affective expressions are found by close reading/listening to the narrator, what she has to say about the emotional relationship between landscapes and her experiences and understanding of her positioning in the environment in question (cf. Rinne & Olsson 2020:341–342).



1. Mire landscapes are used in many ways as a stage for artists and a stand for the audience. Photo: Jukka Timonen (2019, Moonlight in Tohlinsuo mire).

Mires as Controversial Landscapes – Future Agency

Mires are hybrid, formed of water and land, with surface peat layers. Covering one-third of the land area, mires are an essential part of Finnish nature. Their unique flora and fauna ensure a balance in biodiversity. When minerals exist below or next to a mire, mining waste may irreversibly harm the natural environment as it passes through it. This phenomenon is linked to broader future-oriented discussions about the values of nature. In Finland, the mires are considered to belong to all of us, even though they might in fact be owned by someone. The owner of the mire can be the state, a private sector, a family, an association, and even a church. The mires of Torronsuo

in Tammela, Southern Finland and Viiankiaapa in Sodankylä, Lapland could be regarded as controversial landscapes due to power relations between state interests, mining company activities, and residents' contradictory values. Both mires have their defenders, individuals who are partly organized in movements in social media (like the Guardians of Torronsuo mire).

The area of Viiankiaapa in Sodankylä is large (65.95 km²), most of the reserve was set up in 1988, because it was included in the national Mire Conservation Programme. The site belongs to the European Commission's nature programme Natura 2000, and the Anglo-American mining company subsidiary AA Sakatti Mining Oy is looking for metals.

In Viiankiaapa mire, the multi-metal mine is not yet in operation, but local people are familiar with the mining industry as there are several ongoing projects in the Municipality of Sodankylä. The planned multinational underground mine in Viiankiaapa will have processing facilities situated right outside the Natura conservation area's limits. According to the follow-up study *Experienced Impacts of Mining in Sodankylä*, 49.4% of the respondents reported unfavourable effects on the environment and nature e.g., dust and traffic safety. Changes in the landscape were among the most significant adverse effects according to surveys (Saariniemi 2018:10–13, 25). Mining plans have ignored the place-based bonds of Finns to the mire. The estimated time for the opening of the underground mine in Viiankiaapa is 2028, after which it will continue for the next 20 years (Lassila 2020:5–7, 9, 11).

In Torronsuo National Park, there is no news indicating a timeline for the Sunstone Metals mine. Torronsuo mire is the deepest mire in Finland. *The management plan of Torronsuo* (2009) states that mining is forbidden in natural parks, but with the permission of a state-owned forestry enterprise called Metsähallitus, geological research and mineral prospecting is allowed. Although the mine does not yet exist, the drills and marks on the land have already changed the visual environment and the image of untouched nature. Somewhat paradoxically, it has recently been selected as one of the top travel destinations in Finland. In 2019, there were 31,100 visitors (Metsähallitus website), which is about the same yearly number as in Viiankiaapa mire. In 2018, the broadcasting company YLE published a news item headlined

“Gold Mine next to National Park in town of Tammela?”, in which the Finnish member of the European Parliament, Sirpa Pietikäinen, was interviewed. She stressed the importance of the activity of civic society, stating that people should be strong from the beginning in defending “our land and our heritage” (Hannula 2016). By referring to heritage, the politician draws attention to a commonly shared knowledge of mires. Through history, the mires have played a key role in many Finns' lives, whether in the use of peat for energy, the chemical industry, health, or fashion with peat textiles (Vasander 1996). Mires have symbolized work and everyday survival. For that reason, mires reflect folk beliefs that are still circulated and used in art, music, literature, etc. (Laurén 2006:36–58).

At the time of writing, the revision of the Finnish mining law has been postponed and the public discussion in the media is lively. Landscapes are a part of the shared experience of Finnish “Everyman's Rights”, the right to walk freely in nature. Post-material environmentalism and its values are often associated with the rights of nature (Cao 2015:109–110).

Finland's Minerals Strategy (2010) included the Vision 2050 statement, where Finland is seen as a global leader in the sustainable utilization of mineral resources. The strategy has been criticized for its exclusive nature, since there is no concrete connection to corporate social responsibility, local stakeholders, or local communities (Mononen & Sairinen 2011:126). The *Social licence to operate* (SLO) – which could be defined as “a continual process focusing on building trust between companies and affected communities” (Koivurova et al. 2018:6) – is not guaranteed anywhere be-

cause the cultural meanings of mines are not shared (Mononen & Suopajarvi 2016:14; Lassila 2018; Björn & Mononen 2020).

As we saw above, mire landscapes facing mining interests are in many cases politicized. From an economic perspective, issues of safeguarding are directed to exploration and mining, as well as raw material supply. From cultural and ecological perspectives, the diversity of mires, landscapes, animals, and ways of life should be a priority, and consequently be protected. As a result, opinions vary concerning the benefit of mines near, on or under mires. The potential changes in landscape may be processed collaboratively in art before the changes occur. Art promotes discussion about the conflicted situation and provides a forum for people to show their emotions. As my interviewees mentioned, participatory mire artworks have not had any difficulties finding volunteers.

Future Agency Strengthens Environmental Citizenship

Controversial landscapes are suitable for artists to pose questions about the future of landscapes. However, there is variation in the scale and aspects associated with activism. The artists must sometimes grapple with the tensions, and many feel stress about being seen as too “one-sided” or the fear of “having an agenda” (Diverlus 2016:202). Art is on the other hand desperately needed, especially in difficult situations and times, for sustaining our well-being and challenging our beliefs and understanding of the world.

My concept of future agency refers to a willingness to act for a sustainable future and to softly awaken others. It consists of artists’ consciously pro-environmental art-

works with glocal messages. It may mobilize individuals who value natural sites, underlining the importance of the growing future consciousness of both artists and audience/volunteers. By involving individuals in their art projects, the artists broaden pro-environmental future agency and highlight responsibility and rights at the individual and local level. I regard the dimension of future agency from the perspective of action on-and-of the mire.

Studies show that many people are becoming less likely to have direct contact with natural environments in their everyday lives (e.g., Soga & Gaston 2016). At the same time, climate change, alongside uncertainty and eco-anxiety, has reached us (Pihkala 2020; see also Bushell 2015). The imbalance of nature has become a global issue, which increasingly directs thoughts to the human-nature relationship. In Noora Kauppila’s work, soft methods and dialogue with nature were highlighted. She toured nine mires and performed under the title “Dirge on the Mother’s grave – Lamenting as a tool of collective grief in the era of eco-anxiety”. Endangered mires were chosen as a site for Kauppila’s performances because of her own experiences of eco-anxiety. The title of the tour evokes connotations of Mother Nature and the climate crisis. Environmental information as a part of the public performance was provided in her tours, which in the first year included a local expert’s presentation before the performance. Collaboration with stakeholders like the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation is openly present in her work. As an artist, she did not want to underline her own pro-environmental role or agenda. However, she says: “*I want to save the aspect of hope*, the fact that

the tour is situated *in the threatened mires* tells by itself what it is, at least to part of the people... they receive my message of eco-anxiety" (14).

Kauppila's performances highlight an environmental worldview and the shared values of nature. *Environmental citizens* are educated through both the knowledge and the values that are relevant (Liobikienė & Simas Poškus 2019:13; cf. Fischer 2017). In her narrative, the future agency is present on the theme of the consequences of land use for the environment. The programme, which was available to the audience, included the lyrics of the laments and their Finnish translations. The background of one of them, *A lament for the lost land*, was explained in the text. Kauppila specified to me: "The lament is inspired by an environmental political lobbying and mining project. The lament grieves the transition of a blooming land and the power of life to a commercial use *which destroys the environment...*" (e-mail 23 September 2020.) Symbolic narrative also brings forth the actors of transition. She explained her creative work as follows. "I utilized the old bride laments, where the bride is bought and given away. I wanted to include these themes contiguously." A wedding lament is semantically linked to a story she has been told, where "the buyer of the mire" arrives at the town: The metaphor of giving a bride away reflects the idea of "selling" the mire. As part of the environmental and cultural sustainability, aspects of cultural heritage are utilized to perform and reflect the need for environmental citizenship (cf. Šulc et al. 2020:49).

In my material, the degree of activism varied in mire art projects. Whereas Kauppila was careful not to underline the environmental agenda herself, another

musician, the opera singer Martikainen, whose roots were in the town where she performed, positioned herself as a political artist in this project. Martikainen's project is a good example of art in which the relationship between individual and sustainability is present. As part of her activism, she is passionate about her community and implements innovative, socially relevant ways of working, although she is aware of tensions (Diverlus 2016). The aim of activism is to take a stand in the topical environmental struggle in her home place:

I have a chance to comment on things... Of course, in a way it is nice to remain unbiased, but if one really wants to speak out and *wants people to think about these issues*, then I think that the task of an artist is *to have a message*. Maybe yes, I am an artist who speaks out, and maybe I am a quite strongly political artist within this project of mine (11, 7 April 2020).

She reflects on her possibilities to have an influence on people. As mentioned earlier, environmental citizenship aims to develop the willingness and the competence for critical and active engagement and civic participation (ENEC 2018; cf. Mulligan 2018):

I thought that, well, I've done at least something, maybe this ... someone may listen to this and wonder what they are doing, ask what this is, ooh, this is a mire, what is this Viiankiaapa thing, and in this way bring forth knowledge about it (11).

Here her position is professional, an artist who educates others by provoking curiosity. She has already witnessed the change happening. According to Martikainen, the local atmosphere concerning the mire has recently changed, and people have questioned the drilling, having realized that it

does not guarantee the future of the locals, as the new workers in mines often come from abroad. She summarizes her thoughts by saying that “we, the people of Lapland should defend our own areas and think two generations ahead – animals and plants instead of the present-day survival mode of humans.” She identifies herself with her childhood town and instructs community members to feel pride in their territory (“we, the people of Lapland should defend our own...”). The expression “two generations ahead” reflects the sense of time and heritage values. Martikainen refers to the power and ownership over heritage and especially the place attachment of a local “heritage community” – a concept of the Faro Convention of the Council of Europe – and the politicized, post-colonial context of the North. Due to history and global transformative shifts that shape the world (megatrends), ecological reconstruction is a matter of urgency (Dufva 2020). There are rapid changes in the social, cultural, and economic settings in the Arctic, and art often addresses their effects (Jokela & Coutts 2018:99). During the interview, we did not use the concept of environmental citizen. However, her musical ritual reflects an agency of change.

Mires as Artistic Landscapes – Site-Specific Agency

In my research material, perceptions of mires are diverse. They are compelling, bringing forth confusion, loneliness, and delight. They stand for life and death and symbolize the values of a slow and complex life. Artists mention the use of mire, as well as myths. They find mires mysterious and unique, even a sacred setting, and therefore suitable for art.

The choice to perform in a mire reflects the dynamic and affective cultural practices of meaning making (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell 2018; Wetherell 2012), in which the human-mire relationship represents a living heritage. Being “in” the landscape involves a contextual surrounding (Tilley 2012:15) associated with the body and emotions. The landscape becomes interesting when it is experienced, understood, and engaged with through active involvement (Bender 2006:303; Gruppuso 2017). A heritage sensibility provides a sense of hope and engagement. These aspects bring physical and cultural, as well as mental and material elements to the use of site, in this case the mire landscape as a stage (Harvey & Wilkinson 2019:187; Vergunst et al. 2012:1). The art provides an instrument for knowledge, understanding, and action, as well as a medium for communication.

Site-specific Agency: Collaboration at the Local Level

Many artists performed in the local mire. In those cases, personal attachment to place and experiences of nature motivated the art project. For example, the opera singer Martikainen felt that the Viiankiaapa mire is worth fighting for. In childhood, the mire was part of her everyday life, and there was no reason to think of it until she moved away. Her musical ritual with the oboist Mattila was performed and recorded in the bird-tower in the mire. The YouTube recording presents the performance and the landscape. The large aapa mire is filmed from the air and at ground level.

Artists often collaborate with other individuals, e.g., in the form of participatory exhibitions. During the interview with the Torronsuo photographers, I mentioned a

local newspaper, *Forssan lehti*, which introduced the exhibition on 2 September 2019. A story included information about a local politician who had held a presentation in their exhibition. To learn more about their collaboration in the mire project I asked Immonen about it. She replied: “We had a representative of the Tammela Green Party at the opening event, which was organized at the local library. He told people about the current situation of ore permits in the environment” (I3). Subsequently, the exhibition has been held without a politician. Instead, the photographers themselves have read a written text consisting of public opinions about safeguarding the mire, published in the local newspapers.

Immonen argues that art can be used to protect the mires from mining. The collaboration and the venue for their opening events showed me that they wanted to reach out to people and send a message about nature. The artists made sure that the audience would receive the knowledge concerning the threatening situation of the mire. When I asked about the methods for finding volunteers for the photo shoots, Immonen cautiously told me that there was a resistance movement, a group on Facebook (the Guardians of Torronsuo), consisting of local Green Party politicians and other individuals who love the mire. Movements of this kind offer a venue for advancing the participatory deliberative practices of environmental democracy (Fischer 2017:14; cf. Albrecht 2018). Participatory artworks may create a dynamic collaboration between various stakeholders: the artists, the audience or volunteers, and their environment (Bishop 2006; Jónsdóttir & Antoniou 2018:209).

When I heard about the Facebook group, I made an

announcement that we have a project which aims at a photo exhibition. I said that the idea behind the project is to take photos of those who find the Torronsuo mire important. I noted that the exhibition pays attention to the fact that preserving the mire is not self-evident. We need to take care of it, protect it. ... It turned out that there were more volunteers than I managed to photograph. ... they [the participants] invested a great deal. I appreciate it a lot. They gave their own faces and voices to it (I3).

In this context, volunteers’ and artists’ fears for the future are presented, but from a perspective of hope which is dependent on individuals’ agency. The future is present in the interview. Words such as “preserving”, “safeguarding”, “protecting” and in this context “fear” and “threat” all indicate the time and aspects of transformation. Furthermore, the future is attached to the landscape, as in the following example. Marks symbolize the transition: “There are *marks on the ground*, small flags on the eastern side, indicating reservations” (I2).

It is extremely important that we preserve and safeguard environments where people today can experience human-nature interfaces of this kind with phenomena of beauty (I3).

Anne’s narrative is linked to the previously mentioned concept of environmental citizenship, underlying agency as a path to achieving sustainability (Dobson & Bell (eds.) 2006). The expressions “we” and “today” above highlight the responsibility of individuals who are willing to act together. (Fischer 2017:14). However, “we” might also refer to humans, a generation, or a nation with an obligation to safeguard environments. In addition, “today” may indicate the fear of losing the human-nature interface in the future if there are fewer mine-free mires to enjoy.

Preservation is directed towards future generations. The sense of place of the people may change, resulting in transformed landscapes. Mining thus has an impact not only on the whole ecological system, but for local communities and their culture as well. Mire art may also perform a dissonant heritage of place, with recognizable symbols and values.

Let's get back to the story of the opera singer Martikainen in northern Finland. She reminisced about how the first property-owners suddenly received letters from the US mining enterprise and remembers that it provoked positive feelings and discussions among the local community. For many people, the mining industry meant primarily a better future, because unemployment in the region was high. Her close relatives pointed out that they did not want to discuss the issue with her: "Why should one argue, it's only one mire. There is a lot of space..." She understood relatives who were neutral but heartbroken and asked herself whether she was the only one who cared about the mire. In 2015–2016, when the size and scale of the mining plans were fully understood, she became worried. Gradually, she got angry about the mining activities and contacted a local activist to join the battle against the plans. She announced that as an artist she was willing to do anything to make a difference. Together they wanted people to pay attention to a process which was just about to start. At the same time, the issue was handled in the media, but as she said, this mostly influenced "southern people."

The musical ritual was part of the several art events that the Viiankiaapa movement organized. Without a precise plan, Martikainen and the oboist Mattila went to the mire. It was a cold summer day with snow, freezing air, and a sub-zero temperature as they

climbed the tower built for birdwatchers, with an oboe and a drum. The event included an expert-guided birdwatching tour led by a Senior Ministerial Adviser, before the musical part began. Before the audience arrived, the musicians spent a few hours there, listening to the soundscape of nature. Martikainen says that a common snipe was singing and helping them to create the ritual. The audience of some 20 people were in the mire near 'the stage'. First, Martikainen played the drum and then sang Händel's "Ombra mi fu". The audience could hear, but not see the artists or the person documenting the ritual. Martikainen described her experiences in the mire as extraordinary, and by invoking space, the moon, desert, and church in her comparisons she tries to capture the experience on the landscape level and in emotional terms. This example stresses a human being as a recipient and the mire as an actor that gives its magical, tangible, and intangible gift to her:

it gives me a certain... it is difficult to say, if a person is religious, it's something like going to church... something magical, something that calms me... sometimes it feels like it's space or the moon, white desert, the mire manifests itself in so many ways... (I1).

The physical elements of the mire are essential in visualizing the attachment to place. The photographers Vaarula and Immonen have presented 25 photographs taken at Torronsuo mire in their exhibition, focusing on local people in the mire and their place attachment. Vaarula concentrated on photographing the environment at a micro level. Her goal was to show the beauty of the mire, and she tried to capture the light and colours in the landscape.

In addition to viewing the photos, the audience could read attached descrip-

tions of personal relationships to the mire. Immonen's ambition was to capture the love people have for mires. She met her models for the first time. Some of the people photographed were active in local politics. Talking before the photo shooting was essential because it made people feel their connection to the mire. Many volunteers pointed out their most important spots in the mire, where the photos were taken.⁴

The singer Kauppila explains that in protected mires one can confront the feelings during the performance, unlike in sites where posts indicate the mining claims. She wanted to invite people to experience the environment with music. She wished to convey to her audience feelings of peace and safety. According to her, mires do not belong to anyone and on the other

hand, they belong to all of us. However, sorrow has been the key influence in her lament lyrics, which she has written in the Karelian language. Performing laments creates a strong and unique connection to songs and lamenting as an intangible cultural heritage. Kauppila describes how the mycelium of the mire compares with the poetic structure of the laments: "Laments and mires remind each other aesthetically and musically. In laments, there is much variation, micro intervals, fabric, the poetry is winding, and has no fixed form unlike commercial forests" (14).

Kauppila respects the experience of the audience, as each of us experiences the mire individually in the concert. She has used the wide and open landscape in her performances. In *The Wolf Spell*, she walked far away



2. Laments in the mire. Noora Kauppila has been inspired by the structure or surface of flora, moss, peat, and mud. Photo: Kirsi Haapamatti 2019 in Seinäjoki, Karvasuo mire.

from the audience and symbolically disappeared, showing how small a part of nature a human being is. Finally, she returned with bells ringing, and the audience gradually heard and saw her coming closer. Kauppila concludes her thinking on the impact of art by observing that: “If my performance has an impact on someone’s (thinking) process, at the individual level, it is better than nothing.” As part of the tours, she has also organized lamenting workshops, and in collaboration with local people she has given space to personal and communal attachment to place (Smith 2018:6).

Mires as Affective Landscapes – Non-Human Agency

Mire landscapes are embodied whilst artists deploy new ways to experience them by breaking the traditional modes of performances. It is essential to understand that different spaces become linked to emotions and the same spaces can trigger vastly divergent emotions in different people (Pernau 2014). As a part of the cultural values, the personal attachment to mires is rooted in the recognizable intangible cultural heritage of communities and individuals, for example, through representations, expressions, cultural spaces, as well as knowledge and practices concerning nature (cf. Schofield & Szymanski 2010). Sounds, lights, and smells in the mire provide unique nature experiences (e.g. rain, wind, thunder, fog, rainbow) during the performance. Sensory experiences include touching textures or feeling the warmth of the sun during the performance (cf. Waterton 2019:95). These elements may influence the artists, changing the experiences of mires and art. While lamenting, Kauppila does not want to put emphasis

only on herself. Rather, she wants to represent the mire. She highlights that she, the audience, and the mire are all together.

Non-human Agency: The Perspectives of the Mire

Instead of simply being a form of subjects and objects, the co-production in which “agencies are redistributed” (Latour 2018:76) is relevant today. Mire art events create an affective atmosphere involving both human and non-human agencies (Anderson 2009:78; Hamilton & Taylor 2017; Kaarlenkaski & Steel 2020; Smart & Smart 2017). Artists emphasize the agency of nature as equal, or prior to humans. The agency of the mire refers to artists’ intentional ways to turn the gaze from humans to the mire itself, to non-humans, to whom they listen. Artists speak on behalf of the mire, imagine how the mire confronts humans. They create a dialogue with the mire and its history, expounding its power and heritage. Living mire heritage includes various emotional, multisensorial, aesthetic experiences of landscapes. Mires connect time levels and heritage categories (Foster 2018; Ekblom et al. 2019).

Martikainen argues that the mire belongs to itself: all the plants and animals that live and have lived there before humans. The mire also provides groundwater, which is why people should not intervene in the mire at all. She knows that the quality of groundwater has already become worse there because of the research drillings: “Climate consciousness has been multiplied enormously in recent years---and must grow” (II). For her, the experience in the mire during the performance was magical: it was a spiritual ritual in a sacred space. She felt as if she became one with the moment in nature, channelling the atmosphere of the

mire. According to her, the mire was in control and decided what to give them. Her narrative reveals an agency that is a subsidiary of nature and of the mire itself.

The photographer Immonen mentions that in the mire she feels the link of generations. Because these mires are incredibly old, and do not belong to anyone, she feels that the ancient history of humankind with similar experiences is present. Furthermore, she thinks that both mountains and mires can offer similar experiences of open space and of being small, setting human beings in relation to the world and nature, and as part of the whole. For Vaarula, nature is a sacred place where one can be in peace and recover and “to get into the ethos of nature”. However, she recognizes the transition in soundscape from silence to noise caused by growing amounts of visitors. “The mire should be respected.” She clearly stresses the agency of nature.

As described above, the mire as an affective landscape includes embodied engagement with heritage, which has affective and emotional consequences (cf. Waterton & Watson 2015:98), which in this case leads to a dialogic relationship with nature. Emotions are stressed when talking about the marked landscape and the potential use of land. We can see below how all the three landscape categories intertwine: controversial landscape is considered, for example, by “the current situation”, “permits”, “the Mining Law” and “preserving the mire”. Artistic landscape has its background in this situation. Affective elements include the mutual relationship to non-human landscape that lives longer than humans.

Of course, *the current situation* had an impact on the art project plans. There is all the time a *fear*

of a planned mining project, there are so many more exploration *permits* in the environment of Torronsuo, and *the threat--what happens to the mire*, combined with *the Mining Law of Finland* which makes reservations possible – our *concern for preserving the mire* was a central idea; what is *our share*, how could we *give something back to the mire and its future after us?* (13).

Above the artist reflects on her ecological worldview, which has been operationalized, for example, as environmental concern (Liobikienė & Simas Poškus 2019). In her narrative, legislation, the actions of the mining company in the landscape, and the future of the mire are interconnected. This refers to a cognitive paradigm of viewing the world as a set of parts and processes, systems thinking with the New Ecological Paradigm where humans are part of the natural world “with strong responsibilities to protect it for both humans and nonhuman species” (Ballew et al. 2019; Dunlap et al. 2000:425–442).

The fear of losing the mire forms a sub-theme of the narrative that may continue in the future. Her story reflects that the consequence of mine would take a heavy toll at the local level. Changes that occur in nature also occur in the community. Here, the focus is on the threat that the mire – which has given so much – will not be the same if the mining starts. The narrator pleads for a sense of responsibility among humans, “what is our share”. Even the future is not seen from the humans’ side, but the question concerns the future of the mire.

On her website, the Sodankylä-based visual artist Kaija Kiuru presents her artwork titled *Demonstration* (2014), in which people in the photos hold placards on Viiankiaapa mire (Kiuru 2017, 75–79). The texts on seven placards talk about the

person's relationship to Viiankiaapa mire. In this participatory artwork, locals were in active role as they co-created it. The participants could choose their favourite photo shooting spots on the aapa mire. But what catches my eye most are the words on the placards. Unlike normal demonstration placards, they do not demand anything or target messages e.g., to mining companies or leaders. Instead, many of the texts include the features of Viiankiaapa, like smells and colours. According to my interpretation, one of the texts presents the mire's active agency as crucial to animals' life, and reflects that the act of humans is harmful:

The mire works all day and all night the whole year round. In winter it feeds the grouse and capercaillie, in summertime thousands of other birds and reindeer. It swallows down everything that is too much: carbon dioxide, unfinished work, and other aggravating things. From among cranes, swans and geese, new man creeps onto hard land (Kiuru website).

Like Kiuru, the mire artists were motivated to defend the mire as discussed above. Artists formed a loudspeaker for broadcasting environmental issues. Artists generate aspects of natural and cultural heritage on mires by creating artworks and performances for an audience. This might produce the seeds of eco-cultural civilization, "practising a new understanding of the human place in the world and recognizing that humans are an inseparable part of the more-than-human world" (Dessein et al. 2015:31).

Conclusions

The mires form a cultural resource for people as well as an environment for flora and fauna. I understand that the growing interest in mire art reflects the contemporary embrace of

mires as an essential factor for the well-being of nature and the ecosystem as well as new ways to use mires. The new ways to spend time together at mires, such as concerts, are a part of a new mire trend in Finland.⁵

There is a growing number of artists in Finland inspired by the Finnish mires, but currently only a few have focused on the threat of mining to mire landscapes and have started discussion of its impact on communities. Interviews with an opera singer, two photographers, and a lament artist show that contemporary mire art is collaborative in nature: there has been co-operation with environmentalists, environmental organizations, local communities (individuals, volunteers), and politicians who wish to strengthen the awareness of mires as carbon sinks. This way the network of pro-environment individuals may become stronger and contextual anti-mining voices may be heard and understood.

The threat of mining has had a strong impact on many artists, who have created inclusive interaction with mire users. Through art, the cultural meanings of place attachment are presented and valued. Furthermore, the potential futures of mire landscapes may be imagined. In their environmental performances, artists have a chance to promote the importance of sustainable development – especially in eco-sensitive anti-mining landscapes.

Artists provide space for a new kind of experiences to gather in nature, inviting people to open their minds to show their relationship to mires and emotions concerning the current eco-crisis. What is the immediate impact of protecting mires with the help of the art projects is not obvious, but the increasing visibility of artists defending the mire interests the media and I believe,

that it will gain more attention in society.

By performing in the mire, the artists emphasize the importance of (the revitalization of) human-mire relationships and underline that mires are cultural sites. Artists' agency is strong as they share knowledge and produce images of living mires: landscapes are valued and defended by locals. It is therefore noticeable that many art projects bring forth expressions of the sense of place felt by locals, even if the mining companies ignore it.

I have used three landscape categories as a tool in my cultural analysis. Controversial landscape was a starting point for mire art (*future agency*), artistic landscape referred to place, where and how the mire art was implemented, often through participatory methods (*site-specific agency*). The site-specific agency often stems from the emerging threat of mining in a locality. Artists' life experiences near the mires in question, along with a strong prior relationship with nature has been in the background in all the studied cases. Finally, affective landscape meant embodied engagement in mire with the notion of post-humanism (*the agency of mire*). The artists used the mire landscape and space, vertical and horizontal levels in many ways, which emphasized non-human aspects, the existing ecosystem, nature and animals.

Art in the mire may strengthen the human-nature relationship. Artivism highlights the importance of the mire and its nature, reflects the value of environmental citizens, and question the priority of economic values over cultural values. I have discussed the question of agency, the duty and role of an artist in safeguarding nature with the interviewees. They noticed the possibilities of artists but did not require every mire artist to be a mire activist. Artivism

was quite delicate in nature, it showed the beauty and importance of the mire for individuals and the ecosystem itself, rather than accusing the mining companies.

The temporal context (the urgent global crisis) may have a strong impact on the audience's interpretation of the art works with a mire theme. When experiencing environmental art, nature is experienced in a new way, which may work as a wake-up call for pro-environmental action and a new identity of environmental citizenship.

Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti

Senior Researcher

Finland Futures Research Centre

Turku School of Economics

FI-20014 University of Turku

email: pauliina.latvala-harvilahti@utu.fi

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the interviewed artists as well as anonymous referees and the editors of the journal for valuable comments. Furthermore, I am grateful to my colleagues of the Mire Trend research project at the University of Eastern Finland. Furthermore, many thanks to Jukka Timonen in the Finnish Literature Society's archive in Joensuu and Kirsi Haapamatti for photos given to the research project. The project is funded by the Kone Foundation. The language revision of my preliminary manuscript was done by The Written Word.

Notes

- 1 Half of the mires in Finland are drained for forestry. Furthermore, the hydrology of undrained mires has often been disturbed by surrounding drainage (Sallinen et al. 2019). Depending on the type, the terms aapa mire (broad wetland with an open area at its centre), peatland, bog, and wetland, are also used. Here, following the International Peatland Society's classification, I prefer to use "mire" as a general term (<https://peatlands.org>).

- 2 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: *Our Common Future* (1987) <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/5987our-common-future.pdf>.
- 3 The beginnings of Ecological Art (Land Art and Earth Art) are rooted in the 1960s and 1970s “happenings” and performances in natural environments (e.g. Huhmarniemi & Jokela 2019; Kagan 2020). Today, the aesthetic dimensions of planetary art include air, light and water (Page 2020), and artworks seeking to shake human cultural frames (Clark 2015:187–188).
- 4 Important places included the tussock cotton grass suitable for meditation, and a pine on the edge of the mire where one could rest and have a snack. While the whole mire was considered important, she suggested spots like “the ocean of wild rosemary”.
- 5 <https://uefconnect.uef.fi/en/group/mire-trend-research-project/>.

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Interviews

- I1 = Cellphone interview with Amanda Martikainen, 7 April 2020.
- I2 = Cellphone interview with Satu Vaarula, 14 May 2020.
- I3 = Cellphone interview with Anne Immonen, 8 June 2020.
- I4 = Interview with Noora Kauppila, 25 Feb 2020 in Helsinki.

The interviewees have been read the draft of the text regarding their own interview in October 2020. The recordings will be saved in the Finnish Literature Society Archives in Joensuu. e-mail: Noora Kauppila 23 Sept 2020.

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Memeing Music

Canon, Play and Competence in Digital Folklore about Classical Music

By Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius

Joseph Karl Stieler's portrait of Ludwig van Beethoven from 1819. A pair of glasses added, perhaps to give a little hipster character to the image. Seemingly a zoom in on the note image shows a bass clef, two sharp key signatures, and a time signature. Above the image a text that says "Used hashtags" and underneath, "before it was cool". The point, of course, is that the shape of hashtags, which are used to spread content online, strongly resembles that of sharp key signatures (which signify that tones in that register should be played half a pitch higher), and that Beethoven – illustrated with this hipster look (such as the added glasses) – was ahead of his time. The image is shared on Instagram by Music for Canberra, a public music school and organizer who, with the aid of this image, wants to spread information about events. Among

the more enjoyable comments (in a further sharing of the image) is the user who points out that their student actually called sharp key signatures hashtags. Stieler's portrait of Beethoven, in itself a well-known and frequently used image, is used in other memes, such as the one where Beethoven is given a hand that makes the corna gesture with the text "Classical music is just metal music before electricity".¹ And the theme with sharp key signatures as hashtags is of course also used with other images of other composers – some examples are Bach and Mozart.

This meme with Beethoven is a case in point of how "classical music" – in the form of memes – spreads and mutates, is commented on and shared, in a contemporary online everyday life that can be described as extremely intertextual. Through sometimes small changes in images, texts and combinations thereof, there is a continuous elaboration that playfully incorporates classical music into constantly new interpretive frames. The purpose of this article is to show and discuss how something perceived by many as "high culture", classical music,² can become material for creative and playful interactions in participatory arenas in social media. These interactions involve complex actions, which at the same time can make fun of venerated iconic composers and confirm their place in the canon, provide a possibility for display of digital performative skills, and demonstrate technical and historical knowledge in the field of music. More specifically, I will focus on memes that in different ways contain references to classical music. These memes can both help us understand classical music as a social and cultural phenomenon in our time and



1. Beethoven used hashtags before it was cool.

reveal something about how memes as a contemporary ubiquitous feature of digital folklore work culturally. It is also at the intersection between folkloristics, popular culture studies and ethnomusicology that this investigation is located.

I will set out with a short introduction to the concept of memes and folkloristic perspectives on memes and digital folklore, also introducing the notion of “memeness” – which is to say that the material shared and interacted around as memes shows different degrees of memeness (some clearly elaborating on established memes, others rather viral material distributed in meme groups and accounts and commented on similarly). After this, the article focuses on three central dimensions in classical music memes: the momentary carnivalesque play with canon and its displays of historical competence, occasions when memetic material more or less clearly questions hierarchies within the world of classical music, and finally, ways in which memes demonstrate technical competence and everyday experiences of classical music. In this process, I will show how music as a language and field of knowledge establishes an affective alliance, how the history of classical music is transformed, inverted and supplemented, and how the creation, sharing and commenting of memes in themselves constitute opportunities to demonstrate digital performative, technical and historical competences. To conclude, I will argue that the performance of classical music memes constitutes a complex interplay of confirming and dethroning canon, combinations of current popular cultural references and historical musical knowledge, of technical competence and everyday experience.

Classical Music Memes: An Introduction and Complication

The modern use of the term “meme” goes back to the biologist Richard Dawkins (1976) way of understanding culture from a biological perspective. In a way analogous to how he saw genes as passed down and gradually selected over time, Dawkins suggested that also cultural, meaning-carrying content, in the form of memes – a kind of smallest meaning-carrying building blocks – is passed down and selected. However, it is not in that specific sense that the term “meme” thrives in the everyday language of our time, but as a description of shorter content (e.g. film snippets, combinations of image and text or images) that are created, disseminated, transformed, incorporated into interaction and commented on in various online environments, often some form of social media. In her book *Memes in Digital Culture*, the Israeli communication researcher Limor Shifman lists a number of characteristic features of memes, including that they are (1) pieces of cultural information that are disseminated from person to person and gradually scaled up, (2) propagated by repackaging or imitation, and (3) spread through competition or selection (Shifman 2013:18–23). As some readers will already have noticed, and which I will return to shortly, there are some similarities between this list of features and how folklore is commonly described. Shifman’s book also discusses a number of popular meme genres, some of which will appear here too (Shifman 2013:99ff). The meme discussed in the opening of this article is an *image macro* – essentially referring to an image with one text in the upper part of the image, and another (sometimes in the form of comment or comic turn) at the

bottom of the image. Common among image macros are so-called *stock character macros*, where, for example, well-known people, pictures from movies (such as Gandalf from *The Lord of the Rings* or Robin and Batman) or viral characters (such as “Scumbag Steve” or “Success Kid”) are given a striking and often funny caption, and here too you might say that Beethoven functions as a stock character. *Lolcats* is based on the same principle, but instead contains cats, and *rage comics* are short cartoons, often with deliberately simple drawings of expressive characters with recurring roles. Shifman also makes an important distinction between the concepts of “meme” and “viral” that deserves to be repeated here: “Viral” content spreads quickly from person to person and is also shared on new platforms with a potentially wide reach, often with added comments, while “meme” refers to content that in this process also changes. Viral content refers to individual units, while a meme always is “a collection of texts”: an individual video, in this sense, cannot be a meme, but it is precisely when “derivatives” (which could be variants, alterations, paraphrases, etc.) occur that we can talk of a meme (Shifman 2013:56). What will be apparent in the forthcoming, however, is that this distinction might seem easy in some cases but much more difficult in others. In relation to Shifman’s discussion, I suggest that the images in this article might fruitfully be seen as showing degrees of “memeness” – while some are clearly “derivatives”, using well-established meme formats, others are rather viral images, but shared in meme groups and integrated in interaction in a highly similar way.

Shifman’s phrasing “a collection of

texts” points to one of the reasons why I (along with many others) have chosen to regard memes as folklore: Just like folk tales, urban legends and other oral traditions, memes are equally built on dissemination, creativity and integration in interaction, with the same kind of demand to fit genre to context and the same intertextual richness that characterizes oral genres (McNeill 2017; Palmenfelt 2007b; cf. Briggs 1988). Memes are in that sense yet another way that folklore has adapted to new communication technologies. Some of the memes I will discuss here show similarities to what Russel Frank terms “newslore”. As Frank points out, there are in turn obvious similarities between the e-mail jokes he followed in the early 2000s and the “folklore by facsimile”, spread via xerox copies and faxes, which Alan Dundes and Carl Pagter studied in the 1970s (Dundes & Pagter 1975 after Frank 2009:8).

I have previously studied sharing and interaction in different online environments (cf. e.g. Hyltén-Cavallius 2009, 2010, 2011) and different ways of shaping and relating to the past, specifically in relation to music (such as Hyltén-Cavallius 2005, 2013, 2014), and it is from these two angles that I approach these memes. In the ongoing project on which this article is based, I am interested in how classical music is portrayed, interpreted and negotiated in social media. Initially, I looked for memes that in different ways deal with classical music on three different sites (Instagram, Pinterest and Reddit, later also extended to Facebook and Tumblr). I chose to focus on memes for two reasons. Memes constitute a fairly clearly delimited segment of online interaction, at the same time as by definition being multiplied and tending to

spread far and wide, thereby supplying a good ground for understanding key themes in this area of interest. Memes are continuously creatively transformed and offer a way to understand online communication as vernacular expressive behaviour. I began by searching for “classical music”, “classical music humor” and “classical music memes”, and in the assembled material I saved at least two examples from each kind of meme (since the initial material was massive), along with any comments. The categories at this point consisted of memes whose content could be grouped around a set of common thematic aspects – such as musical notation, composers or practising. In this article I will look at how the collected material demonstrates topics and important competences in the often collective performance of classical music memes. Each meme was saved both as a picture, and as screenshots of all associated comments. Throughout the work, an important project also became to create an overview of other variants on the same meme but which were not about classical music. This was in order to establish a memetic context to the particular variants of memes that I investigate. In addition, I have continuously had much use of knowyourmeme.com, a site where community members, researchers and editorial staff since 2008 investigate and disseminate information about memes and viral online material.

Classical music, or art music, has for the last couple of hundred years had a superior position in Western conceptions of what high culture means in terms of music, connected to hegemonic notions about education and cultivation (Dahlhaus 1989). That the art worlds of classical music also would be social worlds, and, in an anthropological

sense, cultural worlds, was however quite a recent revelation in some ethnomusical analyses of art music contexts (see e.g. Bohlman 1991; Nettl 1995; Nooshin 2014). Central to my argument here will also be that classical music memes express and negotiate both key competences and experiences of musicians and music-lovers alike, and in different ways both negotiate and confirm an established and well-known canon of predominantly male composers (cf. Citron 1993).

The field of digital folklore/folkloristics has long been interested in memes and other forms of expressive online interaction. Even in the early years of the Internet, it was clear that the passing on and creative reshaping of recognizable and often formulaic content was very similar to, and perhaps should rather be seen as a digital development of, oral tradition (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1996). Since many folklorists, in line with Dan Ben-Amos’ definition of folklore as “artistic interaction in small groups” (Ben-Amos 1971), saw “live” face-to-face interaction as their primary study object, however, much of online interaction – often anonymous, asynchronous and potentially large-scale – constituted an anomaly of sorts. Even a central folkloristic concept such as *performance*, became problematic – who were the audience (those who “like” a post, anyone who sees the post without interacting, or those who comment or pass it on), what constituted competence, and so on. Anthony Bak Buccitelli suggests that instead of viewing the Internet as a digital *mediation* of folklore, it should be seen as a *site* for digital performance, a perspective that also makes it possible to see the differences and similarities that exist vis-à-vis performances offline not as aberrations but

as analytically interesting aspects in themselves (Buccitelli 2012). Of these, he emphasizes particularly temporal extension (the possibility of prolonged interaction), permanence, audience mixing (and thus also the lack of control over audience constitution) and serialization (i.e. that written communication is arranged in series, even if posts or comments are actually made simultaneously or overlapping). In my discussion I will particularly look at some of the competences demonstrated in these digital performances.

If, on the one hand, there is some research into memes in folkloristics, the humanities and social sciences, then the narrower field for this study seems to have gone largely unnoticed. The empirically nearest study appears to be a semiotic project conducted by the communications researcher Violeta Alarcón Zayas on memes about philosophers in the journal *Revista de Comunicación* (Zayas 2017). In the study, she focuses on different humorous approaches to understand how humour creates and strengthens social bonds within a community of meaning. Several of the image macros that appear in my material are similar to ones in Zayas' material, with the same kind of joking about names (Kant is used as "can't" in the same way as "back" is replaced by Bach or "list" is replaced by Liszt), but while her study is limited to memes about famous philosophers, quotes/paraphrases and allusions, this study takes a broader approach to "classical music" as a memetic phenomenon.³ One point to take with us from the similarities between memes about philosophers and historical composers is that this way of playing with history and matters that are usually part of notions of cultivation and education in a

broader perspective is about how we relate to the "classical" – whether it is music, philosophy, art or literature.

History: Canon, Play and Knowledge

"Guys with hair like this have 125% chance of stabbing your girl", it says in image 2. The picture is a painting representing Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa, an Italian composer who, in addition to his madrigals, is almost as well known for the murder of his wife and her lover. In other words, the text requires knowledge of the composer's personal history in order to be intelligible. If the viewer knows the history of Gesualdo and when he was alive (1566–1613), they can conclude, without ever having seen a picture of Gesualdo previously, that it is Gesualdo in the picture based on the caption, the context and the image itself (not least the ruff, which hints at a sixteenth or seventeenth-century setting). An addi-

Guys with hair like this have 125% chance of stabbing your girl



2. Carlo Gesualdo in the "Guys with hair like this" meme.

tional context, which makes this image fun (or more fun) for users is that in addition to the historical context, it also has a memetic context. The picture is a further development of a meme that appeared in 2014, “Guys with hair like this (have a 125% chance of stealing your girl)”, which in a joking and often ironic way portrays certain hairstyles as attractive.⁴ The meme “Guys with hair like this” had no connection to historical persons from the beginning, but could portray all sorts of hairstyles in the present. Eventually however, any real or fictional character can be placed in the meme template (such as North Korean leader Kim Yong-Un), and the initial focus on hair gradually develops into other things that appear on people’s heads, such as historical spiked helmets (and then with the caption beginning “Guys with helmets like these...”). When Gesualdo is placed in this meme, he is on the one hand transposed into the present, and the focus is transposed from his music to his crime – and not least to his hair. An important part of the comic point lies in the fact that this canonized and (through the double murder) mystical, even scary, composer suddenly appears as a person with an (ill-boding?) hairstyle. Like many other images of canonized composers, these memes are partly about dethroning the object – taking down the icon from the pedestal, pointing to some detail and in different ways playing and making fun of the composer’s status. Therefore, it is also relevant to see how this kind of picture, shared in the subreddit “classical music” on the site Reddit is commented on among its participants. Of the eleven comments present when I saved the picture (15 March 2019) one explains who the person in the picture is and two

recommend pieces to begin listening to (“the madrigals” and “Tenebrae responso-ria”, both with added Youtube and Spotify links) and one suggests an upcoming concert. Three users comment on the morbid humour and one adds further piquant details about Gesualdo’s life. One also comments, using contemporary Internet slang, on the post itself (“I was not expecting to see Gesualdo memes today, ooh boi”).⁵ In sum, the comments in a sense re-establish *the composer* Gesualdo again, and the comment on the distastefulness in making jokes about murder also restores the moral values that the meme destabilizes.

Sassy_mozart’s post on Instagram quotes a letter from W.A. Mozart to his father Leopold. “That kind of sight reading and shitting are all one to me”, he says of Abbé (Georg Joseph) Vogler’s performance of one of his concerts.⁶ The Instagram account sassy_mozart has posted a number of Mozart quotes, especially ones in which the cherished composer blurts out profanities about audiences, other composers or musicians, hence “sassy” in the account’s name. The quotes, accompanied by images, show a popular image of Mozart as a saucy scoundrel with a weakness for dirty words. Comments on these posts are short yet appreciative, and also connect to Mozart’s rough language through the use of slang. As a first comment, sassy_mozart himself has on a few occasions written “for nerds”, followed by a brief description of the source (e.g. letter to the sister, or as here, to his father). In this way, the Mozart quotes also reveal something about the expected audience: in general, users who appreciate classical music and humour perhaps, but also the more meticulous “nerds” who want to know the exact origin of different quotes.

At first, therefore, several humorous memes about composers appear as a kind of carnivalesque overturning of cultural orders (cf. Bachtin 1992), but considering their incorporation into interaction between the participants, they seem to function rather as brief parentheses, which are quickly replaced by an affirmation of established canon. An important function then, seems to be, ultimately, to confirm canon and a recognized historiography in which some composers are known and recognized. They thus represent a joking display of conventional cultural orders, as if to say “I know that you know that I know”, thereby confirming and reinforcing the belonging to the group in question (cf. Hannerz 1992; Cohen 1985). In my analysis of the interaction around a video clip on Youtube, it turned out that the more reasoning comments, for example, would reflect on musicians’ conflicts and intentions using given names, and thus could be read as ways to make these elevated popular cultural icons more human, perhaps even intimate (Hyltén-Cavallius 2009). One way to interpret this joking with canonized composers is that they take them down just for a moment, only to move them back up again. This is evident in the interaction around a post in the subreddit *r/classicalmusic* entitled “Just speaking the truth” and a picture of Lisa Simpson (from the cartoon television series *Simpsons*) standing on a stage with a screen behind her.⁷ On the screen it says “liszt is just show-offy chopin.” The image seems intended to provoke discussion and has the desired effect. One of the commentators begins to fantasize that someone should make a meme about “the virgin” Chopin versus “the chad” Liszt,⁸ which leads to, among other things, a com-

ment that addresses the advantages and shortcomings of the two composers. These include anything from physical appearance or Chopin’s tuberculosis to composition techniques and historical significance. This is followed by a few short posts, like a small conversation:

Comment 1: omf its not chopins fault he got TB⁹

Comment on comment 1: He wouldn’t have gotten it if he was a CHAD

Comment on previous comment: Liszt was such a CHAD

For a moment, through the use of linguistic elements, historical composers are transferred into a contemporary way of talking about successful men and sexuality. The use of Internet jargon, with expressions such as “boi” and “lol” similarly works (cf. the comments to the Gesualdo meme above) as a way to temporarily make long since dead and consecrated composers alive and human.

A prominent aspect in the Lisa Simpson meme is that she is delivering a presentation, or lecturing. Because if momentary humorous inversions of and plays with cultural hierarchies are one salient feature in classical music memes, another is the didactic element. Sometimes this takes the form of tips on the best places to start a musical exploration for newcomers to a composer, for example in the comments on the Gesualdo meme above, other times they appear in the delivery of specific historical data, as in the Mozart quotes. Sometimes this didactic element is the basis of the shared content, as in the memes that jokingly describe the difference in the structure between different composers’ operas (see, for example, <https://www.pinterest.se/>

pin/369647081914127990/, last accessed 3 October 2019). It is tempting to interpret this as an expression of the educational ideals that have emerged around classical music – that an important way to “sense” classical music fully is to possess historical and comparative knowledge of the music (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2014:18–19). But this is probably only a partial explanation: the same educational and enlightening approach seems to exist around almost all kinds of special interests online, whether it is literature, art, pop music or modern history, and perhaps especially in social media much shared and commented material can assume a didactic character.

Memeing out of Canon

As we have already seen, a lot of the memetic conversation on classical music deals with history, which is not surprising since the very concept of “classical” tends to relate to the past in different ways.¹⁰ The canon of classical music is present in many of the memes, for example in the form of a photo of a young musician who dresses up as a Wagnerian valkyrie to visually stage an ambivalent relationship to the composer, or a wickedly smiling Mozart sneaked into a meme alluding to the Netflix series *13 Reasons Why*. Even this humorous and ironic banter with canon seem to confirm its premises: the composers’ very place in these memes, whether they are made fun of or not, acknowledges their indisputable status. However, there are also memes that more explicitly challenge or problematize these popular cultural ways of writing history.

The site *composersdoingnormalshit.com*, whose posts are shared and commented on in places such as Tumblr, Facebook and Instagram, shares photographs – with astute

and often humorous captions – depicting composers in everyday or non-professional situations: mingling with a champagne glass in hand, in a sports car, with the grandchild in the bathtub or playing cards with friends. The images can have different origins, from arranged photo sessions to private albums, and just as with the Mozart image discussed above they have a low degree of memeness in that they don’t elaborate on existing memes. But in their integration in interaction they function similarly. It is interesting to look at how children are portrayed in these pictures. They are featured in passport photos, at the family lunch, in the garden. The underlying principle is that children and family belong to the other part of life involving recreation and fun, and thus separated from professional life. But in one picture a child is present at work. With the caption “Elinor Remick Warren multitasking”, the American 20th century composer is seen writing notes with her right hand and feeding a toddler with her left hand. In the context of all the other images, and especially the other images containing children, it is striking that it is a female composer who has come to be depicted in the role of parent and professional at the same time. It is not a surprising picture, given the different conditions that have been in force in our own time (and in many cases still apply) for working men and women. While women have been assumed to take on the caring domestic role regardless of any professional work, men have assumed the role of “breadwinner” without any demands to do housework. Thus, the picture, even if not surprising, *does* something, it highlights the very absence of care work in the other images. In that sense, it also twists the history, if ever so slightly, and complements all other images with an additional interpretive horizon.

Perhaps needless to say, music scores are frequent in the memes I have gone through, and they can function as anything from rebuses to graphic images composed of clustered notes or just signifying a certain piece of music. The theme of the different conditions for men and women in classical music recurs in a completely different form in a playful image of music scores that was shared through sites like Pinterest (<https://www.pinterest.se/pin/653022014701077071/>, last accessed 15 October 2020). The notes are entitled “Sight reading audition”, a proficiency test that can be used when entering courses or when hiring in orchestras and which means that the applicant plays from sheet music at first glance. You don’t have to spend very long in classical music circles online to understand that these sight reading auditions are a big stressor for young musicians.¹¹ There are tips on ways to both handle the stress and simple tricks to succeed better with the test itself, participants who support each other in their worries or joke about how it feels before the tests. What makes this particular meme interesting is that it is divided into two sections: the top consists of two staves with the heading “Males”, the lower of four staves with the heading “Females”. The tempo indication for men is “Take your time – the rhythm should be free from any kind of rigid tempo”, while for the women the metronome mark is stated precisely to a high 267. The men’s notes consist of two staves with sparsely placed whole, half and quarter notes in 4/4, while the women’s four staves start at 17/32 to rapidly change to 13/8, and high note values, many accidentals and rapidly changing dynamics. In short, the notes look basically unplayable, but are also placed after the

men’s, with strict requirements and more to perform at a higher pace. In these playful exaggerations, this meme is reminiscent of the photocopylore of the pre-digital offices, but here the primary aim seems to be less local workplace hierarchies, but rather more general power structures.

Competence and Everyday Life in a Meme Alliance

Who, then, creates, comments on and spreads all these memes that are circulated within classical music communities? In my own private Facebook feed, I have over the years seen memes of this kind flutter by, noting that they usually are shared from people with a strong and often also professional involvement in the world of art music. The content of the memes analysed here tends to signal some level of knowledge: that you at least have the basic ability, for example, to read sheet music, know musical terms, the instruments in an orchestra and so on. Through profile information about the person who shared the post or through comments you can sometimes get clues as to who is interacting around the posts. And then it appears that it is people who in general are interested in or engaged in classical music as audience and listeners, but also, to a large extent, people who take instrument lessons, attend courses at music colleges and conservatories, but also teachers and professional musicians. Perhaps this seemingly high level of prior knowledge is the reason these playful posts often have a strong “nerd” character, it is humour directed internally to a world of specifically interested peers sharing a large amount of common knowledge.

As was pointed out in the introduction, digital folklore – such as this material –

tends to lack the restriction of audiences that has characterized many definitions of oral folklore, be it village communities, ethnic groups or social classes (cf. Buccitelli 2012). Even if it is hard to make any generalizations about the commitment and extent of use by the members of the studied groups, it is not unlikely that participation in memeing for many takes place on a part-time basis, in short inputs, and sometimes with split attention, perhaps a brief scroll through the social media feed in the morning, a quick sharing of a fun or important post, and then maybe nothing again until lunch or on the way home from work or school.¹² Therefore, it would probably also be misleading to describe the commitment in terms of a community (at least in any strong sense of the term) – for that it is too fleeting, intermittent and erratic. With the cultural studies researcher Lawrence Grossberg one could rather think of these groups in terms of affective alliances (Grossberg 1997:44; Hyltén-Cavallius 2014:18–19). This term is used by Grossberg to refer to alliances based on an affective community with cultural expressions and other members of the alliances. Affect in these alliances can be understood much like the structure of feeling that Raymond Williams once described in his analysis of literary generations: a weave of feelings, shaped by collective experiences that also create common ways of emotionally orientating oneself in the shaping of new experiences (Williams 1980:110). Such an affective community rather has to do with ways of collectively “feeling” – that is, both ways of relating to shared objects and others, and ways of forming knowledge – within the alliance.¹³ Described as an affective alliance, we do

not have to assume evenly distributed commitment, any protracted continuity, or even extensive shared values, but we can assume that among the participants there is a consistent way of relating to, for example, iconic composers, musical skills and a classical musical literacy.

To be in the role of the musician, be it in the school orchestra or in the concert hall, is to also be in a work situation. The conductor, from the audience appearing like a straight, nerveless figure in a perfect tailcoat, concentrated and restrained, is portrayed in this image from the orchestra’s perspective as an infernal character, who in addition to his two arms somewhat like images of the Hindu goddess Kali, has a whole set of other arms that symbolically demonstrate all the conductor’s attributes. A baseball bat here, a revolver there, a negative thumbs-down, and perhaps also an axe seen from the top of the handle (far down to the left). The user who shared the image has commented with “so true” followed by a smiley, signalling that we perhaps should not read this image literally. Images like this one, that are shared, seemingly unchanged, with constantly new framing comments, are reminiscent of the photocopy- and faxlore that spread through workplaces before the Internet.¹⁴ One frequent feature of photocopy- and faxlore was that it commented on and alluded to conditions in office workplaces (where there were of course both fax and copying machines), for example, joking about how little was done during a working day, laughing at meeting routines, managers and other superiors (Palmenfelt 2007a:182ff). Making fun of the conductor, the orchestra’s leader, as in this picture, thus ties in with an established tradition of such shared jokes with work-

in his head as he reads the notes (and here jokingly presented as an alternative to listening to music in headphones).

In these memes, an affective alliance revolves around classical music, with its own language, “internal” humour and its own working and living conditions. They jokingly express demands, contradictions and hierarchies, allow users to wink at each other in consensus and recognition, but sometimes also point out and comment inaccurate details in images or comments, thus enabling some to portray themselves as knowledgeable and experienced. This particular aspect of competence is probably important in order to understand some of the attraction in the creation, dissemination, reshaping and commenting of memes: that they often require some kind of competence both to understand and to relate to, and that they thus serve as a way for users to exhibit competence. In his *Competence in Performance*, the folklorist Charles L. Briggs argues that folklore requires competence of its users, both in the performance itself (which of course includes both actors who perform and actors who participate, listen, evaluate, etc.) and in adapting genre to context (Briggs 1987:357ff). You can in that sense act competently also in the reception and commenting of memes. Here, on the one hand, are opportunities to show that one has a sense of what kind of behaviours, expressions and comments are at all appropriate in this particular context – and in some cases also what behaviours will create the most commotion. I choose to call this *digital performative competence* – having to do with one’s ability to interpret and manage contexts, genre knowledge, rules (and norm-breaking norms) and not least linguistic style.

Such a digital performative competence is just as important for a commenting receiver as it is for a sender – in fact, the very distinction between performer and audience can be quite problematic in a setting where a shared meme often gets the role of starting a conversation consisting of a series of performances, such as with the Lisa Simpson meme discussed above (cf. Buccitelli 2012). In the case of classical music, as I have shown, *technical and historical subject competence* becomes an equally important piece of the puzzle: partly because many posts become practically incomprehensible without it, and partly because all the tips about further listening, details about composers, personal experiences as musicians and so on, can be seen as displays of competence that gain recognition in these very contexts.

In one sense, you could say that these memes are not exclusive, and the environments where I found them require nothing else than a user account and are open and accessible to anyone with enough nerdy humour and interest in classical music. But there are also examples of the social boundaries of this alliance. So, for example, there have been examples of memes that attract comments about “ignorant” and superficial listeners who know only the most famous composers, or about people who accidentally read notes incorrectly or misunderstand the point of jokes. All the components – the notes (and the competence to read them), the instruments, the repertoire, the composers, the study and working conditions – thus constitute shared symbolic resources, which the affective alliance not only gathers around but is also bound together by (Hyltén-Cavallius 2014; cf. Hyltén-Cavallius & Kaijser 2012).

Reflections: The Meanings of Memeing

The aim of this article has been to show how classical music becomes the stuff for creative and playful media interactions in the form of the creation and sharing of memes. I have looked at three aspects in particular – how music as a language and field of knowledge establishes an affective alliance, how the history of classical music is transformed, inverted and supplemented, and how memes in themselves constitute opportunities to demonstrate digital performative, technical and historical competences. To see these, often humorous, posts as a kind of ongoing discussion of and plays with value hierarchies, history and aesthetics provides an opportunity to understand small, but maybe important, ripples in contemporary notions of both “high culture” and history on the one hand, and of people’s digital creativity and media navigation on the other.

Humour has been a feature of people’s relationship to music, at least since Antiquity, from humorous images of music-making animals to caricatures of composers or pastiches on musical styles (for a cultural-history overview, see Storck 1911). If Internet memes are in a way a relatively new phenomenon, then you can also see some historical continuities in this humour, perhaps not least in the way of taking down dignified iconic composers. At the same time, there are also many differences, and here the genre-specific forerunners in the form of, for example, photocopy- and faxlore are closer at hand. While nineteenth-century caricatures of composers Berlioz, Wagner or Liszt, for example, were drawn by known artists, memes often have an anonymous character – if nothing

else in the memetic chains to which an individual image relates. The composition itself is also more of a creative bricolage, a compound of pre-existing elements, while historical caricatures – albeit using certain conventions – constituted original images.

One question raised by this study, which has also been the starting point for the larger research project of which my study is a part, is what conceptions and ideas about classical music are expressed here. As was pointed out at the outset, the material displays both a playful, sometimes carnivalesque, attitude towards consecrated canonized composers, and a more conservative attitude, pointing out central works and relation to the other canon. These memes are thus two-faced, both confirming and playing with the canon (cf. Seiffert-Brockmann, Diehl & Dobusch 2017). In these plays, classic portraits can be combined with images from popular cultural expressions such as advertising, film or television series. This reminds us that the world of classical music is not alone in producing canon: film, television and popular music also generate canon. When the faces of Bach and Handel are cut into an image from Ang Lee’s film *Brokeback Mountain* with the text “Baroque Back Mountain”, or when a smiling Mozart is inserted into a series of pictures from the television series *13 Reasons Why*, it is not only canonized composers we see, but also canonized popular culture. This intertextual interaction, in which different canonized and often historically distinct forms of expression meet, and is added to an additional intertextual layer by being commented on in contemporary Internet slang, appears on the one hand to be central to the humorous effect, on the other hand is a typical example of an eclectic approach to cultural expressions and

value hierarchies described as characteristic of postmodern societies (see e.g. Huyssen 1986).

If the canonized, the elevated and the classic, forms one end of the spectrum I described, then the other end is the demands and the hierarchies of everyday life in the world of classical music: from the composers' work situation to caricatures of despotic conductors or the humorous portrayal of unequal conditions at auditions. A complex everyday life emerges, with high demands of both knowledge and skills and sometimes extreme working conditions. This intersection of knowledge, skills, everyday experiences and playful jumps between popular culture and classical canon, constitutes an affective glue within the classical music meme alliance.

Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius

Associate Professor (docent) of Ethnology,
research coordinator
Svenskt visarkiv
Swedish Performing Arts Agency
Box 16326
SE-103 26 Stockholm
email: Sverker.Hylten-Cavallius@musikverket.se

Notes

- 1 The corna gesture, a hand gesture with an index finger and little finger outstretched and thumb, long and ring finger recessed, is common among heavy metal audiences.
- 2 In the research project *Classical Music for a Mediatized World: Visual and Audio-visual Representations of Western Art Music in Contemporary Media and Society* (funded by the Swedish Research Council and led by Tobias Pontara at the University of Gothenburg), of which my study is part, we have chosen to define "classical music" as canonized Western art music from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Since "classical music", perhaps more so than "art music", is also an established colloquial expression, it has also served as an empirical search tool in this study.

- 3 In this article I will not elaborate further on these name jokes in particular, but they have been a common feature in my searches, with everything from "Bach Street Boys" or "You Just Can't Handel Me" to Arnold Schwarzenegger's Terminator in the form of a librarian who refers a visitor to "Aisle B, Bach" (referring to a famous phrase in the movies, "I'll be back").
- 4 <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/guys-with-hair-like-this-have-a-125-chance-of-stealing-your-girl>, last accessed 25 September 2019.
- 5 Such metacommentaries on the media used were also a noticeable element when I studied comments on a Youtube video of a performance with the rock band Genesis (Hyltén-Cavallius 2009).
- 6 Sight reading means performing a piece from sheet music without having previously seen it. As we will return to shortly, sight reading is a common subject in classical music memes, since it is a common practice in auditions, for example, for conservatories and orchestras and involves much stress and anxiety.
- 7 The Lisa Simpson presentation meme comes from an episode of the animated sitcom series *The Simpsons*, originally aired in 2001, in which Lisa gives a speech on bullying. The picture of her giving the presentation was introduced as a meme by a Reddit user in 2018 (<https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/lisa-simpsons-presentation>, last accessed 7 October 2020).
- 8 "Chads" are part of a polarized notion of masculinity, in which the term refers to rich, attractive and sexually successful heterosexual men, in contrast to their opposites, the "virgins". The social underpinnings of these concepts however carry far beyond the scope of this article, and they must be interpreted in the concrete context of usage.

- 9 omf is short for “oh my fuck”, TB refers to Chopin’s tuberculosis because this is mentioned as one of Chopin’s drawbacks. The quoted comments reflect a tendency towards linguistic simplification (e.g. lack of punctuation and apostrophes) and the use of abbreviations in online interaction (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2011:225).
- 10 According to the Swedish dictionary SAOB, “classical” etymologically relates to Latin “classicus”, i.e. belonging to the first class in society (SAOB, electronic resource). There are three common uses of the term: denoting something that is long known and recognized, something that has to do with the classical period in history, or something of recognized lasting artistic and cultural value.
- 11 In an ongoing work on classical music culture in contemporary cinema, the musicologist Tobias Pontara discusses a perfectionist ideal central to classical music, “a musical culture in which performance is above all a question of precision and perfection” (Pontara, forthcoming). Pontara relates this ideal to Goodman’s discussion of the performance of classical music as essentially the performance of a “work” – that is, a note-by-note rendition of the composition – which also implies that a single missed or misarticulated note would no longer be the same “work” (ibid., cf. Goodman 1976:210). It is understandable if the performance of a piece at first glance, in front of a jury, in such an environment puts extreme pressure on the performer.
- 12 As mentioned previously, the studied groups are importantly focused on a highly specific form of amusement, that is, sharing memes and humour about classical music. The kinds of long-term active engagement described in ethnographies of virtual worlds (Boellstorff 2008) or social media groups that are more integrated into members’ everyday lives (Horst 2020) is therefore quite unlikely in these contexts.
- 13 In this discussion (ibid.) Williams remarks that “structure of experience” might have been more fitting, pointing to the complex interplay of experience and feeling he sought to capture with the concept.
- 14 The folklorist Ulf Palmenfelt has proposed the term “traditional copies” (Palmenfelt 2007a:179). Please note that they are *seemingly* unchanged: a possible source for this image was published by Wiltshire Music and Cor Publishers, which between the two conductors contains the company’s own logo.
- 15 For a more detailed discussion of this genre of often visually interesting but more or less unplayable scores, see the article about John Stump on the blog Jaded Yet Enthused <https://prestonparish.wordpress.com/tag/who-is-john-stump/> (last accessed 21 October 2020). It claims that “Fairie’s Aire” has been described as the Internet’s “most viral notes”.

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The Tough Tøffel

Managing Manliness and Unmanliness for Norwegian Men Who Have Taken their Wife's Surname

By Line Førre Grønstad

Introduction¹

Norway and the other Nordic countries have been ranked the most gender-equal countries in the world (*World Economic Forum* 2020:6). Since 1980, men and women have been able to change or keep their last names in marriage on equal terms. Yet only 4–5% of Norwegian men take the last name of their wife in heterosexual marriages, unlike women, where about half take the last name of their husband (Grønstad 2020:107). The norm is that of *patronymy*: Most men keep their last names; often women change theirs; children usually get their father's last name; the name symbolizes who the person is; and it should be kept throughout life (see Lebell 1988:10f). The patronymic norm implies that men took it for granted that they could keep their name, and also share that name with both their birth family and their nuclear family. As I will show, breaking with the norm for men elicits border negotiations about how a name change fits in with norms of manliness and unmanliness. Women on the other hand, are bound to break at least one of the norms regardless of how they act, indicating the inferior position women have had when it comes to the right to keep their birth names and continue their family line.²

The norm of patronymy even extends to research on name changes in heterosexual couples, where women's choices have been granted substantially more attention than men's choices. And even when men are included as research subjects the name choice in question has most often been that of woman or the wife (see Grønstad 2020:21). This article contributes to the slowly growing body of research on men's name choices, as part of an aim to investigate the actions of a privileged majority

group, in respect of ethnicity (Norwegian), sexuality (heterosexual), class (broad middle class), and gender (men). These men also follow the couple's norm (see Roseneil et al. 2020). The article contributes to the field of men's studies, critically examining the condition of men's choices based on the premiss that inequality of outcome on group level indicates inequality of conditions (Phillips 2004).

In my Ph.D. project on men's last name choices, some of the men who made changes to their last name referred to the word *tøffel*. They used it to describe the reactions others had to their name choice. They also used it to situate themselves in relation to an expected gender order. I found the possible implications of this interesting. The reference to the *tøffel* complemented other patterns of stories the men shared. One pattern included stories of conflicts with fathers or birth families caused by the name change. Their name changes conflicted with gendered expectations. The right to the name became a duty for these men to continue the family line. Taking the name of the wife could be interpreted as signs of rejection of the family line, and particularly the father. Clearly, in these cases the choice of last name not only belonged to the couple but involved the man's parents and family too (Grønstad 2020:138). The *tøffel* comments share similarities with this pattern by drawing attention to the men's changes as something out of the ordinary. However, these comments were related to friends and co-workers rather than birth family. Also, there was an undertone of humour in the comments, while the father-son conflicts did not have a humorous touch, at least not in the descriptions given by the men.

Another pattern relayed in the men's ac-

counts was that of gender equality. Some men took a clear standpoint, motivated by the idea of equality between men's and women's names. These men described their own choice as part of larger societal issues (see Grønstad 2020:181). The historical background of the tøffel-expression is based on the idea that the man belongs to a superior position in the couple.

The examples on which I base this article are taken from the 60 responses received to a qualitative questionnaire sent out in 2016, as well as interviews with three men, two of whom had responded to the qualitative questionnaire in advance. These men had all changed their name in a relationship with a woman. They were born between 1951 and 1991, belong to a broad middle class, and self-identify as Norwegian of Norwegian descent. They changed their names between 1978 and 2017. Through repeated close reading of the responses to the questionnaire as well as the interview transcripts, I have identified different patterns in the men's experiences, one of which is the topic of this article.

While most of the men did not mention the tøffel, some did. Their descriptions indicate something at stake, but not directly such as the continuation of the individual family line, or politically such as the matter of last name choice as a question of gender equality. My aim here is to explore the use of the term tøffel. This is not an exhaustive account of all possible associations of the tøffel. Rather, my question is: How do manliness and unmanliness come to play in the use of the word tøffel in the stories of men who have changed their last name in heterosexual couples?

Several Scandinavian researchers have argued that the difference in women's and

men's naming reflects the gender hierarchy in society (Alhaug & Kristoffersen 1999; Entzenberg 2006; Brylla 2001). Historically, it was common for both men and women in Norway to take the last names of their spouse when they moved to the farm with the same name, as these names functioned as addresses. Norwegians had not been required to have fixed last names until the first name law in 1923, and it was uncommon at least among the lower classes. The name of the farm had been used as a description in addition to the father's first name in national censuses and other official settings.

The same person could go by several different names, hence various institutions such as the police and the government welfare system struggled in their need to separate individuals from each other (Ot.prp. nr.12 1922:3). The name law therefore had as one of its main functions to ensure order. This was done by giving newborns the last name of their father, typically the first name of their grandfather with a suffix *sen* (i.e. Eriksen, meaning 'son of Erik', also used for women from the 1800s). The farm names functioned as an additional pool of names in addition to the *sen*-names. The first three parts of patronymy were turned into statutory law – men keeping their name, women changing their name when marrying, and children getting the name of their father. The name law differed for men and women until 1979, when it became gender-neutral. However, the practices of patronymy continued in Norway, even forty years later.

The history of last name practices is part of the backdrop for how men *do gender* (West & Zimmerman 1987). Here I use a model of manliness suggested by gender researcher Jørgen Lorentzen and historian

of ideas Claes Ekenstam (2006). They argue that doing gender for individuals characterized as men happens in the dynamic between conceptions of manliness and unmanliness (ibid.:10). Unmanliness points towards processes of exclusion in the construction of manliness, and is constituted as the opposite of norms, rather than situated within individual men or practices. The act of staying manly includes the act of avoiding falling into unmanliness, that is, the fear of being de-masculinized (Ekenstam 2007:177). The title *Rädd att falla* (Fear of Falling) of a Nordic edited volume (Ekenstam et al. 1998) captures this well. The notion of fear of falling was inspired by Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America* (Kimmel 2006[1996], see also Ehrenreich 1989). Kimmel found that fear of being pushed around, and being perceived as feminine or homosexual, drove American middle-class men more than a desire for power. It strengthened the idea that manliness could be constituted in relations between men, in addition to, or perhaps even more than, in relations between men and women (Connell 2017[1995]:114ff). What is considered manly changes for social, economic, political, cultural, and personal reasons, and being manly needs constant work from the individual. Humour is one such form of work that can be used to navigate between manliness and unmanliness.

The word *tøffel* has been used to imply that a man is in a relationship with a stronger woman. The expression seems to be used mainly in a humorous manner according to the men who mention it. There is, as far as we know, humour in all societies. According to the humour researcher Michael Billig, this has to do with a universal need for social norms, where hu-

mour serves as an important way to teach norms (2005:189,199). At the basis of most humour is *incongruity* (Knuutila 1996:43; Billig 2005:64). Incongruity happens when two or more phenomena that do not fit together meet or collide (Jönsson & Nilsson 2014:13). Even though not all instances of incongruity are recognized as humorous, it appears that most cases of humour have incongruity as their base. Incongruity can be funny when words, actions, forms, ideas, and so on that have nothing to do with each other, meet, and still seem to fit together (Oring 2016:x). One such incongruity could be when men act in ways commonly connected with women. When women can or should change their last name, it can be viewed as unmanly. When a person in the couple changes their name for the couple to share a last name, signalling systematic subordination, a man changing names could be incongruous.³

In the article, I will start by putting *tøffel* into a historical and cultural context. Then I delve into the accounts given by the men. First, I discuss how the *tøffel* expression is used to show a tension in the norms of manliness the men relate to. Second, I show how taking ownership over the expression is one way of resolving the tension. Third, the *tøffel* remarks seem to be connected to a joking form of relationship between men. Fourth, the way these kinds of jokes function as envelopes of meanings, sending messages about what is considered manly. This leads on to a discussion of norms at play, before I finish with some concluding remarks.

About the Expression

The expression *tøffel*, literally meaning 'slipper', a shoe to be worn inside the home, can be central in understanding how

last name change balances between manliness and unmanliness. According to the historian Troels Frederik Troels-Lund, the expression stems from old wedding customs. The first of the two newly-weds to step on their partner's shoe was allegedly to become the decision maker in the couple (1914:221f). The tøffel has been associated with women because they would wear slippers while the men wore boots at their wedding, and the man should therefore step on the woman's slipper.

The tøffel is closely connected to the question of who wears the trousers in the couple, which can be seen in popular culture as early as the sixteenth century. Trousers functioned as symbols of power in the Middle Ages (Rodin 1984:23, 44f). They still do, pointing towards gender relations of the past, even now when women wear trousers as well. Talking about who wears the trousers, or suggesting that a man is a tøffel, attests to old expressions where the meaning has survived even if the gendered practices they refer to have not. The expression *tøffelhelt* 'slipper hero' has been used to describe a man whose wife rules the family. It probably came into use as late as the nineteenth century but the tøffel as a symbol for the woman has been known much longer (Rodin 1984:59). The slipper has also functioned as a symbol for women's genitalia and virginity (Rodin 1984:60). It suggested a position low in the hierarchy, both as a symbol related to womanly, i.e. unmanly, traits in men, as well as being used on the floor, in the dust, closely linked to the use of shoes as a rhetorical means (Ibrahim 2009).

A tøffel can be used as a short form of a relationship type that can be called *strong wife/weak husband*, which breaks

with the norm of strong husband/weak wife. The strong wife/weak husband has been recurrent in popular culture from the Middle Ages until the present day (see Fjell 2014; Frykman & Löfgren 1994:85; Rodin 1984). This is especially exemplified when violence in relationships is thematized, for example in the cartoon *Bringing up Father* drawn between 1913 and 2000 (Fiinbeck & Fia), still republished for Christmas in Norway every year. Here the woman character Maggie regularly threatens the man character Jiggs with violence. A woman hitting a man has more often been understood as humorous, because it turns the current gender order upside down. Being a woman fits with being a victim, but being a man does not, making it harder to understand that men too can be victims of domestic abuse (example taken from Fjell 2014). Even though last name choice in marriage is a far cry from domestic violence, both speak to the same pattern of norms regarding the relationship between men and women. Manliness relates to power in the form of physical strength, as well as the power to make decisions for the family.

The Individual Man and Tøffel Tension

This had consequences for how the men spoke of themselves, and how they used the tøffel expression in relation to themselves. It came to play in two different ways. Firstly, some men used the word to describe a tension in the meaning of last name change, which had to do with whether the change was a sign of weakness or strength. Secondly, some men played on this tension while taking ownership of the expression, mainly through self-irony.

In this section I discuss the tension in the meaning of the tøffel in the accounts. Even though it expresses attitudes towards the exclusion of certain acts from manliness, some ambiguity come into play in the accounts. In an interview the construction worker Bjørn denied that the tøffel expression described any of the reactions he got from his friends and co-workers, all mainly men. He had just mentioned other forms of humour at work where jokes were made based on a possible confusion in the pay-out of wages after he changed his name. But humorous expressions based on him being a tøffel had not been uttered there. He also got reactions from some of the friends of him and his wife.

They think [my name change] is sweet! [we both laugh]. They did wonder, though, what kind of person I really was. No, it's like you said previously, "Am I a tøffel, or what?" However, it is just very simple. It makes things easier for us, to ensure the continuation of the [wife's last] name, and... well... to have something nice together. Moreover, I can sacrifice myself a little (Bjørn born 1973).

Previously in the interview, he had said that the tøffel expression was not relevant, but here he mentioned it himself. Since I had just used it, it was a resource to draw on, but it also summed up the comments even if the commentators, whose gender he did not specify, probably had not used the word themselves. Together, both of us laughed when he described his change as "sweet". Being a man acting "sweet", easily understood as unmanly, was incongruent with how Bjørn appeared, both physically and through his job in the building industry. After we laughed together, he described what he thought they meant, while finishing his argument with an explanation for

his choice. He was no tøffel but cared for a name that few could carry on in his wife's generation. It was something he wanted to share with her, and do for her, drawing on norms of love and sacrifice in the couple. It was his choice and he described it as deliberate. It should not be understood in terms of weakness but as the result of his active choice. Being manly could mean being in charge and making decisions. He broke with the expectations of patronymy, based on his own judgements of how his wife's last name was about to die out with only women in his wife's generation. Hence, he took charge of the situation and ensured its continuity. Redefining unmanly actions as manly is a strategy suggested by Ekenstam (2007:178) that was used by the changers. The same action can be simultaneously manly and unmanly, depending on the persons, situation, and interpretation choices available.

When Bjørn added the "or what" to the tøffel-question, "Am I a tøffel, or what?", it can be understood as an expression of speech. But it also hints at a way of understanding the action where men change their last names in the couple. A name change can be understood as a sign of subordination. But there is also an opening for an alternative meaning of men's name change. Another man who had previously taken his wife's last name, the marketing advisor Mons, wrote about reactions to his choice: "Some think I am tough [det er tøft], some think I am a tøffel" (born 1978). Adding Bjørn's and Mons's phrases together, the "or what" could be understood as being "tough". Tough and tøffel sound similar and create a possibility for a play on words that captures the tension between manliness and unmanliness for the men. Both

could be used to frame their name choice. Activities associated with women could be performed in a manly way, as tough, rephrased as such by the men in question (Wollinger 2000:127). The choice Bjørn made was active, hence connected to the manly tough rather than the unmanly tøffel.

Ownership of the Expression and Self-irony

The men employed strategies to deal with the idea of name change as unmanly. Many ignored it in their accounts and chose to emphasize the reasons they had for changing their name, much as Bjørn did when he spoke of his wife's name going out of use. Also, laughing at the idea of being a tøffel, or adding the opposite meaning, being tough, were other strategies. Another example comes in the security guard Lars's story (born 1977). He followed the pre-1923 custom of changing his last name, as his wife was heir to the farm her last name came from. He brought up the tøffel expression in his written account:

Several people find it strange that I have taken her last name and call me a "tøffel". Perhaps I am a "tøffel", but not in this regard:) I explain why, and if they do not believe me, I don't care (Lars born 1977).

Taking the name of the farm, and connecting with the area through the last name, points towards the old ways of name use, where the name of the farm situated the bearer geographically. But being a man, taking the wife's last name could cause disbelief in the honesty of the reasons given. Lars expressed a feeling that his choice could be interpreted as a sign of weakness, with a wife making his decisions for him, where the name of the farm functioned as an excuse for taking a new name. Also,

there was a possibility that he could be suspected of taking a better name than his birth name. This came up during my Ph.D. project, both in the literature review and in reactions to the topic from peers and others (Grønstad 2020:219). This interpretation situates the choice to change last names as unmanly because it suggests vanity and a focus on appearance.

For Lars changing names was a decision that did not have anything to do with toughness or lack thereof. By taking ownership over the tøffel expression he could redefine it as something else. A secure position of manliness made it possible to joke about his own masculinity while at the same time distinguishing different categories of actions. He might well be a tøffel in some regards, but when it came to his last name change, he was not.

By bringing up the expression themselves, Lars, Bjørn, and Mons differed from the interpretation Ekenstam made of his Swedish respondents in a project on men doing housework and staying home with children. Ekenstam's respondents did not want to be viewed as a "toffel" even though they suggested that others might have seen them as such (2007:189). Ekenstam seemed to have mentioned the expression in his interviews, and possibly prevented his respondents from taking ownership of it. This was unlike Lars and Mons, who mentioned it themselves, and to a certain degree Bjørn, who reintroduced it after dismissing it when I had first brought it up.

When Lars mentioned that he could possibly be a tøffel in other respects, he takes ownership over the expression, and severs the ties between being a tøffel and his last name change. By opening for the possibili-

ty that he may be a tøffel in some respects, he used self-irony. This was emphasized by a smiley emoji in his written account. Being a tøffel was also reoriented as a positive trait, not a cause for shame. It was not a threat to his feelings of manliness, and it did not cause a sense of unmanliness. After all, a man should be able to handle being called a tøffel. If not, unmanliness was certain. Lars drew on norms of gender equality where manliness included participation in gender-equal actions where women's and men's names were of equal worth. He showed a sense of self-irony towards the tøffel expression but separated it from his last name change. It was a rational choice based on arguments and reasons that did not have to do with gender. Like Bjørn, Lars wrote of his choice in active terms, basing it on gender-neutral arguments and rationales. Showing a sense of humour is balanced into the equation in Lars' account, but it is separated from the choice of name. Through his self-ironic take Lars showed that he did not take himself too seriously. Being able to laugh at something that could be experienced as unpleasant can be a way to handle these reactions, and self-irony can lead to a positive assessment of the person (Nilsson 2014:152). By drawing on the possibility of self-irony and the need to *have humour*, and being able to laugh at oneself, ownership of the actions makes it possible to reclaim unmanly actions as manly because self-irony is manly.

The action of men's change mimicked the action when women changed names. But these men press the point that they are making the decision themselves, based on certain arguments that do not necessarily have to do with gender. They are not simply doing what their wives are telling them.

Joking Relationships

The tension in the tøffel expression, and the way some of the men embraced the expression, takes place in relation to their surroundings. Mainly, it includes friends and co-workers with whom these men have *joking relationships* (Radcliffe-Brown 1940). These conversations seem to happen in a humorous tone in relationships of a reciprocal nature.

Bjørn took his wife's last name eight years before our interview. In his written response to the questionnaire, he had told me that he did not receive any reactions to his change from people around him. In the interview however, he mentioned that his colleagues had joked about mix-ups in the payroll. I followed up, as already mentioned, by asking if that was the only kind of joking, and said nothing about being a tøffel. Bjørn answered:

No, nothing like that. Of course, they have asked if it was I myself or my wife who made the decision, but that was meant more humorous, I guess. So, I don't think they meant anything bad by it (Bjørn born 1973).

It turned out that he had received comments suggesting the name change as a power question between his wife and himself. But since he understood these comments as benign, he did not think of mentioning them in the written response. They commented on the power relations between his wife and himself. The phrase "of course" suggests that men's name change had to do with power relations in the couple. But it could also mean that the action of commenting from his colleagues was taken for granted. Bjørn stood securely in his position as manly and laughed at these hints of emasculation.

Calling someone a tøffel or suggesting weakness in relation to decision making in the couple could be a way to diminish him by drawing on terms of unmanliness (see Ekenstam & Lorentzen 2006:46f). However, these comments were made in social settings with friends and colleagues, not in settings of competition. The humorous remarks were part of a day-to-day interaction that fits within the frame of “joking relationships” (Radcliffe-Brown 1940). Clearly, through Bjørn’s response, joking was understood as something more serious or harmful than the reactions he got. He interpreted them as teasing, hence not worth mentioning. That he brought up these kinds of comments in the interview, and not in the written questionnaire, suggests that there is a difference between joking and teasing from his point of view. The teasing from co-workers was anticipated and harmless in his account. The comments may serve as reminders and shapers of a shared history, and function as part of the group folklore (Johnsen 1996:71). If Bjørn or other name changers thought these comments were unacceptable, the cost of protest could be greater than the gain. It is possible to laugh even though we disagree with the message because it is uttered in certain social settings, where laughing together is a way to create and uphold social groups (Johnsen 1996:69). Also, group dynamics could ensure that the comments did not go too far. Moreover, the humorous remarks confirm the importance attached to the changer as an individual in his social environment, balancing between teasing as inclusion in the group and as exclusion of the butt of the jokes from the group.

Humour plays a part as one of several social aspects that can be used to understand how the workplace functions (Holmes &

Marra 2002). Bjørn’s workplace seemed to be a place where men’s name change was joked about. However, Bjørn could also talk about his choice in positive terms there. It was an independent choice made by himself, ensuring the continuation of a rare name. He explained how he often suggested that his colleagues, as men, could change their name whenever one of them was getting married.

Bjørn’s name change did something more than just give him a new name. It worked as raw material for interaction. Through humour local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, and “knowing laughter” were shared (Holmes & Marra 2002:1686). The reactions from his colleagues as well as his own reactions to their teasing could, together with his mentioning of the possibility of last name change for men, function as negotiations about how it fits within ideas of manliness and unmanliness. Humour kept the topic open and made the conversation of men’s last name change ongoing. Possibly, it made the topic less incongruous.

Joking Envelope

The existence of humorous remarks and teasing had social functions as one of the ways inclusion and exclusion in groups worked. The tøffel, and comments based on the setting of the strong wife/weak husband, can also function as a *joking envelope* (Billig 2005:155). As such, the use of the tøffel expression and the strong wife/weak husband motif convey certain cultural messages. But these comments also carried meanings of a different kind. The masculinity researcher Rickard Jonsson has shown how comments, jokes, and stories based on a heteronormative prem-

iss can work as ways to do masculinity (2007:168f). In his fieldwork in a junior high school amongst Swedish boys with various ethnic backgrounds, Jonsson found that the boys displayed masculinity through stories where the storyteller or other boys present were attributed less masculine behaviour in a humorous manner. Through this, norms of how men behaved and belonging to the group were confirmed and produced for the boys. This included both the butt of the stories and the listeners who played their part through questions, comments, and prompting throughout the storytelling. The medical doctor Stein wrote of getting humorous comments as reactions from some of his friends:

[They] have commented on [the change] as a joke, [I am] unsure if they mean something more by it. [I g]et the feeling that it is something they don't think a man should do. [I b]elieve it has to do with old traditions and that one is not supposed to be ruled by the wife. This I find so ridiculous that I don't care. To put it this way, they still use my previous last name (Stein born 1978).

Stein interprets the comments within a joking framework, but with a message of his change as unmanly, as his friends ignore his change by sticking to the former last name. Attitudes in favour of gender inequality can be expressed in the form of humour or irony (Mills 2003:90). The humorous reactions from other men suggest ideological patterns of manliness through the routines of noticing certain actions and ignoring others (Billig 2005:27). When something is funny, it has been noticed as out of the ordinary. Stein as receiver, and butt, of the comments, understood the messages sent through the comments in certain ways. He took these messages to describe

how husbands were supposed to act in relationships with wives. The argument of "old traditions" and the association of strong woman/weak man with the name change, was in his eyes "ridiculous", thus not worth caring about. It was incongruent but not humorous, at least not for him, even though he seemed to recognize that his friends thought of it as humorous.

The joking envelope makes it possible to interact in ways not usually accepted. If a man is ironically sexist, he is not sexist, according to this view. If someone takes offence, the expression of the attitude can be excused as "only a joke" (Oring 2016:9, Billig 2005:205). Stein does not phrase his story in a way that takes the joking for granted, and he did not draw on the phrase *tøffel*, as other changers did. Rather, he reflected on the comments as jokes, and gave an analysis of what he thought they meant. He removed the joking envelope from the message. The meaning he spells out is the one attached to the *tøffel* as a cultural symbol for a man in a relationship with a more powerful woman.

The joking envelope could be used to send a message connected to a certain ambivalence, possibly meant by the sender and understood by the receiver, as ironic or as serious. By describing the pun in the joking from Stein's friends, and showing its ridiculousness, at least in his opinion, Stein removed the envelope from the jokes. By explaining the jokes, they lose some of their power in a way that using the *tøffel* expression does not when the underlying attitudes are not included. The *tøffel* expression has a wealth of historical and contemporary meanings and functions as a resource for the men and their surroundings. Left alone, though, the *tøffel* evades criti-

cism and the meanings attached to it continue to exist as culturally significant ideas.

The comments Stein received from his friends were recognizable as jokes, even though Stein as the receiver of the comments did not find the specificity of the incongruity they took as a starting point funny. If his friends commented on his last name change, and he reacted negatively to their jokes, the joking envelope made it possible to excuse themselves from the message in the joke. The sender of these jokes does not have to take responsibility for what has been said (Johnsen 1996:70). Negative reactions to sexist jokes can even easily be interpreted as moralistic and intolerant (Billig 2005:155; Pickering & Lockyer 2005:3), or indicated a lack of humour in the receiver. In modern society, many interpret a lack of humour in an individual as an important “modern undesirable” (Billig 2005:11). Lack of humour appears like a serious personality defect, an idea that has been important since the second half of the 1800s and is connected to ideas of individuality (ibid.:12). It appears, however, to slowly be loosening its grip at present through attitude change after the #metoo movement, the #blacklivesmatter movement, and so on. Here, persons in positions of power can no longer draw on humour as a means to symbolize the norms allowing the persistence of their position with the same ease. Sara Ahmed’s (2013) *feminist killjoy* perspective opposes the need to have humour and suggests even more so the need to not laugh at sexist or racist jokes, and the value of not having humour when humour is used as tool for sexism, racism, and other forms of diminishing practices.

The fear of being made fun of plays a part in the regulation of behaviour (Billig

2005:201f.; Goffman 1956). Avoidance of such behaviour maintains the status quo (Engman 2014:21). It plays a part in the act of *not falling* by abiding by certain norms. Avoiding acts that could appear funny is part of the activity men perform to prevent falling into unmanliness. Humour thus plays a part in the confirmation of behaviour recognizable as manly (Foka & Liliequist 2015:2). Expressions of humour mirror power relations and norms in society and can be used to articulate norms (Jönsson & Nilsson 2014:11), as well as to understand change in the norms. It has even been argued that humour needs norms as material for humorous expressions (Johnsen 1996:72). Norms play a part in the doing of gender, and gender relations and gender hierarchies have fed humour for a long time (Horlacher 2009:18). Humour can be used to defend the norms of the gender order by marginalizing counter cultural expressions, such as men changing names in couples.

According to Bjørn, the reactions he met mainly came from the unusualness of his choice. It could be termed the incongruity of the choice, and he did not understand the reactions as hostile or negative. The comments from Stein’s friends did not seem hostile either. Still, in Stein’s understanding, they took a negative view of his choice, and he understood the jokes as messages about how men should act in relationships with women. Both Bjørn’s colleagues’ and Stein’s friends’ comments play a part in marginalizing their choices by pointing out the unmanliness of their unusual actions.

Humour, at least in Norway, has replaced more violent reactions to men’s name change. Other possible reactions could have been anger, calling the actions blasphemy or banning them by law (Ehn

& Löfgren 1982:80). Even the prohibition against men's name change and the law ensuring women's change of name in marriage in 1923 can be understood as possible reactions in a period when women obtained other rights, such as the right to vote in 1913, and the right to manage their own money in marriage from 1927. In a more recent online forum there was a discussion of the case of an American man who sued his home state of California for gender discrimination because of the legal difficulties he had when taking his wife's last name. The communication researcher Jennifer Diane Millspaugh found that "the feeling from the (assumedly) males who post comments is one of outrage and fear toward the name changer" (2008:24, her parentheses). Another example of hostility towards men changing names surfaced in international media in January 2018. An Australian man who took his wife's last name had supposedly received death threats and other negative comments through social media from all over the world. The interest from Australian, British, and Swedish media, however, mainly stemmed from the negative reaction he received, not the change itself (Johnson 2018; Kohl 2018; Ryan 2018). The strength of alternative norms in a Norwegian and Scandinavian context can prevent more serious reactions to breaking norms of manliness linked to power differences between men and women (Johnsen 1996:75). This mainly leaves humour as cultural weapon (Ehn & Löfgren 1982:96), such as the expressions reported by Stein and Bjørn.

Norms at Play

The jokers seemed to be individuals with little personally invested in the last name

change of the "butt" of the jokes. The name change could be interpreted more generally as a threat to norms of manliness. There were different norms at play in the men's stories. The humorous remarks were based on an idea of gender hierarchy regulating men's and women's behaviour. For Bjørn, taking his wife's name seemed to have little to do with gender equality. Rather, it gave Bjørn the opportunity to make active decisions, to separate himself from the mainstream men, and to play a part in saving a rare last name. However, later, he takes a step back and hopes his choice will act as model for his two primary school age boys to understand that the world can be different from now:

They know that I have changed my last name, but I do not believe that they think about it now. The world is beginning to change a little when it comes to the outlook on women and the world and such, and there is hope that more [men] would be willing to make things a little easier, not least when it comes to signatures and such [laughter] (Bjørn born 1973).

One of the main problems Bjørn had was getting used to writing a new signature, something he laughed and made jokes about. When he added the practical issue of needing extra copies of paper when he had to sign his name, with the change in "the outlook on women" in society, a point can be made that the norms of women's inferiority have practical consequences. Bjørn and several of the other men who changed their name did not necessarily do this because they followed alternative norms, but the way they spoke of these reactions points towards knowledge of norms of gender equality that could prove a different guide to actions than the norms of patronymy.

Humorous remarks can be interpreted as ways to protest the introduction of new and modern norms in a changing society where men from certain groups experience loss of privilege. Towards the end of the interview with the teacher Vegard, I commented that he seemed to be both traditional and non-traditional at the same time. He agreed with this and continued: “That is probably why men make jokes about it, because [name change] is a ‘woman thing’ [to do]. Traditional in the wrong way. At the same time, it is modern” (born 1974). For him it had been important to share a family name in the nuclear family, thus following the patronymic norm in one respect. At the same time, he broke with that norm because he made the change himself. Sharing a last name in the nuclear family was tradition, but when the changer was a man, something was off. Other changers told of comments about being “modern” as well. Men would change names in the future, in contrast with the past. These changers were born in the 1970s and 1980s, and they married sometime in the 2000s. The word “modern” could be interpreted as a compliment but it could also be read as critique if understood as irony, pointing at progress as something that also challenged the privilege of some men. The comments could be read as arguments that things were better in the past, at least for men as a group (see Langeland 2011). Perhaps unavoidable in the future, it was still unusual at present. Calling patronymic name practices “tradition” could imply an instruction to uphold continuity between past, present, and future. As such, the past impacts the future, or more correctly – the way the past is interpreted in the present impacts the future (Bauman 1998:13).

Humour on the part of the changer could strengthen their identity as modern men making active and rational choices, in contrast to the idea of the tøffel. Making the decision seemed important to the men. Being a tøffel was far from their reality. They spoke of their choice in active terms as decision makers. Making active choices, based on certain forms of reasoning, fits with the ethnologist Marie Nordberg’s notion of *reflexive manliness* (2005). Here, manliness has to do with authenticity, having many layers and being complex, showing critical distance and being unaffected by certain norms (ibid.:330). It is the main gendered position where her respondents situated themselves, in addition to the *stereotypical manliness*. The stereotypical manliness included a focus on self-discipline, action, and rationality. Nordberg’s respondents compared themselves to these traits while also being critical towards them (2005:329). Both forms of manliness are repeated and normalized. However, the reflexive form of manliness is a less visible means to do gender. The cultural construction of a reflexive manliness goes on unnoticed, and inclusions and exclusions of normalizing processes that shape the authentic and flexible subject are more difficult to see (ibid.:331).

The tøffel expression seems to draw on the stereotypical and the reflexive manliness at the same time. It highlights the ideal whereby manliness is separate from womanliness, and more powerful in heterosexual relationships, while at the same time drawing on norms of gender equality. Humour confirms that there are norms both in line with, and in contrast to, the symbol of the tøffel. Within both norms, manliness and unmanliness can be balanced. Talking

about a man as a tøffel invokes the idea that a man is weak because he acts according to norms of gender equality and is thus ridiculous. By taking ownership of the word tøffel, associations may shift from the strong wife/weak husband towards positive interpretations of fatherhood, caring, and coupling. Making fun of men's name change can be funny because it simultaneously breaks with both norms. The unusualness of the change breaks with patronymy, while the humorous expression itself breaks with norms of gender equality.

Concluding Remarks

These men – Lars, Bjørn, Stein, Mads, and Vegard – interpret their own behaviour in other terms than weak or unmanly. When men changing last names break with patronymy and therefore the norm, it was perhaps even more important to understand, and to situate the action as manly, and the men as manly in other respects. That weakness is unmanly seems to be something both changers and their joking friends can agree on. Hence, this is what both position themselves in relation to in the comments analysed here. Taking the name of the wife would certainly not be done by a weak, unmanly man, as it appears to take some strength to face the reactions to the choice. Lars could take ownership of the tøffel word and reject an association between the 'tøffel' word and his last name change. Stein removed the joking envelope from the message perceived from his friends, and Vegard described the comments in relation to a historical past and a present, and the parallel existence of opposing norms. Neither Lars, Bjørn, Stein, nor Vegard experienced their change as womanly or unmanly coded. Rather, the problem as they

saw it belonged to other people around them. When Lars wrote how he could be a tøffel in some regards, if not in the matter of last name choice, it speaks to the seriousness and rationality of his last name choice (taking the name of the farm), and to his sense of self-irony. In this quotation, the tøffel expression takes on another meaning, that of the ideal of men and women as gender-equal.

The norms of patronymy say something about what to do – men keep their names, women change, and children get the last name of their father. The norms of gender equality say something about how to do it. Humorous expressions can change cultural mentality, but if this is not done in certain ways, they risk reproducing existing attitudes (Fjell 2014). The humour researcher Andreas Böhn argues that it is the manner in which norms are put into play in the humorous expression that decides whether the expression supports or undermines the norms, rather than the structure of the expression (2009). We can laugh at the person breaking the norm, thus strengthening the norm, or we can laugh at the norm, and laugh with the person (Horlacher 2009:27). At the same time humorous expressions draw attention towards the topic (ibid.:35). While humour about these men confirms their name choice as breaking norms, it can also be argued that it strengthens the idea of men's name change as a known, meaningful concept (see Bach 2009:325f.). Humour functions both as ways to do manliness by marking unmanliness, as well as contributing to the inclusion of last name change as manly by drawing on norms of gender equality.

The framework of incongruity within humour theory, and of manliness/unman-

liness within gender theory, shows that men's last name change is deemed inappropriate, at least amongst some men. When individuals categorized as men perform actions associated with women, two phenomena meet. The humour resulting from this meeting indicates that the nature of these phenomena is gendered and shows that they do not fit together. The result is incongruity, despite practices of, and laws on, gender equality. Men's name change breaks with the expected and regular. Combined, they show the meaning humour can play in upholding social norms of manliness. Men are not supposed to make womanly choices, thus acting unmanly. Humorous expressions made it possible to let the changers know that their change was noticed as unusual.

Other men's actions on the border between the unmanly and the manly could threaten the manliness, not only of the individual performing the action, but a more general sense of manliness. The comments described by the changers contributed to the marking of name change as unmanly. This happened despite having knowledge of ideals of gender equality. Through their humorous form, the comments turned into critique of the possible consequences the ideals may have, such as the notion of men acting like women. By using the humour envelope, the comments were not to be taken seriously, and could therefore express attitudes that were less modern. At the same time, the humorous form itself shows changes in attitudes because it has replaced other reactions such as violence. Changes happen through shifts, amplifications and downplaying of existing norms of manliness, as well as through the inclusion of new elements (Ekenstam & Lorentzen

2006:30). Being manly could be interpreted as being strong in one's convictions of equality, being fair and taking responsibility, all of which could be combined with men's last name change. The general acceptance of gender equality opens for alternative thinking of naming in the nuclear family. The limits between dos and don'ts are blurred, more than when the law limited gender-equal naming choices. Norms of gender equality have entered Norwegian society and have strengthened the opportunity to be more feminist without "falling" into unmanliness. Norms have shifted, at least to some extent amongst some men.

Line Førre Grønstad, Ph.D.

Dept. of Archaeology, History,
Cultural Studies and Religion
University of Bergen
Østeinsgate 3, Postboks 7805,
5020 Bergen, Norway
email: linegronstad@gmail.com

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Gabriella Nilsson and David Gunnarsson for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.
- 2 This seems to be changing, at least in the change in number of women changers and keepers during the last four decades. In a survey done in 2003, 80% of the women married from the 1980s until 2003 took their husband's name (Noack & Wiik 2005). In a survey I sent out in 2018, less than half of the women took their husband's name. They married between the late 1990s and 2018 (Grønstad 2020:107).
- 3 In cultures where women's subordination in couples is not marked by name change, the meanings implied by men's name change are different, and might not be humorous. The sociologist Xiaoying Qi has described practices in China where both men and women keep their family names in marriage. The children generally get the name of their father. In the

cases where children get the name of the mother, it is generally to carry on the family name of the children's maternal grandfather, not to carry on the woman's name. Qi calls this "veiled patriarchy" (2018; see also Keels 2011:106ff).

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“Even with all this, I could not live without kinkiness”

Kinky Understandings of Everyday Life

By Johanna Pohtinen & J. Tuomas Harviainen

The habits and routines of everyday life can create a sense of safety in their predictability and form unnoticed rhythms and patterns (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:80–81). In addition, everyday life is a place for creativity, improvisation, and multitasking, such as daydreaming in the shower or listening to music while cleaning (Löfgren 2014:91). Amidst the mundane, anything exceptional and the bizarre stands out. However, everyday life experience is not just either boring or exceptional, it is rather complex, nuanced, and varied for individuals. Furthermore, the concept of “everyday life” may hold various meanings for different individuals.

Something such as kink may seem bizarre for some individuals yet be a mundane part of everyday life for others (Highmore 2002:3). Moreover, kink has a multifaceted role in the everyday life of individuals and can occasionally present as ambiguous. In this article, we examine the ways in which kinky individuals navigate the borderlines between their kinks and their everyday lives. *Kink* is a term used for various practices pertaining to consensual use of power dynamics and pain (BDSM) in addition to other non-normative desires, such as fetishism or role-play. A *kinky* person engages in one or more such activity. Different forms of kink are not necessarily related to sex, although they often have erotic qualities. *Everyday life* is often understood as consisting of work, taking care of home, family, and social life, those fragments of life that typically are considered self-evident and even unnoticed (Hämeenaho 2014:73). Everyday life may be thought of as devoid of any eroticism or exceptionality (Edgley 2015; Highmore 2002:3) – let alone eroticism pertaining to kink. We ex-

plore kink, yet we do not discuss merely the kinky acts, such as BDSM play. We are rather interested in the more mundane and marginal aspects of kink: The ways kink is present in the everyday life of individuals. As per cultural analysts Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren (2010:7), we shed light on those aspects of kink that may remain unnoticed or which are neglected as aspects of kink. Our research question is: How do kinky-identified individuals negotiate the relationship between kinkiness and everyday life in a society that stigmatizes kink?

We are thus discussing activities which may not be completely accepted by the surrounding society, yet are very important for their practitioners. Even when such activities take place daily in the lives of certain individuals, they are usually not a part of those people’s everyday lives, according to their own views. On the contrary, part of the very attraction of kink is in that it is transgressive and a break from the prevailing norm (e.g. Weiss 2011). Likewise, traits associated with kinky pleasure, such as accentuated dominance or submissiveness, may be ones that are not seen as preferable in everyday situations, and can in fact exist in stark contrast to the ways in which kinky individuals present themselves outside of their kinky activities.

Individuals’ understanding of what constitutes kink is furthermore often shaped by the surrounding culture and society: kinky has sometimes been considered a prefix for a specific type of sex and, thus, may add to the connotation of kink merely pertaining to sexual activity. Our discussion concentrates on those moments where nothing overtly kinky occurs (Ehn & Löfgren 2007). As Ehn and Löfgren (1982:79) suggest, we cannot necessarily interpret all cultures according to the hegemonic un-

derstanding of culture. With this approach, we do not see kink as creating its own normalcy, but rather negotiating its existence around the stigma.¹ Our discussion starts by exploring the kinky everyday life as providing authenticity; second, we discuss the kinky everyday life as an all-encompassing lifestyle of power exchange and compare it with more mundane occurrences of kink; third, we illuminate the leisurely aspect of kink and; finally, we regard kink as an escape from the mundane.

"Kink" is here preferred as a term over "BDSM",² although they are frequently used synonymously, since "kinky" is a concept commonly used in the Finnish kink community, for instance as the name of a kink event, *kinkybileet* (kink party) (Pohtinen 2014) and typically as an identity signifier (as a noun rather than an adjective). For this community, the word denotes wider inclusivity than, for example, just BDSM would. The Finnish kink community is to a large extent comprised of volunteer-based registered associations, private and commercial actors, as well as online communities (the Finnish online discussion forum BDSMbaari.net, Facebook groups, the global website Fetlife.com which has its own regional discussion areas, as well as various local channels on the instant messaging platform Discord). The Finnish kink associations as well as the online forum aim to cater for all different kinks, which is a distinct feature of the Finnish kink community: at the moment, there are no separate associations dedicated to specific kinks such as latex fetish or sadomasochism. A gay leather community, however, has long existed in Finland (Nordling 2009) and queer kinksters are gradually starting to organize and

host their own events. Furthermore, the kink community also exists as a so-called imagined community or a mere knowledge of other kinksters existing (Pohtinen 2017).

The kink community, in all its forms, is relevant to the current study, as the community often shapes the everyday life experiences of kinky individuals. To varying extents, the individuals' everyday lives pertain to kink. Thus, kink does not merely denote sex but is a broader phenomenon (Fennell 2020). Kink, however, may be experienced as freedom from mundane roles, escape from everyday life, as fun and playfulness (Williams & Prior 2015). Furthermore, kink may offer transgression (Newmahr 2011), transcendence (Fennell 2018), and sensations of adrenaline rush or endorphin high (Taylor & Ussher 2001). On one hand, kink can be considered a deviation from everyday life. On the other hand, kink may present as a self-evident, yet an extremely important part of everyday life defined by intimacy and authenticity (Newmahr 2010a; Harviainen 2015; Simula 2017). In addition, kink can be understood as a sexual identity or a sexual orientation (Simula 2015; Fennell 2018).

Research Material and Methods

When conducting research on kink and aiming at understanding rather than making generalizations about the phenomenon, ethnographic analysis is a method that is frequently applied (e.g. Newmahr 2011; Weiss 2011; Harviainen 2015; Pohtinen 2019). Our research material consists of 28 writings by kink-identified individuals through which we aim at a hermeneutic understanding and giving voice to the writers (e.g. Clifford 1986; Hansen 2003). Moreover, along the lines of cultural analysis, we realize that we

as researchers are the ones producing cultural representations of our research topic and our backgrounds affect our understandings and shape our stories and interpretations (Ehn & Löfgren 1982; Kleinman & Copp 1993:13; Ruotsala 2002:42).

Both of us have backgrounds in local kink communities as active community members (for approximately 15 and 26 years, respectively) as well as researchers. Due to our familiarity with the kink community, we may have our own preconceptions of the topics the writers discuss, which might affect our analysis, and of which we need to be mindful. However, we also have tacit knowledge as community members (e.g. Ruotsala 2002), which may render us more sensitive in extracting nuances and understanding features specific to the kink community. This tacit knowledge, in our view, helps us in producing more comprehensive depictions of the phenomenon and in extracting deeper nuances into our ethnography. Our roles as community members and researchers thus help us in analysing the writings, yet we also need to be mindful of our potential predispositions (Van Maanen 1983).

The research material was gathered in two parts: in 2011 and 2017. In both calls for writings, there were questions on various topics related to kink in order to guide and inspire the participants' writing. These topics included their personal journey in kink, relationship to the kink community, and the everyday life. In addition to the question "How does kink show in your everyday life?" another question on the 2011 call for writings concerning everyday life was: "Is there a separate kink-self and an everyday-self and how do they differ?" In the 2017 call-for-writings the questions

pertaining to everyday life were: "Is kink part of your everyday life?", "How does kink show in your everyday life?", "Is there such a thing as mundane kinky, for instance, light sadomasochism or dressing up in sexy lingerie at home, or is kinky always rather the opposite of mundane?", "If kinky is not part of the mundane life, what is it?", "Do you hide your kinkiness? How?" The participants were however encouraged to write about topics that they themselves deemed important regardless of the questions. Both calls for writings were distributed on the mailing lists of Finnish kink organizations, on Finnish kink-related online discussion forums, and the latter call additionally on Twitter and on Facebook.

The first call for writings received 12 answers and the latter 16. These 28 writings are by people from 20 to 62 years old. The writers are from all over Finland, and reported their genders as women (fourteen), cis women (two), men (eight), trans man (one), trans woman (one), and non-binary (two). Among the writers there are perhaps more non-heterosexual and non-monogamous individuals than there are in the general population. The writings are in Finnish, and the quoted parts have been translated here into English by the first author. English pseudonyms are used by the writers in order to enhance the flow of the text and create a more fluent reading experience, in addition to enabling further anonymity for the writers. All material for this research was collected by the first author, in addition to creating the names used here for the individual writers.

As a method, the writings were chosen over interviews as the research topic pertaining to a stigmatized sexuality is rather intimate and the Finnish kink community

is not extensive in size. Thus, the writers might be more open with their narration in addition to being able to remain anonymous to the extent they wish (e.g. Suominen 2016:118). Even though the online spaces are a major part of kink, that is obviously not true for everybody: this research may have been unable to reach those outside online environments, which may also show in the results as the heightened importance of the online communities. Moreover, not everybody is comfortable with sharing their thoughts through writing and, thus, future research might benefit from additional interviews.

Dialogue between the researcher and the respondents is certainly easier to achieve during a live interview, whereas with writings the dialogue is that between the researcher's questions, the respondent's answers, and the interpretation and analysis of the researcher, in addition to the dialogue between the texts (Olsson 2016:178). Since the writings offer little possibility to pose further questions or to read the body language of the interviewee, the quotations were translated with great care from Finnish into English, in order to maintain the connotations in the original text. However, the final word choice was made by the researcher and the translation is thus, in the end, an interpretation of what was originally meant by the writer. Nevertheless, the "correct" translation or interpretation is outweighed by the analytically meaningful, and the final dialogue is that between the researchers' interpretations and the readers (Olsson 2016:180).

We call the writings "autobiographical", as many of them have a narrative structure akin to a life story. For example, many of the writings illustrate a person's journey in

kink from an early age until the day of writing, including challenges that have been overcome, which is a common feature of a life story narrative (Hänninen, V. 1996). Even the writings without a story-like structure offer so-called "micro narratives" where the writers describe certain details in a more thorough manner (Ekrem 2016:93; Koskinen-Koivisto 2014). Our reading of the texts is cultural-analytical: "people's perceptions and habits are cultural products" which, over the lifetime, are learned, communicated, and naturalized into something taken for granted (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:5, 208). In this study, these writings were read through the lens of everyday life experiences, and those narratives with reference to everyday life were incorporated into our discussion. In these narratives, we were able to see the diverse role of kink in people's lives. These understandings and experiences of the relationship of kink and everyday life may depend on the ways an individual defines sex or leisure, and what the writers perceived as their everyday life or, conversely, an escape from it.

Kink as Authenticity

To feel like one's own kind of life, an individual needs to feel they are living an authentic life, true to themselves. This authenticity is most frequently realized in the everyday life practices. According to the sociologist Eeva Jokinen, it is important for individuals that their everyday life, especially at home, is self-defined and happens at "one's own free pace" (Jokinen 2005:146), which also includes one's own customs and habits (ibid. 149). Kink is thus felt to be just as important as other aspects of everyday life. For instance, 28-year-old Matt writes:

Kink means as much to me as other important things in my life. I want to have a job, get a salary, be in good health, love my partner, own a home, have a family... But even with all this I could not live without kinkiness. (T6)

By juxtaposing kinkiness with being healthy and having a family, Matt highlights the significance of kink in making his life meaningful and living it to the fullest. Owen, a single, 37-year-old "sadist and a general kinkster", on the other hand, contemplates the importance of kink with regard to relationships:

For me, if I were in a relationship with someone I love, I'd feel as though something important was missing if there was nothing kink-related between us. For a vanilla,³ I could explain it through a metaphor, such as, I'd feel like we were in friendzone if I were in a relationship without kink. (T20)

Owen voices a desire for a romantic relationship where he would be able to live as his most authentic self. He expresses this by mentioning how the relationship would be lacking without the element of kink in it. For both Matt and Owen, kink is needed to feel authentic and for everyday life to feel like one's own free pace (Jokinen 2005).

Living one's own kind of life with kinkiness as an essential part of it can also be seen in 41-year-old Rosa's writing:

For me, being kinky is being completely me. For me it's the natural way of being and thinking. To me, it's no different or any more deviant than any other sexuality today. I am kinky all the time, I don't have breaks when I'd stop feeling kinky and would feel ordinary instead. I feel like I'm ordinary all the time because kinkiness is part of me, which I accept as my own part of myself. (T9)

Rosa expresses, in rather a powerful and intense manner, how kink is a fundamen-

tal part of her persona and repeatedly utters the importance kink has for being herself. There is often emotional intensity expressed related to kink, and occasionally kink is considered an integral part of the self (e.g. Simula 2017; Prior & Williams 2015). Furthermore, Rosa mentions being kinky as an essential or a natural part of herself. For her being kinky manifests, as the ethnologists Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren (2010) would say, as the naturalized way of being. Kink is thus understood as an integral part of the self and part of personal identity through the everyday life experiences.

Disclosing private aspects of ourselves is often linked to intimacy (Nippert-Eng 2010:6). By providing an "access to pieces of selves that we understand to be protected from most other people" (Newmahr 2011:186) kink enables an intensely intimate experience. Kink often, but not always, transgresses boundaries related to conventional norms and ethics and allows immersion into spaces which create a potential violation of trust and which would in other situations be avoided (Newmahr 2011:186). Kink may therefore provide a more intense intimacy and a deeper connection between partners (Simula 2017). For example, Sophia addresses kink as a means of showing affection and intimacy to her partner:

In everyday life, kink mostly exists in the bedroom as ropes, shackles, and whips. To me, doing kinky stuff is [...] a way to show my partner affection and intimacy. (T13)

Mona likewise writes:

Kink is a thing that makes our relationship special and it is the very thing that we both need. It is the listening and caring for the other that every relationship should be based on. (T17)

Both Mona's and Sophia's writings suggest that kink could be viewed as a means to establish affection and intimacy in a relationship.

The negotiations around play scenes and safety-ensuring communication are essential parts of kink. The communication surrounding kink also contains the sensitive and fragile "disclosure of some otherwise-private aspects of self" to each other, which for its part enhances the experience of intense intimacy (Newmahr 2011:170). Kink can occur as an improvisation and experimentation among the everyday life routines where the rules of everyday life are changed and, for instance, dirty talk or tugging hair becomes acceptable (Paasonen 2018:20). Moreover, even though roles pertaining to power exist in some forms of kink, they are distinctly separate from *playing* a role. Rather, in kink, practitioners seek emotional, physical, and psychological authenticity (Newmahr 2010a:395–396; Weiss 2011; Harviainen 2015).

Thus, kinky play as well as kinky everyday life strive for authenticity. By verbalizing, reflecting, and communicating the seemingly inconspicuous aspects of one's own reality, everyday life becomes shared and culturally organized (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:216). The intimacy achieved through discussions related to kink play may enhance the experience of everyday life as a deeper connection to one's partner or an enhanced understanding of the self, but furthermore, connect one to the kink community through shared cultural understandings. Outside of play contexts kink is experienced as natural part of individuals' lives: it may not be desirable for kink to be "normalized", yet it seems to be a naturalized feature of kinksters' everyday lives.

Kinkiness exists as a sexual and personal identity and is essential for the experience of living a good life.

From Total Power Exchanges to More Mundane Occurrences

There is a variation of kink called "total power exchange", where, for an agreed-upon period of time, all the power in the dynamic is given to one partner whereas the other submits (Dancer et al. 2006). The difference from other kink play is that in a total power exchange dynamic the submissive submits in everyday life, not merely during sexual play but, for example, through acts of service for the dominant (Weiss 2011). Sometimes, a total power exchange can be agreed by the participants to take place all the time, which is typically called a 24/7 relationship.⁴ In this form of BDSM, everyday life becomes an arena for kink and BDSM encompasses the entire everyday life of the individuals engaged in the relationship. Typically, all participants involved in this dynamic have the right to end or pause the dynamic and renegotiate the boundaries. The concepts denoting roles in these forms of dynamics may include Master/Mistress, Owner, Sir/Madam, or Lord for the dominant and, for example, sub, slave, pet, servant, or boy/girl for the submissive. These can be forms of address agreed upon by the participants of a certain dynamic, or identity signifiers that may be more permanent in nature.

A detailed description of a 24/7 lifestyle, which takes the form of a Master-and-slave dynamic, is provided by Lena, a 43-year-old woman married to her wife, who later also became her "owner":

For me, kink is present all the time in a concrete manner, except for when I am at work. Outside of

work I live according to my owner's rules: I do what She wants me to do. We have certain rituals, which enforce our power relationship in a nice way every day. I have certain rules for my behaviour, which I follow. The practicalities of scheduling, making decisions and plans are Her responsibility, I just carry them out. Sometimes she asks for my opinion, but I have no discretion. My everyday life consists of serving Her in various ways, mostly by doing chores. In my free time I dress different than at work: a little more revealing and in a way that is more pleasing to Her (with other people present of course according to situation). [...] The work-me is distinct from the slave-me. At first, it felt hard, on one hand, to submit to someone and, on the other hand, to be an independent professional at work. Nowadays, I actually feel first and foremost that I am Her slave, I just temporarily take the professional role and then return back to "normal" as slave. I don't feel as much conflict between the roles as in the beginning. As of now, my identity is quite whole. I always wear a jewellery-resembling metallic collar, also at work. (T11)

In their relationship, Lena was the one to first present her kink desires to her wife. After initial shock, they decided to explore the world of BDSM together, eventually resulting in a 24/7 owner-and-slave dynamic with total power exchange (T11). For Lena and her "owner", kink encompasses their whole life. The dynamic between them is not merely present during kink play sessions, but in mundane decision making and chores as well. The form of their relationship thus renders kink an everyday life practice in the most fundamental sense. The media and sexuality scholar Susanna Paasonen (2018) mentions how, in a 24/7 total power exchange relationship, everyday life is enmeshed with kink and the two become inseparable. The roles in this kind of dynamic are not merely roles that can be stepped in and out of but are rather "mode[s] of be-

ing in the world" (Paasonen 2018:101). Likewise, Prior and Williams point out how 24/7 slavery can be perceived as a complex and natural part of individual's sense of self (Prior & Williams 2015).

A 24/7 dynamic can be quite extreme for many, and there are only two among the 28 writers engaged in this lifestyle at the time of writing (T11, T27). Another one mentions having developed a Master-and-slave-style dynamic in previous romantic relationships (T4). However, kink may also occur in mundane situations without the 24/7 element. An example is provided by Amy:

For me submitting is mostly sexual. Of course, sometimes the play continues outside the bedroom as well. Power play adds a totally different dimension, for example, when shopping for a TV in Gigantti. (T25)

Amy admits that even though her kinkiness is mostly related to sex, kink may also add another layer of meanings to an everyday life activity. Engaging in power play while performing mundane chores or, for instance, buying home electronics, creates a special atmosphere between the people engaged in this play, yet is invisible to outsiders. While many people may daydream through mundane chores (Ehn & Löfgren 2010), in kink those daydreams can be turned into a lived experience, or the chores into an exciting and secretive part of kink play.

Kinky activities are typically enacted out of sight of people who do not share a kinky worldview, similarly to how sex is expected to be hidden behind doors and other barriers (Edgley 2015). However, for a kinkster, almost any everyday life situation can be turned into a kink scene, without the outsiders ever knowing. As mundane an

activity as watching a movie or exercising may have different connotations for a kinkster than it has for a non-kinky individual. For instance, Lily mentions how her masochistic qualities are released through "torturing herself with sports" (T4). The pain experienced in sports is sometimes akin to pain experienced in sadomasochism, as it may be done for a greater reward and thus "worth it" (Newmahr 2011:141–142; see also Mickelsson 2017). In this manner, kink penetrates everyday life even without a 24/7 total power exchange relationship.

The existence of kink in everyday life is a continuum reaching from mundane occurrences to a negotiated consensual non-stop power exchange. In a 24/7 dynamic the kinky everyday life becomes a mode of being, whereas for some other individuals kinkiness shows only in connection with sex. Occasionally kinkiness, however, pierces the everyday life experience as temporary power play in mundane situations or as connotations and imaginations while performing some other tasks with a resemblance to kink, such as sports. These imaginations are not daydreaming as such, but rather giving an added significance to a mundane activity, or an exercise of kinky perspective in everyday life.

Kink, Social Life, and Leisure

Kink has occasionally been conceptualized as serious leisure (Newmahr 2010b; Williams & Storm 2012; Williams et al. 2016; Sprott & Williams 2019). Serious leisure is a concept first used and defined by the sociologist Robert Stebbins (1982) as a volunteer or hobbyist activity with career development, self-enrichment, sense of belonging, and which requires effort in gaining knowledge or skills. The ethnog-

rapher, sexologist, and sociologist Staci Newmahr adds to this definition that belonging to a kink community offers "deep and meaningful identification" (Newmahr 2010b:329–330). Newmahr mentions that many community participants structure their lives around the community, create careers there, and even have a limited number of friends or acquaintances outside of the community (Newmahr 2010b:319; see also Weiss 2011, for comparison). Even though in Finland it is perhaps more uncommon to devote one's whole life to kink (i.e., to have a social and professional life centred solely around kink), the autobiographical writings nevertheless describe how people's everyday lives are highly enveloped by kink. This enveloping entails, according to the writings, participating in and planning of face-to-face meetings and events both in Finland and abroad, friendships with others from the kink community, and the online presence.

The online spaces play an important role in many of the kinksters' lives. These spaces include websites, discussion forums and, increasingly, social media (see e.g. Wignall 2017). For instance, Amy, a woman in her forties, describes the importance of the kink community:

I found the kink community online. When I was young there was no internet, so I didn't know there were others like me. But then a few years ago I found BDSM-baari [the Finnish online forum for kinksters] and realized I wasn't sick in any way. Through the forum, I met many people, and sub munches were very important for me back then. (T25)

Amy entered the kink community through the online platform, through which she learned she was not the only one with

kink desires. She later met other submissive kinksters at casual meetings at pubs or restaurants (which are typically called "a munch" in English or "miitti" in Finnish). Like Amy, Mona also recounts finding play partners and a romantic partner through the kinky online forum (T17), whereas Katie, who is relatively new to kink, sees the educative aspects of the forum as important (T17). Through these online spaces an "everyday virtual presence" can be created among people who are not physically together (Ehn et al. 2016:76). Online spaces, thus, can be seen as realizations of kink as serious leisure, since the aspects that define serious leisure are present on these online platforms: finding identification and belonging, gaining knowledge and acquiring skills. Moreover, as the online community is typically encountered first, the online spaces occasionally act as catalysts in entering a face-to-face community (Pohtinen 2017).

Many writers discuss the ways kink seeps into their everyday life in the form of friendships or other social relations that are made in the kink community. For example, 37-year-old Meredith explains the meanings of various social acquaintances in the kink community:

Some are friends to party and chat with, some to play with [...], some I only see occasionally, and some are people I have learned from [...]. Through the community I have met one of my best friends, had awesome experiences, grown as a person, influenced others' lives, surrounded myself with wonderful people, and learned a lot. I most definitely would not be the same person if I had never got involved in the local kink organization and become part of the kink community. (T21)

Social relations, such as meeting new people and seeing old friends, are among the

main reasons people enter and stay in the kink community and which create a sense of belonging among the community members (Pohtinen 2017). The sense of belonging to the kink community enhances the everyday life experience and is, moreover, seen as enhancing the general wellbeing of individuals (Hudson 2015). However, Meredith also expresses other positive aspects of how joining the kink community has affected her. She has learned new skills, and by submerging herself into the community she feels as though she has grown as a person, which corresponds to Newmahr's (2010b) definition of kink as serious leisure discussed above.

Peter, a 30-year-old who self-proclaims as "mainly a sub", discusses his life in kink and is one of the few to express kink to be at the centre of his social life and to offer personal self-fulfilment:

When travelling to other countries, other kinky folks were closer to me than other Finns or my colleagues. For me, kink events, organizations, online forums [...] provide a place for self-fulfilment. Save for professional circles and related hobbyist groups (and of course relatives), my social life has begun to centre around the kink community. (T7)

Peter feels closest to the kink community members even when travelling with other Finns or with his colleagues. Certain meanings and values are shared in the kink community globally, which may result in a more profound identification than with other groups. This phenomenon "of global system of meaning and values" is also prevalent in other leisure activities (see e.g. Hänninen, R. 2006). The identification that Peter conveys could be seen as further illustration of kink as serious leisure as per Newmahr's definition (2010b).

Furthermore, these meanings and values can be seen as symbols (Ehn & Löfgren 1982), which are understood globally by the kink community members, thus creating feelings of being an insider and belonging in the community (Pohtinen 2017).

Peter, like many other writers, portrays himself as an active participant in kink-related activities: he travels and finds local kink events which he attends, participates in a house-building project for a Dominatrix, is active online and at local events. Through his own effort Peter has become a well-seasoned kinkster with knowledge, skills, and a social life in the kink community. Practically, Peter depicts kink as serious leisure which envelopes his everyday life. However, he adds: "I try to separate kink from everyday life." (T7)

Other leisurely communities can be seen as encompassing individuals' lives in much the same ways as kink does,⁵ yet there appears to be no need to separate these activities or identifications from everyday life. With regard to kink, this need is, however, prevalent among the autobiographical writers. The need to separate kink from everyday life might be due to what Peter adds as the reason behind his need to keep kink and everyday life separate: "It's not good to be submissive in the real world. In fact, I am very independent and even dominant if needed." (T7)

Peter emphasizes how he is only submissive in the kink context and not in his everyday life. Kink, unlike some other leisurely communities, pertains to a stigmatized sexuality and there might exist a false assumption that an individual's sexuality is interchangeable with or determined by their personality, even though these two can be rather separate entities (Weiss 2011).

The underlying fear of a stigmatized sexuality taking control might have thus affected the autobiographical writers' need to separate kink from everyday life. Ehn and Löfgren (2010:187) mention how many people find their fantasies bizarre and, thus, fear losing themselves too deep into their out-of-the-ordinary sexual fantasies and losing contact with reality. While Peter tries he separates kink from everyday life, engaging in activities related to kink still plays an important role for him. Moreover, the activities that Peter describes are typically hidden from outsiders, even though they constitute a great part of life for the individual and include aspects of serious leisure, such as planning, learning, and commitment. The element of secrecy might, however, add to the notion of not seeing these kink activities as everyday life experience, since everyday life may be thought of as something that occurs in the public sphere, whereas the secretive parts, such as kink, belong to the private realm (Nippert-Eng 2010). The need to separate kink from everyday life may also add to the essential mystery (Pohtinen 2019) and the escapist function of kink.

To conceptualize kink as serious leisure is also to see it as part of everyday life and to further highlight the understanding of everyday life as being actively made and remade (Löfgren 2014). To be able to incorporate kink in everyday life, kink needs to be seen as more than a mere sexuality: for some individuals it offers deep identification, a social life, and a lifestyle that is actively pursued. Furthermore, individuals fashion their everyday life to be able to engage in kink activities, whether through online or face-to-face connections. Searching for other kinksters when travel-

ling, and engaging in online conversations are active actions that shape individuals' everyday lives. Within a society that stigmatizes kink, the kink community presents as highly sociable, embracing commitment as well as active participation.

Escaping the Mundane

The escapist aspect of kink may occur in a multitude of ways, for example, in as seemingly mundane a context as an online discussion. For example, Mona, a 30-year-old submissive, describes her rebellious excitement upon encountering the kink community online:

The euphoria at the beginning related to all this [finding the kink community] was wonderful: I somehow felt extremely alive. [...] When I got the children to bed, I would go online to chat and to read about kink. It felt somehow forbidden, but on the other hand it was an escape into a world of my own away from the realities of being a single parent. I didn't have a possibility to attend kink events, so I lived in my own secret bubble on the internet. (T17)

For Mona, the online discussions after the children's bedtime feel like an escape from her reality as a single mother. Often, however, an escape from everyday life is achieved during kink play through assuming a certain role, or through creating a space dedicated to play. The temporary power exchange, which is the foundation of most BDSM play, creates a magic circle of escape from everyday life (Newmahr 2011:71–72). Thus, the individual steps out of everyday life across the threshold into a different reality or into a magic circle (Harviainen & Frank 2016; Paasonen 2018). However, for Mona the online virtual reality can be seen as a magic circle of its own.

For some of the autobiographical writers, kink play presents first and foremost as an escape or a total separation from everyday life. Some writers describe falling into a trance-like state during play, such as 23-year-old Sophia:

Kink is the way for me to express myself and my feelings. For example, with ropes I can give power to a person I trust without having to worry about a thing. I can just fall into a kind of trance and relax my mind and my body. (T13)

The trance-like experiences or descriptions of a "high" during kink play can be mystical in nature and may be described as enabling the experiencer to reach a heightened state of consciousness or feel more alive (Taylor & Ussher 2001). Furthermore, this high can be experienced as addictive (ibid.). Ellen expresses kink and especially submission as a need and as something she is unable to live without:

For me kink is part of everyday life: power roles, fantasies, sex with my man (as a sub or a dominant), I have a vast sexual taste and I have sex very often. As a sub I can let go of everything, to enter a trance, which I cannot live without. (T22)

What often is of utmost importance in kink is the mental aspect. The headspace, which is sometimes described as trance, high, or sub-space that can be achieved during play, may be more desirable than, for instance, an orgasm (Simula 2017). According to Simula (2017), the physical parts are only a means to achieve the desired headspace and intimacy.

An escape from everyday life can also be reached by engaging in fetishism, such as dressing up in a particular outfit or material. Matt, a 28-year-old latex fetishist, de-

scribes his relationship to his fetish, and the sense of mystique is present here as well:

My fetishes are present in my life nearly every day. When I'm alone I often want to dress up in different [latex] outfits and use my toys, chains, etc. For me my fetishes are a total escape from everyday life. The presence of my fetishes is indescribable. I believe only a fetishist can understand such great pleasure. (T6)

Matt describes his love for dressing up in latex as something that, even if it is difficult for him to describe, creates a complete escape from everyday life. The ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist (2006:63) suggests that the process of taking off one's everyday clothes and dressing up for a special occasion is a means of crossing a threshold from mundane into special. By changing clothes, an individual is able to experience a temporary detachment from the "shackles of everyday life" and find freedom and authenticity (Lönnqvist 2006:63). These "shackles" might include everyday roles related to, for example, profession, gender, or social status. Dressing up in a fetish outfit provides a momentary sense of freedom and authenticity from the roles of everyday life.

Furthermore, fantasizing and daydreaming may act as escapism from everyday life. Daydreaming is typically related to boredom and routines: the mind wanders while performing the daily tasks or, for instance, while travelling (Ehn & Löfgren 2010). In the autobiographical writings, many daydreams are rather mundane,⁶ although writers also mention having fantasies about kink (T7, T10, T11, T16, T22, T23, T24) or describe sexual fantasies (T4, T25). April, a 30-year-old woman who has discovered her kinkiness recently, writes: "At the moment, a big part of my energy

goes into trying to figure out how to better achieve my wishes regarding my sexuality and also other parts of life." (T18)

Kye dreams of having more kink in life, hoping kink will become a lifestyle, whereas Mona's dream is to find a friend who is also a submissive woman like herself (T15, T17). Preparing for events, furthermore, involves hopes, fantasies, and excitement regarding what the event might be like, or what might occur there (e.g., T2, T6, T13, T16). Imagination and daydreams may also act as a preparation or planning for a desirable future (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:198–200).

Everyday life is filled with sensations and desires that yearn to be fulfilled, even though they may be difficult to achieve (Highmore 2002:14). In general, people escape in books, television, and other media to fantasize and to gather material for their daydreaming (Ehn & Löfgren 2010). Peter tells how he used to find torture scenes in books especially interesting, whereas for Matt, Catwoman in a Batman movie made him realize his fascination for latex as a teen (T7; T6). Kinksters thus find scenarios which they might or might not want to occur in their own lives as well. Daydreaming is a way of making our wishes concrete without ever having to actually experience them. While daydreaming, the dreamer has control over the situation (Ehn, Löfgren & Wilk 2010). However, employing fiction and fantasy and applying them in real life contexts may be an important part of kink for many (Harviainen 2015).

Escaping in BDSM play, fetishism, or even kink-related online discussions may present as crucial aspects in making everyday life enjoyable and meaningful for kinky individuals. Even in a 24/7 dy-

namic the play sessions can be seen as the escapist highlight of everyday life (T11). The issue of kink as escapism, however, is a highly contested one. The challenge is that in the same way that kink may be sexual for most but not all practitioners (e.g. Langdridge 2006, versus Newmahr 2011), it is not escapism for all. While scholars such as Roy F. Baumeister (1988) have argued that all sadomasochism is escapism, and popular media typically re-produce this idea, field data do not fully support that conclusion. In our responses, two of the 28 writers (T24, T25), for example, stated that kink was not escapism for them, which correlates strongly with views expressed by Weiss (2011) and Newmahr (2011). As a result, we can solely conclude that kink has an escapist function for many, but not for all.

Kink Defining Everyday Life

Everyday life can be understood in various ways, which can be seen in our research material, the autobiographical writings, as the writers describe aspects of their lives: for some, everyday life includes work, home, relationships, and sexuality, whereas for others, everyday life contains mainly the mandatory chores and routines that are needed for the basic upkeep of comfortable life. Also, kink can be understood in various ways: for some it is related to sex or play sessions, whereas for others it is a fundamental part of their being. With regard to these understandings, we have discussed kink as four everyday life experiences.

Kink can provide authenticity to everyday life and often kink is needed to reach a sense of living an authentic life. It can be a mode of being and as part of the self, and therefore it cannot necessarily be turned on

or off. Occasionally, the role assumed in, for instance, the work environment may be less authentic for an individual than the role assumed in kink. For some individuals kink becomes a 24/7 power exchange encompassing the whole of everyday life, whereas for others a kinky mindset may occasionally add a special titillating aspect to mundane chores. On some occasions, for some individuals, online presence, BDSM play, engaging in fetishism, or day-dreaming have an escapist function. This escapism, the exceptions and expectations in the everyday life, may render the mundane more bearable or worth living.

The kink community is significant, as it creates the frames (or counterpoints) for many of the activities practised in everyday life, such as social contacts. Kink can be considered serious leisure as it offers its practitioners a space for building one's skills and knowledge, creates a sense of belonging and even a sense of self. Conceptualizing kink as serious leisure highlights its significance in the everyday life of individuals and the ways kink envelopes everyday life. Kink, for all, is not merely BDSM play or sex, nor is it playing a role. Rather, kink is a variety of practices intertwined into everyday life activities, which also, to a certain extent, constructs a sense of authenticity in individuals' lives.

Our analysis of kink and everyday life has focused on certain aspects of kink, although everyday life and kink could be discussed from other aspects as well. Further research that would be worthwhile in continuing our discussion could explore secrecy and privacy of kink, and how kink events in particular function as a means of escaping the mundane. As suggested by Simula (2019), considerably more research

into the actual experiences of kinksters is needed. Our discussion offers insights into the understanding of everyday life of individuals identifying with sexuality to which a stigma is attached. Here, we have explored the ways kinky-identified individuals negotiate their everyday life in terms of the society that stigmatizes kink. However, human sexuality is far too complex for simplistic generalizations. For example, if one daydreams about kink while working, is that a part of everyday life, escapism, or both, if that person's workflow does not break at any time? Furthermore, a certain mystery and taboo character is essential to kink and, thus, to see kink as a form of "new normal" would be to interpret it against the hegemonic understandings of sexuality, identity, and relationships. Kink can rather be seen as a naturalized part of everyday life for kinksters and it has its own symbols and values that are shared globally in the kink communities.

Johanna Pohtinen

MA, PhD Candidate

European Ethnology

School of History, Culture, and Arts Studies

University of Turku

FI-20014 Turku University

email: johanna.pohtinen@utu.fi

J. Tuomas Harviainen

Associate Professor of Information Practices

Tampere University

PL 607

FI-33101 Tampere

email: tuomas.harviainen@tuni.fi

Notes

- 1 Even though the discussion surrounding stigma is not in the scope in this article, stigma is intertwined with the everyday life of kinksters (see e.g. Pohtinen 2019).
- 2 BDSM in many definitions stands for bondage and discipline, dominance and submission, sadism and masochism (e.g. Newmahr 2011:18), whereas kink can be perceived as a broader concept including not only BDSM but also, for instance, fetishes that may have nothing to do with power dynamics or pain (Simula 2015; Pohtinen 2019). Inside the community, the term "pervo" (perv) is frequently used in the same manner, which is, however, reserved for the insiders and may have negative or unfavourable connotations outside. Furthermore, "kinkster" is a concept that is used of people engaging in kink.
- 3 The non-kinky is called "vanilla", which may denote both a person who is not kinky and the nature of sex or a relationship they are having. The term has a history of being used in a derogatory manner but is nowadays generally used as neutral shorthand to denote that something or someone is "non-kinky".
- 4 24/7 denoting 24 hours a day for seven days a week, i.e. full-time.
- 5 For example, the ethnologist Riitta Hänninen (2006; 2012) mentions the snowboarding community as having characteristics, which are also present with regard to kink community, such as: being based on skills and knowledge; offering identification; involving a certain otherness and the feelings of authenticity and freedom; and being the dominating aspect of everyday life.
- 6 In the call for writings there were no questions concerning daydreaming or fantasies, although that would be an interesting topic for further research (see e.g. Zurbriggen & Yost 2004; Stear 2009).

References

Fieldwork material

The Archives of History, Culture and Arts Studies,
University of Turku

Code used in text, age, archive code, name given
by first author

Collected in 2011

T1, 20, TYKL/spa/1150a

T2, 22, TYKL/spa/1150b, Erin
T3, 23, TYKL/spa/1150c, Tina
T4, 23, TYKL/spa/1150d, Lily
T5, 23, TYKL/spa/1150e, Hale
T6, 28, TYKL/spa/1150f, Matt
T7, 30, TYKL/spa/1150g, Peter
T8, 38, TYKL/spa/1150h
T9, 41, TYKL/spa/1150i, Rosa
T10, 43, TYKL/spa/1150j
T11, 43, TYKL/spa/1150k, Lena
T12, 56, TYKL/spa/1150l

Collected in 2017

T13, 23, TYKL/spa/1228_1, Sophia
T14, 26, TYKL/spa/1228_2, Katie
T15, 27, TYKL/spa/1228_3, Kye
T16, 29, TYKL/spa/1228_4, Victor
T17, 30, TYKL/spa/1228_5, Mona
T18, 30, TYKL/spa/1228_6, April
T19, 36, TYKL/spa/1228_7, Paul
T20, 37, TYKL/spa/1228_8, Owen
T21, 37, TYKL/spa/1228_9, Meredith
T22, 40, TYKL/spa/1228_10, Ellen
T23, 40, TYKL/spa/1228_11, Jennifer
T24, 43, TYKL/spa/1228_12, Nicole
T25, 44, TYKL/spa/1228_13, Amy
T26, 50, TYKL/spa/1228_14, Gary
T27, 53, TYKL/spa/1228_15, Robert
T28, 62, TYKL/spa/1228_16, Karen

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Lending, Borrowing and Sharing

A Microcosmos of Infrastructural Trust Lines in
Contemporary Consumer Culture
By Karin Salomonsson

Two societal challenges will, for a long time to come, affect the organization of everyday life, globally as well as locally. At the end of 2019, the European Parliament officially declared a climate emergency, something that many researchers, environmental activists and some politicians have long foretold. A few months later, the pandemic linked to the Covid-19 virus was no longer a risk, but a fact. The long-term consequences are difficult to predict. Precarious employment, risk of poverty and low living standards, combined with the urgent action needed to mitigate climate change, will result in an even clearer need for changed consumer habits and shared resources (Ince & Hall 2018). In the wake of previous financial crises, solidarity, trust and confidence have become increasingly important (Bacas & Näser-Lather 2018; Streinzer 2018). New ways to “get by”, by sharing with others to a greater extent in the form of borrowing, renting, swapping or donating, have emerged (Kane Curtis & Lehner 2019). But despite all the reasons that have long been cited by advocates of a transition to more sustainable consumption, many are still sceptical about actively participating. Many say they *want* to share, but fail to do so (cf. Hamari et al. 2015).

Recently, my research has concerned one of these sharing practices, namely lending and borrowing.¹ In this article, I will focus on borrowing *objects*² between family members, neighbours and friends. This private, inter-personal sharing is sometimes said to be a model for how public services seek to organize and market themselves as socially inclusive and a way of empowering communities and neighbourhoods (Belk 2010; Schor & Wengronowitz 2017). Indeed, borrowing

things from people in one’s vicinity may seem like a socially rewarding, everyday practice that simply happens, and continues without the need to reflect further on what is going on. However, whether it is loans between private individuals, or organized lending activities through an intermediary of some kind, a number of preconceived social codes and cultural meanings are at stake. It challenges habits, rules and rituals. It evokes emotions and affects social relationships. It can strengthen people, facilitate and solve difficult situations, but also cut ties, create discord and shame (Ince & Hall 2018).

The purpose of this text is to problematize everyday borrowing and lending as a seemingly uncomplicated phenomenon. I want to reveal the dynamics and entanglements that exist between the materiality of the loan, social practices, norms and discursive ideas and meanings. In other words, my starting point is to interpret borrowing as a *cultural* process to capture the complexity behind the degree of willingness to share with others, which cannot be accelerated exclusively by smart digital solutions, flexible infrastructure, government or commercial initiatives and public lending activities. How are the informal infrastructures of everyday lending fashioned as an unreflective element in a social fabric, and what risks tearing them apart? When is it a burden, a social friction and when is it something welcome, a long-awaited proof of being needed? And last but not least: what will happen to everyday borrowing when non-profit or commercially organized forms of public borrowing are encouraged and become more common in the sharing economy?

Material, Methods and Theoretical Inspiration

The reason why borrowing caught my interest was the debate that for a few years in the early 2010s took place in the Swedish media about the rapidly increasing number of large mortgages at low interest rates, and the growing number of digital payday loans that young people especially were tempted to take. At the same time, the word borrowing appeared more and more often in discussions and presentations of what was called the sharing economy. Apparently, the word borrow could have many different meanings and implications, all of which were associated with specific norms and values. Therefore, my curiosity was aroused and I wanted to follow up the current public debate with an ethnographic study.

One part of my empirical material consists of just over 100 answers to the questionnaire “To borrow and lend” (LUF 241) which was sent out in 2015 in collaboration with the Folklife Archive at Lund University to the informants who regularly answer questionnaires on different themes (Hagström 2020). As the age of several of these informants is relatively high, students were encouraged to answer the same questionnaire, and it was distributed digitally as well. An electronic survey focusing on borrowing in relation to the sharing economy generated an additional 65 responses. The enthusiasm and hype surrounding new sharing activities was not felt as much in interview and questionnaire responses as in the media. Although many in principle consider sharing with others to be positive and something they also do in their everyday lives, not many people knew of or referred to the discourse of the sharing economy.

To broaden the circle of respondents, 30 semi-structured interviews, which varied in length from one to two hours, were conducted, recorded and transcribed. Among these were a handful of people who worked with various public and non-profit lending activities, for example different “libraries” for borrowing toys, tools, sport and leisure items, and clothes as well as free shops.

All the participants in the study now live in Sweden, but not everyone was born here. The majority live in medium-sized towns, but also in predominantly rural areas as well as in bigger cities, all across Sweden, with a slight dominance for the southern parts. The age varies from 20 to 90 years and there is a certain predominance of women among the participants. Among the respondents you find a variety of occupations, for example factory workers, librarians, health workers, engineers, teachers, musicians as well as senior citizens and students. In the empirical material, there is on one overall level a consensus about borrowing behaviour that is desirable, but when I look more closely at the answers, I discover differences at the level of detail that – not surprisingly – seem to be connected with age, occupation, family and housing, life situation and living conditions and different political or existential approaches.

The answers contained many reflections on and experiences of loan transactions, and memories of childhood or grandparents. At times, I marvelled at the power, the intensity, and empathetic stories, as well as the sometimes long-winded and detailed descriptions of old wrongs and mismanagement of borrowed items. It became clear that borrowing is a practice that matters and makes an impression. These metic-

ulous and emotionally charged narratives function as a way to reinforce and emphasize certain values and cultural meanings surrounding borrowing. These stories are strong enough to guide lending practices because they can “buckle concrete or bend steel, and they can maintain an inescapable grip on the disposition of infrastructure space” (Easterling 2014:137). They are also a sign of the durable attachments that exist between material things, the technical and social organization of the loan and its cultural significance, “attachment is a matter of talk” and “verbalisation creates attachment” (Cochoy et al. 2017). The more people talk about lost tools, damaged clothes, ruined books and lost favourite things, the stronger the perception of what the ideal loan should be. Borrowing involves not only an infrastructural materiality and sociality, but also an infrastructural *emotionality* that is expressed in the concern about what might happen. Not least of all, the loan is a memory bank, where trust, confidence, betrayal and disappointments are stored and easily brought back to life (cf. Hart 2001).

As an ethnologist my method is characterized by a willingness to use everyday events and familiar items to problematize and clarify presumed and unspoken cultural meanings and practices – in this case about borrowing and lending. By asking the question “what is really going on when nothing special seems to be happening?” everyday micro dramas (Ehn & Löfgren 2007:11) can be revealed and analysed. What power structures, social categorizations and cultural-historical imprints can be found “below the surface” when it comes to borrowing practices (Marander-Eklund & Nilsson 2018; cf. Christensen et

al. (eds) 2017), and how are micro-social relations performed in day-to-day sociality, often through the exchange of material objects (Lewis 2018)?

By delimiting and identifying certain narratives in the empirical material, for example by noting recurring themes, critical incidents, twists of words and “cultural densities” where contrasting norms and values, social practices and views on material objects clash and thus become clear (Salomonsson 1998:26; cf. Hagström & Sjöholm 2017), the interpretations have emerged gradually. More than 200 individuals have contributed their unique stories, but that does not mean that their experiences differ in 200 different ways. As Ehn & Löfgren say, there are large amounts of hidden activities that unite individuals, without them being aware of it, which form patterns of habits, ideas and values, and the highly personal is culturally charged (Ehn & Löfgren 2007:16). The cultural pattern of borrowing and lending is materialized in the repetition and enactment of certain practices and approaches (Barad 2003, Damsholt 2012). For example, it turned out not to be unusual to expect a small gift when something that had been lent was returned; to describe oneself as careful with borrowed items – often in contrast to those who are *not*; or to feel uncertain about where the line between a loan, petty thefts or a gift should be drawn. To be able to discover these recurring cultural figurations, I have chosen to focus on the infrastructures and lines of trust that act as an important lubricant for intra-personal and non-profit organized borrowing.

Infrastructures are often regarded as something obvious that we take for granted should be there and above all function

without problems. As they can be difficult to locate, identify and delimit, it is particularly important to scrutinize them (Rella 2020). Studying new sharing initiatives simply by looking at how they are physically designed, staged and organized is not sufficient, however, as there is a risk of missing the underlying “aspects of distributional justice and planning power” (Leigh Star 1999:379). In public lending, there is an ‘infrastructure within the infrastructure’ in the form of cultural ideas, norms, power and politics (Rella 2020) which, for example, can be expressed in whether it should cost to borrow, whether something damaged must be reimbursed, whether everything that is lent out must be organic and plastic-free or whether the lending procedure itself is to be based exclusively on digital technology.

Infrastructural arrangements are also present in everyday, interpersonal borrowing. Ordinary borrowing is from the outset precisely so “ordinary” that it is difficult to discover that it actually encompasses infrastructural materiality, as well as infrastructural emotionality. It is built around uncomplicated technology and simple operations and illustrates particularly clearly the statement that “the right question is not ‘*what* is infrastructure’, but ‘*when* is infrastructure?’” (Rella 2020:4). The shelf that is sometimes reserved for borrowed books is usually not infrastructure specifically designed for borrowing, but in some situations turns into just that. It requires a boundary that must be crossed in order for something to qualify as a loan, for example a posting in a neighbour-sharing app, a specific shelf in the kitchen from which it is acceptable to “borrow” things or a communal clothes hanger where garments

may be borrowed. The very question “can I borrow?” mobilizes, and triggers emotions, movements and thoughts that result in specific practices. A rapid calibration is made of perceptions and values about what a loan “should” be. Is the trust and confidence strong enough to carry as an infrastructural trust line?

The components that are most complex, intricate and elusive in the private lending and borrowing infrastructure are the social and cultural ties. Material and technical devices are indispensable and tangible parts of infrastructural flows, but equally important are the social, cultural and symbolic meanings and codes with which infrastructures are also built (Dewille 2016). Under what conditions, for how long and between whom is trust built, which forms an infrastructural context? To investigate this I have borrowed (!) the term *trust lines*, which is normally used to describe how cryptocurrencies and LETS (*Local Exchange Trading Systems*, such as time banks or hawalas) are structured as networks with trust as its coordinating principle (Rella 2020). Here, the term is used as a methodological tool to analyse my empirical material.

Research on Sharing as a Consumption Practice

I have situated my study in a research context that emphasizes the social, cultural and material aspects and forms of expression of consumption (Petersson McIntyre et al. (eds) 2019), especially in relation to new consumption practices included in what is termed the sharing economy, collaborative consumption, access-based consumption or liquid consumption (Bardhi & Eckhardt 2017; Bardhi & Eckhardt 2012; McArthur

2015; Mont et al. 2020; Trenz et al. 2018; Wahlen & Laamanen 2017). This research is interested, among other things, in the consequences and meanings of various forms of transfer of property (Appelgren & Bohlin 2015; cf. Salomonsson 2018a). The main object of study is how things are handled, valued and become desirable through various forms of circulation, and how these forms are organized technically, socially, economically and aesthetically (Appelgren & Bohlin 2017; Fredriksson 2016; Hansson & Brembeck 2015). The social anthropologist Russel Belk describes sharing as a basic consumption process in people's lives, but so far overlooked in research (Belk 2014a, 2010, 2007). This is now being rectified at a rapid pace as more and more researchers from different disciplines document and discuss various aspects of sharing and collaborative economies. Some argue that it is time to talk about "a sharing turn" in social science research (Arcidiacono et al. 2018). More and more review articles summarize the expanding field with the intention of categorizing different variants of sharing based on motive, goals, implementation and impact (e.g. Kane & Lehner 2019). The motives for sharing in different ways can be summarized under four headings: economic benefits; environmental benefits; a desire to belong to a social community; or manifesting certain ideological values by through supporting an alternative consumption mode (Trenz et al. 2018; cf. Möhlmann 2015; Schor et al. 2016). The debate over what can – and should – be included in the concept of the sharing economy and what consequences its expansion can have, is ongoing both in the scientific discourse and in the political and ideological debate (John 2017; Kennedy

2016; Scaraboto 2015; Widlok 2013). For some, such as Russel Belk, it is important to preserve the boundary between what he calls genuine sharing and pseudo-sharing, where the latter is characterized by profit motives and lack of community (Belk 2014b: 7). Others perceive a risk in sharing being incorporated into a platform capitalism that focuses on developing new business opportunities and profitable solutions, often digitally based (Frenken & Schor 2017; Martin 2016; Richardson 2015). Will the sharing economy be transformed into "neoliberalism on steroids" or an open and diverse ecosystem where money, motives, expectations of reciprocity and a sense of community can be openly discussed (Murillo et al. 2017:74)? One way to distance oneself from an economic perspective and instead highlight local, social sharing initiatives may be to replace the word sharing economy with *sharing culture* (Katrini 2018). Although there is disagreement about how sharing should be defined, researchers increasingly agree that the forms of ownership and different ways of exchanging property are socially and culturally constructed, embedded in values, norms, social relations and emotions, which explains changing definitions and expression in different societal contexts and times (Price & Belk 2016; Schor & Wengronowitz 2017).

Public *lending* activities based on voluntary work, that are wholly or partly publicly funded, are becoming increasingly common around the world (cf. Zvolska et al. 2019). In principle, it should be possible to lend anything, and therefore the information scientist Jonas Söderholm proposes the concept of X-lending library, to emphasize that collection, categorization,

making available and free lending is central, as opposed to *what specifically* is lent (2018:9). Examples of studies of similar lending activities are also becoming more common (Ameli 2017; Pescielli et al. 2015; Söderholm 2016), although surveys of different ways of sharing, for example, housing, transport, working space, or music – often through private companies – have dominated. As a contrast it is stated in the introduction to the edited volume *Sharing Economies in Times of Crisis* that some of “the most powerful examples of sharing economies are the everyday, informal practices of mutuality, solidarity and resourcefulness that all-too-easily go unnoticed” rather than the large-scale programme declarations on sustainability goals made by politicians and urban planners, entrepreneurs and traditional companies (Hall & Ince 2018:2).

However, private, interpersonal lending has not aroused interest as often, despite the fact that it appears to be a socially and culturally more complex practice with more specific but rarely stated rules (Löfgren 2018, Tinson & Nutthall 2007). A noteworthy exception is an in-depth study, based on an interest in “our attachment to goods, their social lives and how goods mediate social relationships”, of student housing and its lending and borrowing relationships (Jenkins et al. 2014). Here it is underlined that the complexities in borrowing arise because the boundaries of ownership and possession “are made messy”. It is pointed out that precisely this “messiness” distinguishes private lending from “market-mediated access-based consumption” (ibid.:132). My study, which includes experiences not only from students living in collective housing, on the contrary points

to the fact that social complications that affect personal relationships can also easily creep into public sharing initiatives.

The Everydayness of Lending and Borrowing

Borrowing is a form of exchange characterized by two principles: the temporary nature of possession and the absence of ownership (Bardhi & Eckhardt 2012; Jenkins et al. 2014). There is a common and everyday meaning of the word where it denotes an uncomplicated flow of things that move between two or more individuals. Sometimes, to distinguish it from the new sharing *economy*, it is referred to as “traditional sharing”, which is based on “practices of true sharing or lending. [...] [T]he lender receives no immediate and no monetary compensation” (Trenz et al. 2018:902). The term “traditional” is, in my opinion, unfortunate because it suggests that the borrowing referred to has existed, in unchanged form, for a long time and is seen as original and genuine – but can also be interpreted as something outdated and old-fashioned. I prefer to characterize everyday borrowing as seamless (until it suddenly gets stuck, which will be discussed later). It goes on as a natural part of life, both today and further back in time (Saltzman & Sjöholm 2019:119). It simply has a high degree of “everydayness” about it. “My daughter-in-law and I usually borrow small things for the household from each other instead of rushing to the store”, explains a woman born in 1938. Another person, born in the 1940s, says:

I like to lend things to others. I think it is a privilege to be able to help. I feel it is flattering if someone wants to borrow from me. In my childhood, the neighbours' wives borrowed a lot from each oth-

er, mostly food that had run out, sugar, salt, flour, which was needed immediately. The store was far away. You also borrowed bed linen if you had guests.

An informant who grew up in the countryside in northern Sweden in the 1940s and 1950s states, that “this ‘borrowing’ from each other was an important (sometimes necessary) part of the relationship between neighbours”. The loan was a socially accepted reason to look in on each other, to maintain social networks and strengthen necessary friendships. The social framework also wrapped up the economic necessity of borrowing from each other and the risk of appearing poor was reduced as it was part of an established pattern of exchange. When a state welfare system is not sufficiently developed, or if the welfare system is unable to address economically precarious situations, it becomes crucial to have an informal network to fall back on (Gibson et al. 2018). To avoid being excluded from this network, it is important to follow certain norms and unspoken rules to be considered reliable and respectable and to avoid losing the trust capital that has been built up at kitchen tables and over fences (Lewis 2018). Under certain circumstances, such as when goods are rationed or money is scarce, or at certain periods in life, borrowing can be intensified and extended geographically. An informant writes that in a collection of letters between his mother and her sister from the war years of the 1940s, he understood how “they often borrowed clothes from each other, especially in connection with parties. The clothes were wrapped and sent by post”. The same loan procedure is described today by a Somali woman who lives in Sweden. With her sister in London,

she exchanges, via postal packages, expensive and fashionable dresses that can be worn at different weddings, since it is not acceptable to wear the same dress twice. “If you ask another Somali woman: Can you lend me clothes, they say yes, because everyone knows we do that sometimes, borrow from each other.”

There is a popular notion among both older and younger informants that it was more common to borrow “in the past”. The reason why it is no longer so common is said to be partly an increased social distance, people are reluctant to knock on the neighbour’s door to borrow a small item when it is just as easy to go to the store, and partly better financial conditions as a result of which people prefer to buy whatever they need. Another explanation may be that the circulation of objects that do not have much value to their owner can hardly count as a real loan. “However, I rarely experience that people around me borrow things from each other. If they do, it is more in the form of practical loans, such as when the neighbour needs to borrow coffee or other friends need to borrow tools of some kind.” A woman in her thirties distinguishes “practical loans” from larger, more significant loans, and hardly seems to include them in the category of loans. Exchanging things with each other does not seem so unusual in her circle of friends, but she does not consider it a loan. Another woman, who is in her twenties, describes the everyday life of the unnoticed loan flow as follows: “Smaller loans happen all the time, I think. I borrow or lend a pen to someone at school, lend the bus card to my partner, borrow my friends’ sweater when I’m cold. All those loans feel pretty unproblematic...”. The “practical” or “un-

problematic” loans are there in everyday life and are hardly noticeable because they are part of an infrastructural reciprocity, a social fabric that does not rupture until something stops the flow. “I can imagine that a mobile phone charger is among the most common things we borrow from each other today. The charger is an obvious thing to lend, at the same time as one takes for granted that it is just as obvious that I can borrow one if there is a crisis.” In this quotation from a female student, the word *obvious* is used twice, which indicates that within this particular social circle there is a certain consensus about things that can be borrowed, but also things that cannot be refused without causing a stir.

Many informants who, when asked directly if they often borrow, answer in the negative. But later on, in interviews and questionnaires, it is revealed that loans between neighbours and friends, or within the family, take place time and again. There may even be a relatively fixed organization for borrowing.

I rarely borrow stuff from others; I myself have most of the stuff needed in everyday life. We are a good “work team” and lend to each other if we can. When it comes to borrowing things like shovels, pliers, bicycle pumps and the like, I would turn to “good neighbours”. I have many good friends here, so I don’t need to ask a single one outside that group.

This quotation could be interpreted to mean that loans, by definition, only happen outside the circle of friends, or if a person needs to borrow something that is beyond everyday life. It shows that the action depends on the setting to be defined as a “loan” (Marres 2012). The same Somali woman who talked about her borrowing of

clothes across Europe says firmly that she does not borrow food from neighbours or friends. “I can’t borrow food!” This puzzled me until I realized that the frequent exchange of, for example, oil, salt and spices, which was going on more or less all the time, could not qualify as a loan, as it could not be returned, but had to be repaid in some other way.

Everyday lending is based on informal, often unspoken agreements where, among other things, time and perceptions of what constitutes a long or short lending period are central and affect the experience and the very definition of a loan. People within the same social network are often assumed to have similar norms regarding lending and borrowing practices, and it is important to be able to recognize what is acceptable. The original meaning of a loan can also change through everyday routines. The return is no longer so important and the loan balances on the verge of being a gift, or is deemed to be in the grey zone between mine and yours, with floating boundaries of ownership for a long time. “There is usually a shift in that she borrows something from me and that it slowly but surely becomes hers. Slowly I give up my ownership of it and suddenly I put it in her part of the closet instead”, explains a person who is cohabiting. An expression that appears a few times, especially in interviews with younger people, is “long-term loan”. Agreeing on a formal loan accompanied by expectations regarding a certain loan period, perfect condition at the time of return and perhaps a small extra gift as a thank you, can be avoided through the long-term loan. It can also be useful for something you want to get rid of, but which is still difficult to let go of completely. If

it is a long-term loan, the item can still be demanded back and the loan is perceived more as “shared custody” of the garment, explains one of the interviewees. Others believe that it is precisely these unspecified lending times that can cause problems. “It becomes a bigger thing when the loans are for a long, perhaps undefined, time. This is when you lose control of your property. Someone else really takes over the responsibility”, says a young woman.

Another aspect of time in relation to borrowing is connected to where you are in the life cycle. Above all, many believe that younger people today are more positive about borrowing, for example through public sharing activities. The fact that borrowing was more widespread “in the old days” (in the 1940s and 1950s) may have resulted in several of those who were young at the time not wanting to borrow to the same extent today. A younger person working in a non-profit lending organization has encountered a greater hesitation among older people to borrow in this organized way: “I think young people today are more open to borrowing. It is not so shameful to borrow. It might be a bit stigmatizing for older people, it is not really acceptable not to pay for things.”

The early teens appear as the most active and uncomplicated period when it comes to borrowing and lending. This is a phase when young people control their possessions without too much interference from parents, and at the same time it is a period of intense socializing. “I kind of borrowed clothes from friends. Everyone borrowed from each other.” But learning to borrow in the “right” way is not something that just happens by itself. Through directions and reprimands, encouragements and cautions from siblings and parents, preschool and

teachers, one is slowly trained into a specific culture of lending and borrowing, a culture whose contours are sharpened through clashes with others (cf. Tinson & Nutthall 2007). As a central part of their upbringing, children are often encouraged to share with other people (Löfgren 2018). However, the process of learning to lend includes an understanding that the object is actually owned by someone, and this seems to trump norms about sharing. Narratives are often brought forward in interviews and questionnaires that indirectly point out how important norms around borrowing have been in the narrator’s upbringing. One older man describes how he was schooled into a certain borrowing behaviour – which he admittedly abandoned in adulthood: “I remember that I wrote down all such things when I was young. It could be that one of my sisters or my brother borrowed a pen or 10 kronor. I was extremely meticulous as a child and knew exactly what I had borrowed and what I had lent.” Experiencing some form of mishap in connection with a borrowed item can affect future desire and willingness to borrow. An informant recounts an episode that happened when he was seven or eight years old:

I remember that when I was quite young – and this is an anxiety-ridden memory – I borrowed a lot of books from the library that I put in my school bag, in which I also had a fruit for my lunch. Somewhere on the way I fell on my bag and my fruit got squashed and smeared all over the books. I remember I felt so terribly anxious and I cried when I returned them. But the librarian was very, very nice and said that “there is no harm done, things like that happen, it’s really OK, we’ll take care of this”. I have such a strong memory of that.

To carry “anxiety-ridden memories”, even though the incident in fact never led to any

form of punishment, shows how cultural and social expectations are intertwined in the simple act of receiving an object, using it for a limited amount of time and then returning it. The seriousness, or the extent, of the social damage that incorrect borrowing behaviour can cause is confirmed and reflected in other people's reactions. The same man also describes another episode. "When I was a kid, I lent a book to a teacher that she lost. And then she showed great remorse... and it was so strange to see remorse from a teacher, because she was always right, but here she had lost something that was mine, and she showed great remorse."

In this section of the article, I have highlighted the *unreflective* ways of enacting loans and the norms and beliefs that intersect everyday borrowing, which flow seamlessly and are hardly registered until, for example, an ethnologist begins to ask questions. In the next section, I want to focus on the overall condition that must be met for borrowing, both private and public, to take place at all, namely, that there is trust and confidence in all parties involved.

The Stuff That Trust Lines Are Made Of

Trust can, as has already been said, be visualized as trust lines, which, if they weaken too much or are cut off completely, seriously reduce a capital of confidence that can be vital. As the social anthropologist Camilla Lewis states in her study of older working women in northern England: "Being branded as untrustworthy was one of the worst accusations a woman could face as it could threaten a vital part of her family's livelihood" (2018:5).

In everyday lending, personal trust is more important than in publicly organized

lending activities. On a discursive level, there seems to be a great deal of agreement on which rules of etiquette apply in loan contexts. At the very least, most of the informants agree on what an appropriate borrowing behaviour *should* entail in order not to risk breaking the trust line; the loaned item must be returned in mint condition and within the agreed time, preferably with a small extra gift as a thank you. Should anything be damaged or broken, it must be replaced. The ideal is confirmed and reproduced through stories about how others fail to live up to it (Salomonsson 2018b). Some things such as tools, chairs and tables, kitchen equipment or small amounts of food are for most people unproblematic to borrow, and lend. On the other hand, the opposite is true of expensive electronic devices, intimate possessions or objects with great sentimental value. Clothes, certain books and, for example, bicycles can end up in an intermediate category where the intensity of the personal connection to the object seems decisive. A woman says it is almost physically painful to her "when someone who has borrowed my book prises it open more than necessary, folds the corners or accidentally spills something on it." People who are in principle very positive about lending things and sharing with others may experience a strong connection to material things and feel anxious that they will get lost. A middle-aged man describes it like this:

I get easily attached to things, even small things. Although it can be easy and cheap to get a new one, it is not the same item I once had, and maybe cared for with diligence and love. The loss of that *specific* thing, that object, is not related to its monetary value.

An item of clothing, a kitchen utensil or a hedge trimmer is suddenly charged with

new meanings when it is loaned. It takes on the role of materialized proof of trust and confidence. It is a connecting link – a social rubber band – that risks stretching and perhaps breaking if more or less unspoken norms and values are challenged. Losing a cherished possession, or getting it back damaged, affects the perception of and the relationship with the borrower.

There are plenty of stories about what it is like not to get your things back at all. “My father – born 1906 – lent shovels and the like to a neighbour, who then branded them with his own name. Their friendship became very strained.” There is great disappointment over lack of respect where an item is not returned on time, and great sense of loss and anger over things that are destroyed or have disappeared. The absence of an object – for example, a gap in the bookshelf left by a book that was never returned, or a void in a drawer after a favourite sweater – becomes crucial because one remembers social relationships through the absence of a possession. Lending and returning are variants of getting rid of things, even if the former is a temporary dispossession. If it is not done correctly (and there are different opinions about what is correct), there is a great risk that the incorrect or missed return will haunt those involved. “The representational figure of unfinished or unmanaged disposal is the ghost and its agency is expressed in the idea of haunting...”, as the sociologist Kevin Hetherington emphasizes (2004:170). In her questionnaire answer, a woman describes the emotions that still haunt her as a consequence of some lost favourite items. “There are three things I never got back which I still go around fretting over. A suitcase, a leather jacket and

a book (in the 1980s, embarrassing that I even mention it!!!)”

To avoid conflicts or grief and disappointment over a damaged possession or broken trust, it is important to choose – or opt out of – situations where there is a risk that the loan process may get stuck. Of all those interviewed, those who have chosen to live in a collective, and actively share things with others, have the most pragmatic but also fine-tuned relationship to borrowing, which may be due to the fact that they have a “shared field of experience” (Lastovicka & Fernandez 2005:819).

But I often borrow scarves and gloves. But then I consider if that person will be away now, he or she won’t notice that I take them anyway. They have so many scarves so I think “all right, they probably won’t notice”. [...] Then you know, there are certain things that you wouldn’t take. You would never take Ben & Jerry’s ice cream from anyone. It’s really rotten (laughs). Firstly, it is very expensive and secondly it is extra delicious, kind of a bit of a luxury, so you would never take it.

Just as it is important to strategically choose which loans are worth going for, several informants emphasize that it is unwise to borrow from or lend to certain people. “Someone I would never ask to borrow something from is a person I do not like, or who I know does not like me. Then you end up in a position of dependence and can be required to offer reciprocal services that you may not want to provide.” Enemies or “someone who is gossipy or curious” are also people you do not want to ask for a loan. One informant says that “the worst thing there is, is to lend something to a neighbour or friend who does not return the item. You might have to remind them several times. And then you might feel guilty yourself.” Being the one who has to

remind someone increases the risk of being perceived as unhelpful, petty and unwilling to share with others, and the shame of not following accepted norms is shifted from the one who has not returned the item on time to the one who lent the item.

Trust and confidence are positively charged words, and building an infrastructural lending context with the help of trust lines is perceived as a prerequisite for both an informal and formal sharing economy to function in practice. Reciprocity, however, which characterizes exchange economies of various kinds, also entails a subtle game of power where expected gratitude is an important ingredient (Hall & Ince 2018, Mauss 1925/1972, Schor et al. 2016, cf. Eleonoradotter 2021:201). Several people say that they often felt compelled to agree to borrow something – which they did not really need – in order not to seem ungrateful. Being in debt, as well as rejecting a loan offer, risks “wearing down the relationship”, as a woman puts it. A young man formulates it in this way in an interview:

I think it's hard to be in debt to someone. It can distribute power relations in a strange way. When I borrow from my parents, I can feel such an incredible debt of gratitude ... and it affects our relationship, that I have to show this gratitude. It is not something they demand, but it comes entirely from me, that I must show this gratitude. I also have to make that situation more manageable, so that I constantly convince myself that ... “they have a much better financial situation than I do, it's cool that you borrow from them.”

Binding ties by borrowing from each other also evokes strong positive emotions. Because even though borrowing can result in unwanted experiences of subordination and superiority, dependence and debt, it is just as bad never to be asked to assist with a loan.

“You want to be kind, and it's fun to be able to lend and feel needed.”

The personal values concerning lending and borrowing are perceived as common sense which everyone should share. However, for it to be perceived as common sense, a common culture, there must be “others” who act in contrast to a “normal” (i.e. my own) borrowing behaviour (Ahmed 2004; Deville 2015). These different ways of performing borrowing and lending affect how the person borrowing wants to be perceived. “I would not want to be indebted to a friend. The only possible ones are my mother or maybe my brother or husband. I'm not the type to borrow”, one person states. What, then, does the “type” that borrows look like? The answers to the question “who do you think borrows often?” varied from being short and confident, to reasoning and complex. Some informants immediately associated the question with the climate situation and sustainability issues and argued that “smart” people borrow things instead of buying new ones, and thus “do the world a favour”. Some felt that people who borrowed a lot were careless in the sense that they could not, or did not want to, plan and manage money. Or that they were simply stingy. The following statement suggests that a certain type of borrowing which is perceived by some to be excessive is also morally reprehensible: “I believe that a person who constantly borrows things from others is a real good-for-nothing. And absolutely has no feeling for things, that is, is not at all careful with other people's possessions. Such a person is annoying, a parasite, one who rudely exploits others”. Some people associate the wish to borrow with the economic and social situation that a person is in. “I think it

is more common in lower social strata due to economics but also a social reciprocity. I also think it's more common among people with an immigrant background", says a young woman. Others, on the other hand, wonder if the "right" people use the various public lending activities that exist in the sharing economy. Those who due to a vulnerable financial situation "should" use the opportunity to borrow may not want to feel compelled to do so. Having to borrow, for example, party clothes or buy second-hand clothes can be seen as further proof of the devaluation and delegitimization associated with a certain class position (Skeggs 1997/1999:154). For some, a visit to an innovative and trend-setting sharing activity can serve as a confirmation of a specific and unique group identity, a practice of a certain "eco-habitus", rather than a way to improve a strained economic situation (Schor & Wengronowitz 2017).

The predominant view that emerges in the empirical material when it comes to building trust and confidence – and also how these are likely to be torn apart – can be briefly summarized as follows: some things are easier to borrow and lend than others; it is easier to borrow and lend to *certain* people; it is important to take care of what is borrowed and make demands of the borrower. Even if all these conditions are met, however, it is not certain that it will be a painless process. "Deep down, I probably think it's embarrassing to borrow things, it feels like you're too lazy or too poor to be able to fix it yourself, and that's why I usually never borrow things from others." One way to hopefully eliminate feelings of shame and to make borrowing less intimate can be to supplement, or replace, the everyday interpersonal borrow-

ing with public lending activities. In publicly organized lending, the personal trust lines are not necessarily as important, although they *may* be so, for example, in an activity based on a political or ideological stance.

The Future of Everyday Sharing?

In the light of climate crisis and calls to share underutilized resources, the intra-personal lending and borrowing has been infused with new discursive meanings and new socio-material relations. New cultures of borrowing and lending emerge (Jenkins et al. 2014:135) which in some cases clash with ingrained habits and desires. The informants' thoughts reflect that certain types of sharing have come to have a specific meaning. "It is possible to borrow as a political statement or as part of an ideological practice." Not only the environmental aspect but also social equality and community can be facilitated, others argue. "Xenophobia and a division into 'us' and 'them' can be reduced by the sharing economy's premise of community instead of competition." Borrowing has thus partly taken on a new meaning, as well as the fact that communities based on everyday exchanges must now be *organized* to a greater extent in order to emerge.

The tangible and visible infrastructure in public lending activities varies, but often consists, besides those that are commercially organized, of premises offered by a municipality, an association or a housing company. The preferred location seems to be a place where many people pass by and may want to look in for a cup of coffee or participate in a workshop. Items available to borrow are sometimes placed on open shelves where visitors can walk

around and browse and test. In other cases, the items are locked in cupboards that are opened through a reservation via a website and a deposit fee. The necessity to be knowledgeable in digital operations is obvious from the important role websites, social media accounts and digital member groups play. Here there are descriptions of what can be borrowed, the most popular and newly arrived items, and the rules and “borrowing promises” that borrowers are expected to follow are communicated. Scorings and ratings of “superborrowers” are also visible (Salomonsson 2019). Lending thus becomes, on one hand, more structured through codified lending rules and planning ahead, and on the other hand one is less dependent on a personal social network to be able to borrow. Organized lending is more often (but not always) connected to money; mandatory memberships, deposit and rental fees.

High hopes are attached to interpersonal borrowing and lending as a prototype for how new sharing activities should be organized in the best way. But is it necessarily true that values, norms and cultural meanings associated with private borrowing can be automatically transferred to organized public sharing, and thus increase its scope? Is it certain that the two different loan cultures are compatible and thus contribute to an overall increased sharing of consumer goods? A number of practices and sociomaterial networks have been launched to minimize the friction that can also arise in the public lending micro-operations, as in other types of infrastructure where the “seamless circulation remains promises rather than realities” (Rella 2020: 8). The ethnologist Robert Willim has for a long time studied how new technology

and new infrastructural solutions undergo a “mundanization”. With this concept he wants to point out “how technological systems – at times imagined as ungraspable, enchanting, and sublime – are transmuted into the commonplace while being enmeshed in people’s everyday practices” (Willim 2017:53).³ With regard to borrowing and its comparatively technically uncomplicated infrastructural solutions, I believe that a reverse process is at stake. Judging by the aesthetically pleasing websites, digital innovative solutions for booking and reservation, specially designed interiors and creative environments, where social activities and courses teaching skills such as recycling and repair are also offered, it seems as if such an everyday and unreflective act as borrowing and lending needs to be packaged in a new way to attract more people to participate. Borrowing does not need – as some actors in the sharing economy appear to argue – to be made *more* ordinary and mundane in order to be practised more often, but on the contrary it needs to be embraced to a greater extent by an aura of social responsibility, climate smartness and trend awareness. Borrowing as a cultural practice needs to be infused with a new allure and a certain sparkle to rid it of some of its everydayness. But the risk is that when borrowing as sharing is presented as a smart, trendy and sustainable strategy, there are also expectations that *informal everyday* borrowing must live up to these requirements.

There is no sharp and unambiguous boundary between everyday and publicly organized lending. Culturally established habits, routines and rituals, norms and beliefs and social patterns result in initiatives and activities in a changing landscape

where both commercial and non-profit lending, rental, exchange and gift economies are included. These ecologies “are always potentially prone to slippage, dissolution, disassembling, reassembling, and reappropriation, dependence, competition, reinvention, reappropriation, and resistance” (Rella 2020:10). This makes it interesting to investigate in future research how everyday lending is affected by organized lending, which is part of the established sharing economy – and vice versa. Right now, the loan does not seem to exist in an *infinite* number of forms. On the contrary, if I am to rely on my empirical material, there are only a certain number of possible ways to borrow or lend in a specific lending culture. Other ways are condemned morally and normatively, corrected and exposed as reprehensible ways of “doing” loans, and therefore also doing reality. Borrowing is not static, but neither is it possible to change in any number of different ways (cf. Mol 2002). This is something to keep in mind in order to succeed, despite everything, in achieving new socially, economically and environmentally sustainable consumption patterns and lifestyles by encouraging people to share more, for example by borrowing.

Karin Salomonsson
Associate Professor
Dept. of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University
Box 192
SE-221 00 Lund
karin.salomonsson@kultur.lu.se

Notes

- 1 “Loan, Power, and Morals: An Ethnological Study of the Social and Cultural Significances of Lending and Borrowing in the Sharing Economy and the Credit Society”, financed by the Swedish Riksbankens jubileumsfond 2017–2020. I would like to thank everyone who has shared their stories about loans, as well as the ethnologists Anna Ode and Eva Malmberg for conducting interviews.
- 2 Borrowing and lending money in various forms, which in many ways differs from borrowing objects, will not be covered in this article for reasons of space.
- 3 For more detailed discussions of this concept, see <https://mundania.se>

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Questionnaire LUF 241, *Att låna och låna ut* (To borrow and lend), approx. 100 answers
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Ashes, Law and (Dis)Order

Negotiations on Authority in Ash Scattering Rituals

By Hanna Jansson

We chose a cliff by the sea with an offshore breeze that would be best to get the ashes out. And we all went there. And brought the urn with us. Our son emptied the ashes. In the sea. And Anders' brother and his wife laid down the roses and it was as if they drifted away together with the ashes. We all stood there and saw them floating away. [...] And we had Gammel Dansk with us. For that was Anders' thing. And we had photographs of him with us. It was very nice (Eva).

30 § The ashes of a deceased may be scattered in a place other than a cemetery, if the county administrative board authorizes it. Such a permit may be granted only if the place where the ash is to be scattered is suitable for the purpose and if it is obvious that the ashes will be handled with reverence (The Funeral Decree).

Eva's husband Anders wished for his ashes to be scattered in the sea by their holiday home, where he had spent his childhood summers. When his family eventually fulfilled his wish they planned and carried out the scattering with Anders' person in mind. The location, photographs, his favourite liquor and favourite songs from a portable speaker all represented the life that had preceded death (cf. Svensson 2007:226–227; cf. Walter 1994:33–34; cf. Wanseele & Jacobsen 2009). However, by scattering the ashes from shore Eva knowingly broke the rules of the county administrative board, the authority in Sweden that regulates conditions for the scattering of human ashes. According to these rules, ashes should be scattered over open water (Länsstyrelserna 2019).

Ash scatterings and other post-cremation rituals and practices offer striking examples of a conflict present in the West today, as postmodern ideals of individualism collide with the laws and routines of modern society (Mathijssen 2017; Prendergast

et al. 2006; Walter 1994). Death has become ever more individualistic in recent decades and the personalities and biographies of the deceased inspire obituaries, burial acts, tombstones, graveyard decorations as well as internet and roadside memorials (Åkesson 1997; Fjell 2019; Frihammar & Silverman 2018; Gustavsson 2001; Lagerkvist 2017; Petersson 2010; Silvéen 2018; Svensson 2007). Yet despite this characteristic individuality, individuals still encounter opposition as the handling of human remains, burial-places and memorials is strictly regulated in law texts and the rules and established practices of official authorities – and by cultural norms (Walter 1994:55; Åkesson 1997:17; Clark & Franzmann 2006; Prendergast et al. 2006; Roberts 2010; Hadders 2013; Mathijssen 2017).

During fieldwork for a study on ash disposal at sea and the construction of maritime memory landscapes¹ I encountered recurrent cases where interviewed surviving relatives had somehow challenged current Swedish regulations. In this article I aim to interweave their accounts with legal documents, legal cases and authority information to show how ritual practices exist in relation to, and in tension with, authority regulation. How are developing funerary rituals and customs enabled and limited by official regulation? How do relatives, professionals and official authorities negotiate conceptions of authority over death? And how are varying cultural conceptions of order in relation to the remains established and challenged?

One aspect that differs between pre-modern, modern and postmodern societies is which actors are ascribed authority over death, claims sociologist Tony Walter

(1994, 2019; cf. Bauman 1994; cf. Ariès 1974; cf. Jacobsen 2016). With modernity medical experts came to take over this role from the previously so influential church, while undertakers and other professionals took over the actual handling of dead bodies from relatives and the neighbouring communities of premodern society. In postmodernity, according to Walter, it is instead the individuals themselves who are said to be experts over their death. As these processes of change are continuous, premodern, modern and postmodern death ideals exist in parallel in society today. They make visible coexisting albeit conflicting aspects that characterize contemporary cultural approaches to death, as well as conflicts within a society, a family or even the same individual (Walter 1994:55, 60–61; Åkesson 1997:17).

Burials in the form of ash scatterings are here understood as loosely formed rituals; as special occasions characterized by special moods and symbolic actions, where everyday reality is temporarily bracketed (Blehr 2000:34; Klein 1995). More specifically, they are seen as the final step of funeral-related passage rites, whereby the deceased are separated from the living and their new place in the social order is marked (Turner 1995; Åhrén Snickare 2002:147). Although passage rites are held to include liminal stages of norm breaking, they are generally considered to confirm and reinforce social order and roles – unlike rituals such as demonstrations or carnivals that are more often considered to work as tools for change (Turner 1995:176, 201; Blehr 2000:19; Klein 1995:19; Moore & Myerhoff 1977; Svensson 2007:37; Douglas 2002). Consequently, there is a need for further research into how pas-

sage rites may transcend not only cultural norms but also laws and regulations. For this end I am inspired by Mary Douglas's understanding of (dis)order (2002) and Victor Turner's term arena (2018:133–135; cf. Svensson 2007:37, 103). According to Douglas's well-known definition, dirt and disorder are relative and the consequences of perceived transgressions of established systems of classification. As shown in the following, the different parties express conflicting conceptions of order and disorder in relation to the proper places for human ashes. Ash scatterings can thereby be understood as an arena with competing rule systems and negotiations over which orders should be upheld or changed (Turner 2018:133–135; Svensson 2007:37, 103).

In the following I present the research materials and methods and offer a contextual review of the Nordic countries' varying regulations on ash practices, before discussing the research questions.

Research Material

The analysis is based on interviews or written accounts from nine relatives, three undertakers and one priest; information and documents from authorities, legal texts and cases, and mass media material. As the interviews describe possible violations of the law, three lawyers with knowledge of these practices and employees of the Swedish county administrative boards were consulted by e-mail or telephone. To further understand the varying autonomy of individuals in funeral-related matters, I have also studied the Funeral Acts, official information and media texts on ash disposal and splitting from the other Nordic countries.

The interviewed surviving relatives were found through common acquaintances who

were asked, if deemed appropriate, to contact people they knew to have scattered ashes at sea with a request to participate in the study. During the interviews the survivors' accounts developed through explorative retakes, as they first straightforwardly told of their lost relatives and briefly described the funeral or memorial and the subsequent scattering. I then reconnected to what they had said and asked them to tell me more. Due to the 2020 pandemic contagion rules, two interviews were conducted via video and two interviewees chose to write down their accounts, following questions and suggested themes from me.

The interviewees had scattered the ashes of one or two parents or grandparents, a spouse, and a close friend. Some were strongly affected as we spoke and had difficulty talking or began to cry. On some occasions I cried too. My reaction was spontaneous, but to show emotion has for me been a way to show respect for and commitment to the interviewees' stories and grief (cf. Gustavsson 2001).

Contact with the professionals was established through the *Swedish Association for Funeral Directors* (Sveriges Begravningsbyråers Förbund), through already interviewed professionals, and by e-mail to the county administrative boards and other authority departments. These interviews and contacts gave insights into how funerals and burials generally work, as well as their experiences of ash scatterings and their regulations specifically.

The interviewed relatives had all scattered ashes over water, yet the article's scope also makes relevant the more rigidly regulated scatterings over land and the practice of ash splitting. The analysis is therefore also based on materials from the

county administrative boards, legal texts, some thirty Swedish legal cases, one police report and several parliamentary motions. The legal cases make visible negotiations and interpretations of the law as the different parties argue for their views on what is or should be permitted to do with cremated remains, and why. They were first mentioned in authority documents or found through searches in the legal database Juno. Most are from the 2010s, a handful from the 2000s and one from 1998. One is a criminal case while the others are appeals against rejected applications.

Some of the actions described by the interviewees are of kinds that consulted lawyers and county administrative boards employees have deemed could possibly violate the Swedish Funeral Act and/or constitute a crime against the peace of the tomb. Such violations have as possible penalties fines or imprisonment for a maximum of six months or two years respectively (SFS 1990:1144, 11 chap. 1§; SFS 1962:700, 16 chap. 10§; cf. Sveriges Radio 2012). If so, all cases were statute-barred at the time of the interviews. As an ethnologist I cannot determine whether an act is criminal or not – that is the judiciary's task. Due to the assessment I am however particularly restrictive with personal details and location names. The interviewees are all referred to under pseudonyms and were asked if there was anything that had been said they did not wish reproduced. All quotations are translated from Swedish and sometimes edited for clarity.

Nordic Regulations

The regulations concerning ash disposal and splitting vary among the Nordic nations, and so does the frequency of, and

attitudes towards, cremation in general. Where well over 80% of all deceased were cremated in Sweden and Denmark in 2019, the corresponding figure in Finland was 57% and in Norway and Iceland around 44% (SKKF 2020). The differences depend on, among other things, the history of cremation in the respective nations; religious conceptions and the number of and distance to crematoria (Åhrén Snickare 2002; Dahlgren & Hermanson 2006; Fjell 2020).

Funerals and burials in Sweden are regulated by the Funeral Act, the supplementary Funeral Decree, and the rules of the Swedish church – the main authority in funeral-related matters (SFS 1990:1144; 1990:1147). Post-cremation practices are regulated in detail by the county administrative boards. Ash scattering outside established burial sites was enabled in 1957, but remained a rare phenomenon for many decades (Dahlgren & Hermanson 2006:43). The rate has now increased and has tripled since the year 2000. In 2019 there were some 2,700 scatterings, which equals almost 3% of the deceased that year (SKKF 2020). Seven county administrative boards are responsible for regulating ash scattering and splitting, and manage applications for several counties each (Länsstyrelserna 2019). Applications to scatter ashes shall be done after death and it is not possible to apply for one's own future scattering. Ashes may only be scattered in unpopulated and sparsely frequented areas, or over open sea or big lakes, and the county administrative boards regulate the permitted distances from buildings or land. Ashes may only be split provided that one part is to be taken abroad. Storing ashes at home or burying them in the private garden is not legal

in Sweden, nor in the other Nordic countries (SFS 1990:1144; 1990:1147; Länsstyrelserna 2019; Länsstyrelsen Stockholm 2020).

The rules in the other Nordic countries are partly stricter, partly more permissive than the Swedish ones. Where Norway and Sweden have similar rules stating that ashes should only be scattered in unpopulated areas after application to the regional authorities, in Finland one needs only a landowner's permit and no application is required. Ashes may also be scattered in city centres following permission from local authorities (Forssell 2016; Mariehamns församling 2020; Regionförvaltningsverket 2017). Splitting, however, is not allowed at all in Finland, nor in Norway. In Denmark an application is not needed but one's wish for a future scattering should be declared in writing. In Denmark it is only permitted to scatter ashes at sea. Ashes may however be split and buried at two locations within the country, provided that one part is scattered at sea and the other interred. Ashes may also be buried on private land (Barne- og familiedepartementet 2019; borger.dk 2020; Forststyrelsen n.d.). In 2018, Prince Henrik's ashes were partly buried at one of the royal palaces and partly scattered at sea. The choice attracted much attention and was described both as a break with royal tradition and as a sign of the increased requests in the country for such burial solutions (Sommerand 2018; cf. Wanseele & Jacobsen 2009). In Norway and Iceland the suitability of a location for scattering is prioritized over established distances, rendering the regulations softer than in Sweden; yet establishing memorials in cemeteries is prohibited when ashes have been scattered elsewhere (Barne- og familiedepartement-

et 2019; borger.dk 2020; Sýslumenn n.d.; Forssell 2016).

Hence, the nations' individual regulations oscillate between rigidity and flexibility; between upholding established burial traditions and opening up for new ones. Worth noting is that legal and authority regulation do not necessarily correspond to prominent cultural conceptions. While Norwegian and Swedish rules today are quite similar, Tove Ingebjørg Fjell (2020) notes that many in Norway remain sceptical to both cremation and scattering – the latter a possible choice since 2000. The percentage of ash scatterings in Norway is one third of those in Sweden. The question, then, which must be answered empirically is how the limits as well as the permit according to the regulations are negotiated by authorities, institutions and individuals. With that we turn to the stories of the interviewed relatives.

The Right Place?

1. Ashes may be scattered over water at least 300 metres from land.
2. Ashes may be scattered over land at least 300 metres from any settlement (Guidelines of the county administrative boards 2019).

When Anders died of cancer, the family applied to the county administrative board for permission to scatter his ashes and specified a scattering site far out to sea. The application was approved, yet the family faced a practical challenge, Eva says:

You're dependant on the weather, and you have to have a boat. We don't have a boat. So, then we broke the agreement with the county administrative board. Because it became so impractical and difficult. If it *rains*, you can't go out, if it's *windy*, you can't go out. If you don't have a boat of your own

and you're supposed to get *fifteen* people out to sea. It's no easy matter.

The day after the secular memorial they held for him, Anders' family therefore stood together on a rocky beach and scattered the ashes on the shoreline. Eva has fond memories of the occasion and the cliff has become an important place for picnics and evening swims for her children and grandchildren (Jansson n.d.). Similarly, surviving relatives in the studied legal cases and in previous studies of post-cremation rituals frequently emphasize how important it is for them to place cremated remains at biographically meaningful locations, and/or to keep the remains close (Kellaheer et al. 2010, 2005; Prendergast et al. 2006; Roberts 2010).

In these cases the remains are intended to be placed or kept in places considered appropriate by the now deceased and/or their survivors. Their actions, following Douglas (2002), can thus be considered in order. Yet they simultaneously challenge the established custom in modern societies to separate human remains from their surroundings (Howarth 2000; Walter 1994, 2019; Wanseele & Jacobsen 2009:24). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cemeteries were increasingly established on the outskirts of cities due to fear of contagion and the unsanitary conditions of overcrowded graveyards (Howarth 2000; Walter 2019; Åhrén Snickare 2002:194). The Swedish rules stating that ashes may only be scattered a minimum of 300 metres from shore or any settlement apparently aims to maintain this traditional distance between the living and the dead (Länsstyrelserna 2019).² Scattering is, as mentioned, prohibited in densely populated

areas but also in highly frequented nature areas such as hiking trails, national parks, nature reserves and beaches. Although exceptions can be made if deemed appropriate (Länsstyrelserna 2019), scatterings over land are rare and correspond to 15 per cent of all accepted applications (Dahlgren & Hermanson 2006; Klacka 2017; SKKF 2020).

As ashes are sterile it is not a concern for hygiene that prompts the present distance rules. Instead they are repeatedly justified by invoking concern both for the living and for the deceased whose peace in death is to be ensured (cf. Dahlgren & Hermanson 2006:24; Walter & Gittings 2010:176). In a precedent case from the Supreme Administrative Court from 1998, the court affirmed the county administrative board's and the Administrative Court of Appeal's previous refusals of a widow's request to scatter her husband's ashes in a forest grove on their property (RÅ 1998:46; cf. Klacka 2017:46). The verdict particularly emphasizes the opinion of two referral bodies from the Swedish Church stating that scatterings should merely be allowed over large areas in order not to adversely affect people's outdoor activities such as walking or mushroom picking. Repeated scatterings in the same place are also said to possibly create perceived cemeteries or family graves, which is assumed to further change behaviour there. Twenty years later the ecclesiastical opinions are still cited in rejection notifications of some county administrative boards, and in the internal document specifying the reasons for their new national guidelines from 2019.³

This perspective stresses the risk that ash scatterings make people change their behaviour when moving about in nature,

out of respect for burial sites or from feelings of discomfort at the ashes presence. Again following Douglas's definition of dirt as matter out of place (2002:44), ashes may appear culturally impure and disordering when the intended or chosen locations are considered inappropriate for burial or other death related practices. Previous studies of unofficial roadside memorials (Clark & Franzmann 2006; Petersson 2010), whole-body burials on private land (Walter & Gittings 2010) and ashes kept in the home (Kellahe et al. 2010; Prendergast et al. 2006) show that people may react negatively to unexpected reminders of accidents and death. This reaction seems to particularly amplify when the meeting place is perceived as "wrong" (Petersson 2010; cf. Åhrén Snickare 2002:227–228). In the UK and the Netherlands, where regulations differ vastly from those of the Nordic countries, relatives may store ashes in the home and bury them in private gardens, soccer grounds or public parks (Appel 2017; Kellahe et al. 2010; Mathijssen 2017). Small amounts of ashes can also be incorporated into jewellery or tattooed into the skin, thereby completely eradicating the distance between the bodies of the mourners and that of the dead (Heessels et al. 2012; Kellahe et al. 2010; Mathijssen 2017; Prendergast et al. 2006). Although legal, this palpable presence of cremated remains still provokes strong negative reactions. The interviewees of the anthropologists Jenny Hockey, Leonie Kellahe and David Prendergast who – in accordance with the British regulations – kept urns visible in their homes sometimes reacted with surprise or even disgust. As a result, urns were gradually moved into more private parts of the home (Kellahe et

al. 2010, 2005; Prendergast et al. 2006; cf. Roberts 2010).

Similar negative reactions are also found among individuals in this study. In Sweden, as in Norway and Iceland, the mountains are recommended as suitable scattering sites as they are described as desolate. Yet in 2008, a president of a Sami village describes the increasing scatterings there as a work environment problem for the reindeer herdsman, as it is “unpleasant to walk where someone was buried” (Bergström, T. 2008). In 2017 a woman appealed against the county administrative board’s rejection of her demand that they move ashes which, according to her, were illegally emptied onto her neighbour’s lawn (FR 1642-17 E). The ashes, she claims, are still visible from her home and she suffers greatly from having a grave so close. The claim was rejected because buried remains only can be moved from established cemeteries, but the county administrative board reported the neighbour to the police for violation of the Funeral Act. The report was dropped as no crime could be proven. The neighbour claims in a local newspaper article that he scattered his father’s ashes in a lake approved by the board, before establishing a memorial site by disposing the ashes from the burned urn in the garden by a memorial tree. His father had wished to be scattered in the garden and this was the closest they could come to fulfil his wish, he explains.

The relatives’ strong requests to keep remains close or to scatter them in specific locations thus collide with likewise strong oppositions to the presence of death. Eva therefore stresses that she understands that scattering is restricted. Just like the boards, the church’s referral bodies and some of the courts, she sees a risk that people oth-

erwise “claim” scattering sites as theirs. Her neighbours know that they scattered Anders’ ashes in the sea, but she has not told them where it happened, aware as she is that “one must not do this”. Laughing she recalls the plaque with Anders’ name and personal details that unexpectedly toppled into the water with the ashes. They looked for it, but couldn’t find it. “That would really be the total give-away” she says.

Split Opinions

31 § The ashes of a deceased may be split if the county administrative board authorizes it. Such authorization may be granted only if

1. there are exceptional reasons
2. parts of the ashes shall be buried abroad, and
3. it is clear that the ashes will be handled with reverence (Funeral Decree).

The 1990 revision of the Funeral Act intended to take into consideration the great social and cultural changes that had followed with increases in immigration, mobility, divorce and cremation (Prop. 1990/91:10:21). Despite this, undertakers and lawyers I speak to claim that the law is now considered obsolete – as conceptions, life patterns and wishes have further changed since its adoption. This applies, for example, to the many Swedes with immigrant backgrounds or other strong ties to other countries who may want to be buried both in Sweden and abroad (cf. TT 2019). Louise, who has long experience as an undertaker, states that splitting is in practice almost only approved if religiously justified. Religion is not mentioned in the Funeral Decrees’ conditions, quoted above, but the legislative history states that splitting is enabled after requests from Swedish Hindus and Buddhists who wish to scatter ashes in, for example, the River

Ganges (Prop. 1990/91:10; cf. Hadders 2013). Judging from interviews and studied legal cases, this has had a great impact on the county administrative boards' and the courts' highly restrictive view of the practice.

The relatives who appeal to the courts after their requests to split ashes were refused recurrently underline the strong connections of the deceased to several places and to still living people or existing graves both in Sweden and abroad (RÅ 2006:33; KamR 677-13; KamR 1472-15; KamR 3996-15). For example, one woman had wished to have some of her ashes scattered in Öresund, the sound between Sweden and Denmark, and some buried in a cemetery in Lagos, Nigeria. In this way her biographical links to Sweden, Finland, Great Britain, Germany, and to her husband's Nigerian family would be consolidated (KamR 3996-15). The relatives claimed that her request was well in line with the established tradition of the deceased being buried close to their relatives. The Administrative Court of Appeal upheld the previous rejection.

The matter seems important for the relatives and the county administrative boards alike, as both parties appeal when court instances rule in the other's favour. The instances' variable rulings suggest that there is a debate within the judiciary about when splitting should be allowed, and that attitudes are gradually changing. The county administrative board, the court instances and dissenting opinions who oppose splitting consistently argue that religious reasons should indeed be required. Close ties to other countries, they argue, are now so common that it cannot be acknowledged as the required extraordinary circumstance.

Should it be recognized as such, the restrictive application of the practice advocated by the law would be undermined (KamR 1472-15; KamR 2996-15).

The courts and persons who instead side with the relatives emphasize the importance of the deceased's own wishes – as does the Funeral Act (chap. 5, 1§, see below). In the end, splitting is allowed in one of the four cases studied, where the cremated remains of a man born and raised in Switzerland and a long-standing resident of Sweden was allowed to be buried in both countries (KamR 677-13). The Administrative Court of Appeal notes in the verdict that the application of the restrictive law may need to be “nuanced in line with the development of society and as the public's sense of justice changes.” In a 2015 case one county administrative board similarly notes that the time may indeed be ripe for a rule change, but that this requires a change in the law or a new precedent (KamR 1472-15). Parallel to this, various organizations and political instances advocate a change in law and practice. The funeral directors' association *Swedish Association for Funeral Directors* (Sveriges Begravningsbyråers Förbund) are working for more flexible legislation (cf. Lernéus 2019), and parliamentary motions (cf. Parliamentary administration 2019a, 2019b) and the secular organization *Humanists Sweden* (Humanisterna) argues for higher individual freedom in the matter (Bergström, A. et al. 2019).

Nowhere in the legislative history, the opinions of the county administrative boards or the courts' rulings is it explained *why* it is desirable to keep splitting to a minimum. Is it for practical or symbolical reasons? Or to uphold established burial traditions? For requests to split ashes do

challenge the established customs of keeping remains, cremated or not, intact until burial – even when they are to be scattered and dissolved (cf. Åhrén Snickare 2002:67; cf. Roberts 2010; Prendergast et al. 2006). Some individuals and institutions may consider the very idea of splitting macabre. It would, some horrified interviewees in the aforementioned British and Norwegian studies state, be like cutting of a part of the deceased's body (Kellaher et al. 2005; Fjell 2020). This argument is also echoed in an editorial in the ecclesiastical journal *Kyrkans Tidning*, opposing the funeral directors' association's proposal to facilitate splitting (Lindberg 2019).

It is not permitted in Sweden to split ashes for double burial within the country (cf. FR 8660-13; cf. FR 10551-18). For Anna and her family this still felt like the right, albeit covert, solution to family members' conflicting desires for where her father should be buried after his unexpected death in a tragic accident. The idea of scattering the ashes at sea appealed to Anna and her mother, as both her parents lacked strong ties to their town and as her father had been "really outdoorsy", kayaked and sailed. "The sea felt very connected to him. So, it felt like a nice way to say that no matter where we are, we're in the ocean. And get away from putting him in a place that has nothing to do with him," Anna says. Her grandmother was not as pleased. The death of her youngest son took a toll on her, and she wished for him to be buried in her own parents' grave in the old home town. Anna was therefore instructed by her aunts to put some of the ashes aside. A small party went out by boat and before they scattered the ashes and laid down their roses in the water, Anna scooped up a small amount of

ashes in a matchbox. She was repulsed by the direct contact with the ashes, but did not mind the actual splitting. Her grandmother and aunts then travelled to the family grave and buried the matchbox next to the tombstone. "One hundred percent in secret. It was just a little matchbox. And then, five years later, grandma was there too..." Anna says.

Anna's story and the studied cases all tell of recurring requests for a continuous proximity to several different beloved places and kin, and for the possibility for relatives to be buried together even when family members are dispersed over the country or the globe. These requests are at the present most often denied due to a legislation that paradoxically seems to have wished to open up for more burial opportunities. By adhering to certain religious groups, the legislators seemingly did not consider that others might have similar desires without religious motives. Louise believes that increased requests from the public are required for laws and practice to be changed. The chances of getting applications and appeals approved are slim today, she says, but encourages an imagined relative: "Apply, apply, apply! It doesn't hurt to try!"

Reverence and Secrecy

7 § During the burial there must not occur anything contrary to the sanctity and serious meaning of the ordinance.

13 § Pending burial, the ashes must be kept by a crematorium holder.

15 § The ashes may be released only if there is reassuring certainty that they will be handled in a reverent manner (Funeral Act, chapter 5).

For some decades soluble urns of cardboard or moulded sand have been available on the market. They are designed to be im-

mersed in water where they soon dissolve. Louise and Marie, a priest who has participated in several ash scatterings at sea, both state that the main purpose of the urn is to avoid the otherwise imminent risk of blowback – a recurring motif in jokes and popular culture (Newall 1985; cf. YouTube 2011, 2017, 2018). Sinking soluble urns is however not permitted in Sweden, nor in Denmark, although at the time of writing the ban is under revision.⁴ According to the county administrative board and an Administrative Court case, ashes should always be poured over the surface from the container (FR 8158-18; borger.dk 2020; cf. Sveriges Radio 2019a, 2019b).⁵ In the case in question the court rejected a woman's appeal against the board's previous reservation concerning her application to bury her mother's ashes from a cruising ship. The application had been approved but with the condition that a soluble urn was not used. This, the daughter argues, makes it impossible for her to fulfil her mother's wish as the shipping company requires the use of such urns.

The court and the board both state that the Funeral Decree literally permits ashes to be "scattered" outside cemeteries (see §30 quoted above). "Sinking" urns, they argue, is consequently prohibited, as to scatter and to sink are different acts. In addition, the urn is considered to have been buried when sunk – if only for the minutes before its dissolving – and urns may only be buried in cemeteries and nowhere else. Hence, it is here not a matter of conflicting conceptions but rather of verb choice and a verbatim interpretation of the law. Another interpretation is possible; in Norway the authorities have declared that soluble urns may be used as their sinking has been found to be

on a par with the "scattering" of the law text (Barne- og familiedepartementet 2019).

The rule, it seems, protects the order of the law rather than that of the deceased's remains. Louise and Marie therefore find the ban paradoxical as both law and boards otherwise consistently emphasize the importance of a dignified treatment of the ashes, which the soluble urns are said to facilitate. In court cases and the regulations there is a recurrent emphasis on reverence, or *pietet* in Swedish. The word has multiple meanings, all of which are relevant when relatives are given responsibility for the remains. A reverent act is gentle, serious and carried out with respect for death and for older customs and traditions. It may also refer to love and respect for parents and ancestors.

The Funeral Act and the regulations formulated with regard to it are on the side of the deceased, one consulted lawyer notes, and protects their right to reverent treatment. Yet the question, the lawyer continues, is who should decide what signifies such treatment. This is a complicated matter as conceptions of what characterizes (un)worthy burials change over time and between groups and individuals (cf. Pleijel 1983; cf. Skarin Frykman 1998; cf. Svensson 2007:49–50, 164–165). Thus, there is simultaneously a strong consensus among official authorities and the interviewed relatives that reverence *is* indeed a desired effect of the burial ritual (cf. Moore & Myerhoff 1977; cf. Myerhoff 1977; cf. Klein 1995), while conceptions of how this should be achieved may vary greatly. The interviewees wanted to show their relatives love by planning and realizing scatterings consistent with the personalities of the deceased. Most of the accounts are also characterized by the very seriousness, ten-

derness and caution that characterizes reverence – regardless of whether rules were otherwise followed or not.

One depiction therefore stands out in the material as it describes a burial that inadvertently came to lack the prescribed reverence. Concealment in this case impacted the mourners' experiences of the occasion and the very implementation of the burial (cf. Hockey et al. 2007:37–39). In her written account of her grandfather's scattering, Ellen emphasizes his professional life in the Navy and his greatly valued upward social mobility. She believes that the funeral ceremony in the church was just what he would have wished for: respectful, tasteful and personal. Unfortunately, she adds, she cannot say the same of the scattering. A disposal at sea seemed to fit well with his professional life and sailing interest. They applied for and were given permission to scatter the ashes in the large lake next to which he had lived. But the actual scattering was postponed as they, just like Eva, lacked access to a boat there. Nevertheless, they still submitted the required attestation stating that the burial had been carried out. The urn remained in the family's care, despite the law stating that ashes must only be collected in direct connection with the burial.⁶

We kept the ashes for almost a year, and then we scattered them without permission. At first the urn was at my aunt's house, but sometime during the year it was moved to my dad's basement. At one time it fell to the floor and the ashes had to be swept up. I guess it started to feel undignified and my dad and aunt felt it was time to do something about it.

The family decided to scatter the ashes in an archipelago by the east coast of Sweden, where they indeed had a boat. Aware as they were that they now lacked the required per-

mit, they disguised the burial by combining it with their traditional Midsummer fishing excursion. The boat was loaded with the urn, buckets, nets, rods and flowers. "It was confusing. On the one hand, it was a beautiful Midsummer's Eve with happy kids romping in the boat. [...] On the other hand, there was a mood among us," Ellen writes. Barbara Myerhoff (1977) suggests that one of the main aims of a ritual is to convince participants of its legitimacy and the values it expresses. This presupposes that participants abandon critical distance and questioning and allow themselves to be carried away. As Ellen describes it, this was complicated by their upholding the impression of a fishing excursion. Then, the actual burial itself did not go as the family – nor likely her grandfather – had wished:

It wasn't a dignified burial. When we got to the intended place, we lay down on a sway and brought out the fishing equipment. There were several boats in the same bay but we placed ourselves so that they were not very close. [...] We started fishing. Someone [...] put the urn in the water. The plan was to let it sink to the bottom, lay down some flowers and then sit there for a while.

But the urn didn't sink. It was bobbing on the waves, and because of the wind there was a great risk that it would float away from the boat.⁷ There was feverish activity. My brother tried to catch the urn with the rod to pull it back without himself falling in, my dad struggled to get the anchor up so that we could go after the urn, and my aunt splashed water towards it, and the rest of us pretended to fish so as not to draw attention to us.

The dignity was completely lost. As stubborn as grandpa was in life, just as stubbornly he now refused to sink. [...] It was far from the funeral he would have wanted.

Ellen's story describes a series of rule violations: the burial takes place without

valid permission; the scattering certificate is falsely signed; the urn is kept at home for a long time; the soluble urn is launched (possibly without the family knowing that this is not permitted), and the burial unintentionally came to lack the requisite dignity. The knowledge that they were breaking the rules, combined with the presence of potential spectators who could discover what was going on, meant that the desired mood and reverence was not achieved (cf. Myerhoff 1977:222–223); something which appear to still trouble Ellen years later.

Restricted Authority

1§ When someone has died, his desire for cremation and burial should, as far as possible, be followed by the relative or other person who arranges the burial.

1§ Anyone who intentionally violates the provisions of 3 Chapter, 3§ or 5 Chapter, 5§ is sentenced to a fine or imprisonment for a maximum of six months, if the offence is not punishable by the Criminal Code (Funeral Act Chapter 5 and 11).

The Swedish Funeral Act expresses the same ambivalent tension between premodern, modern and postmodern ideals, and between individual rights and societal control as the other examples discussed here. Its legislative history states that the intention was that the law's 1990 update would enable anyone, as far as possible, to decide for themselves on funeral-related matters (Prop. 1990/91:10:21). Yet it also emphasizes the need to protect what is described as deeply rooted burial arrangements founded in a Christian tradition. Intentional violations of the county administrative board's decisions are therefore made punishable, to enable intervention "against practices incompatible with the legislation

largely based on our cultural tradition" (Prop. 1990/91:10:21, 122). The legislative history thereby establishes a conventional perspective on traditions as bounded and (preferably) perpetual, instead of regarding them as ongoing processes of both continuity and discontinuity (Handler & Linnekin 1984). Thus, the development of new burial rituals and traditions is at present partly restricted.

The regulations also apparently aim to preserve and uphold the very control of the official authorities. For instance, it is an approved application that determines whether a post-cremation act is lawful or not, sometimes without any other changes to the act itself. In the one criminal case in the study, a man who had retrieved his mother's urn from the crematorium without an approved application was fined for violating the peace of the tomb (TR B 16062-16). A permit would have rendered his action legal and classified it as reverent, as according to the verdict he sought to fulfil his mother's wish. Similarly to the above-mentioned sinking of soluble urns, his violation appears to be in regard to the very regulations rather than to the deceased's remains and the mother's perceived peace in death.

I ask Eva, Anna and Ellen if they were aware that their actions might have been assessed as illegal. Their answers are strikingly similar: they at least sensed it – Anna and Ellen because of the "hush-hushing" of other family members. Would they have acted differently had they known for sure, I ask? Again, the answers are unanimous. "No," says Eva. "That moment was so important to us." She adds with a laugh: "But I wasn't prepared to go to jail for it." She did not however expect any form of punishment.⁸ Through individualized yet furtive passage

rites they and their families prioritized respect for the deceased's wishes, their own concerns and practical circumstances over government rules. Like the relatives in Jennifer Clark's and Majella Franzmann's study of unauthorized road memorials, they usurped an "alternative authority drawn from the intensity of grief" (2006:579; cf. Petersson 2010). In this respect, they appear as those authorities of death that Walter claims they are in postmodern society (1994). With rigid rules yet little control, they found themselves in practice free to model the scattering rituals according to their own convictions and concerns.

This alternative authority of grief is however precisely an alternative, limited one, dependent on secrecy and with possible legal consequences. The extent to which individuals are *officially recognized* as authorities of death therefore depends on the legislation of the country in question. Consequently, individual authority of death in varying ways remains limited in all the Nordic countries; thereby challenging the recurrent assertion of the contrary in dominant research. As ideals and conceptions appear to have changed faster than the law texts, the ability of the authorities to meet new demands remains limited, and together relatives, professionals and authorities negotiate and adapt to a law that is repeatedly described as obsolete. Authorized changes to the rituals of death therefore prove to require legal changes – for as life patterns and conceptions change, so will rituals of death (Åhrén Snickare 2002:22–23, 234; Walter 1994; Åkesson 1997; Bauman 1994; Bringéus 1994; Skarin Frykman 1998; Svensson 2007).

This article has focused on conflicts made visible by the tension between highly

personal stories of grief and the regulatory paragraphs of the law and the official authorities. As shown here, surviving relatives create (dis)order by scattering ashes in places and ways considered right and appropriate by them, whilst thereby challenging laws, rules and cultural norms. Through covert passage rites the families privately question and disregard the regulations, while appeals against rejected applications make the conflicts openly pronounced. The law, the official authorities, the church and the surviving relatives all express strong, albeit partly conflicting concerns: for the public to have access to a nature unmarked by death, for the rights of the deceased to have their wishes granted and a reverent treatment ensured, and for the relatives to carry out burials in ways and places that are meaningful for them. Through interviews and legal cases, ash scatterings and other post-cremation rituals thus emerge as arenas where parties all ascribed authority over death negotiate the proper interpretation and application of the law, the appropriate boundaries between the living and the dead, and the limits of individual autonomy.

Hanna Jansson

PhD, lecturer

Stockholm University

Dept. of Ethnology, History of Religions
and Gender Studies

Universitetsvägen 10 E

S-106 91 Stockholm

email: hanna.elisabet.jansson@gmail.com

Notes

- 1 The study is funded by the Centre for Maritime Studies and Stockholm University.
- 2 The permitted distances previously varied from county to county and have been relaxed several

times. Since the county administrative boards worked out common guidelines in 2019, 300 metres applies in all counties.

- 3 This sometimes has as its consequence that spouses who wished to be scattered in the same place are not allowed to. For example, one county administrative board had made an exception and approved the scattering of a man's ashes near a ski lift, due to the deceased's strong ties to the resort. The later scattering of his wife's ashes at the same location was however stopped to prevent the establishment of a family grave (KamR 2469-04).
- 4 The rule was subsequently changed in late 2020 or early 2021. An urn may now be sunk provided that it is soluble. According to new information on the website of the Stockholm County Administrative Board, the board "in-terprets 'scattering' with regard to context and finds that a soluble urn distributes the ashes in an ethical and dignified way" (Länsstyrelsen Stockholm 2021).
- 5 An employee of the county administrative board notes in an e-mail that few seem to be aware of the rule and therefore sink urns in good faith; this is also the case for two interviewees.
- 6 One of the interviewees describes how they saved an older relative's ashes for two years before scattering them together with those of his later deceased wife.
- 7 The urn was likely of a cardboard kind that, according to information from several sources, was later withdrawn from the market due to this very problem.
- 8 Scattering and splitting of ashes is also done surreptitiously in the UK despite its very liberal legislation (Hockey et al. 2007; Kellaher et al. 2005; Prendergast et al. 2006; cf. Roberts 2010); if landowners' permission is not given but also if relatives do not dare to ask for such permission or if they wrongfully assume that what they wish to do is prohibited.

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Family Histories of Soviet Exile and Terror

The Case of an Ingrian Finnish Memory Culture

By Anni Reuter

In this article, I explore the memory and great transformation of Ingrian Finnish families originally from Ingria (a historical area around Saint Petersburg) in the Soviet Union during deportations, Stalinist terror, and clashes of ideologies and practice. In an Ingrian Finnish memory culture, families were an important source and carrier of memories of exile and repression from one generation to another.

Family members and other Ingrian Finns were deported on account of their social background as “kulak” peasants¹ and ethnic background as Finns, and many were arrested during the Stalinist terror (Gildi 2007; Reuter 2020a; Jääskeläinen 2001). I have used the family archival material of letters, life histories and family narratives, poetry, family trees, and photographs as research material and analysed the social genealogy of repressed Ingrian Finnish families. This is a case study of an extended family including several nuclear families, 33 members and three generations in the 1930s. The extended family studied included the generation born during serfdom (before 1861), the generation deported or arrested as adults in the 1930s and at the beginning of the 1940s, and the diaspora generation, who were of a young age at the beginning of the Soviet internal exile (see also Jääskeläinen 2001).

This article aims to examine the family histories of repressed Ingrian Finns, and the memories and interpretation of this history in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. My research questions are:

- What kind of repressions and mobilities did family members experience?
- What cultural heritages and memories were passed on?
- How were experiences of repressions made sense of?

Based on my analyses, I argue that family histories of repressions were a meeting point with life histories and the minority/national history of Ingrian Finns. Family histories of repressed families build a bridge over the personal and collective memories in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. In this way, family histories are a missing link between micro- and macro-histories (see Ginzburg 2012).

In addition to individual remembering, remembrance occurs in cultural, political, archival, artistic, and social practices. Cultural memory refers to the collective practices that societies and groups use to build and uphold their past. Memory constructs, creates and selects the past. Cultural remembering is not just recalling the past, but also about the interpretation of it. Cultural memory in literate societies also includes archival material that may be rediscovered. Memory culture is concerned with the social obligations to the ethnic or other group, where the question “what must we not forget?” is central to the community and its identity. Carriers of memory may be individuals within a cultural group or collective subjects (Assman 2011; Erll 2011a).

Families are one of the fundamental carriers of memory and identity, through which narratives are shared, thus helping to remember and interpret events. Family memories are typically intergenerational (Erll 2011b). Memories are often told within the families, by an older generation to a younger one. In this way family members may carry, not only their own memories, but also the memories of other family

members and previous generations. Family memories can be transformed into larger collective memories, and conversely, collective memories, cultural texts and images shape family remembrance. In this way, the family is an important link between the individual and the collective memory. Memory studies have favoured large-scale national memories, but a refocus on smaller-scale family memories sheds new light on transgenerational and transnational memories (Erlil 2011b).

Stalin's centralized system aimed to control political, social, intellectual, and family life. Soviet leaders tried to destroy both the memory of the past and the family, both of which were seen to threaten the totalitarian power. Family properties, enterprises, homes, and farms were seized. Having been a "kulak" peasant, a political dissident, a member of an ethnic minority, or merely being a child of one of them became a reason for deportation or imprisonment (Passerini 1992:7–8; Figes 2007; Bertaux & Thompson 1993:5–6).

Parts of the history that did not fit into the Soviet history, such as the deportations of minority nationalities, were omitted from the Soviet history books (Ro'i 2009). Despite the totalitarian efforts, the history of deportations and the terror lived on in the private memories. Before Stalin's death in 1953 "there was only silence, or at most, rare whispers between intimates, because to tell anyone about the prisons and concentration camps was deadly dangerous" (Sherbakova 1992:103). The cumulatively stored-up fear was lost only gradually, if ever (Figes 2007).

The policy of the Soviet Union with its repressions and stigmatization silenced victims for decades and made several fam-

ily narratives disappear from Russian and Ingrian Finnish family histories, causing non-transformation of family memory (Duprat-Kushtanina 2013; Siim 2016; Peltonen 2009). At the same time, oral histories and family correspondence have been central sources of deportation history among the Ingrian Finns, Estonians, ethnic Germans, and other minorities in the Soviet Union (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; Kõresaar 2016; Pohl et al. 2009).

Ingrian Finns are "the forgotten Finns", who are not given a place in the Finnish historical narrative, society, and identity (Pakkanen et al. 2020). With this study, the objective is to contribute to the deportation history of Ingrian Finns since it has not been thoroughly studied (Flink 2010), nor have the experiences of people deported within the Soviet Union (Klimkova 2007:105–139). The repressions and stigmatization concerned whole families as Stalinist purges were kinship-based (Alexopoulos 2008). That is why it is relevant to study families in a context of repressions

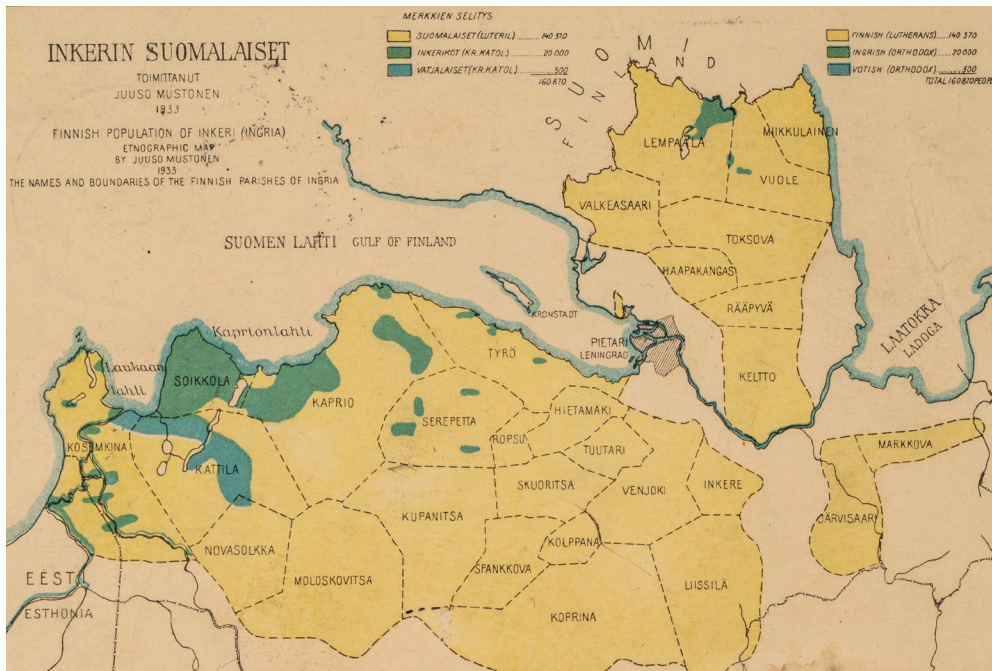
Ingrian Finns are descendants of Finns who moved to Ingria from eastern Finland during the Swedish rule in the seventeenth century. After the Russian Empire took over Ingria in the eighteenth century, the city of Saint Petersburg was built in the middle of Ingria. Ingrian Finns became an ethnic minority in the multicultural area and serfs until 1861. They were mostly Lutherans and literate, they spoke Finnish, and they lived in the countryside, working as peasants or in other occupations connected to the city. The number of Ingrian Finns (Finns in Leningrad oblast) was approximately 115,000 in 1926 (Matley 1979). After the October Revolution, aspiration for autonomy or being part of Finland led to estab-

lishment of an independent Republic of North Ingria (1919–1920), which was soon crushed. The resistance against the Soviet power was widespread but turned from public to silent resistance during the 1930s (Reuter 2019).

Ingrian Finns became victims of mass deportation in the 1930s, when approximately 45,000 Finns were deported from Ingria to diaspora inside the Gulag. They were first deported because of their class origin as “kulak” peasants and their acts of dissidence (Reuter 2020a; Matley 1979). Later, from 1935 onwards, ethnic background became the major reason for the deportation; the deportations of diasporic “enemy” nationalities were based on communist ideology and Soviet leaders’ mis-

trust and fear of Western influences (Martin 1998; Polian 2004). The deported groups were also targeted in the Stalinist terror (Martin 1998). During the Second World War over 28,000 Ingrian Finns were deported from the siege of Leningrad in 1941 and 1942 to Siberia, where they suffered high death rates, hunger and forced labour as told in narratives (Reuter 2020b; see Gildi 2007). Ingrian Finns retuning from Finland after evacuation (56,000) were deported to Central Russia (Flink 2010).

In the Baltic and Ingrian Finnish context, narratives of exile, diaspora, and terror started emerging during the perestroika period, contributing to the return of memory and the life history. A large number of oral and published narratives of the Soviet past



fulfilled the desire to discuss and condemn the Stalinist period (Davoliūtė & Balkelis 2018; Kõresaar 2016). In the Ingrian Finnish memory culture, deportations and terror have been described in oral histories and written testimonies (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; 2019; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1997; 1999; Miettinen 2004; Savolainen forthcoming). Personal and family narratives of Ingrian Finns from Stalin's time address many violent turning points in life: deportations, arrests, death sentences, and forced diaspora from the homeland Ingria, that held an important role also in exile (Reuter 2020a; on diaspora Brubaker 2005).

Ene Kõresaar (2016) points out that despite similarities, diverse groups encounter great differences in how important repressions have been for their memory cultures and what time horizons they use. The Soviet period was sometimes ignored in the oral histories of older Estonians. In the public discussion and memory, it was described as a time of suffering, ideological pressure, and "a rupture" that interrupted the harmonious national development (Kõresaar 2001; 2004). Ingrian Finns do not have a similar possibility to ignore the Soviet time, or describe it as a foreign and passing period, because Ingria was never an official country but part of the Soviet Union from its beginning to the end. This means that the Soviet time lasted a lifetime, over 70 years, and historical Ingria is now part of Russia. At the same time, many Ingrian Finns perceived Finland as their second home country after Ingria (Reuter 2020a).

In the Ingrian Finnish memory culture, family histories play a central role.² According to Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj (1999; 1997) the older generation of-

ten felt obliged to tell the next generation about the "suffering history" of the family and Ingrian Finns. The same kind of duty to talk about the genocide can be found among many Jews (Waxman 2008). The vitality of the oral history tradition of Ingrian Finns describing the family histories of the Stalinist time can be explained by its purpose, which is to bring to light the repressions, terror, and deportations faced by the teller, family members, and others, and to maintain the memory.³

I analyse the social genealogy of repressed and deported Ingrian Finnish families using the method of *Social Genealogies Commented On and Compared* as the sociologist Daniel Bertaux (1995) has suggested. It is an instrument that can be used to study the (forced) social mobility and family transmissions over a long period of time with different generations. I frame my research in terms of social genealogy and family narrative to understand the different individual and family paths, heritages and layers of meaning. Social genealogy refers to biographical data of family members, their lineages, heritages, and narratives explaining events. I analyse, compare, and describe the social genealogies and family histories using the family archive of letters, oral histories, memoirs, diary notes, photographs, family trees, and other material (Bertaux 1995; see Jääskeläinen 2001).

In this article I first introduce the family archive of a repressed family. I show the pattern of repressions and deportations, how they affected the families and how repressions were interpreted.

The Archive of a Repressed Family

In the words of Pierre Nora: "To begin with, there must be a will to remem-

ber” (1989:19). In the case of the Ingrian Finnish Jääskeläinen family there seems to have been a determination and a feeling of obligation (Assman 2011) to write and remember what happened to the family during Stalin’s years; it is difficult to explain the exceptionally large family archive otherwise. The extended family wrote, collected, archived, and researched the personal and family histories from the 1920s to the present day in Finland, the Soviet Union (Russia), and Sweden (see Jääskeläinen 2001; Jääskeläinen 2011). Letters, diaries, and poems of peasants from the 1930s Soviet Union are rare because of the terror and the low rate of literacy. Literacy among Finns was relatively high in the Soviet Union (Matley 1979), which partly explains the extensive family correspondence. Dispersed family members kept contact with each other via letters and some wanted to tell about the repression to a wider audience.

I use the family name of Jääskeläinen, because of the nature of family genealogy, and to lessen the stigma of repressed persons and to respect the copyright of the writers. Most of the persons studied have died. Those I interviewed stated that they wanted the family history to be studied and did not wish to be anonymous. I am a relative of the family through my grandfather Juhani Jääskeläinen (1907–1988), who moved to Finland in 1925 as a refugee at the age of seventeen. He received letters from Ingria and exile areas after his family was deported, and even from labour camps and prisons via Ingria. This correspondence and other material he received was formed in time into an extensive archive. The family archive could be stored relatively safely in Finland, although he was afraid of

deportation to the Soviet Union. Later, he became a Lutheran pastor and one the first to study the repression of Ingrian Finns in the Soviet Union, mostly concentrating on the Ingrian church (see Jääskeläinen 1982).

I have continued my grandfather’s work by gathering research material, archiving, and studying the history of Ingrian Finns and the family. As a member of the family, I was able to gather research material that an outsider could not obtain. I became interested in deportations from early on as I met my deported relatives when they visited Helsinki in the 1980s and early 1990s. The family stories of Soviet exile, forced work, escapes, and repressions contrasted starkly with the picture of an equal Soviet society prevailing in Finland during the time of Finlandization.⁴

The archival materials include a diary written in Siberia from 1931 to 1938, 11 oral histories and unpublished memoirs, photographs, poems, family genealogies and 80 letters written between 1928 and 1938.⁵ Letters are common sources in historical research and have been used to study the history of deportations of Lutheran minorities in the Soviet Union; the correspondence of the family members and other Lutherans in the 1930s was mostly religious and critical of Soviet society, and religious expressions were even used to circumvent censorship (Reuter 2020a; Pohl et al. 2009). The family history was also described in the published memoir of Maria Kajava, a well-known preacher, family friend, and neighbour in Siberia (Mesiäinen 1990).

During the Stalinist period, mass deportations, censorship, house searches, and arrests were common, which made it dangerous to possess dissident texts: even

a single letter or a joke could lead to arrest. Family members sent their letters to Finland with the help of the Finnish Embassy and a Finnish Lutheran pastor Jalmari Laurikkala, which partly explains the amount of surviving evidence of critical correspondence about the Soviet system (see Reuter 2020a).

Juhani's uncle wrote in Whitsunday 1931 to Finland:

In our beloved Ingria we live like a mouse in the mouth of a cat. My heart is trembling whose turn is next. Persons you sent greetings to have been deported already. Everyone with some awareness is under suspicion, which is why I ask you not to mention any names or the content of these papers. I visited the Hell of Krasnoyarsk [an exile area in Siberia] and now live as a runaway. I send here some letters from your family. You can probably appreciate them in the free country you are living in.⁶

Already from 1960s onwards family members started to gather oral histories with visiting sisters in Finland and Sweden (in 1967, 1972 and 1982). The narrators took the position of being representative of the family and Ingrian Finns. The atmosphere of these interviews was intense and warm, with laughter, tears, and fear about being recorded as sisters and brothers had not seen each other for four to five decades. Gathering of the family's oral histories in Finland and Sweden started early in comparison to Russia, where interviewing started at the beginning of perestroika, and many were still afraid to talk (Passerini 1992).

I interviewed six exiled family members between 1999 and 2001. These interviews resembled cultural exchange between generations, in which the older generations shared their historical and cultural knowl-

edge with the younger generation. Oral histories often reveal forgotten or novel points of history of repressed groups and meaning attached to events; they tell what people thought and believed happened, which is not always historically correct information (Portelli 2015). At least four family members wrote unpublished memoirs.

There were also many photographs preserved in the families. Photographs are visual representations of the family; photos reveal their identities and have a testimonial value giving insight into the family histories. The idea of the family forms the basis for exploring the past (Arnold-de Simine & Leal 2021). Remembering was connected to the narratives passed on in the families, but also to the materiality of family archives, which were made up of several media, such as photographs (see also Savolainen et al. 2020).

The extended family studied was a large network in the 1930s. The data gathered includes systematic biographical information on 33 family members, three generations, nine nuclear families,⁷ and unsystematic information about their family members and later generations. In concentrating on families, I was able to understand the complex historical picture of diverse forms of repressions, forced migrations, social mobility,⁸ and family heritage. The method of social genealogy also included family members who did not have descendants and died in the terror or of disease and hunger, not only the survivors, making both the quantitative and qualitative analyses possible (Bertaux 1995).

The voices of the older deported generation, who were deported as adults, could be heard in letters, diary notes, and historical poems. The diaspora generation who were

deported when they were young told their stories in the oral and written histories and in some letters. Information about the same events could be found in different sources in the family archive, public archives, and literature (e.g. Mesiäinen 1990). Considering deportations, imprisonments, deaths under the terror regime, and lives in exile and diaspora, the family archive is extremely rich, showing the determination to conserve the memory and history of the family and of Ingrian Finns. This is not always the case in Ingrian Finnish families as in many, the terror – and even being a Finn – has been silenced or hidden (Peltonen 2009; Siim 2016).

The family histories of Ingrian Finns were typically “historical narratives” arranged around certain persons, dates, places, and events (Wertsch 2008). At the same time, narratives were connected to Ingrian Finnish narrative traditions and collective memories, which are representations of the past shared by the group, actively recalled and relevant to the group’s identity (see e.g. Ketelaar 2016:255).

The Family History of Repression

This is a case study of an extended Ingrian Finnish peasant family originally from Keltto (Koltushi), only 15 kilometres from Saint Petersburg (Leningrad). After the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the family members became smallholders. Grandmother Helena (1857–1932)⁹ and her generation were born during serfdom, which explains why the time of “slavery” was still remembered in the 1930s.

Most of the family members were peasants, but many worked in small trades and other professions as well. The oldest son Matti (1875–1935), for example, worked

as a peasant on his small farm, but was also a carpenter, the head of the voluntary fire brigade, and a trumpeter. His brother Pietari’s (1879–1938) family was labelled “kulaks” at the beginning of the 1930s because of their social background as relatively prosperous farmers. They lost their citizen’s rights, right to vote and receive ration cards. Pietari’s daughter Eeva (1915–1994) explained: “We had a large family with twelve persons. Persecution started with those who believed in God and people who were a little better off. Our property was robbed but that was not enough, we had to leave our home and wander the world.”¹⁰ Bolsheviks tried to silence the opposition and waged a war against groups whose values made them potential supporters of counter-revolution (Figs 2007).

Members of the family resisted forced collectivization of agriculture as it meant giving away the family farms, animals, and tools without compensation to the collective farm. One of the brothers, Antti (1884–1944), said at the village meeting that: “If even we brothers cannot live together, the collective farm is not going to work!”¹¹ Open resistance was dangerous: Antti lost his citizenship and voting rights and was soon arrested. Family members started to resist the Soviet politics silently. They hid their property before confiscations and did not cultivate the land properly anymore as they did not know who would harvest it. After the first deportations of the family members in 1931, family members wrote secretly with other Ingrian Finnish peasants an appeal to the Finnish Government, telling about the deportations and repressions of Ingrian Finns and asked for help. Most of those who signed the letter by their initials for security reasons were reported

to the secret police by an informer and imprisoned.¹²

In the 1920s and early 1930s family life and marriage were regarded as bourgeois and socially harmful by the Soviet leaders, and they were expected to disappear during the development towards socialism. The state tried to accelerate the disintegration of the family and introduced communal housing and supervision of the personal sphere (Figes 2007). This influenced family life, especially in the internal exile areas where family members were forced to live in crowded barracks supervised by the Gulag administrative organ and the secret police NKVD,¹³ which organized the political terror in the country as well. The ideal of stable families was resurrected in the mid-1930s in Soviet propaganda and legislation

aiming for higher birth rates and the prevention of social exclusion (Ivanov et al. 2006). At the same time ethnically based deportations of minority families became common, with a high death toll. Whole families, villages, and peoples were deported from their home regions to remote exile areas. Soon after followed the mass killings of members of vulnerable ethnic and social groups in the Great Terror, especially during the kulak and national operations (Martin 1998; Gildi 2007).

Two out of three Jääskeläinen family members (22/33) were deported in the 1930s. The family history described the “robbing” of their property, farmland, houses, animals, even clothes and other small items were confiscated, but also the loss of their former freedom and social



The extended Jääskeläinen family in Keltto in 1921. Grandmother Helena in the middle. The family of Pietari on the right was deported to Siberia in 1931. His brother Simo, above Helena, was imprisoned and his family was deported. Matti on the left was forced to work in Ingria 1932–1934 and deported in 1935 with the family to Central Asia. Antti, beside Helena on the left, was imprisoned for 10 years in Vorkuta and his family was deported to Kazakhstan. Archive of Anni Reuter.

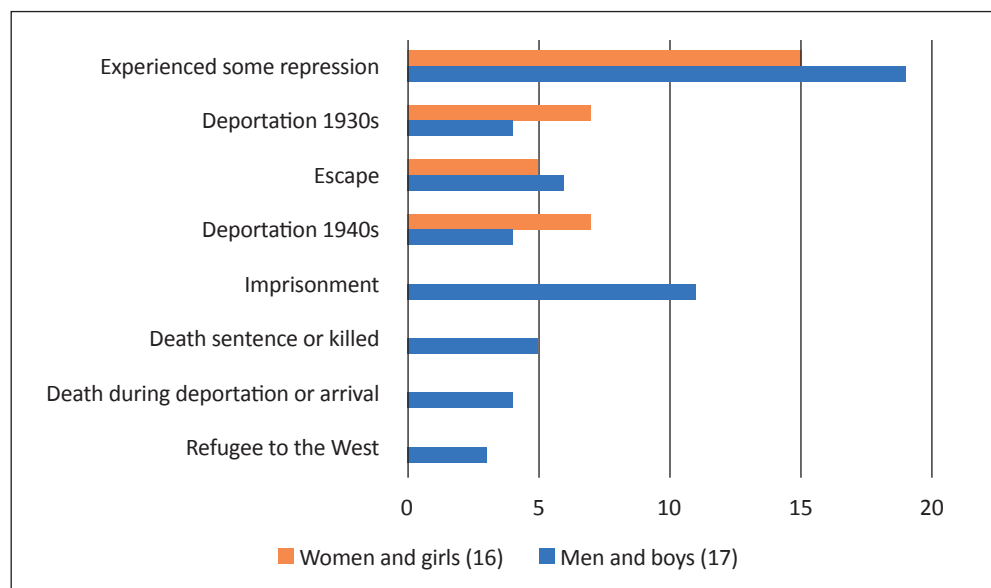
standing. Huge social changes included the destruction of the Ingrian Lutheran church (Jääskeläinen 1982), the Ingrian village environment as a way of life, forced migration and the loss of the home country Ingria, which led to the great Ingrian Finnish diaspora (see Reuter 2020a). Helena, the old mother and grandmother of the family, was “suffering like Job” according to a letter from Ingria in 1931, as 14 family members had been deported to internal exile, her house and property had been confiscated “to the last needle”, and her three sons imprisoned.¹⁴

One third (11/33) of the family member were deported because of their Finnish ethnicity during the Second World War in 1942 suffering high death rates, hunger and forced labour (Reuter 2020b; see Gildi 2007; Polian 2004:139).

In the family photo from the 1920s Ingria, the grandmother of the family, Helena, is

sitting in the centre, her sons, their wives, and her grandchildren around her. The family is pictured in front of the oldest family farmhouses, men and boys wearing clothes that show the prosperous peasant way of life later lost. Older women wore traditional dresses and headdresses of “*varsinaiset vallanomat*”, serfs previously owned by the Tsar family, revealing the historical roots. Photos taken during the internal exile were often taken of work collectives, only part of the family, gatherings of Finns or funerals showing the decline of family coherence.

Over a period of ten years Ingria was emptied of Ingrian Finns. None of the 33 persons studied lived in Ingria after the year 1942. The extended family was dispersed from Ingria to the *diaspora*, mostly to the Gulag as deportees and prisoners, with only three men managing to escape to the West as refugees (see also Reuter 2020a). During the exile they lived in Siberia, Central Asia,



Repressions experienced by family members (no.=33).

and the Kola Peninsula, and in prisons and labour camps at least in Ingria, Leningrad, the Far East, Siberia, Vorkuta, the Urals, and Central Asia.

A letter written in Siberia on 5 June 1931 reads: "The storm waves of the world throw us here and there, tearing our families to shreds, scattering our children to the edge of the stormy sea."¹⁵ Family members tried to keep in touch by writing letters, sending packages and photographs, and meeting each other if possible, even in Siberia and Central Asia. They hoped to return to Ingria and gather there. The diaspora of the family was seen by the older generation from the Biblical point of view as the dispersion and oppression of a holy people resembling the history and narratives of the Jews as told in the Bible (also Reuter 2020a).

All the nine nuclear families studied were violently broken up during the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s. Soviet practices of separating family members in internal exile for reasons of working capabilities, gender, and age also broke up families. In Siberia, Simo (1905–1938), Pekka (1910–1945), and Matti (1912–1977), able young men, were ordered to walk a couple of hundred kilometres from Krasnoyarsk to the gold mine area in North Yenissei in May 1931. "This is how they broke the families", wrote their father Pietari.¹⁶ Meanwhile, their brother Jaakko (1903–1941) had been interrogated for five weeks in Leningrad suspected of espionage (1931) as their brother lived in Finland. Jaakko was sentenced for four months to forced labour (1932) after which he was summoned to be interrogated again, which is why he escaped to Finland in 1933.¹⁷

Two out of three of men (11/18 men) were arrested in the 1930s either in Ingria or

whilst in internal exile.¹⁸ They were sent to prisons and labour camps in different areas, which spread the diaspora of the extended family even further. Matti was forced to work for two years in a peat bog in Ingria 1930–1932. His brother Antti was sentenced to ten years in Vorkuta 1931–1941. Their nephew Simo (1893–1942) was sent to work camp in the Urals from 1931 to 1935. His cousin with the same name Simo (1899–1938) was sentenced to three years in labour camps in Alma Ata and Tashkent. His destiny in Asia is still not known, but he was most likely shot during the Stalinist terror. His brother Juhana (1901–1938) was arrested in Ingria and executed in 1938 three months after his arrest.¹⁹ Information on the repressed family members can be found in open internet sites concerning Stalinist repression. Research has become easier lately because of this and has gained in popularity.

Stalinist terror was highly gendered, and the head of the household was typically seen as a political enemy (Alexopoulos 2008:92). Altogether five men died of political violence, four of them suffering the death penalty in 1938 during "national operations" against Finns. All the Finnish men in the Siberian gold mine area of Yelisavetka were arrested in March 1938; Pietari and his sons were suspected of counter-revolutionary activities. The youngest of them, Matti and Pekka, were released back to internal exile after interrogations and torture that left Pekka partially deaf.²⁰ The NKVD said that Pietari and Simo had been imprisoned for ten years under penal code 58 and had no right to correspond. After twenty years of waiting, the Soviet authorities announced misleadingly again that Pietari had died of a heart attack on 14 March 1942 and rehabilitated him posthu-

mously. The compensation for a lost life was just enough to buy a radio in 1958 in Soviet Karelia, which enabled the family to listen to Finnish radio. Only recently did it become known in Finland that Pietari had received the death penalty already in May 1938 soon after his arrest.²¹ His son Simo was also shot in 1938, claimed to belong to a hostile anti-Soviet group.²² Family members honoured fathers who were victims of Stalinist repression by giving their names to their children, and even in the next generations to great-grandchildren.

Men in the family often experienced both exile and arrest combined with forced labour and an early death. Especially the years 1935–1938 were dangerous, as is attested by the deaths of nine family members. Four male family members²³ died during and just after deportation which broke up families. Matti (1875–1935) and his family were deported in April 1935 to Central Asia to a cotton sovkhoz in Pahta Aral, where heat, malnutrition, diseases, and hard labour under forced conditions were too much for the 60-year-old father of the family. He died of a “bloody stomach disease” just a couple of months after arrival. The symptoms suggest dysentery, which was common in concentration camps, and among exiled people during Stalin’s time. In Pahta Aral people endured terrible sanitary conditions along with hard labour and poor housing in cramped barracks with a floor made of soil. They were also forced to drink from the canal water that “looked like milk coffee”.²⁴ Matti’s brother, 49-year-old family father Simo (1893–1942),²⁵ died a couple of years later of starvation during the forced deportation of Finns from the siege of Leningrad to Siberia in 1942, leaving his wife a widow and his children orphans.²⁶

During a ten-year period 1931–1942, most of the families lost their fathers. After the mass imprisonments and early deaths of many Finnish men, there was a deficit of males in the families, and women were left alone to care for the families in exile. One of the fathers, Antti, managed to find his wife and daughter in Central Asia after ten years’ imprisonment in Vorkuta. His son Toivo (1919–2010) had already escaped. Another man in my sample experienced the labour army, where the conditions resembled labour camps, but returned to his home in exile.²⁷

As a teenager Toivo fled from Pahta Aral in Asia to Ingria to save his life after getting severe malaria symptoms. He and two other men in the family managed to flee from Ingria to Finland. They all served in the Finnish army during the Second World War and gained refugee status in Finland or Sweden.²⁸ After the peace treaty, Toivo continued his escape from Finland to Sweden as he would have been returned from Finland to the Soviet authorities and imprisoned for 10 to 25 years in the Soviet Union. Altogether, Toivo’s escape route took him on a long journey from Kazakhstan to Leningrad and Ingria, the Kola Peninsula, Soviet Karelia, Finland, Lapland, and Sweden, where he arrived after rowing over the Tornio River. He became a remembrance activist and was interviewed several times in television programmes, newspapers, books, and research projects in Finland and Sweden. In this way he engaged in the transmission of the history of Ingrian Finns to the next generation and even to the wider public²⁹ (see Martikainen 2006).

Escapes were common and some family members escaped several times. Half of those deported in the 1930s escaped (11/22), and in total every third family

member attempted or succeeded in escaping (11/33). The frequency of the escapes reflects not only a longing for home, but also the hostile, hunger-stricken, and life-threatening situation in exile. Most of the runaways were teenagers, but even children and elderly people escaped, which in several cases led to their death through illness or violence. Pietari's adoptive father, Jaakko Multiainen (1858–1931), was beaten so badly that he died of his injuries after being captured.³⁰ The pregnant Maria (1898–1981), wife of Simo, managed to flee from the Kola Peninsula with her daughter. During her flight she gave birth to her second daughter and gave her the name Inkeri (born 1931) to honour the home country "in the time of suffering ordered by God".³¹ Maria was later deported again during the Second World War.

Susanna (1881–1936), the mother of nine children and wife of Matti escaped from Asian exile and was constantly on the run after her husband's death there. The illegal departure made the family, already under suspicion by the authorities, into lawbreakers and runaways who lived in constant fear of arrest without protection, shelter, civil rights, or health care. They fled the likelihood of death in exile, but escape did not help their situation. Susanna and her youngest and oldest sons died soon after their escape in 1936 and 1937 due to the illnesses they had incurred already in exile. The life of a runaway was dangerous not only because of disease but also because runaways were arrested and killed during the terror.³² As Antti, the father of the runaway Toivo put it, "People are chased like wild animals, even worse. You can escape, but a runaway has no place to run to."³³ Although many family members

tried to return to Ingria, none of them succeeded in returning permanently.

Many family members experienced several acts of terror, and some women more than one deportation. Kati (born 1920) recounted her experiences in an interview: "I had to leave home four times and wander from one place to another."³⁴ Deportations from Ingria were the structural turning points in her life narrative. She was deported from Ingria to Central Asia in 1935 with her childhood family. After her escape back to her home village at the age of sixteen, she could stay there because her parents had died. Five years later she was deported to Siberia during the war in 1942 with other Ingrian Finns but escaped again. After her second escape to her home region, she was not allowed to stay in Ingria but was forced to leave by the local authorities in 1947. She moved to Soviet Estonia but was deported for the fourth time with other Ingrian Finns to Central Russia in 1948. Later she moved voluntarily to Soviet Karelia although the leader in her workplace was against it. In the 1990s she emigrated to Finland as a return migrant. As a pensioner she told me that she was happy as she got enough food in Finland without hard manual work.³⁵

Thinning of Cultural Heritage in Exile

The future of deported families was highly uncertain in exile and even before in Ingria. Exiles were kept under the watchful eye of the NKVD, whose job was to oversee the Gulag and implement political terror. This did not mean only deportation from Ingria to diaspora in different locations, it also meant economic, cultural, and political repression, which made their cultural heritage thinner (also Reuter 2020a). As

Toivo, born in 1919 and deported in 1935, described it: “Already in my time, there was no time for storytelling. You had to think where to get the food.”³⁶ Stalinist repression and fear meant a long rupture in the Finnish culture and Lutheran religion. Continuation was supported by a memory culture in exile and diaspora that included religious meetings and narratives against the Soviet power (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1997).

Central to the narratives about the early stage of exile were a lack of living space, inhumane treatment, poor health care, and shortage of food. On 13 May 1931, at the beginning of the exile, Pietari wrote home:

Greetings from the Hell of Krasnoyarsk!

To my country and people of Ingria, I write to you about our life, about our children’s destiny. It is as if children are being sentenced to death. Those ten days we spent in the cattle wagons were too much for their health. We got food three times, but not the children, not even the women here, although they had promised us.

In this barrack there are 635 persons. The floors, beds, every corner and inch are crowded with people sleeping. I can hear weeping, which breaks my heart. Near to me, side by side, are two sick children sleeping and next to me rests a mother who is so weak that she can hardly open her mouth, her five sick children near to her. The oldest daughter is trying to take care of them. Their father has been sent to work.

Here are also two bodies looking like angels, one mother smiling. Over there you can see a woman who is crying again after her tears dried out, but are now again falling, because death took away her three children in one night. Over there I would not like to turn your sight but there you can see six children sleeping like lambs in their stall. From them death, like a wolf, has taken away their mother. In the middle of the night everybody wakes up to a terrible cry, when a child calls for her dead mother. Mother! Mother! Mother!

We work 16 hours a day. Guards are like those

from the prophecies in the Bible. What happens to us is difficult to say because we have been sold to the gold company. But we believe that the time is coming when God will have mercy on us, and this gang of Pharaoh’s asks us to leave these rivers of Babylon...³⁷

Letters and oral histories told how Ingrian Finnish exiles and their children’s lives had hardly any value in the Soviet system. Mass deaths, poverty, illnesses, repressions, and other miseries were described in the narratives targeted against Soviet power (also Reuter 2020b; 2019). The letter quoted above illustrates in detail the suffering caused by the forced deportation. Pietari, the author of the letter, directs his words to the Ingrian Finns. He uses culturally available narratives found in the Bible, and the letter ends with a hope of leaving exile and going home (or to heaven), where he would meet the others. This kind of Messianic message is quite typical among forcibly deported and diasporic groups such as the Ingrian Finns (see Reuter 2020a).

The social status of the family members was significantly reduced from socially respected peasants to stigmatized “kulaks”, exiles, refugees, prisoners, runaways, orphans, and servants.³⁸ Most of the family members were forced to do hard physical work in forests, buildings, mines, and kolkhozes. In agricultural kolkhozes they lost their autonomy and fell from relative prosperity to poverty. In the Pahta Aral kolkhoz, the hard land was cultivated manually even by children, and cotton was picked and purified by hand. In Siberian exile Matti worked in a goldmine, other family members as carpenters, blacksmiths, and young women as forestry workers. Women were expected to do heavy manual work but typically received lower pay than men.

The tools for land tenure, gold sifting and working were in general primitive, if they existed at all; for example, in the goldmine, people pushed the wagons.³⁹ Family members were “enslaved” according to older generations, who had heard stories of serfdom, “slavery” as they called it, during the rule of the Tsar. In Siberia Pietari described their position as followings: “We became slaves like the previous generation, only the weapons used against us changed from whips to rifle barrels.”⁴⁰ The experience of collectivization and exile in Russia drew partly from centuries of serfdom, repression, and physical punishment of peasants.

The family members struggled to stay alive during the exile and were faced with starvation, illness, poor housing, and harsh weather conditions ranging from freezing cold in Siberia and the Kola Peninsula or burning heat in Central Asia. During the famine (1932–1933) the family survived in Siberia eating nettles and bread made of tree bark. As they had not experienced hunger in Ingria, they got the idea for this way of surviving from the Finnish poem *Saarijärven Paavo* (Bonden Paavo) written by the national poet Runeberg.⁴¹ The older generation shared the textual community with other Finns and used Finnish literature to find ways to survive in exile. The remembering was later somewhat disconnected from the textual traditions and forced into the private family sphere (see Skultans 1998).

The family members started to cultivate the cold Siberian soil and used their experiences of centuries of farming in order to produce good harvests. Although repression was continuous and many-sided, family members were active in working after official hours to earn food and

money for the family, manufacturing and selling goods such as old clothes, and in Siberia they leached gold.⁴² They adapted to the work community, but at the same time passed on to their children some of their cultural and social heritage. Children were taught to work and study hard and to live according to Finnish and Lutheran cultural traditions. Communism and atheism were propagated at the Soviet schools and workplaces, which led to a double life in the private and the public sphere.

The family and the nearest circle of Ingrian Finns were often seen as a protective sphere preserving Finnish identity and the Lutheran religion against the hostile exile environment. Far from withering away, religion, preserving the memory of the past in Ingria, and national Finnish sentiment, remained a part of private family life. In Central Asia, exiled Ingrian Finns gathered secretly in religious meetings in graveyards. In Siberia, religion was kept usually inside the barrack rooms. In both places the male members of the family took leading roles in the preaching and in arranging funerals (also Mesiäinen 1990).⁴³

The main Finnish and Lutheran celebrations, such as Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer, were celebrated when possible, although it was difficult to keep to traditional celebrations and Sundays as they were often working days and school days.⁴⁴ Belief in God remained, although religiosity seemed to be strongest in the older exiled generation. The spiritual role of religion and the continuations of traditions were important, not just physical survival,⁴⁵ but religious and national (Ingrian) Finnish identity had to be hidden for the sake of security. There was the hope of returning home and meeting, if not in their



Ingrian Finnish exiles, including family members gathered at the graves of the Pahta Aral cotton kolkhoz in Central Asia in 1937 or 1938. Archive of Anni Reuter.

lifetime in Ingria, then in heaven, as many letters ended.

There were also traces of resistance in exile as the family members were so clearly against communist ideology and practice. Finnish was spoken at home and with relatives and friends and was sometimes used as a secret language that others in exile did not understand. Outward pressure from educational institutions insisted that the Russian language taught at school should also be used at home. “Teacher advised our parents to teach us kids Russian at home, but father told us that school is for that purpose. ‘We speak Finnish!’ My sister did not speak any Russian when she went to school and learned everything by heart.”⁴⁶ The totalitarian state pressed for cultural unification so that they would become Russian-speaking Soviet people, *homo Sovieticus* (Anepaio 1999:180). In

exile, many children, and even some family members, had to go to boarding schools, because of the long distances, or go to orphanages after their parents’ imprisonment and death. In these closed institutions the Soviet values were imposed upon the children, such as the communist ideology, atheism, and collectivism.

Exiled parents and their children often wanted the next generation to obtain a better life than their marginalized parents. The attitude to education was positive in the family although the oldest generation were afraid that the children would become atheists and communists at school. Daughter Elsa (1917–1983) recalled that when she went to greet her father in prison, the last words of Pietari were: “Do study!”⁴⁷ Her oral history shows that a good education for the children was of great importance for the family. The changing position of wom-

en included work outside the household, first hard manual work, but later even higher education with social upward mobility.

The life stories of the youngest women in the sample were often influenced by professional biographies. Although the life histories typically start with good times in Ingria and later difficulties of their families including the hard life in exile and the imprisonment and death of their fathers, they soon turned to happy childhood memories in Siberia, education, and the subsequent job history. Specifically, the women of the younger generation achieved higher education and professions valued in Soviet society, such as working as a teacher, a university lecturer, a university researcher (docent), a bookkeeper, a chief, and a doctor.⁴⁸

Some men were able to achieve a valued position at work as prized or promoted workers without education. In this way, some family histories challenge the “history of suffering” (Miettinen 2004; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999, 1997). The possibility of achieving education was unequally distributed, however, and was dependent on sex, place of exile, age, time, and social class. Some young family members were not allowed to study as children or young adults, because of their background as children of “the enemies of the people”.⁴⁹ In Central Asia, child labour seemed to be common; at least Hilma (born 1927) started to work as a 12-year-old with her brother Toivo in the cotton fields without the possibility of being educated.⁵⁰

Family members strove to gather the family together: “It was home-like when father came to us [from prison] and we had our corner in the barrack.”⁵¹ Exile places were not described as homes, but instead it became “home-like” even in exile when

everyday life became stabilized over the years (Reuter 2020b). However, the Great Terror hit the Finnish community hard in 1938.⁵² Eeva said: “We started to work and cultivate the land and were given apartments. Then started the years of imprisonment. It was home-like there, but we were like prisoners. They arrested all the men from the prison we lived in. Just we women and children were left behind.”⁵³ During and after the Great Terror (1937–1938) all references to practising Finnish culture posed a threat that was best kept concealed from the authorities. The Soviet system demanded displays of loyalty and punished expressions of dissent. The histories of repressions were told only in the privacy of homes and among the most trusted persons. The family history was mostly structured by descriptions of deportation, terror, and other forced turning points in life.

Many narratives highlighted collectively experienced repressions and shared history with other Ingrian Finns describing the history of “our family”, “we Finns”, “people of Ingria” or poetically “Kullervo’s people”, referring to *Kalevala*. Eeva described in brief how the family managed through the Siberian exile: “People of Ingria suffered so much... We cultivated the land. We had a cow.”⁵⁴ From the photographs I was able to see that her life history was not only about “the history of the suffering” as she married a handsome Estonian-Russian man in Siberian exile. It may be that on some other occasions Eeva talked about romance, building a family in Siberia, and becoming a wife and soon a widow, but in the interview, she focused on repressions and the history of the family and Ingrian Finns in exile.

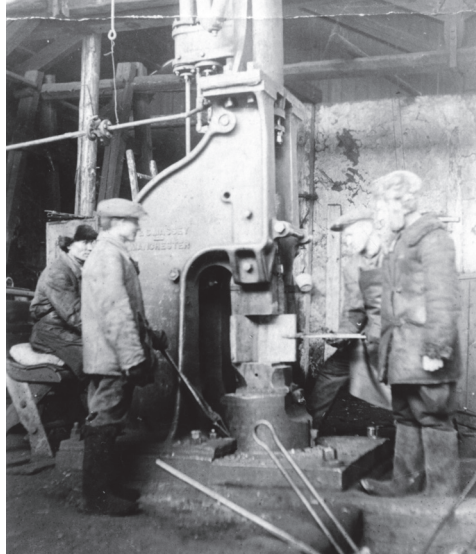
Comparing families showed the different paths of nuclear families through

escape, education, living in silence and Christian belief, and even resisting Soviet rule. The collective suffering of family members and Ingrian Finns was remembered, but family histories also included success stories showing the possibilities, especially of deported young women, to gain education and a career.

The Meaning and the End of Exile

Family narratives of deportation and exile were structured in the older generation with the help of Biblical events and stories. The fate of family members and believing Ingrian Finns was linked to the fate of Jews in the slavery in Egypt, in exile, and diaspora. Some family members even saw signs of the apocalypse.⁵⁵ Eeva's oral history of deportation to Siberian exile was filled with religious meanings as well: "It was a road led by God. It was a miracle that when the cattle wagons started to move towards Siberia everybody started to sing the hymn '*Jumala ompi linnamme*' ('A Mighty Fortress Is Our God')."⁵⁶ The older generation and some of the next generation before perestroika typically formulated their narratives of deportations to resemble Biblical histories. Family members felt that they were protected by God in exile, in which way they were able to give a moral meaning to their deportation. The Bible and other culturally relevant texts shaped family memories and provided tools to interpret historical events (Assman 2006).

The meaning of deportation and exile has been in transition, which could be noticed when the narratives of the older generations and the younger generation were compared. The younger generation, who were children or adolescents during the 1930s, respected the older generation and



Pekka worked in Siberian exile as a blacksmith (third from the left). Archive of Anni Reuter.

had confidence in their sayings and decisions: "Father always told us: 'You must wait. God will send us back home'", the children of Pietari recalled and thus did not attempt to escape from Siberia.⁵⁷

The younger generation, however, found explanations for family and Ingrian Finnish history from research and published memoirs rather than the Bible after perestroika. Soviet exile was described as a repression of Finns, wealthier people, independent peasants, and dissident thinkers under Stalin's rule. Moreover, his hatred and dislike of Finns was given as an explanation for the repression of Finns in oral histories.⁵⁸ According to the research literature, Stalin disliked multiculturality and his attitudes to Finns became more hostile after the wars with Finland and the false revelation of an anti-Soviet conspiracy of Ingrian Finns in 1938 (Zemskov 2005; Gildi 2007). During the decades,

the meaning of deportation and exile was transformed from the Biblical and mythical exile of God's promised people in exile and diaspora to the interpretation of deportation as political repression and Stalinist terror.

The family members longed to return home to Ingria from exile but were forbidden to go there. They were subject to the "101-kilometre rule", which denied released prisoners, deportees and Ingrian Finns in general, residence permission within a 100-kilometre radius of larger cities, including the surroundings of Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), in other words Ingria, where Ingrian Finns traditionally used to live. Those family members who tried to get home after the exile were ordered to leave within one day. "24-hours" recur in narratives as a most dispiriting and frustrating experience. Kati structured her whole life narrative around four incidents of forced migration, where the hours left to leave home in Ingria played an important part. These numbers – the 101-rule, 24-hours, and political sentence under article 58⁵⁹ – are markers of totalitarian power over the family and Ingrian Finns (see Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999).

Although family members were disappointed that they could not return to Ingria, there was a great feeling of gathering the family and other Finns from the diaspora in Soviet Karelia at the end of the 1940s. Hilma described⁶⁰ the meeting of people and their recognition after her departure from Central Asian exile:

Ingrian people were all gathering at Petrozavodsk. I got work in the building of the university. It was called Little Finland because there were so many Finns. We worked hard, lived in the same building in the middle of dust, dirt, and insects, but after work we went dancing. Boys played the accordion

and sang, and we danced. Finnish boys had fights with Russians [laughing]. Poverty and dirt did not bother us. We were young.

I wrote to an Ingrian prisoner. He fell in love with me and moved to Petrozavodsk. I felt sorry for him. His whole family had been killed, and he had been ten years in prison. So, I met him [and he became my husband].

One day I recognized our uncle Vania⁶¹ in our backyard. He was still very wise, but so dirty. We washed him and dressed him in clean clothes. He sat in our home in a corner and said: 'I won't go anywhere from here.' So, he moved to live with us. [crying]

Later I wrote to my cousins, to Pietari's children in Siberia, asked them to move to Petrozavodsk, and they came. Then I also had a family around me, someone to talk to.

Chain migration from different exile areas and imprisonment to Karelia and the importance of even remote relatives with their help and social support, and the mutual solidarity of Ingrian Finns can be noticed in her description. A large part of the extended family gathered to live in Karelia, where they met. A new family photo was taken in the year 1961 in Petrozavodsk with 28 extended family members, many of them young children.

The past of families was silenced in public for decades in the Soviet Union. In the family gathering of the extended family in Petrozavodsk in 1982, Juhani, who was visiting from Finland, attempted to bring up the themes of deportations and terror, but his sister interrupted saying: "We don't talk about these things!" She was most likely afraid that there was an informer in the restaurant.⁶² It might be that some traumatic and difficult aspects of the family's past were silenced even in the privacy of homes and not shared with others. There was not much room for romance, weddings, family rows, child-

births, or other everyday matters in the family narratives in my research material (also Miettinen 2004; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999). Narratives of love, communist ideology, and sexual violence were absent or only briefly mentioned in the family histories. Everyday work in exile was however described at length as well as lucky meetings with relatives and helpful locals (Reuter 2020b).

The deportations were partly so traumatic because the experiences were suppressed for decades. Not until the end of the 1980s during perestroika, after almost 50 years of almost complete silence, did it become possible to discuss the history of Ingrian Finns in public (Anepaio 1999). Remembering the past and sharing it with the next generation has been important. As Hilma said to her brother in Sweden in 1982: “Do remember! Do not forget what Ingrian Finns suffered, are still suffering.”⁶³ It could be noticed that family members remembered the repressed family members, at least close family members.

Several family members were active in collecting archival material and writing memoirs and family histories in Finland, Russia, Sweden, and Estonia.⁶⁴ Family members were repressed and dispersed into diaspora, but still carried the memory of Ingria, exile, and relatives killed in the terror.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia rehabilitated Russian Finns as a repressed nationality in 1993 (see Gildi 2007). The time of fear, Cold War, and taboos surrounding Ingrian Finnish history gradually ended. Finland welcomed re-emigration to Finland, which made it easier for family members to migrate. However, Ingrian Finnish history continued to be in many ways hidden or forgotten,⁶⁵ which made it even more important to remember

the victims of terror and deportations in the suffered families.

Conclusions: Family History as a Bridge between the Personal and Collective History of Repression

In this article, I have explored the memory and genealogy of Ingrian Finnish families during Stalin’s time in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. In the case study, Ingrian Finnish families were important sources and carriers of memories. The family histories demonstrated the great transformation and social collapse of the Ingrian Finnish family members in the 1930s and early 1940s from independent peasants to poor deportees, forced labourers, refugees and prisoners in the Gulag.

Members of the extended family were repressed during Stalin’s time, with some managing to take refuge in Finland and Sweden. Two out of three family members were deported in the 1930s and one in three during the Second World War. Half of those deported in the 1930s escaped. Several family members experienced many repressions during their life span; some women were deported several times and most men were deported, arrested, and died at an early age. At least five men were killed in the political violence, four of them were executed in the Stalinist terror in 1938. The nuclear families studied were violently broken up, leaving them without a father. I found a range of family mobilities from escape to education.

The family histories I studied were a meeting place between individual and collective memory, a bridge over personal life history and the minority/national history of Ingrian Finns. In this way, family history can be a missing link between micro- and

macro-history. My sample of 33 persons is of some statistical value, suggesting how common deportations, escapes, arrests, and executions were among Ingrian Finns. The analysis of family genealogies and histories has significant methodological potential for future research. There was a cultural continuum between generations, but also intergenerational differences concerning making sense of history. The meaning of repressions shifted and was different in the older and younger generation changing from the Biblical implications of deportation and terror to historical explanations also found in research.

Families were dispersed to diaspora inside the Soviet Union and to Finland and Sweden but still carried the memories of Ingria, deportations, and Stalinist terror, and even established an extensive family archive. For a long time, it was the family histories that told the real history of Ingrian Finns, not the official history books. The Ingrian Finnish families I studied live today in diaspora in Russia, Estonia, Sweden, and in Finland. The land of Ingria and the family's past in Keltto exist only in archives, maps, literature, and memories, if even there. The loss of the original land and home as a place where people once lived highlights the importance of collecting life and family narratives, and archival material to build a group's own history and a collective memory of the past.

Anni Reuter
 Researcher
 Faculty of Social Sciences
 University of Helsinki
 Finnish Literature Society
 Research Department
 PO Box 259
 FI-00170 Helsinki
 email: anni.reuter@helsinki.fi

Notes

- 1 A comparatively wealthy peasant who employed hired labour or possessed farm machinery and who was viewed and treated by the Communists as an oppressor and class enemy.
- 2 This can be noticed, for example, in the Ingrian Finnish Facebook groups.
- 3 Ulla-Maija Peltonen (1996:132) writes about the Reds' memory tradition in Finland after the Civil War in 1918.
- 4 Finlandization is the process where a country favours or refrains from opposing the interests of a more powerful country referring originally to the influence of the Soviet Union on Finland.
- 5 Archives of Finnish Literature Society archive of Anni Reuter.
- 6 Letter from Ingria written in Whitsunday 1931 by uncle, whose name is not included in the letter. The letter writer is most likely Juhana "Vanja" Jääskeläinen (1887–1956).
- 7 I included these families in the sample that had been established in the 1930s or before.
- 8 I use the term mobility broadly, including common family strategies used in exile, namely escape and education.
- 9 Helena had eight sons with her husband Simo, who died in 1918 (1853–1918). Five of their sons lived in the 1930s. Some names, like Simo, have been popular in the family and used in several generations.
- 10 Interview with Eeva 1972.
- 11 Interview with his son Toivo in 1999.
- 12 Appeal of Ingrian Finnish Peasants to the Finnish Government, 8 May 1931. Archive of the Finnish Foreign Ministry in Helsinki; Russia 100. Jääskeläinen 1982:40–45. Interview with Toivo in 2001.
- 13 People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Its tasks included the secret police, political terror, and camp administration.
- 14 Letter from Ingria, Keltto written by "Juho" Juhana, son of Matti, 25 November 1931.
- 15 Letter of Pietari from Krasnoyarsk of 5 June 1931.
- 16 For example, letter of Pietari 20 November 1931 from Yenissei.

- 17 Written memoir of his daughter Aino 2003. Transcripts of Jaakko's interrogation in Finland; Detective Central Police 145:1933. Finnish National Archives.
- 18 The number may be too low as there might have been some arrests that I am not aware of.
- 19 Information about Juhana can be found, but not his brothers. Martyrology of Leningrad area.
- 20 According to the interview with his sister Susanna 1999.
- 21 Information found in <https://ru.openlist.wiki>. Archives of FSB KK P11080 and Memorial in Krasnoyarsk.
- 22 Many family members are found in *Open list* (Открытый список) which lists people repressed on political grounds in the Soviet Union, using different sources like Memorial and state archives: <https://ru.openlist.wiki>.
- 23 One baby, two middle-aged and one elderly man.
- 24 For example, interview with Hilma 1982.
- 25 He was living hiding in his home village as released prisoners could not live near big cities.
- 26 Interview with his daughter Elma 2001.
- 27 Also called the German labour army in some sources. Pietari, son of Matti (1904–1959) experienced both the labour army and forced deportation to Siberia in 1942 with his family. See Открытый список "Open list".
- 28 The brothers Juhani and Jaakko gained refugee status in Finland. Toivo gained refugee status in Sweden after his escape from Finland in 1946.
- 29 Interview with Toivo 1999; 2000. See Jääskeläinen 2001.
- 30 Interview with Eeva 1972. Pietari's poem to his adoptive father Jaakko Multiainen 30 May 1931. Mesiäinen 1990:97–104.
- 31 Letter from Ingria by "Juho", Juhana, 25 November 1931.
- 32 Letter from a runaway and relative through marriage, Juho Huuhka, 10 September 1931, Leningrad.
- 33 Jääskeläinen, Antti. Poems 1930s–1940s, page 14.
- 34 Interview with Kati 2000.
- 35 Interview with Kati in 2000 in Finland. Archive of Anni Reuter. Jääskeläinen 2001:110–111.
- 36 Interview with Toivo 2001.
- 37 Letter of Pietari from Krasnoyarsk, 13 May 1931.
- 38 For example, Eeva worked as a servant. Letter from Yenissei written by Eeva 11th of December 1932.
- 39 Interview with Aili in 1999.
- 40 Pietari, Easter 1932. Poem.
- 41 Pietari 30 March 1933. Diary.
- 42 About the busy life of the family and leaching gold, Pietari 18 March 1934; 19th October 1934. Also, interview with Elsa 1967.
- 43 Letter written by Pietari from Siberia, the town of Yenisei 16th July 1931.
- 44 For example, Elsa described how she had school on Sundays. Letter from the town of Yenisei 11 December 1932.
- 45 For example, a letter of 25 March 1932 describes Pietari's belief, religious learning, and celebrations in Siberia.
- 46 Interview with Elsa 1967.
- 47 Interviews of Elsa in 1967 and Eeva in 1972.
- 48 Interviews of Elma 2001, Susanna 1999, and Eeva 1972.
- 49 Interview with Elma 2001.
- 50 Interviews of Hilma 1982 and Toivo 1999; 2000.
- 51 Interview with Hilma 1982.
- 52 Letters of 18 March 1933 and 18 October 1934, and poem 19 October 1934 by Pietari describes gold leaching.
- 53 Interview 1972.
- 54 Interview with Eeva 1972.
- 55 Also, Jääskeläinen 2001. Letter of Juhana 25 November 1931. Letter of Pietari 1 December 1930. Poem by Antti, 1940s.
- 56 Interview with Eeva 1972. Also, Elsa 1967.
- 57 Interview with Elsa 1967.
- 58 Interview with Susanna 1999.
- 59 Article 58 was put in force to arrest or execute people suspected of counter-revolutionary activities or not reporting these activities. People imprisoned under this article were called political prisoners as opposed to common criminals.

- 60 Interview with Hilma in 1982 in Sweden by her brother Toivo. Archive of Anni Reuter.
- 61 Juhana Jääskeläinen (1887–1956). He had no wife or children and had been in Siberia.
- 62 Interview with Juhani 1981.
- 63 Interview with Hilma 1982.
- 64 For example, Jääskeläinen 2011: Jääskeläinen 1982; Jääskeläinen 2001.
- 65 Exhibition Ingrian Finns – the forgotten Finns in the National Museum of Finland by Lea and Santeri Pakkanen and photographer Meeri Koutaniemi in 2020.

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“We Only Drink Water Here”

An Ethnological Approach to the Liminality of Childhood Migration, Health Narratives, and Negotiation of Belonging in Sweden

By Talieh Mirsalehi

I remember when I got sick when we were in Sweden, we were quite young and we didn't know that you didn't get medicine and stuff, and we went to the doctor and she said, “You have to drink water, we don't give medicine [because] there is no medicine for it” [...] In Iran and Afghanistan, you take a lot of medicine and it's not so good for the body, so we only drink water here [...] There, you go to the doctor to get medicine but you don't do that here in Sweden, you go there and they say you have to exercise and drink water (Fariba, November 7, 2019¹).

Fariba reflected on her first experience of visiting a healthcare facility in Sweden when she and her younger sister developed flu-like symptoms in 2015, shortly after their family had arrived in Sweden as asylum seekers. She seemed convinced, yet astonished by the thought of being prescribed by a doctor to drink water, instead of taking medicines, to ease her symptoms. The climax of Fariba's story was the therapeutic power that was given to water by the doctor, and that medicines were not always the first choice when addressing a health issue. Fariba, however, was not the only child who found this recommended remedy in the new country out of the ordinary. She was one of the children who participated in my investigation on the social and cultural experiences of health, illness, and medication in Sweden, with a focus on children's perception of medicines and how these pharmaceutical products were to be procured. The children who contributed to this study have been undergoing the asylum-seeking process, for years, with their families. What Fariba and the rest of the children who participated in his research have in common is living in a liminal state, oscillating between a past, a present, and a future. Their narratives

are about experiences of illness episodes at two different points in time and place. These narratives are also about living on the threshold of the society that they want to be a part of. In order to gain “full membership” of the new society, these children should recognize different socio-culturally constructed codes of conduct, such as the ones around health and illness behaviour. By combining their experiences of the past to the ones of the present, these children try to understand the conventional expectations put on them in the new social setting. By making sense of what is required of them in times of health and illness in the new society, the children tend to create knowledge and negotiate their social positions within the inescapable “integration” process in which they have enrolled.

Transitioning from being healthy to becoming ill and vice versa has usually been one of the core focuses of ethnological health research (e.g., Gunnarson 2016; Hagen 2013). The focus of this article, however, is on a different form of transition where health and illness experiences are used as strategic tools when transitioning between different liminal states of childhood migration. The aim is to analyse how the children meet the assumed conditions of belonging, including the dos and don'ts of conventional health behaviour, in order to position themselves in the new society. In this article, the concept of health narrative is used as a tool to access children's stories, indicating their search for belonging. By taking a closer look at the ways they narrate their health and illness experiences of the past to the present, I intend to examine how the children reflect on their situation in Sweden where they live on the borderland between a back then,

a now, and a future (Ehn & Klein 1999). Their analytical reflections and the metaphors they employ in conversations with me are an example of the strategies they use in their attempt to get out of the liminal condition they live in. In this article, I ask how concepts of health, illness, healing, and medication are used by the children to position themselves not only during conversations with me and in relation to other children who participated in this research, but also in society as a whole. What role does their narrative of health and illness play in these children's attempt to create a sense of belonging? How do they perceive the new sociocultural norms around health, healing and medication? What is the meaning of water in their narratives and how can it be interpreted when put in a context of migration?

The children who participated in my ethnographic research were in the age group 9–12. They had moved with their families to Sweden from Syria and Afghanistan as asylum seekers. The focus of this article is on a group of these children from Afghanistan. The narratives that are presented are these children's reflections on the healing processes they have experienced from the past to present, and were told only in response to the topic of my research and during the conversation we had about my study.² In other words, talking about their health and illness experiences was the children's contribution to the discussion that I initiated throughout my ethnographic fieldwork.

Methods and Material

The core of this article is based on the ethnographic research performed between September 2019 and January 2020 in col-

laboration with a politically and religiously neutral organization, located in a southern town of Sweden. The organization mainly targets families with children from Syria and Afghanistan who either are in the asylum process or have recently been granted a permanent residence permit. The organization arranges different activities for children, youth, and adults with an aspiration to provide psychosocial support to ease their enrolment in the new society. In total, eighteen children took part in the research, of whom four came from Syria and fourteen from Afghanistan, all between nine and twelve years old. The participants had been living in Sweden between eight months and four years, and they took part in the arranged activities on a weekly basis. I met the children of each group once a week, and performed interviews and group discussions in between the activities arranged for each group from the respective countries. On one occasion, I interviewed one of the children at the place of activities, also at the child's home and in her parents' presence. In addition, I observed children's interaction with each other, with the staff, and with me. Interview, group discussion and observation were the main research methods for data collection. Interviews and group discussions took between thirty minutes and one hour depending on the children's readiness, and were audio-recorded and transcribed, after I received the children's and their parents' written consent.³ In the transcriptions, children are given pseudonyms to anonymize their personal information. Both interviews and group discussions were semi-structured and followed an interview guide to keep the discussion on track (Davies 2008). The field notes were taken during, but mainly after

the individual and group interviews and observations.

The idea behind this article was born during two group discussions with six of the children from Afghanistan who regularly showed up for the weekly activities arranged by the organization. Doing a group discussion and being divided into two groups of boys and girls was done at the children's request. Three boys and three girls participated in the discussions. I introduced the aim of the research and reminded them of their right to withdraw from participation at any time. Since the focus of the current study was on healthcare experiences before, during, and after migration, the research methodologies that were applied could result in the disclosure of sensitive information about the children's and their family members' practices that could be considered confidential. The ethical dilemmas surrounding research in healthcare and migration demand extra consideration when including children as research topics, as they may put the migrant and asylum-seeking children in a (doubly) vulnerable position. Children may feel they are placed at the crossroads of what truth can or should be disclosed without having any consequences, especially affecting their migration and "integration" process. It can also result in an extra pressure on children by creating a selection process where children feel the obligation to choose what aspects of their experiences they should reveal and in what way. It is, thus, of vital importance to reflect on potential ethical challenges that can concern both participants and the research process.

Ethnographic research methods have the potential to give children a voice to share their experiences and express their

thoughts (Thomson 2008; James & Prout 1997). These methods not only focus on frontstage activities but also those that occur in the backstage of people's everyday life (Goffman 1990; Ehn, Löfgren & Wilk 2016). Getting access to the backstage of children's performative actions, however, requires entering their "culture of communication", where they are engaged in issues that concern them not only because they are given a chance to do so but also because their inalienable right of expression is recognized (Hillén 2013; Christensen 2004). Although ethnology has not been prominent in the field of child research and the age threshold, children and young people have always been of interest in ethnological research (Hansson 2007; Hörnfeldt 2009; Nilsson & Hansson 2016). In early ethnological studies, children were included in the research more as study objects, but from the 1980s onwards these studies started to take a new turn by focusing on children's subjectivity (Ehn 1983 & 1986; Daun 1982). Doing ethnological research with children has been divided into two categories of studying children in an adult world and from an adult's perspective, assuming the child as an object to be explored, and describing the world from within by focusing on children's own perspective on a phenomenon in their surrounding world (Daun 1982). Investigating children's own perspective, however, does not require a particular set of research methods, solely based on their membership of the child category (Christensen 2004; Christensen & James 2000). Throughout the fieldwork, I was mindful of my presence in their groups and their perception of my multifaceted role as a researcher, who also planned, led, and participated in the activities as a "lead-

er", and could speak their native language, Dari. In other words, I was aware that my personhood could influence the outcome of the fieldwork in different ways (Arvidsson 2001).

Narratives can unravel the untold or dismissed aspects of connected events, as the "linkage of personal troubles and public issues, which is the foundation of politics, begins in the cultivation of personal stories" (Watters 2008: 8). Narrative is known to be an important source of information, providing listeners with the narrator's interpretation of reality (Alver 1995). For the children who participated in this research and in the context of migration, narrative was used as a resource to express interpretations of their lived health and illness experiences, which contributed to the social construction of their self (Miller et al. 1990:294). Their personal narratives as an inseparable part of their subjective participation in the world unpacked not only their take on the circumstances that caused or were caused by an illness, but also their interpretation of the communal consensus on how to communicate and address loss of health (Ochs & Capps 1996:21). These children's narratives, consciously or unconsciously, were influenced by the conventional rhetoric of health and illness in their sociocultural context, but authentic in nature regardless of the assumptions they carry, embedded in the conventional public rhetoric.

Background

The phenomenon of globalization and migration has an impact on the concepts of health and illness in different contexts. Being flexible, responsible, reflexive, and in control of one's health is one of Western

society's central paradigms, placed upon individuals as a prerequisite of being "ideal" citizens (Martin 1994). These elements of self-regulation are some of the key attributes of culture not least in Swedish society, passed on from one generation to the next (cf. Alftberg & Lundin 2012; Winroth 2004; Frykman 1992). Self-care as a moral percept requires individuals to take responsibility and preserve the well-being of their bodies by leading a healthy way of life. Individuals are also required to restore jeopardized health through active participation in the healing process. Self-care as a concept, however, can be perceived and interpreted in different ways by members of the multicultural society of Sweden.

Sweden has a long history of migration both to and from its territorial borders. Already from the 1500s and before becoming a member of the European Union in 1995 and joining the Schengen area in 2001, Sweden had its borders open to not only other EU citizens, but also others in need of seeking asylum away from their countries of origin.⁴ In 2015 and 2016, Europe faced its biggest refugee emergency after the Second World War, with more than one million people spreading across Europe.⁵ One of the main reasons behind the extensive migration towards Europe was the progression in civil war and the violent conflicts that affected different parts of the world.⁶ Children were among those who were forcibly displaced. According to a report released by Unicef in April 2020, nearly 30 million children under the age of eighteen, worldwide, had by the end of 2018 been involuntarily moved from or within their countries of origin.⁷ According to this report on the global number of child refugees under the UNHCR man-

date, between 2005 and 2018, Syria and Afghanistan were the two countries that accounted for nearly half of all child refugees and asylum seekers in the world.⁸ This statement was attested by the statistics reported by The Swedish Migration Agency (Migrationsverket).⁹

A migratory move as territorial displacement can metaphorically be compared to being "uprooted" (Malkki 1992:34). The pathologization of this "uprootedness", according to Malkki, can, among other things, illuminate the sociocultural boundaries around medical and moral precept in relation to the new "homes and homelands" (Malkki 1992:2). The anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966) proposed that going through a migratory process can construct refugees and migrants as "matter out of place", seeking rootedness and belonging (Wernesjö 2014:10). Children of this category can be perceived as a social group whose childhood is out of norm, being outside the realms of the notion of a "normal childhood" in Western society (e.g. Engebritsen 2012; Panter-Brick 2000). As "additional" members of the new homeland, these children are in a liminal position in the categorical order of nation-state, yet expected to follow the socio-culturally constructed norms such as the ones around health and illness in the new social setting. Children, by default, enrol in the transitory process of childhood, but when combined with migration they are involved in a double transition through which they move from being a child in one society to becoming a child in another. It can, hence, influence children's negotiation of their childhood positions, be it in their immediate families or surrounding networks or society as a whole.

Theoretical Framework

This article takes its point of departure in the work of the anthropologist Victor Turner (1967 & 1969) and his expansion of the concept of liminality.¹⁰ This concept, first developed by the ethnographer and folklorist Arnold van Gennep (1960), refers to a phase in a rite of passage when one moves from a place, state, and status to the next. Van Gennep called the liminal phase an ambiguous state of being placed in an in-between position, coming out of it dependent on detaching from the previous state, enrolling the course of change, and consummating the process by successfully accomplishing the rite of passage towards the new state. In order to be granted the new position, Van Gennep argued (1969), one is required to behave in accordance with certain customary norms expected from the beholder. Victor Turner (1967 & 1969) further developed the notion of liminality by calling for attention to the influence that ambiguity of living in a liminal process can have on transients' construction of identity and creation of a sense of belonging. As Turner (1969) stated, those involved in a liminal process, due to their fluid transitional positions, live on a "threshold", slipping away or through socially recognized classifications (Turner 1969:359). This transitional process results in the formation of an unstructured community, named *communitas*, in which members share an equal liminal disposition (Turner 1969, 1974). According to Turner, the ambiguity of living on a threshold at the same time can present those who are involved in such pending processes with new opportunities (Thomassen 2009, 2014). It can result in experimenting with new social relations, or developing new methods to gain acceptance and build new coping strategies, for

example, to get through an illness episode in accordance with a new set of social and cultural norms around health and healing. The concepts of liminality and *communitas* in Western society can be applied to the ways rituals are formed and practised in a secular context as a response to conflicts (Norström 2004; Bigger 2009). Migration can create conflict, which results in the formation of *communitas* where members share liminality of the migration process and the "in-betweenness" while waiting to attain membership of the new society.

According to the medical anthropologist Kleinman (1988), illness is the subjective translation of bodily symptoms, shaped by our lived experiences of dealing with a deteriorating health and moulded by our "local cultural orientations" (Kleinman 1988:3). Kleinman (1988) argues that although health and illness behaviour is a sociocultural construct, it is influenced by the individual's biography, built on the person's own distinctive interpretation of illness experiences. Illness, however temporary, can result in the emergence of new approaches to communicate the experience with others. Illness narratives in a liminal process such as migration can also function as a communication medium. This functionality, however, is not limited to the expression of physical discomfort or emotional distress. Health narratives can also reveal the individual's attempt to make sense of the new rules of conduct, in comparison to the previous ways of thinking and acting in similar situations. According to Kleinman (1985, 1988), in times of illness one seeks care in "popular, folk and professional sectors", the choice of which influences one's approach to the symptoms caused by the illness. Kleinman (1985)

further explains that the popular sector or self-care as well as the folk sector and its complementary ways of treatment are a response to the professional sector, which is predominantly provided by biomedicine in a society. The popular sector is where ill health is recognized, diagnosed and treated through various health-maintenance activities by the patient or the patient's family and personal networks. In the context of migration, however, the rules of conduct between these sectors can clash in different ways, as it is not only about the cultural diversity of healing, but also how these healing practices are perceived and reacted to in the new society.

While turning experiences to stories can help the ill person to make meaning of the transformation of the body, these stories have to be narrated in different versions as they are to be told to different audiences (Frank 2013). Drawing on the work of the sociologist Arthur Frank (2013), I use the concept of narrative to show how the children who participated in this study make meaning of the events of their liminal migratory lives by telling narratives of their experiences of health and illness, and how they strategically choose what to tell, to whom, and how (Frank 2002, 2013).

Previous Research

A growing body of research has emerged with the focus on child "migrants and refugees" and their life condition in the new country (Wernesjö 2014; Bak & Brömssen 2013; Doná & Veale 2011). The sociology of childhood, first established in the 1980s and 1990s, has had a major influence on the prevalence of such literature with a focus on children and their position in the society as a social group (James & James 2004;

Prout 2000; James, Jenks & Prout 1998; Qvortrup 1994; Alanen 1988). The social construction of a discourse around child migrants and refugees have been the core focus of a number of these studies. Among other things, they address children's experiences of crossing borders towards the Western societies, and their contested position as threshold people living on the borderland between old and new worlds (Sirriyeh 2010 & 2013; Watters 2008). In addition, studies on children's perceptions of health, as stakeholders in the development of health interventions and their participation in the design of innovative health projects are on the rise (e.g. Brady, Lowe & Olin 2015; Hampshire & Matthijsse 2010). Despite the recognition of the importance of engaging children's opinions, their participation is still "tokenistic, diminished or superficially interpreted or reported" not least by studies on health intervention and child health policy (Spray 2020:2). A large body of research highlights children's active role in their own and their families' transitional migratory process (White et al. 2011; Bushin 2009). Whether it concerns children's relationship to medical care or management of health within different contexts, when combined with migration, the focus is mainly on the impact of this transitory process on children's health and well-being (Lundberg & Dahlquist 2012). These studies also explore how the liminality of a migratory process can influence children's own understanding of their participation and belonging in the new society (Kaukko & Wernesjö 2017). The ambiguous position of children who migrate without a parent or a guardian has been as much under the spotlight. These studies problematize the general policy assumptions that

disregard children's lived experiences, and question the impact of such state-centric policies on children's agency and sense of belonging (Allsopp & Chase 2019; Gustafsson, Fioretos & Norström 2012).

Translated into self-care, being accountable for one's health even at the time of sickness is a central paradigm in Western society. Care of the self requires individuals to take an active role in controlling their bodies even when they fail to perform, or are afflicted by an illness (Frank 2013; Alftberg & Lundin 2012; Alftberg & Hansson 2012; Lundin & Åkesson 1996; Lundin 1996; Kleinman 1988). In the contemporary society of Sweden, people, including children, are encouraged to take active control over their bodies by leading a healthy way of life, making the right decisions, since being healthy and staying healthy is a choice made by "good" citizens (Nilsson 2015; Armstrong 1995; Frykman 1992). Self-care, however, is a concept open to interpretation, influencing and being influenced by different social and cultural situations (Mol et al. 2010). This article is based on the accounts of refugee and asylum seeking children from Afghanistan and their experiences of migration and life in Sweden. The way the children use health narratives in conversation with me, to demonstrate their health knowledge is an assumed strategy to pass through the threshold of liminality of migration, obtain "full" membership of the new "homeland" and enter the category of "rightful" citizens.

The Story of Healing Water

Acquiring membership and building "multiple senses of belonging and identity" is a key feature in the life course of a child

who goes through a migratory transition (Huijsmans 2011:1310). In this article, medicines and water are regarded as objects that the children name, form language around, and make meaning of in different ways. One of these children is Reza. He was born and raised in Iran, where his parents fled from the ongoing civil war in their country of origin, Afghanistan. In 2015, when Reza was eight years old, he moved to Sweden with his parents as asylum seekers, in search of a better life. When we met in 2019, Reza and his family, after four years of waiting, had received a permanent residence permit to stay in Sweden as "official" members of the society.

It was in November 2019 that I met Reza and two other children, Mojtaba and Hesam, for a group discussion with the focus on health and illness experiences. Reza, twelve years old at the time of our discussion, was the first to talk about the way an illness used to be treated in the former homeland, and how things have changed since he moved to Sweden:

In Iran, whatever happened, you went to the doctor and took an injection, and it hurt, it made you cry (they all laugh) [...] I mean, we shouldn't take injections, you can just drink water and it's going to work. When we were in Iran, we were told to take lots of medicine to not to catch a cold, but here, if you take a lot of medicine, the immune system itself becomes weaker. Here in Sweden, they try to strengthen the immune system, so they say instead of taking such a great amount of medicines, it's better to drink water (November 14, 2019).

Reza's story was similar to the narratives of some of the children who took part in this study. From his perspective, any physical symptoms in the past was addressed by giving and taking medicines. In the new

society, however, medicines were replaced by water to let the body immunize itself against any potential disease. Other children laughed at the part where he talked about the agony of taking a shot, but they listened quietly when he explained the reason behind supremacy of water as a rightful substitute for medicines. The laughter seemed to be out of recognition of the irony of sharing the same experience of going through discomfort caused by medication, and being in a similar situation where an illness could lead to loss of control over the body (Forsner, Jansson & Söderberg 2009). Twelve-year-old Hesam, who arrived in Sweden in 2019 with his mother and four siblings from Afghanistan, followed Reza's lead and added, "In Afghanistan, when we were sick and we went to a doctor, the doctor gave us this much medicine (he showed an imaginary pile with his hands) but here, we went once, my brother went, and the doctor gave him only one [medicine]" (November 14, 2019). Mojtaba, who came to Sweden in 2017 with his mother and two older sisters, added:

I didn't live in Afghanistan, I lived in, what is it called, Pakistan [...] I don't remember [life in Pakistan], I was a child, but I also lived in Greece and Turkey [...]. I didn't get sick in Turkey but in Greece, if you had sore throat, you could always go and get medicine" (November 14, 2019).

A similar exchange occurred in the other group between Fariba, Ziba, and Nazanin. Fariba and her younger sister Ziba, like Reza, had started their journey from Iran where their family had taken refuge from the uncertainty of life in their war-torn country of origin, Afghanistan. Fariba and Ziba, twelve and ten years old respectively at the time of our discussion, reflected on

the way their symptoms were diagnosed and their health conditions were treated both before and after migration. During a discussion about dealing with an illness episode such as a common cold, they reflected on their experiences of the past in relation to the ones after their arrival in Sweden:

Ziba: Sometimes you got injections [...]

Fariba: [there] you visited the doctor for medicine, but here in Sweden you don't do that, you go there and they say you have to exercise and drink water and stuff. There they give you so much medicine. There, as soon as you have a cough, they immediately give you medicine and injections [...] Here you only get injections if you give birth to a child or something (she laughed) otherwise when you take blood samples or something like that, other than that you don't get any [injections], and I think it's nice (November 7, 2019).

Twelve-year-old Nazanin, who come to Sweden in 2019 with her mother and four siblings from Afghanistan, joined the conversation by confirming Fariba's and Ziba's statements on the overconsumption of medicines. Although she had never lived in Iran, she found similarities between their experiences and said:

When my brother [got sick in Afghanistan], it took a month and he didn't get better. My younger brother, he was very sick so we went to a doctor and he gave him 22 injections and a lot of medicine [...] It was a lot but he still didn't feel better. One week passed and he was just getting worse. There they give too much medicine (November 7, 2019).

What these narratives have in common was the normalcy, accessibility, and regularity of medicine consumption in the children's pre-migratory life. They show a *there* and *then* in relation to a *here* and *now*, as an

attempt to contrast the compulsion to take "painful" medicines against the choice of drinking water with a healing power. In their pre-migratory life and in time of illness, water was an inseparable ingredient of most of the homemade remedies without having any curative power on its own: "[to get well] It's water, and some leaves. You dry them, and then boil them in the water and then you drink it... I've tried it, it's good" (Hesam, 14 November 2020). In the post-migratory stage, however, water serves a dual purpose by being considered as a medicine. The general recommendations given by physicians and medical professionals in Sweden about the health benefits of drinking water, to these children, is interpreted in different ways, among which it is concluded that drinking water is a strategic act. In their world, it is a pain-free way of "medication" while it functions as a tactic not only to preserve, but also to regain the health that is (temporarily) lost. According to these narratives, before migration, medicines played a dominant role in addressing most health conditions as a solution. This is in contrast to the new task of medicines in the post-migratory life, which signifies the specificity or gravity of an illness. Although these narratives come from the reality of these children's lived experiences, one may wonder if they have been influenced by the uncertainty about what is legitimate or illegitimate to reveal in the context of our discussion (Ehn & Klein 1999). It is, thus, important to look into what the reference to the *here* and *there* indicates and how such oscillation between time and space can be understood.

The therapeutic properties of water have been mentioned in different literature (Emoto 2006; Jillings 2013). The Nordic

countries have collaborated in setting a guideline for dietary consumption and fluid intake, promoting the critical importance of drinking safe water for maintaining good health (NNR 2012). Known as a country with one of the most advanced healthcare services, medical professionals in Sweden are not keen on approving the remedial influence of "alternative" medicines or methods of treatment; instead, the trust is mainly put in the supremacy of pharmaceutical drugs (Eklöf 2014). In contemporary society in Sweden, drinking water and exercising regularly are among the advocated self-regulatory practices to uphold a well-functioning body and attain a healthy lifestyle. Shifting individuals' insight into their own health-related choices is introduced as the "right" way to lead a healthy life (Fioretos 2009) despite the debates about the influence of individual's agency versus structure on maintaining a healthy lifestyle (Cockerham 2005). The symbolic meanings shared among different cultural systems as a component of social control can orient individuals to their bodies and self-experiences as well as priorities and expectations of their social groups (Kleinman 1988). When migration happens, these old internalized symbolic meanings need to match the new conceptions of the body and self in relation to the surrounding world. For these children, water can be seen as an object that carries the symbolic meaning of self-care and health in the new society.

Although medicines occupy a dominant position in the Swedish healthcare system and among the population as a primary solution, for the children who participated in this study, medicines and water were placed in the same category and shared an

equal position. Sharing key features such as order of execution could be the reason. Drinking water can have particular orders to follow among different groups, and so do medicines. Ziba explained some of these constructed rules as "Once my friend had a cold, and she wanted to drink water and her mum told her that 'you shouldn't drink cold water, but you shouldn't drink warm water from the tap either. You should take warm showers, but you should boil the water and drink it when it's cold'" (November 7, 2019). The ambiguity of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of different approaches in a healing process, such as the *how* of drinking water, can go back to the terms of membership in the society where the illness occurs. Membership is often conditional and therefore negotiable, and in order to meet the requirements of membership and belonging, one needs tools.

Time to Speak Belonging

One of the ways for the children to negotiate their transitory positions within the migration process is through using language. Language functions as a medium of communication and culture, having an impact on our lifelong search for belonging (Geertz 1973). It enables representation of the self, interpretation of cultural principles and demonstration of social positions. The significance of language in the discipline of anthropology has been investigated in numerous studies that, among other things, look into the role of language in formation of identity and in relation to the notion of self and community (Craith 2006, 2012). Some of these studies concern the functionality of language as a tool used by children when socializing in the context of a bilingual, bicultural social setting (Ochs 1988).

The children construct, manage, and negotiate their social identities through examination of each other's linguistic skills in Swedish. It can also be done through strategic use of language to show recognition of the sociocultural values around health and illness in the new social setting. During the group discussion with Fariba, Ziba, and Nazanin, a new topic arose which changed the direction of our conversation. After Nazanin revealed the short length of her stay in Sweden, the discussion took a new turn, as Fariba and Ziba shared a memory that became the starting point for the rest of the exchange. Although it was apparent that Dari was still the main language of communication for Nazanin, Fariba and Ziba decided to tell their story in Swedish, leaving it to me to bridge the communication gap between the three of them:

Fariba: We can take it in Swedish. There was a boy who was going to start in their [Ziba] class, he speaks Dari, and then he, what's it called, his mentor asked like "Do you want to meet your classmates and check on the class and stuff?" and he said "OK I can go". He had an interpreter with him and the principal was there too.

Ziba: But he didn't go, he just looked back at the interpreter [...]

Fariba: The principal asked him "Do you want to meet your classmates?" I don't know what the principal said to the interpreter later, but his mentor said like "you should go to the preparatory class". It's the class where you start before you start your actual class".

Ziba: And to learn Swedish.

Fariba: Yes, Swedish [...] Can you explain it to her [Nazanin] what we just said? (November 7, 2019).

Fariba and Ziba present the boy in the story as disoriented, unsettled and like Nazanin, at the beginning of the familiarization journey. Through this story, Fariba and Ziba

remind Nazanin of their position and their acquaintance with different social institutions in the new society, like school. By bringing up this example, Fariba and Ziba differentiate themselves from Nazanin by reminding her of her "transient" position, as someone who does not, yet, belong to their category of "settlers" (Mackenzie & Guntarik 2015:67). In their narratives, language is introduced as a social skill and a prerequisite of *becoming* a member of the new society. The twofold character of language, on the one hand, refers to the linguistic skills that needs to be acquired. On the other hand, it indicates the adaptive skills and cultural knowledge that comes with language, with learning culturally appropriate forms of health and illness behaviour as an example of this conformity to social norms. Facing a health condition in a new social order, besides the "right" language, requires other sets of skills too. During the discussion, Nazanin brought up a question about a health condition that she has been dealing with since before arrival in Sweden. She explained how she felt nauseated every time she was in any type of vehicle and how the medicines she was given in Afghanistan to ease the problem were of no help. As soon as Nazanin finished her story, Fariba, stepped in and engaged in the conversation by saying:

Fariba: You shouldn't eat anything if you are on a train or something.

Nazanin: I don't eat anything, I can't even look at a book, it's a bad feeling, I can't even speak [...] I used to take tablets but even if I take them, I still feel ill.

Fariba: Drink water, do you even throw up the water? You know, you can have these paper bags, blow in it and then 'pam'! You can breathe in it, and you can also release your stress when you burst

it, when it's like 'pam'! Think about the things that make you happy, that's what I do. There are, sometimes, some things on the train that can block the ears; they can also help if you feel ill. Have a pack of chewing gum and take many, take two packs, and breathe into paper bags, like this [she imitates breathing into an imaginary paper bag]. You can even use stress balls. If someone is stressed, the person can rotate them in the hand over and over and over again (November 7, 2019).

There is a division between "children like us" and "children like them". Children like Fariba, Ziba, and Reza seem to have agreed upon a notion that not all senses of discomfort are meant to be addressed by medicines, and drinking water is not always in response to a sense of thirst. In dialogue with Nazanin, Fariba and Ziba go through a list of what is required from an individual in situations of this kind, such as drinking water and releasing stress by focusing on positive thoughts. By giving these recipes, they portray their skills in interpreting the culturally constructed norms, and remind children like Nazanin of some of these unwritten codes of conduct and terms of membership. It can also be an indication of the importance of learning how to frame an illness narrative in the new setting. Although illness narratives are individual and based on personal experiences of dealing with a health condition, they can be coloured by the cultural context that the individual is a part of (Kleinman 1988). Nevertheless, how can such health recommendations and language be read in cultural terms? Giving receipts such as drinking water or analysing different ways of medicine consumption can indicate a two-sided debate and be seen as a sign of approval or reproach. They may be the children's way of managing the different thresholds that

they face throughout their transitory process, and they use them, as Turner (1967) said, either as tools for conflict resolution or strategies to cope.

The Critical Compliment

In the children's narratives, water is not always used as a symbol of care, adaptation, or belonging. The symbolic meaning of water in the context of migration can also function as an analytical tool to reflect on the performance of the healthcare system. Nazanin, as one of the newcomers to the group, criticized the manner in which healthcare in Afghanistan (mis)managed children's illnesses and disregarded their social group: "There they give too much medicine, the medicine that is meant for people over fifty, they give it to children." Nazanin had not yet experienced the way that the Swedish healthcare system approaches childhood illnesses, thus her experiences of the past were her only reference point. Fariba, who had seen the common practice of health care in Afghanistan, Iran and Sweden, however, directed her critical thoughts at both previous and current approaches:

Fariba: It's not good for the body if you take too much medicine, then you don't grow so well [...]

Talieh: Since you moved to Sweden, has it happened that any of you got sick so you needed to seek care?

Nazanin: Hmm, no we didn't go to a doctor if we got sick, but there was a time that I got sick, it was the first day but then I was fine again, it was first the whole family [that got sick] and then it was myself, when I got sick and...

Farina: Nazanin, don't go to the doctor when you get sick, it's pointless to pay for the appointment. Even if you go there, they say nothing, they just tell you to drink water (she laughs) [...] I mean,

here you cough or have a running nose, and if you go to the doctor, the doctor says, "This doesn't need tablets," because maybe they don't have any [medicines], they'd have said it if they had it. You know, my younger brother, he had a serious cold, his throat was, I mean he couldn't even talk, so we went [to the doctor] and they said we should give him Alvedon¹¹ (November 7, 2019).

In conversation with me and after the children's initial comments on the advantage of drinking water instead of receiving medicines, a new set of reflections emerged. Fariba not only took the opportunity to remind Nazanin and the rest of us of her cultural knowledge and experiences, but she also revealed her critical views on the cause and effect of the medical approaches taken in the new country. Her remarks could be interpreted as both positive (I am happy in the new home country) and negative (why not do as before?). Sometime, children took a middle position where although they showed adaptation to the communal codes of conduct, they revealed some uncertainty about the approach that they had to agree on in order to retain their acquired positions. Reza, too, showed his uncertainty by saying:

For us [his family] if you have a stomach ache, we first drink, what is it called, those things that you put in water, that bubble in water [...] If it works, well it works, if not, then, you have to wait and, it'll be fine at the end (he laughs) (November 14, 2019).

Children like Reza admit the errors of healthcare in their previous homelands, but at the same time, critically reflect on the ambiguity of the actions that take place in the new society. Self-care as the core of the Western health paradigm expects individuals to act responsibly and choose to remain healthy (Stevenson et al.

2003). These expectations include one's illness behaviour when initiating treatment and planning when to seek help and from whom (Kleinman 1988). Michel Foucault (1978) explained how postmodernism, by replacing the traditional patterns of societal control with self-regulated ones, has created a new burden of responsibility, which can intensify when the individual is dwelling on the threshold between being and becoming. One's behaviour in the migration context can be evaluated through the lens of culture. Culture as a concept in a setting where the focus is on cultural encounters, for example between doctors and patients, can be used as an explanation of people's "different" lifestyle and behaviour (Fioretos 2009; Öhlander 2005; Hörnfeldt 2005). The "culturalization" (Nilsson 2015; Öhlander 2005) of social phenomena such as health and illness behaviour, however, has a twofold aspect to it. Culturalization of attitudes and approaches can be a bilateral act. An example of that is the children's interpretation of drinking water as the "Swedish way" of dealing with an illness, failing to recognize, and comply, which can result in the prolongation of the liminality of their transitional life (Kaukko & Wernesjö 2017).

The ethnologist Jonas Frykman (2006) points out the ambiguous ability of objects to give rise to meanings other than the ones written in their "instruction book" (Frykman 2006). The children use water and medicines as a metaphor in their narratives to prove their eligibility for membership and inclusion. The children who have lived in Sweden for a longer period have acquired the cultural competence to know the difference between legitimate and illegitimate performances in different settings,

such as healthcare. Through their health narratives, they reveal their knowledge of these symbolic "appropriate" actions while criticizing the same actions and health recommendations. The former happens in the "frontstage" of their lives, and the latter in the "backstage" where water can be modified to herbal drinks or different types of medicines with culturally defined roles (Goffman 1990; Turner 1969). The latter is an example of health maintenance activities within the popular sector (Kleinman 1985). As "liminal entities", these children are transients, being "fashioned anew" and prepared to cope with their new life (Turner 1969:96). It is in response to the demand of a contemporary society for a new type of citizen who is reflexive, malleable, and self-disciplined, capable of generating profitability for the state and society (Harvey 2005; Sennett 1999).

With liminality, Turner (1969) claimed, status "disappears" as those involved in the process develop a "comradeship" due to their homogenized state (1969:96). For these children, a hierarchical structure is included in their in-between state. Illness narratives and demonstration of their learnt cultural boundaries around health and healing is one of the ways for them to negotiate their degree of belonging. Following the guidelines and recommendations made by the science of medicine and delivered by the Swedish healthcare system is a prerequisite for integrating into society. By agreeing upon the idea of the health benefits of drinking water and the risks involved in overconsumption of medicines, the children show that they undertake their social, cultural, and moral share of caring for their health, regardless their belief or practice. Employing the recommendations

issued by the mainstream of Swedish model of health care, hence, is a demonstration of active subjectivity rather than encompassing single subject positions as refugee, immigrant, or future-citizen-in-the-making (Mackenzie & Guntarik 2015).

Conclusion

In this article, I have explored how the children who participated in this study use health narratives as a transition tool to negotiate their positions not only with other children in the group but also in dialogue with me as, in their eyes, the representative of the new society. By using water, medicines, and language as building blocks, these children demonstrate how they employ objects of symbolic and cultural meaning to position themselves within the liminal process of migration. They confront the ambiguity of the process by making meaning of their experiences and telling their narratives through the application of metaphors. Throughout their transitory process of migration, children learn to bridge the two ends of the childhood spectrum by going through and accomplishing the stages in between. In the case of this study, children demonstrate how they strategically use their embodied experiences of health and illness to reflect on the double transitory process of childhood migration that they are involved in. Within their group of "migrant and refugee children", they have constructed meanings about the terms and conditions of membership and pass these unwritten rules to the newcomers who are not "settled" yet. Approving the healing power of water, showing familiarity with the recommended dos and don'ts of medication and health care, and successive language acquisition in all its forms are used

by the children as a trial of how close or far they may be from being "granted" the "full" membership of the new society.

By showing their approval of the socio-culturally constructed health rhetoric that circulates in society, these children try to demonstrate their willingness to follow the prerequisites not only for membership in the society, but also attaining the position of responsible citizens. The approval of health recommendations, however, does not necessarily lead to the (change of) practice. Construction of health narratives is a performative act of membership, which happens in the frontstage of the children's health behaviour. When in the backstage, though, the children may modify the recommended guidelines and bend the practices not as a protest against the collective health recommendation. It is, by contrast, their practice of self-care, generating knowledge and integrating with the new society and its approach to health and illness. By legitimizing and criticizing different systems, the children oscillate between the structure and culture of their previous and present homelands as a way to negotiate their in-the-making identities. Encounters that occur in a setting where the focus is on cultural meetings between the children and healthcare professionals can put the "different" lifestyles and health behaviours under the spotlight. The "culturalization" of attitudes and approaches, however, is a bilateral act as the children can as much relate their experiences of new social phenomena to the culture they are in the process of familiarizing themselves with. Recognizing and following the conventional ways of health and illness behaviours, in these children's eyes, is one of the preconditions for obtaining the "full" membership

of the new society, whereas failing to do so can result in the prolongation of the liminality of their migratory, transitional life. To conclude, the children who participated in this study do not let go of their previous health knowledge. They, instead, look for different ways to bond their experiences of the past to the ones of the present to create a new health knowledge. The children's narratives on health and healing can be seen as a manifestation of their awareness of the different ways that belonging can play out and be negotiated within different social contexts. Although involved in the double liminality of childhood migration, they strategically look for different ways to negotiate, challenge, and adjust to the new sets of sociocultural norms, no matter how abnormal they may seem.

Talieh Mirsalehi

Doctoral student in ethnology
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University
Box 192, SE- 221 00 Lund
email: talieh.mirsalehi@kultur.lu.se

Acknowledgement

This article is a part of my doctoral thesis, which is funded by LMK Foundation and Lund University. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the editors of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* for their helpful comments, the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable remarks, and Susanne Lundin, Kristofer Hansson and Margareta Troein for their generous support throughout the writing process. Last but not least, a sincere thank you to the children who participated in this study, and the organization for their collaboration which provided me with the opportunity to perform my research.

Notes

- 1 I have translated the children's responses from Swedish and Dari to English because of my

fluency in these languages. The content has not changed, although I have revised the order of sentences for a more convenient read.

- 2 My doctoral research is a part of the interdisciplinary project "Falsified Medicines in a Multi-cultural Society: The Importance of Knowledge Exchange between Public and Expertise" which takes Swedish society as a basis and asks the extent to which individuals' social and cultural experiences of access to medicine may affect their attitude towards how medicines are to be procured. It also asks what similarities or differences people from different social and ethnic groups may show in their attitude to how medicines are to be procured. The goal is to investigate the possibilities for implementation, that is, how the result can contribute to a better knowledge exchange between the public and expertise.
- 3 The current study is approved by the Swedish Regional Ethical Review Board (2019-03501).
- 4 <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/About-the-Migration-Agency/Migration-to-Sweden/History.html>
- 5 https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/moving-europe-beyond-crisis?gclid=CjwK-CAjwmJbeBRBCEiwAAY4VVXs2YejUDL-WvHD8MZ03JT5VeMcbTTJDP8kbYq4mHf-GUFPBuTc00hUBoCQRkQAvD_BwE
- 6 <https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/flyktingkrisen-2015>
- 7 <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-migration-and-displacement/displacement/>
- 8 <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-migration-and-displacement/displacement/>
- 9 <https://www.migrationsverket.se/download/18.7c00d8e6143101d166d1aab/1485556214938/Inkomna%20ans%C3%B6kningar%20om%20asyl%202015%20-%20Applications%20for%20asylum%20received%202015.pdf>
- 10 Jochum Stattin's dissertation on *Näcken*, first published in 1984, is one of the first examples where the concept of liminality was introduced in ethnological research. *Näcken* is a well-known supernatural male aquatic creature that mainly lives in rivers, streams, ponds and lakes

inland. It is a well-known figure in old Nordic folk beliefs, and Stattin in his dissertation analysed how the narrative tradition of supernatural beings can reflect a social order, and how such social orders can be used as a tool in man's attempt to discover, name, explain, and legitimize his surroundings and try to find an underlying structure in society.

- 11 Alvedon contains Paracetamol and is the most common painkiller used in Sweden since 1958.

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Women's Career Moves in Bio and Health Technology as Wayfaring

By Tiina Suopajärvi

Building a career is often considered a linear vertical process, advancing towards more responsible tasks, higher and sometimes more permanent positions and increased salaries. The everyday life experiences of one's career, however, show that it is a more many-sided phenomenon (see e.g. Angervall, Gustafsson & Silfer 2018; Kirton 2006; Marttila 2015). To understand this complexity, I scrutinize the career moves in and out of academia as a wayfaring by following the idea of the anthropologist Tim Ingold (2011). He writes that wayfaring is "our most fundamental mode of being in the world" (2011:152), and this should be included in the analyses of how places are made and how people live in places. Places are knots of stories that are created when threads of wayfaring of different people come together (Ingold 2011).

Though Ingold's idea of wayfaring is primarily attached to physical places and the bodies moving between and around them, I find it fruitful while analysing researchers' narrations of their career moves. This is mainly because wayfaring refers to constant movement; Ingold writes that the wayfarer "is his movement" (2011:150), wayfarer comes into being for others through their lines of travel. In my analyses, this travel is both physical and more abstract, and I argue that to understand how careers are generated we need to look not only at *movements* but also at the *non-movements*, and ask why people move so differently between different places and positions. Multiple movements construct *meshworks* where the paths and moving along them is considered the focus of study instead of the knots that is emphasized in networks (Ingold 2011:148–154).

The country where wayfarers travel

has an impact on their travelling and they must therefore adjust their movements to each country (Ingold 2011:150). So, when I look at the (non-)movements of our study participants, i.e. women with doctorates and a background in multidisciplinary field of bio and health technology, the countries, like academia and science politics, are simultaneously constructed. To understand this co-constitutive nature between the (non-)movements and the countries, the aim of this article is to study women's experiences of career moves. I focus especially on those women who have worked at universities as postdoctoral and/or senior researchers but have left academia to work in private or semi-private (companies partially owned by the state) sectors. In this article, I focus on the wayfaring through the following questions:

- What moves are meaningful in women's career experiences when we understand movements as social, material and cultural? In these movements the everyday embodied mobility, for example, cycling between home and workplace or walking from one's office to a meeting room, entwine with more abstract mobility, such as the idea of (not) moving to work abroad, or (not) moving to work to another sector.
- With whom or with what do (or do not) the interviewed women move in their wayfaring? This question refers to both human agents, like children or elderly parents, and non-human agents, like a house or a research laboratory.

Consequently, in this study, *career moves* mean very concrete, material movements of bodies from, to and between material

places, but these movements are inseparable from the cultural, social and the material elements that condition such movements. This perspective adds to the argument that career should be perceived more as a life-course process that is formed in the interaction between individuals and their environments. Careers are entwined with lifestyle decisions and career moves can happen both vertically and horizontally (Blackmore 2014; Duberley et al. 2006; Kirton 2006; Marttila 2015). A career can also be stagnant, or the non-movements can force people in academia to move to another kind of career outside academia, as I argue in this article.

My study has been conducted in the Finnish city of Tampere, where until the beginning of 2019 there used to be two universities – the University of Tampere and the Technical University of Tampere. These universities merged in 2020, and the new university is the owner of the local university of applied sciences, too. Even before the merger, the universities collaborated, especially in the fields of technology, medicine and life sciences, and this collaboration resulted, for example, in the establishment of the joint Institute of Biosciences and Medical Technology in 2011. The aim of the institute is “to create new knowledge and clinical/commercial solutions by combining the engineering and biology efficiently with the modern medicine” (Biomeditech 2019). Our research team¹ chose to focus on studying bio and health technology because the local research and innovation sector has high expectations for its success and has therefore invested in it. In addition, the research in the field is based on multi- and transdisciplinary collaboration. These local

and disciplinary contexts have proved to be meaningful in women's career moves, to which I will return later.

Studying (Finnish) Academia

All Finnish universities are public research and educational institutions, but they received vast autonomy through new legislation passed in 2009. This means that each university can apply different kinds of career path and tenure track models. As studies on Finnish academia show, the neoliberal ideology, managerialism and meritocracy prevail in Finnish universities (e.g. Lund 2015; Nikunen 2012, 2014; Ylijoki 2016). Though Finland promotes itself as a forerunner of gender equality, with large numbers of women with higher education and in working life, the country is at the top of the European statistics on gender segregation in work life (Rolin & Vainio 2011). The gender segregation varies between the disciplines of bio and health technology. In medicine and life sciences, it is mainly vertical, whereas in technology, it is both horizontal and vertical (Tiainen & Berki 2017; Vipunen 2019).

Finnish universities are currently promoting the tenure track system where the ladder steps usually are (i) doctoral student, (ii) postdoctoral researcher/university teacher, (iii) senior researcher/senior lecturer/associate professor and (iv) full professor. In reality, there are many different kinds of career moves going on at the universities. For example, academics can move from the third step to the second even if it does not match their academic career stage. I have myself made such a move from a temporary position of a senior researcher to a permanent position of a university teacher. In Finnish univer-

sities, the positions are titled according to universities' employment policies, i.e. they are not based on the qualifications of the persons who are holding the positions. For instance, university lecturers cannot be promoted to professorships unless there is an opening for a professor position for which they and other candidates can apply. Due to the tight competition for positions and research funding, people with doctoral degrees also make, willingly or unwillingly, moves out from academia to private, semi-private or public sectors (Aarnikoivu et al. 2019).

Academia, academic working life and university education have been studied from multiple perspectives and with various methodologies; there is even an explicit field called higher education studies. In this field, however, the educational, sociological and (social) psychological perspectives dominate. The ethnological perspective on everyday practices is either missing or is a more implicit part of the studies, as in the studies by the Finnish scholar Oili-Helena Ylijoki (2019) of the happiness experienced and narrated by the academic elite in the UK, and of Finnish junior academics about their careers (Ylijoki & Henriksson 2018). The ethnologist Billy Ehn (2001) has made a study of academic life in Sweden focusing especially on changes and different positions (researcher, teacher, leader) in the university institution in these changes. Together with Orvar Löfgren, Ehn (2008) has further studied emotions in academia. The autoethnographic methodology Ehn's study seems to rely on is understandably useful in ethnological and other ethnographically oriented investigations on academia (see e.g. Damsholt 2013; Doloriert & Sambrook 2012; Foster 2017). Like the

anthropologist Vita Peacock (2016) who has analysed the hierarchies and dependences in German research organization and how precarity of employment becomes entangled with these dependences, my study focuses on a research field and disciplines that are not my own. Nevertheless, my own experiences of almost 20 years working in academia in different positions are inevitably part of my research process, but the core of this study is still the experiences of our interviewees.

European studies on gender (in)equality in academia have mainly focused on the continuous lack of female leadership and the problems in leadership recruitment processes (e.g., Howe-Walsh & Turnbull 2016; Morley 2014; van den Brink & Benschop 2011), or the definitions of academic excellence (e.g. Blackmore 2014; Lund 2015). Questions of how parenthood and other care responsibilities in both family life and working life have different kinds of gendered impacts on women and men have been thoroughly discussed in Europe (e.g. Hertschberg, Benschop, & van den Brink 2018), in the Nordic countries (e.g. Angervall 2016; Angervall et al. 2018; Thun 2019) and in Finland (Nikunen 2014; Nikunen & Lempiäinen 2018; Rolin & Vainio 2011).

In their recent literature review (2003–2018) of how gender equality has been studied in Nordic research, Silander, Haake, Lindberg and Riis (2021) found only eight studies from 74 articles with the focus on women's experiences of academia. This number is surprisingly low when we think of the vast amount of studies, and it shows the marginality of ethnographic studies that aim to understand how women live and experience their everyday lives in

academia. So, there is a need for ethnological studies, and my article aims to add to our understanding of academic mundane life, by looking at movements of researchers in a particular multidisciplinary field without narrowing the movements only to the international researcher mobility. Instead, I consider all kinds of mobilities, such as career moves, mundane mobility, and non-movements as significant elements in women's experiences of their own careers. This way my goal is to broaden the understanding of working life and careers in academia to be complex and simultaneously part of longer-term continuations and situated moments where humans and other elements entangle.

Methods and Materials: Career Interviews

In our research project, my colleague and I respectively interviewed nine and eighteen women who work or have worked in bio- and health technology in the Tampere region. All but one of them have doctoral degrees in technology, life sciences, medicine or human sciences, and one is a doctoral student in technology. The youngest interviewees are in their late twenties, and the oldest ones are planning to retire over the next five years. At the time of the interviews in 2018 and 2019, fourteen of them worked at the universities, three in other research institutes, and twelve in private or semi-private sectors, either in industry or as entrepreneurs. Some of the interviewees worked simultaneously at the universities and in public or private sectors. In this article, I focus especially on the interviews with those eleven women who have left academia or work there only part-time. I have made eight and my colleague Minna

Leinonen three of these interviews. The age of these women ranges from 30 to 44 years, all of them have partners, and ten have children. Nevertheless, in my ethnographic knowledge making, I regard all 27 interviews as important parts of the research process and affecting the outcomes of my analyses.

We recruited the interviewees with the snowball method. We found the first ones from the universities' websites and contacted them via email. We asked all our interviewees to provide us with information about other women whom we could possibly interview. Many of the research fields where these women have worked or are still working in are quite small in Finland; additionally, Tampere is a middle-sized Finnish city with 225,000 inhabitants. This means that people working in the same circles are easy to recognize, and to protect the anonymity of the interviewees and the people whom they talked about, I cannot write openly about their specific research fields or work environments (see also Savigny 2014). For the same reason, I have assigned each interviewee one or more pseudonyms.

Before the interviews, we asked the participants to draw a career line, starting from the point where they considered their career had started to their future prospects. We chose this method to generate knowledge about the key moments in the women's careers. Furthermore, its openness gave space for the interviewees to focus on and talk about the people, things and events that were meaningful for them. In her study of the relations between military work and family, the sociologist Katri Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta (2017:71) argues that the method of drawing a life trajec-

tory line before the interview emphasizes the diversity of the interviewees' life situations and the temporalities attached to their careers. In addition to personal career and life histories, the drawings describe work places and organizational cultures (Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta 2017). In our interviews, drawing and talking about the women's career lines raised questions about their career paths in academia; work communities; work-life balance; multi-, inter- and transdisciplinarity and their effects on the women's careers; movements across different sectors; local, national and global networks; and their roles in career moves. We also invited the interviewees to talk about their experiences and perceptions of gendered practices and gender equality throughout their careers. The interviews lasted for 1–2.5 hours each and they have been transcribed verbatim by professional transcribers. The interviews were all in Finnish and I have translated the extracts into English.

Sharing an interview situation means creating together an interview space that is material, emotional and discursive (Lenz Taguchi 2012). An important element in our interviews was the career line drawing; looking at the drawing meant that we sat closely beside each other, or we both leaned over the table. This made the space intimate yet relaxed, since looking at the drawing offered a pause from continuous eye contact. Perhaps it helped us quickly build a safe space to express intimate issues that were sometimes painful. At the same time, the current "therapy culture" where people have learnt to reflect on their practices and thoughts seemed ubiquitous and was an important element of our encounters.

In my analysis, I rely on the feminist methodology of *becoming-with* data. This means that the researcher and the data work with each other as co-constitutive forces (Haraway 2008; Lenz Taguchi 2012). Therefore, I consider how career moves from academia to the private sector come into being as socio-material phenomena, as well as the "boundaries and properties of the components" in it (Barad 2007:139–140). This becoming has happened throughout the research process, and in the reading and thinking with the interviews I have done this first without specific questions in mind and pausing at the "hotspots" that for some reason have *glowed* for me (MacLure 2013). Second, I have done multiple readings of the eleven interviews that I mainly discuss in this article and have drawn a mind map of the socio-material elements that seem significant in women's career moves. At this point Ingold's (2011) wayfaring has become part of the intra-action of this study. Karen Barad's (2007) feminist idea of *intra-action* underlines the inseparability of human, non-human, discursive and material "components" of the phenomenon. These components thus intra-act inside the phenomenon they constitute, instead of interacting, which refers to separate entities that come together (Barad 2007). With wayfaring I have started to see the constant movements and the non-movements, or thinking about the non-movements, as a significant part of women's career experiences. Barad's (2007) intra-action has further made me ask which elements become entangled in these (non-) movements. Becoming-with data means to me a step further from ethnographic reflexivity, understanding myself as a researcher intra-acting inside the phenomenon of career moves.

This analysis has led me to discuss the movements in women's experiences that are the most meaningful in their career paths. The first movement is generated around the forced mobility that the interviewees have lived with as postdoctoral researchers: either they move to become research group leaders or they move out of academia. The second movement unfolds around the strong discourse in current science politics, namely international mobility. In addition, I briefly discuss the everyday embodied mobility of the researchers. In these movements, a significant element is with whom or with what the interviewed women say they have to move or they cannot move. Finally, I discuss the boundaries of different movements, in other words why and how some movements are supported or accepted, while others are forbidden.

Wayfaring Away from Hierarchies without Versatile Networks

There is only one kind of path for researchers in academia: postdoctoral researchers must start building their own research groups, according to those of our interviewees who represent the fields of technology and science. To do so, they must come up with a research topic that distinguishes them from other groups, including the group in which they have been working. If they find this, they must start to apply for funding, first for themselves and then for their group members. In Finland, it is uncommon to have a permanent or a tenure track position at this point (Nikunen 2012; Ylijoki & Henriksson 2017). If an applicant is "excellent" and fortunate enough, they will obtain the Academy of Finland or European Union funding as a research

fellow and can then apply for funding for their research group members. As the statistics (Vipunen 2019) show, there is a clear drop in the fields of bio- and health technology when the numbers of postdoctoral researchers and group leaders are compared. Only one-third of the postdoctoral researchers have the possibility to climb to the next step on the academic ladders. Our interviewees had lived these statistics in their everyday work. However, the problem was not discussed in their work communities as openly as they wished. For example, Maria had noted the tightening competition of positions already as a doctoral student:

I always felt that it was discussed a bit vaguely that when you want to proceed in your career, [as a] postdoc, and then it would be good to go abroad if you want to establish your own research group. Then I always thought that how can it be, how can we all become group leaders, it's not possible. [...] I felt that it was a trap set by the society that we all fell into. (Maria, STEM = science, technology, engineering, mathematics.)

One significant point in the women's career line drawings was the time when they had advanced from being master's degree students to being PhD students. In more technological fields, these phases sometimes overlapped, but women from life sciences and medicine also described this transition as smooth. Most of them had been invited to join a research group to first write their master's thesis and later their doctoral dissertation. According to our interviewees, in STEM and medicine, research groups usually consist of a principal investigator (PI), that is, a research group leader, doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers. Senior researchers can work in a group for

some time, but soon they must either start their own research groups or leave and find jobs outside academia (see also Herschberg et al. 2018; Ivancheva et al. 2019).

The work tasks and hierarchies can be quite different in various groups (see Herschberg et al. 2018). For instance, Liisa who had started to work as a PhD student in a recently established research centre, described how she had a lot of responsibility. Liisa's study became a central part of the group's work, she had administrative responsibilities and she participated actively in writing funding applications. Liisa described her group as non-hierarchical, and the group members became close friends. She believed that the main reasons for this were gender, age and shared life situations: all were young adult women who had no children. Anna had different kinds of experiences. For her, one of the main reasons for leaving academia had been the hierarchy that she had encountered as a doctoral student. This hierarchy affected even the knowledge making in her research group. Right after receiving a doctorate, Anne left to work in an academic spin-off firm.

After my doctoral defence, well, it had been clear to me for several years that I won't continue with research after my graduation, I mean with academic research. I just somehow felt it inside that this is not the place for me, mainly just because of the kind of person that I am. I am somehow business oriented, and the way university functions, it's not my cup of tea. I knew it. [...] I believe that an individual can make it, that it doesn't depend on the position you're at in the hierarchy; the hierarchy at the university is quite strong. [...] your position defines what you are allowed to know or do. (Anna, STEM.)

In human sciences, the structure of research groups has so far been different.

A professor can be a supervisor of many doctoral students, but they do not necessarily form a solid research group. Instead, doctoral students work quite independently. This independency means that they can decide what they want to study as long as they can find supervisors, institutes and funding for their theses (Lund 2015; Ylijoki & Henriksson 2017). In Finland, many private associations grant scholarships to both doctoral students and post-doctoral researchers in human sciences. Katja from human sciences had worked in a multidisciplinary doctoral school due to her research topic. Subsequently, she had worked as a postdoctoral researcher in a multidisciplinary research group that included researchers mainly from technical sciences. She believed that one of the reasons why she was hired was her capability to work independently (see also Angervall 2016; Ylijoki & Henriksson 2017). Though Katja's experiences are very familiar to me, I have – exceptionally for the humanities – worked both as a doctoral student in the 2000s, and later as post-doctoral and senior researcher in research groups. But even in these groups, independent thinking and writing has been the main work method. Like Katja, I had not experienced strong hierarchies until I entered a multidisciplinary human-technology research group. My work experiences in groups of both low and strong hierarchy intra-acts in this study as I pay careful attention to the way women talk about their research groups and hierarchies in them.

The strong hierarchy in the fields of STEM and medicine can create a problem if young researchers are not included in writing funding applications, for instance. In their comparative study of postdoc-

toral researchers in precarious positions, Herschberg, Benshop and van den Brink (2018) argue that principal investigators have strong control over whom they hire for their projects. This leads to hiring post-doctoral researchers who are the most valuable for the project but whose suitability to build a longer-term academic career is not evaluated (2018:309). The wayfaring from being a researcher in a group to becoming an independent group leader can be too difficult if there are no supportive structures and practices for making the move. It seems that often researchers have to learn how to play the “game” by themselves, and this is not what all of them are looking for. Helena, who had worked as a senior researcher in her long-term research group, emphasizes this:

I felt that being a group leader is more like being an entrepreneur, and to me it feels awful that you have to constantly apply for funding; it's horrible political game that why this is the best thing [to fund], networks and everything like that. I wouldn't mind applying for funding, but it's the entrepreneurialism. [...] And [in our institute,] the group leaders were always competing for resources and the attention and the opinions and everything in the PI meetings. (Helena, STEM.)

Another outcome that strong hierarchies can lead to is the lack of junior academics' own cross-sectoral networks, which are significant especially when they are looking for jobs outside the university. Our interviewees had worked in transdisciplinary research areas, which means that they, or at least someone in their research group, had collaborated with people from the private sector. Nevertheless, many of those women who had left academia described how their networks were mainly scientific and

therefore fairly useless in their job seeking. The most difficult situation seemed to be for researchers in human sciences, such as in the case of Doris, who started to resent academic work because academics had to invest so much time in applying for funding. She said that the metrification of academic work and the competition it entailed had made the university atmosphere so gloomy and uninviting that she started to look for other job possibilities. Soon, she encountered the problem of non-existing networks outside academia and noticed, “I have nobody nowhere.” After much job seeking, Doris decided to educate herself in a completely new field.

In the field of technical sciences, the situation was different. The interviewed women had useful networks, especially with their former colleagues or fellow students with whom they had their own start-ups or who had either hinted or straightforwardly invited women to work in their already established companies. Women from technology could also utilize the networks they had created as trainees or while writing their master's theses for (semi-)private companies. We have studied these networks both in Finland and in Sweden, and one of the main differences we found was that in Sweden mentors, especially unofficial, are common and with their help women can more easily move between different sectors and different jobs (Suopajarvi et al. 2021).

Wayfaring in the Country of Gender Segregation and Discrimination

Katja from human sciences, who did not talk about epistemic hierarchies in academia, had nevertheless, noticed the gendered practices of male professors. In her

field, most doctoral students were women. However, she said that the male professors were hiring male doctoral students for their projects. This provided men with a better starting point to climb the academic ladders. Katja said that she had also heard that some competent women were asked not to apply for a position that was earmarked for a certain man. Many of our interviewees had noticed the same situation; most professors, and in some fields, most of the group leaders were men. In multidisciplinary research fields of life sciences and medicine, men from medicine usually occupied these highest positions. For women from life sciences, this meant that they lacked role models to show them that the tenure track for professorship was possible for women, too. Heidi pondered that this was one reason why women use the strategy of doing as many different tasks as possible in academia. In their study of gender in academic capitalism, Soile Veijola and Eeva Jokinen (2018) describe this practice as women working as *hostesses* in academia. Heidi had worked for over seven years in a research group after earning her doctoral degree but had since started working in the semi-private sector. At the end of the interview, when I asked whether she thought that gender had been relevant to her career, she answered:

Can it be that because of my gender, I have tried to do so many things, either studied new things here, or during my doctoral studies, I was a teaching assistant, and I was also teaching. There were not that many men teaching. They must have been doing their own thing, and they didn't want to teach. Do women feel that they need to do all these small things to show that they are good enough? But it can be that our self-esteem is lower in this field because most professors are men, so you feel that

you have to try as much as you can to do all sorts of things and educate yourself and participate in everything, so they see that you are active. (Heidi, STEM.)

Among all our 27 interviews, there are stories about personal experiences of gender discrimination and harassment. Interestingly, these experiences are mainly told by women who have stayed in academia, and who therefore are not the focus of this article. However, due to our snowball recruitment method, some of the interviewees who have left academia had witnessed discriminatory practices close-up. These practices are related to recruitment processes, unequal resource distribution and exclusion from decision-making spaces (see also Husu 2019; Jokinen & Veijola 2018; van den Brink & Benschop 2011). Knowing that these practices exist in the country they have been wayfaring in, is an important element in making the decision to stay in or leave academia. Elisa from STEM, who at the time of the interview was working both in the public sector and at the university, reflected on her future in relation to the gender discrimination experiences of her research group members: "Well, I don't have a strong urge to stay at [X] University after seeing this kind of treatment."

In women's moves from academia to the private or semi-private sector, the assemblage of their research groups, especially the one that they belonged to as doctoral students, becomes a meaningful knot in their stories. The research group in the neoliberal university is narrated as a phenomenon that constitutes not only human agents, namely a leader, doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers but also non-hu-

man elements, such as the research theme, funding, and the ways in which work and social relations within the group are organized. Though the structure of a research group originates from the university, science policies and disciplinary cultures, it is in the everyday socio-material practices that their boundaries are renegotiated. These practices, including competition for institutional resources, recruitments, and different academic tasks, such as teaching, administrative work and research, are important part of the wayfaring of postdoctoral researchers. They can either enable and encourage or prevent and cause hesitation when women are taking their steps from postdoctoral position. In the fields of STEM and medicine, the researchers work in tight groups, whereas in human sciences (junior) researchers work quite independently, but in both cases the postdocs are expected to travel this particular path alone. When they need to decide whether to pursue the position of a research group leader and start competing for funding and resources, women know that they must do this in a country where men are often given a head start.

The Spacetime and Moving-with of International Research Visits

One way to scrutinize the materiality of everyday mobility of the interviewed researchers is to examine how they *move*, with which other bodies and to where. This perspective is in line with Rosi Braidotti's (2013) figure of the post-human which, according to Veijola and Jokinen (2018:128–129), calls for the “responsiveness and reciprocities of bodies being-with and dwelling-with in material spaces and local places.” Combining this with Ingold's

(2011) idea of wayfaring as a primary way of being in the world means understanding that moving happens in relation between bodies, both human and non-human.

Though the social relations and practices at the universities have strongly affected our interviewees' decision to start working in private or semi-private sectors, there are material elements intra-acting with these social elements in the crossing of the academic borders. Important elements are material places where successful researchers are expected to be and move between (Angervall 2016; Blackmore 2014). Socio-material places, such as workplaces, offices and laboratories, as well as dwelling places, are entwined in the interviews with different temporalities, and I refer to this entanglement as *spacetime*. These are not only concrete temporalities, such as work hours, but also dialogues between more abstract perceptions of past, present and future times (see Barad 2010). Drawing a career line underlines the chronological order of events and different turns, although in lived experiences, different temporalities intra-act.

In Finland, as in other Nordic countries (see e.g. Thun 2019), science politics emphasize the importance of international research visits because they are supposed to increase the quality of science. In their quantitative study of Swedish academia in terms of the relation between mobility and productivity, Ejermo, Fassio and Källström (2020) found disciplinary differences; in science and medicine mobility increases publication productivity, and to some extent in technology and engineering, too, whereas in the social sciences and humanities there is no correlation. As lived reality, mobility is indeed a highly material em-

bodied question: researchers should physically move themselves and their possible partners and children to other material, cultural and social places. In their interviews, the women from STEM talked about this move as obligatory on their way to becoming group leaders, and how the lack of longer-term research visits prevented them from climbing the academic ladders. Many of the interviewees said that they enjoyed their research work and had therefore seriously considered staying in academia. However, they felt desperate about acquiring funding in a competition where international research visits were mandatory. Sara, who still worked as a part-time researcher at the university but was convinced that she would not return as a full-time academic, described the situation:

This is one of the reasons why I haven't even tried to continue my academic career because I haven't felt that I could or that I wanted to go abroad, that I'd have to move my whole life there, two children and a husband who is making his own career. [...] Maybe it's good for those men who have, how can I put it nicely, the kind of housewife, trophy wife. In that way, it's easier for men because usually women with high(er) education have spouses with high(er) education. There are of course exceptions, the situation can be vice versa, but maybe it's more common this way. [...] I'm not ready to do things just for me; I want to think of my children and their lives. (Sara, STEM.)

The lack of substantial research mobility intra-acts in these career experiences with family relations and gender, as well as with Finnish research funding and science policies (see Nikunen & Lempiäinen 2018; see also Morley 2016). The meritocracy of Finnish universities values especially scientific publications in international (main-

ly English) highly ranked journals, external funding and international research mobility. The mobility is often rationalized with the small population and therefore small circles of scientists in Finland; in other words, the argument is to increase the quality of science (Lund 2015; Rolin & Vainio 2011). Our interviewees are not convinced of the reasons why they should move to live abroad. Petra, who had considered trying to become a group leader but was now working in industry, said that the "golden treasure lies abroad" and "heavens will open up for you when you move abroad and do something mysterious there" were common discourses in academia. Many interviewees shared her doubts about whether researcher mobility would have scientific benefits. Instead, they had heard stories from their colleagues that working abroad could mean working in poor conditions without being able to influence their own work. Anna, who had visited a top-ranked university in the USA, confirmed this story. As a doctoral student, she had worked quite independently in Finland, but in the USA, she had been assigned to perform basic data analysis and assistant tasks for the professor.

Women's career line drawings show that the time when their first child was born had been either just before or soon after they received their doctorates. This was a clear difference from the case of those interviewees who had stayed in academia; most of them had worked abroad before becoming parents, or some had their children when they were already living abroad. In wayfaring, it is not just individuals who are moving but parents have to move with children, researchers with their partners or sometimes with elderly parents who need

their help. Wayfaring can also involve thinking about the movements that should and could happen but will not.

The Materiality of Leaving Academia

Leaving academia had felt mandatory for Helena, who said that when scholars turned 40 and did not have their own research groups, the future would look bleak. Especially for women with backgrounds in biosciences, leaving the university but being able to work in their own fields of expertise would mean moving from a material place to a new one, not only from one workplace to another but also to a new town or city. Many of our interviewees felt attached to their home town Tampere because of their family relations, including their partners' workplaces and children's schools or their parents who had moved from another town to live close to their children and grandchildren, or their social relations, such as friends and hobbies.

The possibilities for women with doctoral degrees to find jobs outside academia in the Tampere region varied according to their scientific fields. Women from biosciences said that no jobs were available for them in Tampere, and most of them had either moved or started commuting to (Greater) Helsinki, a two-hour train ride away. Women from the fields of technology found it easier to find new jobs in Tampere. This is important in relation to the regional research and innovation environment since bio- and health technology is promoted as one of the fields with the most potential in the region. If women from life sciences, which are often female-dominated fields, lack work possibilities outside academia, but women from technical, male-dominated fields of science do not, there are

biases in the regional research and innovation policy, too (see Lindberg et al. 2014). According to our own study in Uppsala in Sweden and Tampere in Finland, these regions differ substantially since in Uppsala the disciplinary field does not affect women's possibilities to find jobs outside of academia. The universities in Sweden are also more flexible both in the way their employees can simultaneously work in the private sector and how people can return to academic careers. In Finland, once you leave academia, it is almost impossible to return due to the demand for a long publication list and having received substantial funding in the recruitment process (Suopajarvi et al. 2021).

Of the eleven women who had left the university to work in industry as entrepreneurs or in semi-private companies, only one used to hold a permanent position at the university. This precarious status is common among research and teaching staff in Finnish academia; in 2017, 70 percent of all employments in all Finnish universities were temporary. The percentage is much higher on the first step of the ladder, where almost every doctoral student holds a temporary position (Sivistystyönantajatyö 2017). These statistics do not include researchers who work under scholarships granted by external funding agents. This situation is clearly one of the material elements in women's decision to seek jobs in another sector (Morley 2016). It becomes entwined with spacetime, too; when it is difficult to imagine a future in a certain place, no matter how passionate academics might feel about their work or how deep is their sense of belonging to their work communities, it is time to move (see also Steel & Tuori 2019).

This does not mean that the interviewees who have stayed in academia all work in permanent positions but that they can still imagine a future there (see also Ylijoki 2010). Though secure incomes and sometimes higher salaries, as material elements, make these women happy about their career moves, what makes them even happier is the security that allows them to think ahead (see also Barad 2010). The fact that in Finland there is no possibility to come back to academia from another sector causes hesitation, on the other hand, but still the lack of future prospects in academia has pushed the interviewed women to make this move.

Though the bodies cannot physically move in time, they can become-with different bodies in different spacetimes (Barad 2010; on the materiality of the bodies see Damsholt 2013). The interview is not the best method to study how bodies move in relation to other bodies, both human and non-human. However, drawing a career line and following it in an interview proved to be useful in the knowledge-making of spacetimes. Some interviewees also described how they had organized their work and family life with small children because they lived close to their workplaces or their parents had moved to live close to them to share care responsibilities. These socio-material arrangements affected how women could move between home and work, but the movement required by international researcher mobility could not be solved by these arrangements. Thus, the bodies of these women were able to move locally, but they were “immobile” when viewed through the demands of the one career model and the portfolio CV and in relation to those bodies, often male bod-

ies, that moved more easily or differently (see Rolin & Vainio 2011; Thun 2019). In the interviews, these (non-)movements became entangled with discourses on parenthood and gender, scientific benefits and general life values.

Conclusion: Boundaries in Academic Wayfaring

What are the boundaries of different movements in women's narrations, why and how are some movements accepted, supported or forbidden in their experiences? The first significant element in academic wayfaring is the idea of the career model where scholars proceed vertically from one position to another. In reality, the interviewed researchers move in more versatile ways: for example, to continue in academia without becoming a research group leader, some of our interviewees have started doctoral studies in other fields or have considered administrative tasks at the university (see also Aarnikoivu et al. 2019). More common, however, is a move away from academia because the researchers do not want to participate in the academic funding “games” or to support the hierarchical system that prevails in academia. Therefore, I argue that in wayfaring, it is important to understand why people do not move.

One reason why the line from a postdoctoral researcher to a principal investigator's (PI) position remains undrawn for these women is related to spacetime: this line would differ substantially from their previous paths in academia. Becoming a doctoral student and/or a postdoctoral researcher has been fairly easy for most of them, but the new line would mean becoming independent and responsible forepersons. This would mean becoming more entrepreneur-

ial and increase the sense of insecurity because PIs need to secure funding both for themselves and for their group members. As previous studies show (e.g. Nikunen & Lempiäinen 2018), our interviewees have found that the combination of having children and working as a junior researcher functions well thanks to flexible working hours, but they have simultaneously seen how hard this can be as a PI. Consequently, if we consider a research group as a knot in researchers' meshwork, this knot is lived quite differently according to the different positions of group members.

The second important part of researchers' wayfaring are the networks that enable or prevent their movements. In their wayfaring from a postdoctoral position, the quality of these networks becomes visible. As academic researchers, the interviewees have been encouraged to create merely scientific networks. In most fields, these networks are useless in a move to work in another sector. Women talk about how they have relied mostly on the networks generated during their student years with fellow students or trainee employers, or how they have been forced to create completely new networks. This one-sidedness of the networks is connected to the meritocracy of academia; when scientific publications and funding are ranked highest in recruitments, the researchers should not invest time in cross-sectorial collaboration. Networks entangle with the research group hierarchies, since all our interviewees work in multi- and to some extent transdisciplinary areas, but as research group members their networks did not include people from industry or public sector, especially in the human and biosciences. This implies that mostly the principal investigators have done direct

cross-sectorial collaboration.

The third socio-material element in the move from postdoctoral position are bodies that move with other bodies. Before making this move, the interviewed women have witnessed the discrimination and even harassment cases of women in PI positions. In their wayfaring, this gendered reality of academia, where women are often in secondary positions compared to men, is one decisive element. Gender becomes an even more embodied experience in researcher mobility as regards international visits. In this movement the question of who or what the interviewed women should be moving with is essential. The idealized picture of a mobile and flexible academic who travels continuously around the world alone (Blackmore 2014) obscures the different versatile realities of researchers. Many of our interviewees do not identify with this picture, and so it pushes them away from academia and is an important part of their academic wayfaring.

Gender becomes visible when investigating what bodies move and how they move with other human bodies, such as bodies of colleagues, professors and other university leaders, or bodies of partners, children, parents and friends, and with non-human bodies, including workplaces, laboratories and money/funding. This *moving-together* is intra-acting with discourses, for example, about motherhood and fatherhood, making science, metrification of academic work and portfolio careers (Blackmore 2014). Though career as a lived experience is complex, non-linear and entwined with many life situations and their different socio-material elements, the idea of a career as a linear and vertically progressing *ladder* affects the interview-

ees' perceptions and experiences in their own careers (see also Duberley et al. 2006; Marttila 2015). This effect was generated in the interviews, too; for example, when I asked Katja how she had experienced drawing her career line, she answered:

Somehow this visual, that I could see it, though it's not the most coherent or straightforward or very goal-oriented line from the very beginning, or most sensible one, but it made me feel kindness towards myself. That I have done all right. (Katja, human sciences.)

Through "becoming with" (Haraway 2008) the interviews, the boundaries that were entangled with the move from academia to the (semi-)private sector have come into being. The boundaries that are continuously changing and flexible refer to the ongoing negotiations between the elements that are significant for women in bio- and health technology. These are the assemblages of research groups, gender discrimination and hierarchies, in which the idea of academic vertical career development intra-acts. Additionally, material mobility, which means moving (bodies) from, to and between places, life-course events, especially having children, and local research and innovation cultures are significant elements in making the boundaries in these career moves.

The boundaries here also refer to the elements that comprise this study, such as the perspective of wayfaring combined with the epistemology of intra-action, and the methods of career line drawing and career interviews. Precarity, competitiveness and power struggles entwined with one career path in academia, as well as women's sense of not wanting to waste their own expertise, belonging to academic communities and to their dwelling places, can keep women

living on the border of staying and leaving. The co-movements of non-human and gendered human bodies in wayfaring, and the non-movements or thoughts of movements that should happen but do not, give a deeper understanding of how careers are made and lived in academia. It also adds to the theoretical understanding of wayfaring that happens in the entanglements of different materialities, such as bodies, and discourses, such as ideas of flexible mobile academics.

Tiina Suopajarvi

Adjunct Professor, University Teacher of European Ethnology
School of History, Culture and Arts Studies
University of Turku
FI-20014 Turku, Finland
email: tiina.suopajarvi@utu.fi

Notes

- 1 This study is part of the Nordic Centre of Excellence called Women in Technology Driven Careers, funded by Nordforsk 2017–2022.

References

Fieldwork material

Career interviews 2018–2019. The interview material consists of 11 women's individual interviews; six made in Tampere and four in Helsinki. All interviews include a career line drawing made by the interviewee. Currently, the transcriptions of the interviews and the drawings are in the possession of the researchers of Nordwit, Nordic Centre of Excellence on Women in Technology Driven Careers (funded by Nordforsk 2017–2022). After the Nordwit CoE ends, the anonymized transcriptions will be archived in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive in Tampere.

Literature

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“Returning to Normality Will Be as Strange as Leaving it Behind”

By Tine Damsholt

To have just a little drop of normality in daily life [...] We must take a bath and get dressed, every day! (Diary no. 23).

As people all over Scandinavia, Europe, and the entire world have experienced, the year 2020 turned out to be a very strange one, deviating from the normal and taken-for-granted everyday trajectories. In Denmark the government's decision to implement a general lockdown on 11 March 2020 significantly transformed the everyday lives of a large proportion of the Danish population, as most individuals, couples and families were urged to stay at home, and well-established and taken-for-granted daily routines of going to work, school or day-care came to a halt. Even though regional differences regarding structures of production and labour market and numbers of infected locals created diverse intensities of caution and change, people had to attune to new everyday practices and social habits in order to protect family members and fellow citizens.

Subsequently, what was regarded as “the normal life” soon became an object of yearning and every “little drop of normality” something to be treasured, as the ordinary and everyday micro-practices were disrupted. To many the home turned into a contested space for accommodating home-schooling, home-offices, as well as meals, housework, family life and leisure. Accordingly, new micro-practices had to be learned and home-life turned into an arena for rival and ambiguous moods. In public spaces, parks, public transport, and in supermarkets new bodily choreographies of social distance were gradually evolving. This irregular “corona situation”, which at first was considered to be a state of exception and an anomaly, during 2020 and

early 2021 gradually seem to have been domesticated and normalized into new daily routines and materialized in new ways of doing daily life. Nonetheless, the pandemic has disrupted the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life and wishes to return to a kind of “normality” have ceaselessly accompanied the new domestic and public choreographies and moods.

As such, the Danish lockdown and public restrictions have worked as a catalyst or developer making otherwise invisible and tacitly known material and bodily choreographies and everyday moods visible and articulated in their absence. Thus, the following investigation does not have “the pandemic situation as such” as its primary object. Instead, it suggests a reading of lockdown life as a prism which condensed expectations and dilemmas intertwined in everyday life which may otherwise lie hidden and taken for granted. It focusses on some of the new affects and practices at home and in urban life to which the corona lockdown in Denmark gave rise, and how they were experienced and articulated in (auto-)ethnographic descriptions of everyday life. Attention is directed towards how these new practices were materialized and collided with the already well-known pre-corona life, and how seemingly trivial details acquired new affective powers. How did we learn to practise new and strange bodily choreographies and ambiguous moods of the everyday, and how were these practices eventually domesticated and even normalized? How were discourses of the national self – otherwise turned into banal everyday flagging (cf. Billig 1995) – revitalized and reinterpreted? And what happened to notions of past and future when the present “here-and-now” was

considered an anomaly or a deviation from the script of everyday life we had expected to live?

Opening the Black Box of Everyday Life

Everyday life has turned out to be a pervading theme within ethnology, if not *the* object of study that has defined the discipline at least since the 1980s (cf. Stoklund 1994; Tschöfen 2013). Nevertheless, as Orvar Löfgren has argued, even if we ethnologists consider ourselves to be masters of the study of the everyday, we still know surprisingly little about how it works: "Everyday life remains the black box of ethnology" (2014:81). In Löfgren's view, focusing on the material and affective dimensions of mundane domestic activities may give a better understanding of the hidden undercurrents of the everyday life where objects, people, feelings, sensibilities and activities co-exist. Thus, everyday life may be understood as assemblages or entanglements of stuff, affects and activities (ibid.).

In a vast number of publications Löfgren and Billy Ehn have developed analytical strategies and still more sophisticated tools to investigate the tacit choreographies and micro-practices of everyday life. In the present investigation their conceptualizations of routines are particularly relevant (e.g. Ehn & Löfgren 2010; Ehn, Löfgren & Wilk 2016). Everyday micro-practices are sequenced into shared routines that make life run smoothly. Routines are linked to order, predictability and control, and are first created through negotiations but through repetitions eventually turn into almost unconscious, silent, and mutual choreographies. However, the taken-for-granted rou-

tines, the "humdrum minutiae" of everyday existence, in which we collectively, silently and inarticulately coordinate our everyday activities may become visible and apparent by virtue of their absence, when they are broken during a crisis (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:112). Not only routines but also the course of life is an object of expectations and of certain cultural models to be realized. Jonas Frykman has characterized one such cultural model for how a life is supposed to unfold as a "life script" (Frykman 1992:261; Kverndokk 2020:149). In the present analysis I have developed a notion of an "everyday script"; a naturalized and taken for granted expectation of a normal everyday life. This use of the script figure also draws on Madelaine Akrich's argument of an inscribed user (and social context) in technical objects, which becomes apparent and accordingly "de-scribed" by the displacement of the object to another context and to a real user (1992).

Theoretical questions of how we may understand embodied practices open up a huge field of possibilities. In the present investigation I primarily draw on the concept of choreographies from Charris Cussins invoking "materiality, structural constraint, performativity, discipline, co-dependence of setting and performers, and movement" (1996:604) and on Donna Haraway's claim that "an embodied communication is more like a dance than a word" (2008:26). I have elsewhere argued that dance is a relevant figuration for understanding practice (Damsholt 2016). Dance is embodied and implies the co-dependence of those involved, it is a transformative process and an ongoing and distributed doing, where there is always more than one actor involved. The dance figure thus incorporates

the generative, iterative and transformative dimensions of practice, as well as the material, discursive, corporeal and spatial dimensions, memory and temporality, and furthermore the at once collective and individual.

Throughout recent decades a turn towards the affective dimensions of the everyday has been prevalent, especially taking inspiration from phenomenology. Affective studies come in many versions, whether they pay close ethnographic attention to "intensities of the ordinary"; to pressure points and forms of attention and attachment (cf. Stewart 2007) or they focus on what affective atmospheres do and how they relate to material objects (Frykman & Povrzanovic Frykman 2016). In this article I mainly draw on the critical perspectives developed by Sara Ahmed, who in a combination of performative and phenomenological understandings, investigate how some affects cling or stick to certain objects (Ahmed 2010), or how the emotional work to attune to social or public moods is unevenly distributed (Ahmed 2014).

Other recent and relevant conceptualizations of everyday life include the understanding of everyday life as an also public and political space in which multiple, conflicting concerns must be juggled and attempted aligned (Marres 2011). Thus, in terms of theory the investigation is shaped by a performative understanding of everyday life as heterogeneous, affective, politicized, practised and materialized (cf. Damsholt & Simonsen 2009; Damsholt 2015, 2016). However, everyday life is not to be perceived as an entity or an object in and of itself, neither is the ethnological understanding of daily life to be understood as a body of knowledge compiled through

disciplined investigations over time. Rather, as an object of study, everyday life is configured and shaped in specific types of problematizations and concerns and has become intelligible in specific historical contexts and situated fields of knowledge.

I have pointed out elsewhere the inertness that often characterizes the transformation and reconfiguration of everyday life (Damsholt & Jespersen 2014). However, the Danish lockdowns suddenly and radically disrupted or "displaced" everyday life routines and expected cultural scripts (cf. Akrich 1992; Frykman 1992), and many people had to adapt to the new conditions more or less overnight. Consequently, the Danish lockdowns form a kind of laboratory for "opening the black box of everyday life", since what was otherwise stabilized tacit knowledge and taken-for-granted practices, understandings and expectations became open, visible, articulated and possible to investigate in their disruption. Thus, this article is not about the Covid-19 pandemic as such, but aims to analyse how the composite nature of the manifold, affective, discursively inscribed, material and bodily choreographed everyday life revealed itself through the pandemic and entangling with discourses of normality i.e. scripts of everyday life.

In terms of method, the performative perspectives imply an understanding of "the field" as multi-sited, performed, composed, and converging with the ethnographer's own life (cf. Marcus 1995; Coleman & Collins 2006; O'Dell & Willim 2011; Wilk 2011). The gathering of empirical material started during the first weeks of the first Danish lockdown in March 2020. A sudden affective intensity grew out of the unexpected way ordinary life unfold-

ed, and "hailed" an ethnological investigation (cf. Law 2000). Being in the middle of teaching a master's course in analytical strategies of everyday life including autoethnography I, together with my 24 student co-researchers, each wrote an account or diary for 25 March 2020, which the majority of us spent in the Copenhagen area. Written by more or less experienced ethnographers, these diaries were often composed in the genre of autoethnography, and we worked analytically with these ethnographic accounts in the remaining part of the course work. As such the students were involved as interlocutors taking active part in analysis, more than traditional informants or passive "objects of study" (cf. Hastrup 2014).¹

An initial analysis of especially the temporal dimensions of the everyday lockdown life was written in June based on these diaries (Damsholt 2020). However, my ethnological absorption of the analytical opportunities the pandemic situation opened up did not end.² Accordingly, the year 2020 has been a year of ongoing fieldwork "at home", collecting and analysing empirical material describing everyday life in Denmark from March onwards, in the course of the relatively "open" summer, as well as during the increasing restrictions in the autumn of 2020, until a second lockdown was announced in December 2020. The heterogenous empirical material for this article incorporates accounts of everyday life from newspapers,³ women's magazines, television series, social media (Instagram in particular), informal conversations, fiction, observations in private and public spaces, public transport, shops – an ongoing autoethnography. Furthermore, 31 essays written by students across the

University of Copenhagen, several of which describe the everyday life during lockdown, make up a substantial part of the quoted material (Engberg 2020).⁴

A majority of the accounts, columns, diaries and essays I have analysed are written by people who had their everyday life transformed substantially, as they had to stay at home and handle all kinds of affairs from home. For others who continued their working life as usual – primarily within health care but also in agriculture, primary production, grocery shops, skilled trade and service industries – everyday life nevertheless changed too, as children had to stay home, and leisure activities and social life changed, as clubs and associations were closed, and travelling and meeting friends and family became restricted.

The fieldwork is limited to Denmark and primarily Copenhagen due to corona restrictions. Accordingly, the empirical material or the analysis in this article is by no means exhaustive. However, the ambition is neither to give a full account of the pandemic in Denmark nor of Scandinavian everyday life during corona.⁵ Instead, the first Danish lockdown and the ways it affected everyday life among some of those who had to stay and work from home will serve analytically as a laboratory or an intervention, as it destabilized routines, choreographies and moods which otherwise lay entangled in the assemblage of the everyday (cf. Löfgren 2014). The corona lockdown brought a state of exception, where normal practices were disturbed, and accordingly the possibility to explore the taken-for-grantedness and the script of "the normal everyday life". As moods and choreographies were disrupted, they also became open for articulation and reflection.

Thus, the pandemic state of exception may advance our understanding of how contemporary everyday lives unfold through multiple and entangled moods, choreographies and material practices, and how they are inscribed in notions of a normal everyday life.⁶

Keeping up Routines and New Ways of Ordering Home Life

The Danish government's decision to impose a general lockdown from 15 March 2020 until June⁷ changed everyday life remarkably, as a major part of the population (all public employees (except in critical health care functions) and one third of all private employees)⁸ were compelled to work from home. Schoolchildren and students of all ages had their teaching and learning activities transformed to online versions. Many others, including the group of retired people,⁹ had to isolate at home due to their age or other kinds of health conditions, which made them vulnerable to infection.

As mentioned, routines are created through repetitions of an almost unconscious, silent and mutual choreography, and once established they become invisible to the individual or the household in which they are performed (Ehn & Löfgren 2010). During lockdown repeating the normal routines became important to many:

I set my phone to ring at 7 o'clock tomorrow, as always. I feel it's important to keep up some kind of routine (Diary no. 22).¹⁰

When everyday life was disrupted, the keeping up of normal routines became an important materialization of continuity and normality. Routines most often imply a material dimension, and with individuals, couples, and families who had to

stay at home, new material arrangements emerged, turning the home into a shared space for school, work, meals, housework and leisure. Internet connections tended to get overloaded when everybody had to be online simultaneously, and families with children tried to order their activities in strict schedules or into different rooms or corners of the home. Bedrooms, spare rooms, cellars or attics were transformed into official meeting spaces, sometimes with unmade beds, laundry, or storage racks as silent, yet distracting co-actors. Working from home suited some, while others felt that their work-life became even harder to balance, as working time and family time merged, and working hours became blurred (cf. Damsholt 2020). Working and leisure amalgamated:

Home-schooling is for the untrained a constant battle to keep housework, unintended holiday-feeling and learning apart, and to avoid everything dissolving into a mush of cabin fever or worse: pure pastime.¹¹

In this statement, different routines and moods started to conflate when working from home. The normal temporal scaffolding of everyday life seemed to collapse and a recurrent theme in the diaries of students and others working from home is the challenge of keeping up working hours and intensity when the normal routines were set aside.

I get up around 10:15 as it is hard to get up at normal hours when there is nothing really important to get done during the daytime. A tendency to get up late and stay up late slowly creeps into these days when you have to stay at home and only go out for walks or shopping (Diary no. 11).

For this student and many others their attempts to perform normal daily routines of-

ten collapsed during lockdown. Thus, several tried to make a new and strict workday schedule:

7 o'clock is when I get up during isolation. After a shower, breakfast and newspaper reading I was supposed to read. Tuesday and Friday are the days for studying, Monday and Thursday for paid work. Wednesday for reading. However, it turned out to be a ridiculous day in terms of reading. I have to get more disciplined in order to make the days come right and make sense at present. Not mixing work and school together, and only getting work and reading done in dribs and drabs (Diary no. 7).

Here the new rules attempting to make "the days come right" broke down fast. In both quotations it emerges that when everything appeared to be equally important, then everything became equally unimportant. To many the normal ordering of everyday life followed the logic of industrial time with discrete blocks of time dedicated to one specific kind of activity only (cf. Wajcman 2016). Due to this strict differentiation between work hours and leisure time, the lockdown was experienced as a situation where work penetrated private space at home. As different qualities of time are often materialized, many found it hard to differentiate the everyday time when staying at home all day long (cf. Damsholt 2020). When work was found to invade all hours, a student couple split up the home into two separate home-offices in order to be able get off work and thus, "to keep the working-rhizome at a distance" (cf. Juhl 2020:232). Tidying up the home was another strategy for tidying up the everyday life, as it might otherwise grow into a disordered mess.

Everyday routines are often materialized as a way of organizing time by marking the difference between public and private time

and space (Ehn & Löfgren 2010:97). Leisure time may usually be marked by a change of clothes when coming home from work. During lockdown the opposite became important; working days had to be materialized by getting properly dressed while working from home. Clothing sales fell dramatically during lockdown – but sweatsuits and pyjama purchases went up.¹² Home wear for staying in has become the new black or the new normal, and takes up a much larger proportion of many designer's Fall-Winter 20/21 collections than usual.¹³ Nevertheless, only wearing "official clothing" on the upper part of the body – which was visible in online meetings while the lower part was wearing pyjama pants or shorts – became to many a new routine and a materialization of the new hybrid everyday life at home; neither fully at work nor off work.

To many of the students the scheduled online teaching was appreciated, as it made up an anchor in the otherwise blurred zone of confluent activities. However, some felt that the primarily public space of the university invaded their private space by means of the online teaching:

I am doing this out of powerless necessity, as it is a requirement if I want to continue my education. And since keeping the doors wide open to my intimate sphere is the only way to take part in social life. I am sitting in my bed, the most private and sacred place in my home, and expose this to 30 people, and in return get a sneak peek into their private space. [...] We wake up and reach out for the computer. With messy hair, we look for our textbook under yesterday's clothes. And then we invite the world into this mess, which is both a concrete mess and a result of a messy life with a messy corona mind (Faurschou 2020:95).

In this statement the new lockdown existence turned into a matter of messiness and

absence of the normal order. The university sphere and the private sphere, which were normally held apart, became conflated, as the different categories of stuff tangled, as when the university textbook was hidden under the clothes. Public gazes from fellow students invaded the bed, a material object to which private life and intimacy stick (cf. Ahmed 2010). The great mess and the muddle of categories mirror the messy mind and messy life. The need to keep things and categories apart and to create material and immaterial order was pervasive.

The contrasts between different activities and the material stuff they involved turned out to be essential in the scaffoldings of everyday life. Many articulated their attempts to handle the absence of the usual order in terms of normality: "I miss my normal life" (Diary no. 2), "Wednesday is normally fitness day, but alas! It is corona times" (Diary no. 13), "when the world returns to its normal state" (Diary no. 14), "To have just a little drop of normality in daily life" (Diary no. 23). In situations of crisis such as wartime, sensory experiences like the smell of freshly baked bread can become "an oasis of normality" as they establish a material link to a prior life, as Maja Povrzanovic Frykman has shown (1997:155). In the less dramatic Danish lockdown situation, normality also seemed to stick to mundane objects as they incorporated the promise of the persistence of a normal or "non-pandemic" life as well as the hope for returning to it. "I wake up to the sound of the stair washer out in the stairwell – something is still normal", one of the students wrote (Diary no. 4). In this reassuring statement objects, affects and the usual routines were inscribed in an assemblage of a well-known everyday

life which during the pandemic primarily unfolded in its absence and was articulated through discourses of normality.

Ambiguous Mood Work

In the last few months the home has been the stage for parts of everyday life that we used to spend elsewhere. I live alone in a college room of 12 m². Here I have to work, study, socialize digitally, cook, eat, sleep and relax in one and the same room. As I understand from others in the same situation, it is difficult to separate one day from another, but also to differentiate the spaces, functions and roles, which usually are easier to navigate between. To me it means that the anxiety I would feel in some spaces now sticks to them all (Stray 2020:241).

To this author, anxiety lurked in every corner as a "sticky" basic mood of the pandemic, not easy to get rid of (cf. Ahmed 2010). Fear of being infected by Covid-19 or the risk of losing one's dear family members to the pandemic pervaded even the cosiest time at home. The global crisis and the solidarity with the countries that were hit much harder than Denmark were also prevalent in the diaries. Accordingly, for many people, the isolation at home was transformed into ambiguous affective moods. As Löfgren has argued, the home is a site in which the outside world is always present and dealt with (2014:95). Thus, the feeling that one ought to be more affected by the dramatic context and cause of the quarantine at home permeates several diaries:

My boyfriend and I woke up with the sun blazing in and a weird yet recognizable feeling of exultation over this semi-quarantine. Don't get me wrong: we REALLY understand how devastating the crisis is for the world economy and for all the families who either lose their income, their minds or both. [...] But we cannot lie to ourselves and pretend we do not have a distastefully cosy time (Diary no. 24).

Here the lockdown situation engendered the feeling of pure joy ambiguously intertwined with guilt. As Ahmed has argued, although moods are social, not all of us are able to attune to the same (public or national) moods (2014:23). To attune and come in synch with a public mood requires "mood work", when we try to close the gap between how one actually feels and how one is supposed to feel. However, this work is often unequally distributed. In the quotation, the affective dilemma between the fear and compassion that was engendered by the global drama of the pandemic on the one hand and the delight at being safe at home in the sun together on the other called for mood work.

Still, spending all of one's time at home with family members also felt like confinement for many people. Divorces and relationship crises occurred as a result of couples being cooped up in close quarters during quarantine, without time on their own.¹⁴ Conflicts and bad moods in some homes escalated, and cases of domestic violence increased. Women isolated in homes with abusive partners experienced aggravated abuse. Nevertheless, the pandemic also called for policing of the social moods of other people:

Even during one of the apparently worst social and economic crises in the past century, it seems necessary to add to the gloomy atmosphere; because no, we are not going to have a dinner party [...]. Even the most trivial everyday situation and indifferent message turn into a battleground between the cosy, the easy, and the difficult, the killjoy (Juncher 2020:36).

This student essay describes the everyday micro-battles between friends and family, who were misattuned to each other, and the ongoing mood work which sometimes

called for the "killjoys" (cf. Ahmed 2010). Nonetheless, for some individuals the anxiety of the first weeks of lockdown evaporated, and a mood of valuing new possibilities also surfaced, imagining a new kind of daily life, which would not have been reflected otherwise. Due to the arrival of spring, optimism gradually invaded the ambiguous pandemic moods:

It's Wednesday and it's sunshine. Wednesday, I think is already a day full of optimism, and the beautiful spring weather helps. Even in these corona times, you can't really help but smile a little when the sky is blue (Diary no. 13).

New Bodily Choreographies of Avoidance

In the everyday context, the pandemic affected the majority of Danes in much less dramatic ways than in other areas of the world such as the disastrous mortality rates that in spring 2020 struck Italy, Spain, France and the UK.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the pandemic affected the necessity of learning new choreographies, which besides bodily movement also involved materiality and co-dependence (cf. Cussins 1996). In some families, new mutual choreographies had to be rehearsed as one partner fell ill or was in a high-risk group. A former leukaemia-patient described the way he and his wife, and their daughter, moved around with a constant distance of two metres inside their house – sleeping apart, eating apart – like "three lonely ships in the night".¹⁶ A female journalist described how she and her partner had both been isolated in the bedroom due to Covid-19 infection, although not simultaneously. Thus, they enacted a repeated "chamber play" at home, avoiding any kind of physical contact, and with disinfection tissues as an in-

tegrated part of their isolated use of kitchen and bathroom.¹⁷ Norbert Elias claimed that individuals are interdependent with reference to the bodily figurations of dance:

The same dance figurations can certainly be danced by different people; but without the plurality of reciprocally oriented and dependent individuals, there is no dance (Elias 1978:262).

The new choreographies of keeping distance at home equally displayed how such dances are reciprocal and collective. In public space too, new choreographies had to be learned. As fitness centres and sports facilities were closed down, walking became to many a preferred way of exercising the otherwise confined corona body.

I have walked a lot during this quarantine, at least eight kilometres a day, and most often over ten. The first Saturday of the quarantine, it was crowded with people at Sydhavnstippen [green area] because the weather was fine for the first time in many weeks. It annoyed me so much that I could not enjoy my stroll. I want to have nature to myself. Tonight, there are also a lot of people, especially people who are out running and people walking their dogs. You can only keep your social distance if you step outside the paths and walk over the lawns (Diary no. 18).

In this quotation nature was also invaded by new lockdown everyday practices. Walking was not just a way of exercising but also a way to get outside the confinement of the home. With the sun and the coming of spring the outside and nature promised a site of "normality" – a link to a prior life where everything was as usual. However, as everybody else also seemed to be outside, the author's experience of nature was ruined. In order to avoid others, some walked in the early morning to have the streets to themselves, while others preferred the new "dance" of stepping outside

the paths, especially if joggers passed by, breathing heavily. As walking was also a way to meet up and socialize, new ways of practising public and urban space emerged:

When we walk, we avoid other people. If anyone walks towards us on the footpath, we cross the street to the other side or we make a huge arc around them, unless they have already crossed the road themselves. If we hear someone coughing, we keep an extra distance from them – we don't want to risk anything (Diary no. 22).

Here walking in the streets and parks turned into a collective and reciprocal choreography of constant avoidance, of making arcs and crossing streets to keep the prescribed social distance. This dance of avoidance was based on a mood of mistrusting fellow citizens to be potential carriers of contagion. It involved a constant alertness to read signs of risk sticking to other bodies, such as the sound of coughing. Ahmed has argued how stranger may equal danger: "What is at stake in attunement, then, is also the creation of the very figure of the stranger, the one whose proximity is registered as dangerous" (2014:22). According to Ahmed, fear and risk stick to some bodies more than others. During lockdown, however, all bodies became dangerous:

I decide to go for a walk in the fine weather to get some fresh air and some exercise [...] with a podcast in my ears and sun on my face. On the way home I walk through Fælledparken and wonder why there are so many people in one place. I become very aware of the situation and take big arcs when passing people. Maybe I panic a little too much, but it feels nice to get out of Fælledparken again (Diary no. 16).

In this diary the proximity of too many people in one place, even if it was outside, affected the author to the point of panic. Every human body in the public space

seemed to have turned into a potential risk, and with this latent danger of coming too close to somebody else, a new pandemic mood in public space emerged, where the stranger-danger equation was more evenly distributed than usual.

Unlearning the Practice of Hugging

Outside Netto we meet a mutual friend from our folk high school. It feels really strange not to hug (Diary no. 16).

The pandemic everyday life not only introduced new bodily choreographies to be learned. It also called for an un-learning of normal physical practices such as giving a hug or a handshake when meeting family or friends in the public or private sphere. In March and April 2020 new ways of expressing friendly feelings bodily were frequently discussed and suggested in the media and observed in public spaces. *Not* hugging one's friends felt really strange to many, as in the above quotation. But what was the alternative? Should you let feet or elbows meet instead when saying hello? Or should you just wave at a distance as when meeting online?¹⁸ When people met, they had to negotiate how to greet when they refrained from normal and tacit knowledge, which often involved awkwardness, verbalizing what to do, as well as apologetic laughter.¹⁹

L called and asked how it was going. She too is bored these days. [...] We talked for a long time about the coronavirus and whether we should go for a walk. In the hour we talked, I went through a sea of emotions – both melancholy and sadness, desperation and loud laughter. She had facetimed with H today – I miss the little boy. Cannot even conceive that it might take a month before I see him again and can hug him (Diary no. 7).

In these reflections the ambiguous moods are entangled with the lack of meeting

friends and family, and the "manifest absence" of hugging the dear ones that permeated the situation (cf. Law 2002). A journalist wrote the obituary of "the French bisous", the tradition of cheek-kissing and hugging when saying hello,²⁰ but also the more modest and usual way of hugging in Denmark – without ritual cheek-kissing – has disappeared temporarily. To some this was a relief, as they declared themselves to be aliens to this "pervasive hugging" even of people one does not know well. Whereas many stated that hugging their older family members was one of the things they missed the most. When meeting friends and family one intensively feels an inward urge and a bodily ache to hug them as one used to do.

During summer 2020 many people seemed to be getting more relaxed and forgetting or even ignoring the recommendations to keep a safe distance from others. Accordingly, people in high-risk groups became nervous. When meeting people you had not seen for a long time, it was hard to know how to react when they motioned to give you a hug. As the pandemic was considered over by many, when refraining from hugging one risked the interpretation of being unfriendly or too suspicious of your fellow humans. In order to synchronize with the more relaxed public mood you had to compromise your own sentiments and precautions. Ahmed has argued that attunement is an intercorporeal experience:

Objects bring worlds with them. To be misattuned can thus mean being out of sync with the world. The problem with attunement is not that it does not happen (it most certainly does) but that it can easily become not just a description of an experience but also an ideal, as if the aim is to be in harmony, to be in tune with others. When attunement becomes an aim, those

who are not in tune or who are out of tune become the obstacles; they become what gets in the way not only of attunement, but all that it promises: life, connection, empathy, and so on (Ahmed 2014:20).

Unlearning to hug was not just a simple matter of attuning to a new way of greeting. Hugging was an object bringing a world of normality with it, and thus an ideal to return to. Once you refrained from hugging when meeting family, you became the obstacle, the body getting in the way of the world re-attuning to its normal state. When infection rates were low and restrictions were relaxed, people more often had conflicts over whether they should keep up or renounce the recommendations not to hug. Among friends and families this led to "corona policing", as there was no unanimous feeling of how relaxed or cautious

one was supposed to be. However, the new formats of greeting at a distance seem to have been normalized in early 2021, and laughing, explaining or articulate renouncing is no longer necessary.

The dance of social distance reveals that moods and bodily choreographies are reciprocal and collective. You cannot keep social distance if the others ignore it. It has to be learned and it involves non-verbal and ongoing negotiations, and it is not – at least not yet – something we dance together without a thought. Rather it involves a constant alertness and keeping an eye on the movement of the others, as Covid-19 has become a silent and invisible partner in all social dancing.

The Materiality of Social Distance

In addition, my day has offered a shopping trip in Kvikly. Normally I would go in Netto or Aldi²¹ which are close to where I live, but since I needed a slightly longer walk, and since especially Aldi is full of old people, I thought Kvikly was a better choice. The store has been there for over a year, but I have never been there before today. My shopping routines are probably the part where I have observed that my everyday life has changed the most (Diary no. 17).

In this quotation, the pandemic choreography of avoiding proximity to strangers is intertwined with the concern for older people, and everyday routines are changed accordingly. The new micro-practices when shopping for groceries are a recurring theme in the accounts of a disrupted everyday life. Supermarkets turned into a confined space for the avoidance-choreography co-dependent on the risky bodies of others:

After work, I go shopping for the necessities. I take my precautions and constantly observe whether



New choreographies of waiting. People queuing for a Covid-19 test in a temporary test facility at the University Southern Campus in December 2020. Photo by the author.

people can find out how to keep their distance – but it's not often. It is only at the checkout where there are marks on the floor indicating how much distance to keep to each other that people can make it work. It's inconceivable that people still cannot quite figure it out. The lockdown has been going on for two weeks and authorities have repeatedly told people they must remember to keep their distance (Diary no. 19).

In this account, the new alertness towards other bodies was highlighted, involving the frequently used argument that the problem of avoiding proximity was a matter of other people being unable to decipher and practice the new official guidelines. Only when queuing at the checkout did people keep their distance, due to a new kind of material nudging in the form of stickers on the floor marking the right distance. As Ehn and Löfgren have argued, standing in line is a cultural competence, a normative territory full of unwritten rules and regulations. Queuing involves the etiquette of keeping one's distance from the person in front through "attentive inattention" (2010:44). Ole B. Jensen has recently interpreted the Covid-19 queuing stickers marking safe distance on the floors of supermarkets as a visualization of an already existing script for queuing, as our extended bodies carry with them a portable and social territory (2021:7). However, the new shopping choreographies also involved non-verbal negotiations of unwritten rules with other bodies outside the waiting lines. To some people, shopping for groceries developed into a high-risk zone:

Suddenly, a mundane activity like buying bananas, milk, cheese and biscuits in my local Irma [supermarket] has turned into a tactical game, where everything stands or falls with proper distance to the other shoppers; because otherwise we are all

dead. And I hope they know the rules of the game, otherwise my peaceful supermarket has all of a sudden transformed into a suicide trip of unimaginable proportions. Unexpectedly, I find myself caught between the refrigerator for meat and the one for bread, and wonder whether it is less risky to pass by the possibly lethal family-dad than the ominous hippie type with the ruffle pants?²²

In this account, the familiar and safe space of supermarkets was transformed into a lethal "game". However, it is apparent that the choreography of shopping with distance involved material co-actors of refrigerators as well as other shoppers, and "co-dependence of setting and performers, and movement" (cf. Cussins 1996). The dance of social distance also involved people armed with shopping carts and shopping bags in order to avoid people in front of them as well as people behind. One had to make "two steps forward, and then three steps backwards because another customer had forgotten to take a bottle of wine".²³ The practice of shopping entangled human as well as non-human actors in a mutual and co-dependent choreography.

An embodied communication is more like a dance than a word. The flow of entangled meaningful bodies in time – whether jerky and nervous or flaming and flowing, whether both partners move in harmony or painfully out of synch or something else altogether – is communication about relationships, the relationship itself, and the means of reshaping relationship and so its enactors (Haraway 2008:26).

The dance figure in Haraway's rendition opens up for an understanding of embodied communication between entangled bodies moving in time and space, but not necessarily in perfect harmony. Dancing is also about being out of synch, stepping on each other's toes, being nervous, clumsy and un-

able to repeat the expected choreography and recognizable script. In the first weeks of lockdown, this new shopping choreography was strange to everybody, even if the stickers on the floor were applied in order to nudge people towards the right steps. However, the dance of social distancing gradually transformed into something familiar, and the new mundane bodily practices of keeping a distance to others and constantly sanitizing one's hands have gradually become naturalized into an almost unconscious, silent and mutual choreography.

How did we learn these new practices without noticing? At first hand sanitizers were very haphazardly placed at the entrances to Copenhagen shops. Often, they generated lines of people waiting for others who, unaccustomed to this new bodily practice, laboriously took their time getting their hand sanitation done. And many people were either policing each other in keeping the right distance, when waiting to pay at the checkout, or they were loudly complaining about the too long waiting time for even a small purchase.²⁴ When I now (in early 2021) enter a shop or supermarket, I reach out to sanitize my hands under the homogeneous and official sanitation posts, almost without noticing. And I keep my distance to other shoppers quite naturally without looking at the now permanent and standardized stickers on the floor. However, putting on my face mask has not become second nature yet.

By the beginning of March 2020, masks suddenly became a highly popular purchase and accordingly were often out of stock. Face masks had until then been a device for clinical surgery only, and in Copenhagen public spaces they were considered a con-

spicuous anomaly only worn by hyper-cautious Asian tourists. During the spring of 2020, the shortage of face masks continued, and only very few appeared in public. From 22 August 2020, wearing a mask became compulsory in public transport, the purchases increased rapidly, and the light blue disposable masks in clinical style popped up all over Copenhagen. From 18 September masks had to be worn in cafes and restaurants, 28 October it became mandatory to wear face masks inside all shops and buildings with public access, and since then all Danes have to include a mask in our normal daily attire when leaving home. Thus, all kinds of masks have emerged in public space; from black masks with associations of resistance, via designer masks with a fashion or museum logo, to all kinds of home-made masks.

As Daniel Miller has argued, everyday clothing is not a superficial triviality, but in our part of the world a way – or an obligation – to express your true self. Everyday



What kind of face mask are you? An anonymous disposable mask in light blue, a "tailored" cloth mask matching your suit, a mask with a funny slogan, or a pretty floral mask printed in Liberty fabric? Author's private inventory of face masks, February 2021.

clothing must be understood as part of a reciprocal relationship, where material objects shape the wearer and vice versa, as clothing is inseparable from what it is to be an individual – a second skin (Miller 2010). However, wearing masks appeared to be difficult to incorporate in everyday routines, to normalize and domesticize. While some do not seem to notice them anymore, others find them suffocating, and people complain that glasses mist up because of the mask.²⁵ Many tend to wear them under the chin as if they have been forgotten. Apparently, it is hard to remember to always have a mask ready in your pocket or bag, and masks are hanging from bicycle handlebars or car dashboards.²⁶

New dilemmas have emerged; the protective effects of masks are questioned, they may cause skin irritation – *maskne* (mask-caused acne) – or even is a source of pollution in the public space.²⁷ Small children cry because they cannot see their parents' face. Makeup and especially lipstick become smudged and the purchase of lipstick has decreased accordingly. Maybe face masks invade the individual bodies in a more radical way, as they cover the part of the body, around which communication with others and discourses of personality pivot.

One's individuality disappears when wearing a face mask, and you become part of a uniform mass. [...] Everybody is anonymized and only a number in a row. [...] We have to learn to smile with our eyes, or nobody will know if we are happy or angry.²⁸

As Countess Alexandra reveals in this quotation, everybody looks alike and even celebrities are not so easily recognized behind the uniformity of a face mask. When your mouth is covered moods are hard to interpret and attune to, and you can only communi-

cate your forthcomingness with your eyes in the non-verbal interaction in public transport or supermarkets. Will we one day be so used to wearing face masks that we will feel naked and unprotected when meeting friends and family without them? At present, the act of *not* wearing a mask in larger crowds has been politicized and an integral part of political demonstrations against restrictions. Also, to many the everyday masking practices have become a materialization of the fact that the dystopia that many people feared in the spring of 2020 has now come true.²⁹ Masks have become sticky objects, with the anomaly of the pandemic situation glued to them. If hand sanitizer and stickers on the floor have become domesticated and docile material partners in the now normalized choreographies of social distance, then the masks maybe remind us that it is not only public space that has been invaded with "stranger danger", but that also we and our individual bodies have been transformed.

One of the things that has made quarantine necessary is that most people can carry the virus without having symptoms. [...] I picked up a package yesterday in a parcel shop, and almost got the impression of having the plague. I had to keep 2 metres' distance to the counter and shout the number of the package. Then the employee put it on the desk and moved 2 metres backwards before I could take it (Diary no. 11).

In this quotation it seems to dawn on the author that it is not only the other bodies who equal danger, but that one's own body is also considered dangerous to others. This author experienced the mistrust in the format of an "impression of having the plague", and thus felt transformed.

All the actors become who they are in the dance of relating, not from scratch, not *ex nihilo*, but full



Poster in Copenhagen metro station inscribing the practice of caring for fellow citizens in wearing a face mask. Even though the glasses are misty the printed smile on the mask materializes the friendly and compliant Danish citizen. Photo by Im Sofie Skak and Kia Arvedsen Al-shamaa.

of the patterns of their sometimes-joined, sometimes-separate heritages both before and lateral to this encounter. All dancers are redone through the pattern they enact (Haraway 2008:25).

Haraway understands choreographies as transforming both subjects and objects. If the Danish population has domesticized new everyday objects like hand sanitizer and eventually face masks, then these material objects have also domesticized us. Thus, by normalizing the choreographies and materialities of keeping social distance, we have been redone or transformed into (mainly) docile lockdown citizens in-

corporating disruptions of otherwise taken-for-granted discourses of self-understanding.

The Nationalization of the Lockdown Self

Such new discourses of the "compliant Danish population" were not unambiguous. Over summer 2020 new kinds of social differentiation and concerns surfaced, as records of infected citizens sometimes intersected with specific ethnic minority groups. Elderly members of families with a migrant background turned out to be a more vulnerable group, as they more often lived with their grown-up children and grandchildren, and accordingly were more frequently exposed to the risk of infection.³⁰ The national public mood of all Danes being in the same boat and with a shared responsibility to take care of each other – as repeatedly stated by the government and authorities – was transformed by some into discourses of othering and the blaming of specific groups; e.g. the Somali bus drivers in the city of Aarhus.³¹ After all, fear and risk *did* stick to some bodies more than others (cf. Ahmed 2014), as social inequalities in the Danish population were reinforced due to lockdown.³²

Nevertheless, national moods and discourses of repudiating strategies deviating from the Danish government's also rose. This particularly surfaced as Sweden chose another way of handling the pandemic, avoiding lockdown.

The Swedes won most of the wars [in the seventeenth century], and they won when the world should learn about the welfare state, and of course, they won when the corona strategy was chosen. At least, that must have been the idea. While Denmark and Europe locked down – a decision of politi-

cians, the Swedes did very little – a decision by experts. “Lagom” – moderated in translation. Not too much, not too little, just right. Anders Tegnell, the skipper of the Swedish corona course, called for moderation, and insisted only on doing what was based on scientific evidence. As it turned out, this was not enough (Schmidt-Hansen 2020:56).

The competitive tone in this quotation may illustrate a proliferating Danish interpretation of the Swedish strategy during spring 2020. Especially when the state epidemiologist Anders Tegnell declared the Swedish Covid-19 strategy to be scientifically based – implying this not to be the case in Denmark – old patterns of national competition arose. Accordingly, as infection rates and death tolls in media were organized in national categories, inspecting the daily corona news turned into an ongoing nationalized contest to many Danes. Reading and commenting on the news became a daily occasion to flag the Danish “we” (cf. Billig 1995:93). Death tolls were transformed into a test of either proving the Danish government’s choices to be right, or, for those critical of the necessity of the Danish lockdown, to prove the Swedes to have chosen a better path. The national differences in strategies, the national self-understanding as well as the practising of national borders between Denmark and Sweden became emotionally charged and went from “banal to hot” (cf. Billig 1995:44). Such “nationalizations of the pandemic” – as well as the currently³³ proliferating “vaccine nationalism” – were to many an ambiguous pursuit. As the Swedish mortality rate grew step by step and outnumbered the other Scandinavian countries during spring 2020, many Danes felt pity for the Swedish losses.³⁴ But they also felt relieved that the social and economic costs of the Danish

lockdown did not seem to have been in vain. Tegnell became a contested figure of everyday discussions, whereas the fact that the Norwegians had “won” the competition was until recently a more or less absent issue in the Danish debate.³⁵

Nevertheless, the open-ended comparison of the national strategies and statistics challenged former Scandinavian stereotypes and self-understandings, where Danes often were considered to be more relaxed and less compliant with authorities than the Swedes. Especially due to stricter policies of selling and drinking alcohol, Sweden was viewed by many Danes in the 1980s as “the country of prohibition”.³⁶ This image turned upside down in spring 2020. With the modified Swedish recommendations compared to the Danish and Norwegian general lockdowns and forced restrictions, Swedes instead – and surprisingly to many – played the part of “the bohemians of Scandinavia”.³⁷ No Scandinavian country seemed to be as free as Sweden, and the absence of restrictions on nightlife, bars and restaurants evoked new forms of envy in Danish media.³⁸ Sweden was transformed into the exotic and relaxed “party-fairyl-land” that Denmark normally used to be – an abnormal reversal of roles. Swedish everyday life became a material and affective link to a prior Danish situation, and a constant reminder of what normal life was supposed to look like – following the taken-for-granted script of everyday life.

From a historical perspective, the differences between Danish and Swedish strategies, and not least the way they were authorized, gave rise to discussions of the very different roles of civil servants in the two countries.³⁹ In Sweden Tegnell performed the role of the single expert,

who spoke alone on behalf of the state. In Denmark the director of the Danish Health Authorities, Søren Brostrøm, primarily acted together with – or as the scientific sidekick to – the Danish prime minister, Mette Frederiksen, who appeared as the primary decision maker. As they very often performed as a duo, they were referred to as “Søren and Mette”, which informalized the authorities by using their first names, and thereby confirmed the traditional and normal Danish self-image of being easy-going and at eye-level with the “state-next-door” (cf. Jenkins 2012:169). However, referring to and making jokes about “Søren and Mette” can also be interpreted as a way of domesticizing or nearly infantilizing authorities, as “Søren and Mette” is the title of a well-known first reading book used in Danish schools from 1960 onwards.⁴⁰

In Denmark the prime minister soon became “Mother Mette” in everyday debates on corona life. She was felt by many to be a competent caretaker albeit too zealous – a “big mother watching you”. Along with the Danish Queen Margrethe II, the prime minister were the female and caring personifications of the Danish welfare state, and during lockdown they had several telephone conversations. In one of them, the Queen urged Frederiksen to take care of herself. And when Frederiksen tried to pass it off with reference to being too busy, the Queen replied: “Well, but now it is Auntie Queen speaking, and you have to take good care of yourself”.⁴¹ In such a Danish “mothering” context of soft power, the Swedish tradition appeared like “rule by experts” with a too distant prime minister Stefan Löfven. It gave to many Danes an impression of a more “cold and remote” system in Sweden; risking too many lives

to achieve herd immunity, and accordingly not desirable for Danes understanding themselves as caring and in solidarity with their fellow citizens. To others, it revealed an older and much stronger tradition of social engineering and recommendations in the Swedish “folkhem”.⁴²

Either way, the pandemic led to a “nationalization of trivialities” (cf. Linde-Laursen 1993) as everyday micro-practices of social and public interaction became objects of governmental intervention, involving strategies of strict prohibition as well as nudging. Fighting Covid-19 materialized in different ways of governing the population in order to keep infection rates low. However, it also gave rise to new forms of national othering and competition across Øresund, to a trivialization of national differences, and to mood work in order to close the gap between the usual self-image of Danes as relaxed and easy-going and the ongoing normalization of the docile Danish lockdown self.

If the competition with Sweden gave a sense of national team spirit in the Danish context during spring 2020, and a willingness of citizens to endure the social costs of enacting compliance with the lockdown in order to prove the Swedish strategy wrong, then this team spirit seemed to evaporate during the autumn. A new corona fatigue emerged, and when the prime minister on 23 October reintroduced restrictions on assembly, she started by addressing the public mood. If corona has taught us a new vocabulary of social distancing, herd immunity, hand sanitizer and so on, then we miss a word for “corona-sadness”, she said.⁴³ And as her rhetorical instrument for lifting the public mood in spite of the new limitations, she described the situation in oth-

er European countries, where restrictions were more far-reaching than in Denmark. Thus, even if the pandemic has demonstrated our global interdependency and entanglement (cf. Žizek 2020), it has also resurrected public discourses and moods of national comparison and competition, which in turn are part of normalizing the Danish strategies. Even if the practices of banal nationalism are usually submerged in the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life, the pandemic has revealed their latent and affective agency.

Returning to Normality – Past, Present and Future Entanglements

The pandemic and the lockdown engendered to many a sense of being part of a historical event and invoked a new chronology, as people now often dated their activities and recent life events in terms of before or after corona. In their writings, some students used genres of a historical account: "This is written during Denmark's lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which, in its second week, is causing havoc all over Europe" (Diary no. 11), whereas new geological layers of fossilized face masks and bottles for hand sanitizer are anticipated as future archaeological findings and materializations of the new historic epoch in a student essays (Tekin 2020:179). One can consider such formulations to be acts of "instant" history-making, and of inscribing one's own everyday life in the national or global history. Other genres of historizing lived experience appeared in media, as stories about previous epidemics – medieval plagues, the Spanish Flu etc. – unfolded affective agency in a new presence (Erll 2020:869). However, as several of the quotations above illustrate, the experience of being part of a

historic event was ambiguous, because the real action always seemed to be elsewhere, and the authors did not consider themselves to be key agents in the drama and the historic spectacle seemed to be remote and the time at home often emptied of drama. This paradoxical experience of time was thematized in several student writings:

And it came to pass in those days, so the wording was at Christmas, and in the future people would say the same about these days. There was something sacred over the situation. It came to pass, when only nurses and doctors were overburdened, more overworked than ever, and the hospitals abounded with patients. For the remainder time was curved like a ball and did not move forward. It came to pass in those days. Except that nothing happened (Bertelsen 2020:169).

The "normal" order of time, as we knew it, seemed to have been shaken during lockdown, and past, present and future became entangled in new ways (cf. Damsholt 2020). "I suddenly realize, I preferred my old worries" a newspaper cartoonist stated on her Instagram profile on 12 March 2020.⁴⁴ One student described his experience of the date the lockdown was announced as a dystopic movie:

If my life was a semi-poor post-apocalyptic disaster movie from the late 00's, my flashback from the first traces of the disaster would be from my trip to Netto on Tomsgårdsvej an hour after PM Mette Fredriksen announced lockdown. Here, the film would show how, with wondering eyes, I watched panicking Danes excitedly hoarding as many packets of toilet paper as they could carry, while I grinned over the mass hysteria, paid for my six-pack of beers before cycling home to my girlfriend. In the movie, the scene would show a stupid, ignorant young man who was going to get so much wiser in 96 minutes. Society would succumb to total anarchy and poverty. Violent riots would ensue,

and the military would be deployed in bloody civil war situations. Countryside and cities turning into a ruined landscape. The movie would show a horror scenario of misery, in which people convulsively fight like wild animals with homemade flash bows and Molotov cocktails over canned food and antibiotics. So far, my hands are just dry and cracked from hand sanitizer (Diary no. 8).

In this dystopic rendition of the future, normality collapsed in a split second, even if the everyday practice of the author continued as he bought his beer and abstained from taking part in the public mood of hoarding necessities in supermarkets on the evening of 11 March 2020. The plot in the imagined movie offered a vision of how much future everyday life potentially *could* have deviated from the script of the normal. And as everyday life did not change in such a radical way, the movie's contrast compared with reality worked as a kind of modification of the anomaly of everyday lockdown life.

Hopes and fears of the future permeate many of the diaries and accounts, where authors reflect on the possible long-term effects of the pandemic. Either in the form of dystopias as above, of isolated frail people with plastic screens separating us, or of a happier, more caring and social society including hugging, and appreciating all the trivial treasures of everyday life returning once the pandemic is in the distant past. To many, however, the future primarily held the promise of a return to a recent past identical with the time before the pandemic. The recent past acquired a new status, and in spite of their apparent triviality, the now unlearned everyday "pre-corona" social choreographies of shaking hands, giving a hug, or a high-five⁴⁵ became objects of nostalgia and longing – things that

nobody would have imagined they would ever miss, but which turned out to be indispensable parts of the everyday script. What was until recently a trivial and normal present has suddenly become a remote and longed-for past.

This past and now lost "usual present" can be understood as an "everyday script", a naturalized and taken-for-granted expectation of a normal everyday life and how it is supposed to unfold with an inscribed "user" (cf. Frykman 1992; Akrich 1992). In the light of such an everyday script, the actual present appeared as a displacement or an anomaly and something one just had to endure while waiting for things to ease enough to get back to normality. The present lockdown was perceived as a deviation from the life script and the present, we had expected to live. Thus, the everyday script was simultaneously enacted as a recent but now lost past, and as the promise of a future to return to; a near future invested with both the fears and hopes of returning to normal.

Returning to "normality" will be as strange as leaving it behind was. Going to the cinema will be possible again, but it will be a different experience: we will always, if only latently, remember how life suddenly altered dramatically, and know how quickly and unexpectedly it could change again (Prytz 2020:195).

The normal everyday life is here articulated as an unstable and fragile object, which suddenly can be altered. Everyday life can no longer be taken for granted as a practice in which normality is safely embedded. While people in spring 2020 were longing for a near future of getting back to normal, the hope of a soon return to "the good old pre-corona life" has been fading throughout autumn and early winter 2021. Whereas

family time and children have been shown to work as vehicles in turning the remote future of climate change into something concrete and precarious (Kverndokk 2020), the post-pandemic future emerges as always already concrete and near, as it is supposed to be identical with our normal life as lived in the near past. Some people, however, especially children whose parents have busy jobs, have also developed a kind of nostalgia for the first lockdown period, when they spent what later seemed an infinite past time together at home.⁴⁶

Either way, past and present as well as future appear to have been radically transformed; it will never be the same again. The historian Reinhart Koselleck argued that, with the advent of modernity, the past and the future became "relocated" in relation to each other. Modernity generated a new temporality, a world accelerating towards an unknowable future within which awaited the possibility of achieving utopian fulfilment (2004). In the present context of the pandemic, temporality has been relocated again. Past and future seem to have swapped places, as a returning to a near past has been reinstalled as the well-known Utopia we wish to accelerate towards, but which at the same time is impossible to return to.

After a Year of Exception – Ambiguous Normality

A year has passed since the first Danish lockdown was announced in March 2020, and media have been filled with images of which futures to expect. Also, projections of how society will be transformed by the pandemic are proliferating among social scientists (e.g. Jensen & Schultz 2020). My aim has not been to contribute to such experiments in fortune telling. Instead, I

have argued that the lockdown and a subsequent year of restrictions have meant that scripts of an everyday life we expected to follow have become observable by this disruption and articulated within discourses of normality. Accordingly, the pandemic situation has worked as a laboratory intervention in making otherwise invisible assemblages of everyday life investigable. The new everyday lives which the pandemic invoked appeared to many as a state of exception; a liminal zone, where the everyday world temporarily had turned upside down, but also as something that would pass. However, new routines, choreographies, materialities and ambiguous moods have been gradually learned, materialized, and eventually normalized in some cases. To come in synch with new public moods required "mood work" to close the gaps between how one felt and how one was supposed to feel. This involved affective dilemmas between fears of the global pandemic on the one hand and safety at home on the other.

In public space new choreographies of keeping up social distance had to be learned. This dance of avoidance was based on a mood of suspecting fellow citizens to be latently contagious and involved a constant alertness to read signs of risk sticking to other bodies. Social distancing depended – like every collective choreography – on reciprocal present and absent dance partners, on the materiality of the setting, and it incorporated non-verbal and ongoing negotiations. However, unlearning to hug was not only a matter of attuning to a new way of greeting, as hugging to many brought a world of normality with it, and thus became present in its absence (cf. Law 2002).

The new choreographies transformed

both subjects and objects. Hand sanitizer and masks became domesticized, but these material objects also gradually domesticized the Danish population. By normalizing the choreographies and materialities of keeping social distance, Danes have been transformed into (mainly) compliant citizens. Within such ambiguous discourses of self-understanding the less-restricted Swedish everyday life became an affective link to a prior situation, and a constant reminder of what normal life was supposed be when following the taken for granted script of everyday life. Even if the pandemic has demonstrated our global interdependency, paradoxically, public moods of national comparison, competition and stereotyping have also been revitalized, which in turn have played their part in normalizing the Danish government's strategies.

Finally, everyday notions of past, present and future have been transformed into a new temporality of the pandemic, involving a timescale out of the ordinary. The present "here-and-now" has been transformed into an anomaly or a deviation from the everyday life we had expected to live, and the usual or normal pre-corona present has become relocated to the past. Thus, the future of the pandemic emerges as always already concrete and near, as it is supposed to be identical with the taken-for-granted script of the normal life as lived in the recent past. However, this return to "normality" – to the well-known yet utopian past we wish to revisit and relive – at the same time seem impossible to return to. Paradoxically, what was recently normality has now become ambiguous and exotic, and returning to the normal everyday life we once knew would be as strange as leaving it behind, as new everyday practices

currently are being domesticated and normalized. Thus, the so-called normal everyday life primarily exists in cultural scripts, which we attempt to attune to in our daily practices. And the pandemic lockdown has given new insights in the composite and ever-transformative nature of everyday life, its assemblages of ambiguous moods and choreographies, and the constant juggling of temporal, political, material and discursive practices and concerns.

Tine Damsholt

Professor

The Saxo Institute

University of Copenhagen

Karen Blixens Plads 8

DK-2300 Copenhagen S

email: tinedam@hum.ku.dk

Notes

- 1 Acknowledgements: I am grateful to the participants in the course, "Etnologiske analysestrategier" in spring 2020: Aleksander Oliver Moe Schiønnemann, Anne Kjær Tholstrup, Anne Sophie Rasmussen Vermehren, Bendegúz Barna, Cecilie Nöel Viet Hilgart, Christian Gybel Jensen, Ditte Maria Juel Jensen, Dorthe Langkilde, Jacob Hellerung Holm, Jeppe Holm Rasmussen, Josephine Bøgen Theilgaard, Katja Toft Welner, Linnea Eisemann de Almeida, Lærke Vang Tams, Mads Jepsen Neupart, Maja Lindholm Kvamm, Maja Lund Hvidtfeldt Mortensen, Mia Eggert Jørgensen, Mette Kirstine Voigt Tinning, Oline Overholdt, Peter Mørck Nielsen, Rasmus Mathiasen, Sidsel Maja Heidemann, and Tobias Bollerup Henriksen, who all contributed to this article by writing diaries on 25 March and by exploring them analytically. All are master students in European Ethnology at the University of Copenhagen. I also want to thank the two anonymous peer reviewers for relevant comments which pointed the first draft in the right direction.

- 2 As the themes of the two investigations intersect, the present article contains a few repetitions from my 2020 publication. However, the major part of the quoted material has not been analysed or published before.
- 3 In the daily newspaper *Politiken* 20 diaries kept by people all over Denmark in different social situations and of different ages were published under the heading "En dag" from 12 March to 2 April 2020.
- 4 The essays from this publication will be referred to by the author's name.
- 5 Several museums in Scandinavia have collected material, memories and even diaries during lockdown. However, no systematic analysis or description of this material has been published at the time of writing.
- 6 The notions of normality and normal are investigated as they were articulated in statements and accounts of everyday life and serve as "emic" concepts throughout the analysis.
- 7 The Danish lockdown in spring 2020 was at first set for two weeks but was gradually prolonged. After the Easter vacation, daycare and school for the younger children reopened. In May all kinds of shops and small-scale services like hairdressers, and eventually sport facilities could open, and gradually society reopened, including cafes and restaurants. From July only large groups of people (more than 50) could not assemble and large-scale concerts and festivals were cancelled.
- 8 Approximately 40 per cent of the labour force worked from home, especially in the Copenhagen area.
www.via.ritzau.dk/pressemeddelelse/40-pct-arbejdede-hjemme-under-covid-19-nedlukningen
- 9 One million out of a population of 5.8 million are retired.
<https://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/emner/levevilkaar/offentligt-forsoergede/folke-og-foertids-pensionister>
- 10 Diaries were made anonymous during course work by being assigned a randomized number (from 1 to 25) which is also used when quoting them in this publication. All quotations are translated from Danish by the author.
- 11 Jan Gintberg: Tak, Gud og fibernettet. *Weekendavisen* no. 13, March 2020.
- 12 This seems to be a global phenomenon cf. www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/07/20/the-slob-chic-style-of-the-coronavirus-pandemic
- 13 Cf. Staying in, *ALT* no. 46, 19 November 2020.
- 14 Kærlighedskrise efter karantænen. *ALT* no. 27, July 2020.
- 15 By 1 July 2020, 606 Danish citizens had died due to corona out of a population of 5.8 million. By 1 November, 723 had died, and by 24 February 2021, 2,351 Danish citizens had died.
- 16 A 64-year-old, male from Horsens, "A day", *Politiken* 17 March 2020.
- 17 Kathrine Tschemerinsky: Et liv med termometer, *Weekendavisen* no. 41, 9 October 2020.
- 18 E.g. Det sidste håndtryk. *Weekendavisen* no. 18, May 1 2020
- 19 Cf. Pia Quist: Luftkys og vindkram. *Weekendavisen* no. 46, 13 November 2020.
- 20 Aske Munch: Nekrolog over kindkysset, *Weekendavisen* no. 36, 4 September 2020.
- 21 Kvikly, Netto and Aldi are popular supermarket chains in Denmark. Kvikly is part of COOP, the Danish cooperative chain, whereas Netto and Aldi are low-price markets.
- 22 Female, Frederiksberg. Reader's accounts of isolation in *Politiken*, 26 March, 2020.
- 23 Columnist in *Ibyen*, *Politiken*, 25 March 2020.
- 24 Autoethnography 20 March and 15 April in Copenhagen, and 4 July in Allinge, Bornholm.
- 25 <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/11-dan-skere-om-foerste-dag-med-mundbind-det-er-varmt-og-ubehageligt>
- 26 Observations in Copenhagen during October and November 2020.
- 27 Cf. www.berlingske.dk/videnskab/smitten-eksploderer-og-naesten-alle-baerer-maske-virker-mundbind-slet; www.elle.com/beauty/makeup-skin-care/a32344537/maskne-is-the-new-acne-from-face-masks/; www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/vi-bruger-millioner-af-mundbind-det-faar-uoenskede-konsekvenser-mil-joe-og-sundhed

- 28 Interview with Countess Alexandra, *ALT* no. 49 2020.
- 29 Jakob Kvist: Mental atomvinter. *Weekendsavisen* no. 45, 6 November 2020.
- 30 Anika Liversage: Sammen er vi svagest. *Weekendavisen* no. 15, 8 April 2020.
- 31 www.politikensundhed.dk/nyheder/art7876679/Tre-ud-af-fire-smittede-i-Aarhus-i-sidste-uge-er-fra-Somalia
- 32 www.dr.dk/nyheder/penge/coronakrisen-rammer-skaevt-hans-blev-fyret-mens-maria-tjen-er-godt-paa-aktier-og
- 33 Making the last revisions in this article in March 2021.
- 34 By 1 July 2020, 52.8 dead per 100,000 citizens were registered in Sweden, compared to only 4.6 dead per 100,000 citizens in Norway and 10.4 dead per 100,000 citizens in Denmark. berlingske.dk/internationalt/sverige-registrerer-yderligere-37-coronadoedsfald
- 35 *Politiken* 6 March 2021. politiken.dk/udland/art8126962/Andre-nordiske-lande-slås-mod-ny-smitte
- 36 Introduced in the book *Tilfældet Sverige* by Mogens Behrendt, 1983. See also https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/Sverige_-_Forbudssverige
- 37 A description by professor emeritus Orvar Löfgren in an email to the author on 29 March 2020.
- 38 E.g. Jesper Zølck: Det frieste folk i verden. *Weekendavisen* no. 18, May 1 2020.
- 39 Whereas the government cannot intervene in judicial decisions in either of the two countries, in Sweden no public authority may determine how an administrative authority is to decide in a particular case involving public authority vis-à-vis a private subject or a local authority (cf. www.government.se/49b75a/contentassets/7b69df55e58147638f19bdfb0984f97/the-constitution-of-sweden). In Sweden ministerial rule is not legal, which is the opposite of the Danish case, where the general lockdown and similar interventions in public life are considered to be political decisions and thus matters for the government and the parliament. Accordingly, decisions can only be recommended by the health authorities in Denmark.
- 40 The reader was first published in 1954. From 1960 to 1980 more than 60 per cent of Danish schoolchildren learned to read via this system. <https://www.folkeskolen.dk/545390/soeren-og-mette-fylder-60-aar>
- 41 Cited in interview with Mette Frederiksen, *ALT* no. 26, June 2020.
- 42 www.information.dk/debat/2020/04/sveriges-coronahaandtering-understreger-kun-aldrig-vaeret-forbudssverige
- 43 In Danish: "corona-trist". Cited from DR's broadcast of the press conference on 23 October.
- 44 #linejensen_illu, *Instagram*.
- 45 In *Politiken*, 7 April 2020
- 46 Interview with actress Bodil Jørgensen in *ALT* no. 42, 15 October 2020.

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Biographical Notes

Urpo Vento, 1935–2020



Kanslianeuvos (Finnish honorary title) Urpo Vento acted as secretary general of SKS 1972–2000.

Urpo Vento, long-term secretary general of SKS, passed away in the Vuoripirtti nursing home in Espoo on 22 July 2020. Vento began working as the folklore archive's researcher at the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) in 1963. He was promoted head of the archives two years later. In 1972 Vento was elected secretary general of SKS, from which he retired in 2000. In addition to being the secretary general, he was in charge of SKS's publishing activities until 1988.

He also acted as the secretary general of the Niilo Helander Foundation 1982–2012. Urpo Vento held various positions of trust and published dozens of articles about traditions, related research, and the history of SKS. Vento edited the works *Jätjän pätkät* (1970), *Kertomusperinteen opas* (1971), *Finnish Folkloristics* 1–2 (1974–1975), *Juhlakirja* (1979), and *Joulu joutui* (1994). In 2000, he received the honorary title of *kanslianeuvos* – the same title that had once been given to Elias Lönnrot. He was made an honorary member of SKS in 2003.

Urpo Vento broke new ground for SKS's folk poetry archives and collections. He wrote the following in SKS's annual report in 1965 (translation from Finnish): "To this day, the focus of collection activities has been on the traditions of the old

peasant culture. From time to time, the focus has to be moved closer to avoid going too far from current traditional customs. The collection of oral lore which began at the end of November and concerns the events taking place in 1917–1918 is an example of these kinds of endeavours."

Urpo Vento opened the doors of the SKS archives to Helsinki's street tradition as well as to the Roma people in Finland, who still remembered this work in the 2000s and trusted SKS as an institution thanks to it. He expanded collections to traditions related to professions and oral history. Furthermore, he was a key figure in collecting oral history about the Finnish Civil War, as the quotation above reveals. Vento also began to emphasize fieldwork more in SKS's tradition collection. He significantly modernised SKS's publishing activities and expanded to tradition collections, for example, reaching a large audience.

I met Urpo Vento when I began working at SKS in 2004. Quite soon he asked to see me and told me about the secretary general's duties in his modest way. He especially wanted to communicate the tacit knowledge that is left outside rules and instructions. Vento had been elected secretary general of SKS amid the cultural turbulence of the 1970s when SKS joined the cultural liberals in the power struggle concerning the large publishing house WSOY. SKS's secretary general was elected in its aftermath. Vento himself was anything but a party in major debates and struggles. He was more of an enabler who organized and implemented different kinds of changes. However, he preferred not to be in the spotlight. Urpo Vento had an ambiguous and self-ironic sense of humour. He once told me about SKS's new personnel management tools and tests. He revealed to me that he had once taken part in a recruiting test under a pseudonym only to realize that he would never have been invited to an interview, let alone been hired!

I had an interview with Urpo Vento as part of SKS's history project. As always, he discussed matters with me with quiet sense of humour, without dramatizing anything. Until recently, he took part in SKS events and regularly attended annual meetings until he no longer had the strength to do so. I learnt so many things from him.

Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Helsinki

Bente Gullveig Alver, 1941–2020



Bente Gullveig Alver, professor of folklore studies at the University of Bergen, passed away on 2 December 2020, at the age of 79. Bente was born in Denmark on 26 August 1941. She studied in Copenhagen and Oslo and took her master's degree at the University of Oslo in 1967. Bente moved to Bergen in 1973 and played an important role in the development of the new Ethno-folkloristic Department at the University of Bergen, where she became professor in 1988. In 1990 Bente and Torunn Selberg defended their doctoral dissertation "*Det er mer mellom himmel og jord*": *Folks forståelse av virkeligheten ut fra forestillingen om sykdom og behandling*. This was a significant event at the University of Bergen: two excellent female researchers defending their joint dissertation.

Bente has published ground-breaking studies within several research areas. Her academic career started in 1971 with a study of witchcraft and magic in early modern Norway. Bente's book *Heksetro og trolldom: en studie i norsk heksevesen* (1971) was a pioneer work in witchcraft studies in Norway. Thirty-seven years later she published a sequel to her first book: *Mellem mennesker og magter – magi i hekseforfølgernes tid* (2008). Witchcraft, magic, and popular culture were central to Bente's research and brought her into various interdisciplinary research projects.

One of them Bente developed with Ingvild S. Gilhus, Lisbeth Mikaelson, and Torunn Selberg. This resulted in the very interesting publication *Myte, magi og mirakel: i møte med det moderne* (1999).

Among other research areas was folk medicine, the topic of a book published in 1989, *Det kom som kastet på mig! Folkelige forestillinger om sykdom som straf*. Bente's doctoral dissertation was also a contribution to research on folk medicine. She developed new perspectives in an interdisciplinary book published with Tove Ingebjørg Fjell and Teemu Ryymin: *Vitenskap og varme hender: Den medisinske markedsplassen i Norge fra 1800 til i dag* (2013). Bente participated in different research networks and co-authored books with researchers such as Lauri Honko, Birgitte Rørbye, and Anne Helene Bolstad Skjelbred.

Bente was a creative, wise woman and she wrote about "wise women". One of her most acclaimed books – based on conversations, interviews, and written sources – was on the Norwegian "clairvoyant" Anna Elisabeth Westerlund. Being no armchair folklorist, Bente participated with Westerlund and the police in several investigations trying to find missing persons. *Anna Elisabeth Westerlund* is above all a fascinating "thick description" of the beliefs and activities of a "wise woman" in the twentieth century.

In the 1990s Bente developed a new interest in questions concerning research ethics. In 1997 Bente published with Ørjar Øyen *Forskningsetikk i forskerhverdag: Vurderinger og praksis*. She was also actively engaged in the practical work of implementing research ethics at different levels, and even developing guidelines and modules in research ethics at master's level. For many years Bente was member of the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH) and the Committee for Research Integrity (Redelighetsutvalget). In her position as research coordinator for the Nordic Network of Folklore (1997–2002), she also dealt with questions concerning research ethics and the ethics of methodology.

Bente was a public intellectual at both national and local level. She gave innumerable extra-mural lectures on different topics – from witchcraft to warm hands and Christmas rituals – at senior universities, popular academies, teachers' meetings,

and so on. Those who have worked with Bente can testify to her intellectual curiosity and wide range of interests. She was a source of inspiration for her students, a brilliant lecturer, an empathetic supervisor, and a passionate and much-appreciated colleague and friend.

Bente Gullveig Alver was a scholar with profound respect for research who always talked with

enthusiasm and humour about the discipline of folklore and the study of culture. Bente's passing leaves a vacuum at her department and in Nordic folklore studies. She is deeply missed by colleagues and friends and will be remembered for her gentle warmth and strong academic integrity.

Nils Gilje & Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Bergen/Oslo

Matti Räsänen, 1934–2020



Just before Christmas we received the sad news that Professor Emeritus Matti Räsänen had passed away on 15 December 2020. He was professor of ethnology at the University of Turku 1987–1995.

Matti Räsänen's father was a teacher with an interest in folk culture, and during his summer holidays he used to collect oral history and museum artefacts in his home area, Tuusniemi in the province of Savo. Matti Räsänen followed in his father's footsteps. When his father used to ride his moped, Matti followed him on a bicycle. The father interviewed people and Matti took pictures. Collecting oral history later became one of Matti's own interests.

After graduation Matti Räsänen went on to the University of Helsinki to study at Finnish and world history and Finnish language. At that time it was typical that ethnologists started by studying Finnish language, archaeology and history, but later changed their main subject, as Matti did after his MA thesis in world history. He wrote his dissertation in Finno-Ugric ethnology on beer brewing, *Vom Halm zum Fass*, in 1975, written in German like many dissertations in ethnology at the time. It was a monograph that used the old historic-geographic method, which was dominant in ethnographical studies. Later he also utilized modern theoretical perspectives on everyday life, as seen in studies in urban ethnology and in food

traditions and habits (e.g. the book *Ruoka ja juoma sosiokulttuurisena kuvastimena*, 1980.)

At the Department of Fenno-Ugric Ethnology Matti Räsänen worked as an assistant. Already during his studies Matti started to work as curator of the students' association of his home province of Savo. It was an important post in which to learn networking and handling money, skills that were important later in his work.

Before his career at the universities of Jyväskylä and Turku (1974–1986) Matti Räsänen started to work as curator and later director at the museum of Kuopio. Already during this time, he began to study urban ethnology, which later became one of his main interests. It was a time when many wooden building in Finnish towns were demolished and had to be documented because they could not be preserved. Almost all traces of the wooden town of Kuopio have disappeared, but we can still admire Räsänen's efforts in the museum quarter.

In addition to food and drink culture, Räsänen was also interested in urban ethnology, working culture, the province of Savo, and German ethnology, all of which can be seen in his publications. He published several articles and popular books on food and drinking culture, especially in Savo and Karelia, and on urban ethnology. He continued these themes in his lectures and studies, which were also financed by the Academy of Finland. Räsänen worked as an Academy researcher and later took part in its humanistic sub-committee, which is regarded as a very important post in Finnish academia.

In addition to the study of multilingual town of Kaskinen/Kaskö, which he organized in co-operation with the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS), he later continued to study the multilingual and multi-ethnic towns of Loviisa and Võru. The Loviisa-Võru project was one of the first studies where it was possible once again to conduct fieldwork in Võru, Estonia, then in the Soviet Union. The study was financed by the Academy of Finland and it was organised in co-operation with Estonian and Russian ethnologists. The publication of this project, *Everyday Life and Ethnicity: Urban Families in Loviisa and Võru 1988–1991* (1994) was written with researchers in Finland, Estonia and Russia. After that, Räsänen also organized a fieldwork project to study Ingria,

because Russia opened its borders for fieldwork. The material from this interesting project is in our archive and as the publication of *Ingrians and Neighbors: Focus on the Eastern Baltic Sea Region* (1999). Both projects were organized so that students from the University of Turku worked on these projects and wrote their MA theses about the topics.

Already at the University of Jyväskylä, Matti Räsänen started to collect oral history from town dwellers and published it in two books. He was also one of those who wrote more theoretical texts on urban ethnology and urban spaces.

During his career in academia Matti Räsänen worked in international issues, e.g. in the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union and later also Estonia, as well as in the Hungarian-Finnish symposia. Ethnos, the Association of Finnish Ethnologists and its journal *Ethnologia Fennica* were also important for Matti. He was one of those who worked for *Ethnologia Fennica* to change its language from Finnish to English and German. He had also important posts of trust, e.g. in the science committee of Seurasäätiö. There he finished the earlier huge projects on material and rural culture and Finnish villages, which were started under the leadership of Professor Niilo Valonen.

In addition to urban ethnological studies and many international relationships, Matti Räsänen also wrote together with Professor Emerita Outi Tuomi-Nikula a study based on field and archive

work on German ethnology (*Saksanmaalla: Kansanelämä keskiajalta nykypäivään*, 2000) which explores German traditions, history and everyday life.

The home region of Savo played an important role in Matti's life. Matti Räsänen had a summer house in Siilinjärvi in Savo, where he spent long periods with his family. Savo became an important region also in his later studies, which he continued after retiring in 1995.

When Matti was professor of ethnology at the University of Turku (1987–1995) he was highly appreciated as a colleague and as a constructive chairman who was easy to approach. On his initiative there were many research projects, seminars, international relationships and excursions. They were extremely important e.g. for post-graduate students, whom he tried to help in their studies, organizing financing and working possibilities in domestic and international projects. As a teacher of ethnology, he was very encouraging. Unfortunately, he had to accept a disability pension before he could see his students to finish their PhD studies. During his career in Turku Matti always emphasized cooperation and teamwork, which were also seen in the results of research projects.

We who studied and worked under the leadership of Matti Räsänen have fond memories of him.

Helena Ruotsala, Turku

Britta Lundgren, 1951–2021



Professor emerita Britta Lundgren has passed away after a short-term illness. Until her death, Britta Lundgren was active at Umeå University, Department of Cultural and Media Sciences, Section of Ethnology. Britta began her professional life as a medical secretary, and after a number of years of professional work, she began studying ethnology and defended her dissertation in 1990 on femininity and occupational culture in the Swedish Post Office, *Allmänhetens tjänare*. The dissertation is a gender-theoretical and cultural-analytical study of women's experiences in a male-dominated professional culture. Britta Lundgren became an associate professor of ethnology in 1995 at Umeå University and in 1999 a professor of ethnology at the same university. In her last article in the book *Möjligheter och mellanrum: Berättelser om genus och akademiska livslopp*, published in December 2020 just a month before she passed away, there is a chapter "The Loaf in the Radio Gramophone – or A Story about the Academy" where Britta describes her choices and omissions, failures and successes – and her future expectations. Reading her contribution is now, in retrospect, painful, but also joyful, as her academic career was outstanding. Britta described herself as a "border crosser" between ethnology and gender studies. She has addressed major issues of friendship and death, which re-

sulted in the books *Den ofullkomliga vänskapen: En etnologiskt studie av nutida vardagsrelationer* (1995) and *Oväntad död – förväntad sorg: En etnologisk studie av sörjandets processer* (2006). In the last decade, she added another area of research – medical humanities with a focus on cultural aspects of infection and vaccines. She examined the cultural and social patterns of groups affected by side effects of vaccines such as narcolepsy. Britta was a member of the project "Epidemics, Vaccination, and the Power of Narratives", funded by the Marcus and Amalia Wallenberg Memorial Foundation.

Britta Lundgren has been responsible for building the Gender Research School at Umeå University and was its director from 2000 to 2006. Between 2007 and 2012, she was leader of the research programme Challenging Gender, appointed a Centre of Excellence by the Swedish Research Council. The programme produced a large number of publications and Britta Lundgren came to analyse projects of this size on a meta-level. With her great interest in leadership, knowledge production, transdisciplinarity and organizations, she edited the book *The Social Politics of Research Collaboration* (2015) in collaboration with Gabriele Griffin and Katarina Hamberg.

During the period 2005–2009 she was chairman of the Swedish Research Council's committee for gender research. Britta Lundgren had extensive experience of academic leadership. She was, to name a few assignments, a member of the University Board 1999–2005 and dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Umeå University in the years 2005–2011. During the period 2016–2018, Britta Lundgren was a research-elected member of the Swedish Research Council's board. In her role as dean, she started an extensive process of change, which she describes in an article in 2008 – "Humanistisk offensiv – en akademisk balansakt". After her retirement and until her death, Britta Lundgren was responsible for Umeå University's career programme for researchers, "Research and Leadership" (ReaL). She now had the opportunity to tie the knot from an early study of women's conditions in the discipline of ethnology, "Kön och genealogi i etnologisk ämneshistoria" in the book *Åtskilja och förena: Etnologisk forskning om betydelser av kön*, authored together with Inger Lövkrona and Lena Martinsson (1996). In prepa-

ration for the book, Britta Lundgren conducted interviews with three senior female ethnological researchers, who for various reasons were not given the opportunity to pursue an ethnological career on the same terms as their male colleagues, but who subsequently gained appreciation from the scholarly community.

Britta Lundgren's work as a researcher and shaper of creative and academic environments will continue to be important for the foreseeable future. She has created new structures for postgraduate education and research, and under her leadership, new generations of researchers have been developed.

Her importance for ethnological gender research is very great. In 2016, she received an award from the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy of Swedish Folk Culture, for "fundamental and significant efforts to apply and develop the gender perspective of ethnology". However, the reverse is also important to remember: her ethnological perspective became important for the field of gender research.

In 2015, Britta Lundgren received Umeå University's Merit Medal.

Inger Lövkrona, Lund
Lena Martinsson, Gothenburg
Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

New Dissertations

Little Boats and Great Escapes

Mirja Arnshav, *De små båtarna och den stora flykten. Arkeologi i spåren av andra världskrigets baltiska flyktbåtar*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2020. 224 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-88909-59-6.

■ It was with some hesitation I accepted the assignment to review this dissertation in archaeology. Not because I have an aversion to archaeology, but rather because of uncertainty. It is rare for dissertations in archaeology to end up on my desk, but I am very pleased that Arnshav's study did! This is a readable dissertation that moves very elegantly in the borderland between archaeology, contemporary history, migration research, ethnology, and critical cultural heritage studies. In empirical terms, it deals with the great escape from the occupied Baltic States to Sweden. Up to 30,000 people are estimated to have crossed the sea during the Second World War. We will never know how many disappeared along the way, but Arnshav's dissertation teaches us that the attempt to flee was a hazardous and deadly undertaking for many. They had to avoid Soviet border patrols, on land and at sea. The refugees were not infrequently shot at. The sea itself could be both friend and foe; they could escape if the wind was favourable, but they could also go under. The dissertation is thus also a horrific reminder of the vulnerability of refugees today. Moreover, it was far from certain that their flight was over when they arrived in Sweden; for some people the involuntary migration took them on to Canada and the United States or other countries. Something was of course already known about the escape across the Baltic Sea, but Arnshav depicts it on the basis of the boats they fled in, some of which are still preserved in coastal areas of Sweden. (A large number of escape boats were handed over by Swedish authorities to the Soviet Union after the war. The Swedish extradition of Baltic soldiers was thus followed by the extradition of boats.)

The aim of the dissertation is to investigate

whether there are still Baltic escape boats in Sweden, where they are kept and what condition they are in, and what the boats mean for the memory of the escape. In this way, the dissertation revolves around memory, affect, and materiality, as well as the constant presence of the past in the present. The main questions of the study are specified as: Which boats are regarded as Baltic escape boats? What memories and stories can be attached to them? What do they mean to people today, and what do they do to their surroundings? In terms of theory, the dissertation, as will be evident, is linked to highly topical theoretical perspectives concerning, for example, the relationship between things and affects, but also memory and narrative. Arnshav, however, does not only cite perspectives, but also applies them in a productive way. She uses a diverse range of material in the dissertation, such as archival documents of various kinds, media material, and retold memories. The boats, the things themselves, are of course absolutely central, and they have been examined in an almost phenomenological way: Arnshav has shared space with the things and the environments they are in. By doing so, the author has tried to put herself in the position of the boat and the refugees, to understand what they experienced on their arrival. By starting from the current position of the boats in the terrain, Arnshav also demonstrates in a fascinating way how the artefact in some cases has been encapsulated not only in memories, but in nature as such. The way of working is described as exploratory, combining pragmatic systematics with intuition, creativity, and improvisation. An exploratory method is of course also something of a gamble, but Arnshav reflects maturely on her methodological considerations.

Each chapter constitutes a universe in itself, which Arnshav invites us to visit, to be horrified, but also to be captivated and to learn from it, as a source of knowledge and inspiration. The headings of the analytical chapters in the dissertation are in themselves indicative of the richness of the dissertation and the author's creativity: "Beach finds"; "Fragments in custody"; "The musealized escape"; "Local history"; "The boats that were al-

lowed to stay”; “When heritage is upsetting and touching”; “Rescued boats”; “Permanently abandoned”; and “Remnants of a wave of refugees”. In each chapter, the reader encounters escape boats in different phases of creation, degradation, transformation, and preservation in a material sense, while we can simultaneously follow how narrated memories of escape boats are transformed, compete with each other, are filled with new content, and influence meaning-making at the intersection of past and present.

The language of the dissertation is elegant and the enjoyment of reading it is enhanced by incredibly beautiful photographs of escape boats or details of them. Although in some cases the photographs may be seductive, the beauty never overshadows the horrific fates to which the boats bear witness. The merits of the dissertation also include a detailed register of escape boats that reached the Swedish coast, some of which are still there. “The little boats and the great escape: Archaeology on the trail of the Baltic escape boats of the Second World War” is a dissertation that thus deserves to be read by scholars in different cultural sciences and historical disciplines. It encourages further explorations, fieldwork, and expeditions along our wreck-filled coasts.

Fredrik Nilsson, Åbo

A Generation of Second Home Owners

Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson, Längtans & drömmarnas hus. Ideal och praktik bland en ny generation stugägare. Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper, Göteborgs universitet 2020. 232 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-8009-130-5.

■ As I read Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson’s doctoral dissertation, “House of longing and dreams: Ideology and practice among a new generation of second home owners”, we are in the midst of the corona pandemic. The urge that people feel to sink their teeth into a renovation project has proven greater than ever, at least if we are to believe the estate agents and if we look at the prices of second homes today. The starting point

for the dissertation is the discussion about how a new generation of Swedish city dwellers from the middle class have decided that a weekend cottage is something for them. Rolfsdotter Eliasson examines their way of talking about how the second home fits into their late-modern urban lifestyle.

At the centre is an urban generation born in the 1970s and 1980s, a generation that, according to the author, is often described as flexible and sometimes rootless. The study, mainly based on interviews, analyses the motivation for acquiring a second home and the experience of living in it in order to understand what drives these people in midlife to choose to belong to two different worlds, the urban apartment and the second home in the countryside.

To address this, the author has analysed how the second home is presented in the interviews, based on the concepts of narrative identity, generation, and class affiliation. She gives a careful description of how she approached her task; the kind of interviews she conducted, how she gained access to the informants, the questions that she posed, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees.

Through in-depth reading of the interviews she shows how the interviewees sought to follow a familiar path and simultaneously deviate from it, in some cases clearly distancing themselves in particular from the conventional urban terraced house. Rolfsdotter Eliasson works with *grand narratives*, general stories about what people hold in common, but also stories about what distinguishes this specific cultural community. In places the text is very instructive, making clear how the larger narratives become tools by which the interviewees carve out a narrative identity. Sometimes there is a dissonance between ideal and practice, in which case narrative models are used to explain and justify the actions, such as explaining why they have a second home while being opposed to private ownership. The author emphasizes that these narrative tools and styles should also be understood as class-conditioned.

In order to deepen our understanding of why the interviewees strive for the lifestyles expressed

in the interviews, the author uses classical theories such as Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and his discussion of distinction, but also theorists of modernity such as Anthony Giddens and Alberto Melucci, to reason about how people are created in the encounter with others, i.e. to elucidate the experiences and values of a group of coevals, but also as a way to seek continuity and change in comparison with second home owners in previous periods. Rolfsdotter Eliasson also uses the term generation to emphasize that the time when the interviewees grew up is important, and because she has noted that they seem to have a habit of talking about themselves as a generation.

The opening chapter of the dissertation, dealing with theoretical premises, previous research, and method and materials, is followed by a chapter with a historical retrospect. Maybe it would have been better if this discussion had been used more in the subsequent analysis, to serve as a point of reference in considering similarities and differences between generations and groups. There is always a risk when painting with a broad brush, that it can paradoxically get too broad. It becomes unclear what has been selected for inclusion and what has been omitted from the history, what is based on the fruits of the author's reading and the selection of literature on which she relies. It would therefore perhaps have worked better if the different parts of this chapter had been discussed in the encounter with the empirical evidence.

Chapter three is a much longer chapter presenting the material, with many well-chosen quotations about the themes that emerged from the interviews and the reasons for acquiring a second home: town versus country, making a place and putting down roots, dreams and fears, expectations of life, and the outlook on housing and private ownership.

A fascinating finding is that it is not the need to get away, the value of a change of scene, a simpler life or being close to nature that are highlighted as the reasons why this group wanted second homes. These benefits seem to have been more of a positive side effect. Yet there is recurrent talk of the need to have something of one's own, to have

nature on your doorstep, to grow things, and the importance of having a shared project as a couple. More importantly, the second home is held up as a place to gather friends and family.

Chapter four deals with the experience of time and the sense that a special time is created in the second home. Time is contextualized, among other things with reference to Melucci's concept of inner and outer time. This is a slightly shorter but interesting chapter in which Rolfsdotter Eliasson scrutinizes how the interviewees experience time in their different home environments. As we know, each generation seems to perceive itself as unique in many different ways, and I regard that as a main theme of the dissertation. Like everyone else in our days, these interviewees want more time at their disposal.

Chapter five deals with how the interviewees make the second homes their own and shows how consumption choices become part of their strategies for the creation of identity. Rolfsdotter Eliasson analyses the narratives about the idea of a second home and relates them to what the house eventually became and how it is portrayed. Discussion begins with the image and dream of the summer cottage. Far from all the interviewees were able to realize their dream. Although they ended up acquiring different types of houses, there are obvious similarities as regards the interior decoration, which is supposed to be simple and pared down. The author claims to be able to see what she identifies as a kind of basic object for the home, which can be linked to their specific cultural affiliation, and also their generation. It is the feeling of being able to do what you like in the second home that is most important, because in practice, even that home is really more about gaining a kind of recognition from those who are like yourself. In this way, the second home is not very different from the permanent residence in town.

Rolfsdotter Eliasson shows how the interviewees, on several occasions in their stories, deal with the problematic aspects of second home ownership. She shows lucidly how narratives are joined together to become meaning-making wholes for the different individuals' self-understanding.

Chapter six is about what people want to achieve with their second home. Rolfsdotter Eliasson has consistently selected very good, highly readable quotations, but having come this far in the dissertation, I wonder if she never felt a desire to have informants who felt that it was too demanding, more than they could cope with, and wrong to keep the second home. Not for ideological reasons or because it feels wrong to own a house or to have two homes, but because, for example, they were not happy, they felt unable to look after the second home, that it was too expensive. This makes me realize what a homogeneous group this is, despite all the close reading by the author. Sometimes it just sounds a touch too idyllic, so when I get to page 156 where Olle and Anna describe how they feel bruised after a weekend in the countryside and get the impression that they work more while on holiday in the country than at home in their ordinary workplace, their narrative fills an important function.

Rolfsdotter Eliasson believes that her interviewees chose a second home for partly different reasons than groups of previously studied second home owners. It is clear that the choice of house and interior is to a large extent conditioned by the interviewees' class and generation, and to some extent these informants differ from earlier generations of second home owners. Here it becomes obvious why she chose such a homogeneous group to investigate.

The author concludes by noting that her interviewees, with their second homes and permanent homes in town, have arrived at a compromise that gives the family access to two different lifestyles at the same time. "The main conclusion of the dissertation in relation to the theme of continuity and change is thus the insight that, if the time in the holiday home is to feel meaningful for the generation to which these second home owners belong, it must be filled with practices that can be understood within the framework of what is a desirable lifestyle for them. In other words, what this means is determined by ideals of what constitutes a good, but also a conscious and reflexive middle-class life in late-modern Sweden" (p. 197).

Rolfsdotter Eliasson believes that it is the reflexive questioning of their own way of life that is specific to this generation. The informants do not seem to think of their second homes as an investment or as something that they must keep for all time. It is something they are testing, and they will see how long it suits them. In this respect one can possibly see a difference from previous generations, but there are also a great many similarities that do not come out equally clearly. Sometimes I suspect that it may have more to do with the specific individuals who are interviewed rather than their generation. And is it not more to do with the life situation than the generation? What is the real significance of this thinking in terms of generations? One strength of working with such a uniform group, however, is that, for example, the ambivalence that interviewees express about their lifestyle choices becomes clear.

There is a time-specific aspect, which is connected to and reinforced by the corona pandemic: that second homes become a kind of guarantee in an uncertain world. It is possible there, for example, to live a life of self-sufficiency which is not available to those who live in urban apartments. It is interesting to observe how narratives of threats and dangers can be methods to overcome feelings of fear, but also ways to justify one's choices. A second home then becomes a safe haven – but it could also be the exact opposite: a place where you realize that you are afraid of the dark, worried about burglary, and so on.

I have written several times that the author does good close readings of the interviews. Yet I sometimes feel the need for a description of how the actual analysis of the collected material took place, and how the author selected the themes and chose the quotations. Were the interviews transcribed? Were the themes determined in advance? How was Rolfsdotter Eliasson steered by the research questions and the theoretical apparatus? Did any of the interviews take over? I would also have liked to see a little more consideration of the international research that exists on second homes, which could have further strengthened the discussion of similarities and differences.

Having said that, I must emphasize that Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson has written a highly readable dissertation, and it is clear that she has been driven by a desire to find answers to specific questions. It is rare for researchers to dwell so long on their material, which gives a sense of involvement. As regards the theoretical approaches, the reasoning on narrative identity is linked very well to the detailed reading of the interviews in particular. In some cases, however, I wish she had devoted more space to certain literature or simply deleted the references. It seems a little too eclectic at times. It shows that the author is well read, but all too often we are just given a reference rather than a deeper understanding. Perhaps that is the effect of a desire not to write too long a dissertation. *Carina Sjöholm, Lund*

Norwegian Men and their Surnames

Line Førre Grønstad, Felleskap og individualitet. Kjønnets etternamnsval blant norske menn i heterofile parforhold. University of Bergen 2020. Diss.

■ In culture studies there has been relatively little research on personal names. This field has been studied more in linguistics and disciplines such as anthropology and psychology. Line Førre Grønstad's doctoral dissertation, presented at the University of Bergen in December 2020, is thus an important and welcome contribution. The title of the dissertation means "Community and Individuality: Gendered Surname Choices among Norwegian Men in Heterosexual Couples".

In Norway today there are many different ways for a couple to solve the name question when they marry: both can retain their old surnames, one of the spouses can take the other's name, or one of them can take their own or the other spouse's name as a middle name. The couple can also, with certain restrictions, take a name that formerly existed in one partner's family. Finally, they can create a completely new name for them to share. All these variants are represented in this study. Yet although there are no legal obstacles, only a few men change their surnames when they get married. The vast majority

keep the surname that have had since birth, and if one spouse changes, it is the woman. Why is that?

This is the starting point for Line Førre Grønstad when she investigates the contexts to which name changes can be linked. Her informants include men who have changed their surnames and men who have not. She proceeds from four themes that she finds in their narratives: (1) family; (2) continuity over time; (3) gender equality; and (4) the individual's connection to the surname. The problem is formulated as follows: What understandings of family, of history and continuity, of equality and individuality are found in men's stories of choosing a surname? In what ways can the men be said to be doing gender in their surname choices? How do understandings of manliness and unmanliness affect the choice of name?

The dissertation, which is a monograph, consists of nine chapters. Each one begins with an explanation of why it is included in the study, its purpose and the questions it seeks to answer. At the end of the chapter there is a summary of what has been discussed and the conclusions that are drawn. This provides a good, clear structure.

The first chapter presents the problem and the principles by which it has been demarcated. She also surveys previous research of relevance to the study, which includes cultural studies of men and names, as well as research on the choice of surnames by couples. She discusses the theoretical perspectives, mainly inspired by the sociologists Candace West, Sarah Fenstermaker, and Don H. Zimmerman. One of the most important works is the book *Doing Gender, Doing Difference* from 2002, which provides her with the conceptual framework she uses to interpret and analyse her material. It is about "doing gender" and about "accountability", which means that the individual acts on the basis of an expectation that other people will understand the actions in terms of certain positions. Gender is one such superordinate position. Because gender is something one does, not something one is, this explains why there are changes in practice. At the same time, it explains why change takes such a long time, because gen-

der must be made understandable in order to appear “accountable”.

The following chapter describes the author’s methods and materials and the considerations of research ethics. Several different methods have been combined, resulting in a wide range of material. There are responses to two questionnaires: one distributed by Norsk etnologisk gransking (NEG, Norwegian Ethnological Research), and one distributed via email to people who registered their interest after a call by the author on Facebook. In addition, there are three interviews and answers to a quantitative survey conducted together with a market analysis company.

In the third chapter we are given a historical background to the surname practices, focusing on the period from the nineteenth century until 2003, the year when the current Name Act came into force in Norway. The author discusses the surname practices that were common then, the themes that were central to the discussion about the choice of surnames in couples, and the possibilities that men had to choose a surname. Next comes chapter four, “The Scope of Surname Choice”. Unlike most of the other chapters, which are about thirty pages long, this is very short, only twelve pages. Another difference is that no specific questions are asked here. Instead, the aim is to give an overview of what surname choices have looked like historically in Norway and in some other countries. The predominant practice is that the man retains his surname when he gets married and the woman adopts his surname. The children are then given his name and everyone in the nuclear family thus has the same surname. This chapter also presents the quantitative part of the study.

In the following chapter, which is called “Heritage and Love: On the Family in the Family Name”, the analysis of the qualitative material begins. This is the longest chapter in the dissertation, 39 pages, and it stands out as the most central. It examines the ways in which the surname contributes to the creation of the nuclear family, as well as how the man thinks about himself, his surname, and the family he grew up in. What happens when the expectations from the family of

origin clash with the reality of his current family with his spouse and children? Then comes chapter six, “Naming Traditions and Surname Choices”, where the aim is to examine the relationship between men’s choice of surname and continuity over time. The questions concern how understandings of the past and continuity play a part in the narratives about surname choices, and how the men relate to the concept of tradition.

The seventh chapter, “Understandings of Equality and Changes of Surname”, explores the different understandings of gender equality that emerge in men’s narratives of their motives and the reactions they encounter when they change their surname. The author also asks how the understanding of gender equality affects the choice of name. In chapter eight, “The Individual and the Name”, it is the individual that is in focus, how he understands himself as a unique person with specific characteristics and history. The questions here concern how the men portray the relationship between their surname and themselves as individuals, and what kind of choices this understanding leads to. The dissertation ends with a summary chapter in which the different themes are brought together in relation to each other.

This is an interesting dissertation that is rich in content. It fills a knowledge gap and has many strengths. But there are also themes and perspectives that could have been problematized more. For instance, there is insufficient discussion of the extent to which studies conducted in other parts of the world can be used to illuminate and exemplify the situation in Norway, and to support and substantiate the Norwegian evidence. There are significant differences both in naming traditions themselves and in cultural norms, as well as views of what gender equality is and should be. This could have been discussed much more.

By problematizing men and masculinity, and demonstrating that different actions and ways of reasoning are not neutral but take place in relation to cultural norms for how men and women are supposed to relate to surnames and surname changes, as well as *why* they should do so, the dissertation contributes to the field of research concern-

ing surnames and to that relating to masculinity. However, a relatively large share of the research in the field of masculinity to which the author refers is rather old. It would have been desirable and appropriate for the author to include and assess more recent studies and research findings.

In a scholarly study one always has to set limits. It is both necessary and inevitable. But it also means that certain perspectives and topics are included while others are excluded. This has consequences, both for the questions that can be asked and for the conclusions that can be drawn, as well as for whose voices are heard. The dissertation focuses on Norwegian men in heterosexual couples. The author believes that differences between what people associate with female and male become less clear if the parties in a relationship are of the same sex. But might it not be the other way around, that the inclusion of same-sex couples would have resulted in a deeper analysis of reflexive masculinity? The author ought to have provided better arguments for this limitation and the consequences to which it leads.

The subtitle of the dissertation shows that this is a study that applies to Norwegian men. Those defined as belonging to this category are men who in their narratives have placed themselves within a Norwegian name culture. Here I would have liked the author to discuss much more what can really be defined as "Norwegian name culture", and justified why she excludes those who she believes are not part of it. In the reasoning on "Norwegian name culture" it sometimes seems that culture is regarded as something delimited and permanent. But culture is a constantly ongoing process and Norwegian men, like Swedish, German, and all other men, see and are influenced by how names are used in other countries, environments, and contexts. Norwegian name culture is neither static nor detached from the rest of the world.

The category of "Norwegian men" is also problematic. It does not encompass either Sami men or men who were born in Norway and have lived their whole lives there, but whose parents have a different origin. If the study had brought in men from other ethnic categories, the au-

thor writes on page 7, it would have meant that several factors would have come into play, "for example a change of name because of discrimination in working life, or historical processes of Norwegianization". This is probably true, but is it a good reason to omit them? If so, why? After all, as the dissertation so clearly shows, surname choices can be complicated. The inclusion of experiences and aspects like this could have further enriched the discussion. What happens to ideas and experiences of family and continuity, of gender equality and the individual, when such factors also have to be taken into account?

But the dissertation also has many strengths. One of these is the discussions of concepts such as tradition and identity, along with the analyses of the different attitudes that the men express to the choice of surname and the option to change their surname. Here, the author shows how the same action, whether it involves changing the surname or not doing so, can be the result of different ways of understanding and interpreting history, belonging, tradition, family, and so on. The dissertation also helps to broaden and deepen masculinity studies as a research field. In many contexts, the man is still the norm. The woman is seen as deviant and different, and it is she and her actions and experiences that are problematized and have to be explained. By concentrating on men, and proceeding from their perceptions of and attitudes to a change of surname and name community in the family, Line Førre Grønstad reverses the perspectives. She shows how views and actions that are largely taken for granted are neither natural nor neutral.

Charlotte Hagström, Lund

Thingness of Books in Transformation

Anna Kajander, Kirja ja lukija digitalisoituvasa arjessa (The Book and the Reader in the Digital Everyday). University of Helsinki, Helsinki 2020. 230 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISBN 978-951-51-5839-0.

■ Anna Kajander's doctoral dissertation, "The Book and the Reader in the Digital Everyday",

tackles an interesting and timely phenomenon: the meaning of the material book in these overheated (Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *An Anthropology of Accelerated Change* 2016) times, in which the emergence of digital devices, along with the current decluttering movement, has destabilized the status of books as valued and functional everyday objects.

The book, a familiar codex format with bound paper pages, has conditioned and shaped our reading practices even before Gutenberg. During the last decade, the hegemony of the printed book has been challenged by digital book formats such as e-books and audiobooks. These emerging technologies change books and thus, concurrently re-arrange the socio-material practices of reading. Kajander takes this ongoing transformation as the starting point of her study.

In the age of high modernity, books as material objects have turned from luxuries to affordable consumer objects. At present, we are experiencing an overflow of books rather than a scarcity of them. In Finland alone, over 10,000 new books are published every year, and globally the number of annually published titles is counted in billions. For a keen reader like myself, it is not rare to find oneself in a situation in which one is “drowning in books”. Indeed, if considered by their capacity to store cultural knowledge such as stories and information, books as material objects may no longer be the most efficient choice; books are heavy and cumbersome yet fragile, and they take up a lot of space. Why, then, does the traditional book still hold up in the ever-increasing supply of alternative book formats? By focusing on the peculiar “thingness” of books Kajander explores what keeps us readers attached to books even when there are other, perhaps more convenient and easily accessible options for reading than a traditional printed book.

Combining ethnology, book history, and material culture studies, Kajander analyses the transformation of books, readership, and practices of reading in the digital era. Her empirical research material consists of 546 texts sent to a life-writing call *Life as a Reader*, organized and collected by

the Finnish Literature Society in 2014. Kajander approaches her textual material as an ethnographic field by understanding the writers of the call as research participants. In the ethnographic approach, by definition, the researcher engages in reflexive interaction with her research field. Since the dialogue with archive material cannot be truly reciprocal, Kajander compensates for this lack by adding to the analysis a reflexive layer from her own memories, experiences and observations as a book reader in a contemporary world. In this respect, Kajander’s approach resembles Orvar Löfgren’s eclectic method of doing cultural analysis (e.g. Ehn, Löfgren and Wilk, *Exploring Everyday Life* 2016).

Kajander analyses her research material by sensitizing herself to the “thingness” of books. This Ingoldian (Tim Ingold, *Archaeological Dialogues* 14(1):1–16, 2007) material approach grasps not only the sheer physicality of objects, but also the practical, affective, emotional and sensory aspects of engaging with books. Sensitizing to the thingness of books reveals that relating to the materiality of books is not so much about reading them, but rather about *feeling them*. People wrote affectionately about the scent of the books, and the feeling of the covers and the pages, about their emotional bond with the books as objects, and about affects they experienced when reading a book. Moreover, the embodied engagement with books did not end with the book itself. It mattered where and how books were organized and where engagement with them took place. The analysis was thereby extended to the material environments where engagement with books happened: shelves, armchairs, studies, libraries and even book stores.

The life-writing call was conducted during 2014, at which point platforms for consuming digital books had not yet been normalized in Finland. That probably explains why digital formats were discussed mainly in the form of expressing attitudes or expectations rather than reporting experiences of actually using them. Had the call been repeated, say, after the year 2020, during which Finland took rapid leaps in digitalization, the

writers would probably have been much more nuanced about the many digital book consuming practices in their everyday lives.

However, the material analysis of books and the practices of reading (or, as I understand it, engagement with books) subtly highlights why digital book formats have still not taken over the book market. Reading is an embodied, culturally shared skill that changes slowly. As Kajander demonstrates, reading happens not only visually but also sensorially through certain bodily postures and movements of hands. Although the design of digital devices tries to imitate these gestures, the sensory-material affordance of digital devices is fundamentally different. Moreover, engagement with material books is much more than just enjoying a narrated story or accumulating knowledge. For a bookish person, it is an affective and embodied practice arousing memories, bringing feelings of familiarity and calmness in the turbulence of the contemporary world.

I truly enjoyed reading about the transformation of books, readership and reading practices in the digitalizing world, and Kajander's insightful findings resonated with my own experiences as a reader. However, the overall reading experience was slightly uneven due to the multifaceted perspectives that are discussed. I got the impression that Kajander has been at pains to consider every aspect that has been covered in the life-writing material, which results in occasional disjointedness. The unevenness begins already with complex and somewhat incoherent research questions, which then end up marking the rest of the work. Due to the complexity of the research problem and the consequent conceptual unclarity, it is not always clear to the reader whether the author is interested in *readership*, the *book*, or rather, the practices and experiences of *reading*. Although the broad material approach enables grasping all these aspects as parts of a meshwork of practices, the reader is at some point stupefied by the number of overlapping concepts. I would have encouraged the author to narrow down on the *thingness of the book* (in an Ingoldian sense) and practical engagement with it. This move would have al-

lowed her to leave out, for instance, the biographical narratives on the development of readership and reading. At least for myself – admittedly interested in the materiality of things – that section did not add much to the rest of the analysis.

I would love to see this dissertation developed into a proper scholarly hard-cover, possibly complemented with updated experiences with e-book practices. I am positive that it would find its audience from academic book lovers like myself!

Veera Kinnunen, Rovaniemi

GPS Collars In Reindeer Husbandry in Sweden

Kajsa Kuoljok, Digital Information and Traditional Knowledge. The Implementation of GPS Collars as a Tool in Reindeer Husbandry. Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University, Umeå 2020. 89 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7855-361-7.

■ Kajsa Kuoljok has written a doctoral dissertation at Umeå University about the introduction of digital technology in the form of GPS (Global Positional Systems) collars in reindeer husbandry in the municipality of Jokkmokk in Swedish Lapland. It is a compilation thesis written in English, with four articles which were published before the final text of the dissertation. This review will consider the entire work, the previously published articles and the summary in this volume.

The question posed in the dissertation concerns the changes that this new technology brings to the reindeer industry. Traditional knowledge is combined with new technology that conveys new information about the reindeer's patterns of movement. The GPS technology cannot replace the presence of reindeer herders in the field, but it can provide new information that facilitates the work of the reindeer owners. "The 'online' space does not replace the 'offline' space" (p. 52).

The survey is geared to the present day and is largely based on the author's interviews with reindeer owners, nine men and five women aged 24–75. In addition, there are observations of the

practical work both in the field, “in situ”, and digitally in front of a computer screen, “ex situ”, in the years 2015–2019. The informants have been anonymized for reasons of research ethics. One ethical aspect that some of the informants have raised concerns whether it is respectful to hang a GPS collar around the animals’ necks. Although the author is Sami herself, she has never personally worked with reindeer husbandry. It would have been valuable if she had brought in the current ethnological and anthropological discussions about autoethnography.

As for theory, the author proceeds from actor-network theory (ANT). People, animals, nature, official regulations, and objects are included in the analysis, all of them perceived as different actors within a network. The result is a study of relations between reindeer owners, reindeer, the landscape, landowners, climate, and GPS technology.

The first paper in the compilation thesis was published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 2019, pp. 22–39, entitled “Reading the Reindeer: New Ways of Looking at the Reindeer and the Landscape in Contemporary Husbandry”. The study concerns the introduction of GPS technology as a complement to the presence of reindeer owners in the pastures. Certain reindeer are provided with GPS collars and their movements are transferred digitally via a database, Reindeer Husbandry Plans (RHP), to maps that the reindeer owners can study on a computer screen some distance from the herd. This is of great help given that the reindeer can move over large areas in a short period of time.

The second paper was published in *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 2019, issue 4, pp. 349–358, a theme issue entitled “Without Land We Are Lost”. This discusses relations between the reindeer owners and the owners of the forest where the reindeer graze during the winter, and how these contacts are affected by the new GPS technology. The author claims that the position of the Sami vis-à-vis the forest owners has been strengthened by being able to show exactly how the reindeer move in the winter grazing

areas. Previously, there was no visual evidence of this. Here I would have liked to see a clearer presentation of how contacts with the forest owners took place. In what way were the reindeer owners able to demonstrate the new technology and how did the forest owners react?

The third paper, published in *Ethnologia Fennica* in 2020, addresses the issue of the emotional effects that the new GPS technology has had for the reindeer owners. The questions here concern the sense of control or lack of control over the movements of the reindeer. The owners worry about what can happen if the GPS stops working, for example if the batteries run out or if bad weather disturbs the technology. The positive experiences, however, dominate.

The fourth paper, which has not yet been published, deals with questions of external changes in reindeer husbandry in recent years. These include changing economic conditions and a warmer climate that makes access to reindeer grazing more difficult during the winter. In this respect, GPS technology can help reindeer owners to track the increasing migration of reindeer across larger areas. On the other hand, the acquisition of the new GPS technology entails significant costs, which can be problematic if the profitability of the reindeer business decreases. Some reindeer owners have therefore found ways to earn additional income on the side in order to continue with reindeer. Several women now contribute to the family economy by having jobs of their own outside reindeer husbandry.

The strength of the dissertation is the well-conducted fieldwork through penetrating interviews and observations. The analyses are consistently performed on the basis of actor-network theory. The author is well-informed and relates her discussions to earlier and current Sami research. The detailed reference list testifies to this. However, illustrations in the form of photographs are limited. The objects are at the centre, but there are no pictures of the reindeer owners and their encounter with the new technical gadgetry. Pictures would have been useful as a supplementary illustration of how different actors interact within a network.

A common disadvantage of compilation theses is that repetitions tend to occur in the different sections, and in that respect this one is no exception. *Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån*

Rural Shopkeepers in a Time of Crisis

Liisa Kurkinen, Tiskin takana. Kauppiaselämäkerrat maaseudun murroksen kuvaajina (Behind the Counter – Shopkeeper Biographies as Descriptions of Countryside in Social Crisis). Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 60. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys. Helsinki 2020. 247 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISBN 978-952-6655-17-8.

■ Liisa Kurkinen's dissertation research examines the work, everyday life and work strategies of country shopkeepers through their biographical perceptions. The area in the focus of the research is Kainuu province in Northern Finland and the research period reaches from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s, including a social and cultural crisis that shook the Finnish countryside. In the 1950s, Finland was still a mainly agricultural society. In the 1960s, rapid mechanization of agriculture and forestry decreased the need for manpower. The 1960s and 1970s also witnessed a large-scale wave of migration from the countryside into towns and cities and to Sweden. Its effects were most pronounced in Eastern and Northern Finland. The migration had an irreparable impact on the operation of village shops. While Finland was being developed into a welfare state, many remote rural areas regressed. Kurkinen asks how rural shopkeepers operated through everyday life, what kind of action strategies and solutions they adopted during the structural change, and what kind of an image of their profession the shopkeepers build through their own narratives.

The study has a clear and coherent arrangement. In the introductory chapter, the writer presents the research questions, research material and the researcher's role, the biographical approach, and the main concepts and ethical considerations. In the chapters on material analysis (ch. 2–6), she

addresses the different routes to becoming a shopkeeper, the shop as a space for interaction and activity, the shopkeepers' roles within their village community, finances and livelihood, other areas of the shopkeeper's life (home, family, childcare, hobbies), and the reasons for ending one's working career. The final chapter, "Rural shopkeepers in a time of crisis" ties up the aforementioned aspects of life as a country shopkeeper as well as their different career phases during a "surge of structural change".

Kurkinen's fieldwork took place in 1996 in all eight rural Kainuu municipalities as well as rural villages outside the urban area of Kuhmo. The research material consists of 37 biographical interviews of rural shopkeepers. Most of the informants, who were born between 1911 and 1942, were already retired at the time of the interviews. There was an equal share of male and female interviewees (18 and 19 respectively), and there were nine shopkeeper couples. The researcher wrote down most of the interviews during the interview. Nine interviews were taped and form a basis for extensive citation and subsequent analysis in the study. Some of the taped interviewees become more familiar, which gives the material-filled text more structure. Kurkinen has done her fieldwork in a familiar field. Her knowledge of the area and dialect, her background as a member of a village shopkeeper family and experience of the work itself helped in building a trusting relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. This comes across in quotations from the material, some of which address highly personal issues and feelings.

According to Kurkinen, the central themes of the study arose from the narrative content of the interviews. The biographical approach used as the theoretical-methodological basis is appropriate for this material-driven study. The writer has also relied on research on memory and remembrance, although with less methodological and analytical mastery. The chapter on material analysis shows that the writer is well-read, although the short quotations of ideas and opinions picked from various researchers leave the overall picture slightly

fragmentary. Even though Kurkinen collected her research material 25 years ago, her research considers the conceptual, analytical, and paradigmatic changes that have happened in ethnology since then.

The studied shops did not form a homogeneous group; some had operated mainly in rural areas, others in village centres. Most of the shops were family businesses whose operation also included the whole family. Likewise included were some larger enterprises that employed several shop assistants at the same time. The shop owners included founders of their own shops as well as second- and third-generation shopkeepers. The text does indeed present these differing operational baselines and environments. However, it would have been easier for the reader if the bibliography had listed each interviewee's generation. With regard to research ethics, Kurkinen has changed the interviewees' names and the research localities or villages remain unnamed. Sequential numbering has been used for the interviewees in source references, but this numbering has been left out of the interviewee list itself.

Most of the shopkeepers in the study came from an agricultural background – some of the shops started as an annex to the farm. Kurkinen compares shopkeepers to farmers, with shared values and a view of their work as a way of life. The shopkeeper profession was held in high regard and seen as pleasant work; it was varied and versatile as well as meaningful. The best features of the job were the freedom of entrepreneurship, sense of community and interaction with the villagers. On the other hand, the work was seen as having several downsides: the work was heavy, constraining, with constant pressure and never-ending labour as well as stress from sales on credit. One of the female shopkeepers stated: "All I needed was working clothes and nightwear" (p. 81). Hard times had an even greater impact on small family businesses.

As the Winter War (30.11.1939–3.3.1940) began between Finland and the Soviet Union, some Kainuu municipalities close to the border were trapped inside the war zone. The inhabitants were

evacuated to safer areas further away. A special feature of Kurkinen's research is studying shops started by evacuated shopkeepers in their new communities. After the war, people returned to their home and continued their shopkeeper profession. Sometimes a family member stayed behind to run the new shop, thus developing their own business. As Kainuu is an area dominated by forests, large logging and timber rafting sites were frequent up to the 1960s. Another speciality in Kainuu were logging site shops which were needed to supply these worksites with food, which in turn supplied the shopkeepers with extra income.

An important part of the study considers women's role as village shopkeepers. The writer shows how strongly women's chances to operate as independent village shopkeepers were defined by their gender in the patriarchal atmosphere of the research period. Women might encounter credibility problems, prejudice, and discrimination. Still in the 1950s, a shop founded by a woman would officially be named after her husband. The interviewed women include some that could be called "glass ceiling breakers", who pioneered more equal treatment of women. Activity in varied women's organizations encouraged female shopkeepers to seek cooperation also in issues concerning trade. Collaboration and a realization of the importance of education paved the way for the crumbling of women's unequal status.

The great structural change emptied rural villages. When the shopkeeper's most important resource – customers – left for the cities, the village lost its post office, its school, and in the end, its shop. The severity of the structural change can be seen in an account by one of the shopkeeper couples of how, standing on the steps of their shop, they could see eleven abandoned houses. Many previously vibrant agricultural villages turned into retiree villages inhabited by senior citizens, some whole villages even became deserted. However, the emigration wave out of the countryside was not the only reason for the plight of village shops. Several structural changes in trade had an impact on the weakening of the operating conditions of village shops. Structural changes mentioned in the

study include switching from counter service to self-service, health care regulations, competition between shop clusters, increases in freight costs, tightened demands from wholesale businesses, taxation seen as harsh, and especially the increase in the number of cars, which drove customers to the modern stores in population centres.

Decreasing living space for village shops caused defensive adaptation. Shopkeepers had to come up with other sources of income, for example, the aforementioned food supply of logging and timber rafting sites, managing the mail and telephone exchange, cafeteria operation, transporting milk from the farms, and driving a taxi. Supplying retailing cooperatives with berries and other produce was a noticeable source of extra income for shopkeepers in the Kainuu villages. The berry trade provided the customers with spending money, which they then could spend in the shop, thus also benefiting the shopkeeper; the shop could remain in the village for longer.

The structural change that took place in the countryside impacted the continuation or ending of the career of village shopkeepers. Kurkinen has divided narratives on career endings into three groups: retiring with entrepreneur's pension, retiring with disability pension, and having to close down the business due to unprofitability. Retiring from working life was a life change that was undertaken under compulsion. When the interviews were conducted (1996), only a few of the stores that had developed from a small village shop into a well-established business were still operating. The study does not disclose when each narrator had ended their shopkeeper career.

In addition to being a piece of biographical research, the study exemplifies ethnographic research on occupational groups. In Finnish ethnology the earliest point of reference can be found in Ilmar Talve's research on the "folk culture" of industrial workers and occupational groups that started in the 1950s and 1960s. This research trend has gained new popularity in the 2000s. Some recent Finnish doctoral dissertations concerning a specific occupational group include those by Leena Paaskoski (2008, university-ed-

ucated foresters), Tiina Suopajarvi (2009, forestry professionalism), Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto (2013, life story of a female factory labourer), Maria Vanha-Similä (2017, everyday life of workers in textile factory), and Miia Tiili (2018, Coast Guard officers).

Kurkinen's doctoral dissertation can be seen as the first in making a less-noticed occupational group more visible – she has successfully chosen an interesting research topic and period. The study is a consistent and comprehensive narrative about shopkeepers in the Kainuu region and the social crisis of the countryside that had a crucial impact on the careers and lives of shopkeepers. Individual memories and experiences of shopkeepers from the Kainuu region also mirror the general societal and social development that took place in the Finnish countryside after the Second World War.

Pirjo Korkiakangas, Jyväskylä

Space, Bearings and Queer Orientations

Evelina Liliequist, *Digitala förbindelser. Rum, riktning och queera orienteringar*. Institutionen för kultur och medier, Umeå University 2020. 238 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7855-219-1.

■ Evelina Liliequist begins the dissertation *Digital Connections: Space, Bearings and Queer Orientations* with a revisit to her teens when she sat at the public computer in a corner of the small-town library. She describes how the feelings of exclusion, boredom and being lost were replaced for a while with feelings of inclusion and confidence when she logged on to the site "Sylvia.se – for girls who like girls". This snapshot highlights the heart of the dissertation and area of inquiry: the importance of digital environments in the lives of LGBTQ people, not least those who live beyond the hectic pulse of the metropolitan centres. More specifically, it is the northern part of Sweden, Norrland, that is in focus – a choice that draws its analytical power from the intersecting notions of non-modernity, homophobia, macho culture and isolation tied to the specific area. Norrland, and

perhaps especially Norrland's sparsely populated areas, is simply a place that in many ways is constructed as the opposite of queer. A successful and status-filled gay life is lived in the big city, not in a forgotten village in the countryside, and especially not in Norrland. To "come out" simply means to orient oneself away from smaller towns to the big city, preferably southwards. That is why Norrland is not just a geographic domicile like any other; rather, it is a place loaded with a very specific sexual meaning.

Based on ethnographic material consisting of fifteen interviews, a number of observations, and analyses of three weeks of relay posts on a thematic Instagram account, Liliequist seeks to investigate the importance of digital environments for queer orientations. She is particularly interested in how the geographical situatedness conditions life online. The research subjects are LGBTQ people of different ages (between about 20 and 60 years of age) and mainly reside in Norrland – in both its urban and its more rural parts.

It should be made clear from the outset: the analytical design of the study, that is, the combination of digital environments, queer orientations, and Norrland, is its strength. In earlier cultural science research on people's use of the internet, LGBTQ people often stand out as particularly interesting. LGBTQ life on the internet is depicted as a potential site for community-making in an otherwise heteronormative society – but also as an opportunity for anonymous and safe spaces. However, most of this previous research is based on Anglo-American contexts, often urban ones, which justifies the study's focus on northern Sweden as the geographical context. The fact that Liliequist takes her starting point in Norrland, with its historical connotations of the rural, the peripheral, and the non-modern, also make visible the analytical benefit of combining digital space, queer orientation, and geographical environment. This becomes particularly clear in her analysis of the dating app Grindr, where users are offered opportunities for contact on the basis of geographical location. Grindr's marketing goal of being "0 meters away from the nearest queer"

simply works best in environments teeming with LGBTQ people – but not as well when the nearest gay man on the map lives as far away as Finland. With an urban cruising environment as the norm, life in the smaller town appears to be even more disappointing and hopeless than it otherwise is – the only option then seems to be to move south.

Another example of how the three analytical angles fertilize each other is the analysis of the Instagram account "Queers take over the county" ("Queers tar över länet"), where members are encouraged, at a specific time, to visit a bar, club or another place that is usually perceived as heteronormative. By gathering and making themselves visible in this way, queers challenge and renegotiate the heteronormative coding of the space, at least during the time period that the "takeover" takes place. On these occasions, digital space enables a kind of expansion beyond it and makes it visible in such a way that a queer orientation outside of the urban centre is both possible and realized.

A central theme of the dissertation is thus the question of how different places – physical and digital, urban and rural – relate to each other when the subjects are queer. But the dissertation also has a theme linked to openness and concealment. It is now about thirty years since the internet was made accessible to the public, radically changing people's lives. The last 30 years have also been a revolutionary period in LGBTQ history – not least in Sweden – a time when non-heterosexuality has become more or less commonplace and officially accepted in society. Living openly as LGBTQ in contemporary Sweden is an almost obvious imperative, and those who hide their sexuality risk appearing deplorable and excessively worried. That is why it is particularly interesting to follow Liliequist's discussion of digital forums like Facebook, which, rather than offering safe spaces populated by already "inaugurated" queers, risk placing the user in a so-called "context collapse". Unlike, for example, Grindr or Gruiser, Facebook rewards social interaction between friends, acquaintances, co-workers, family, and relatives – and users are encouraged to share generously from

their private life. What information is to be shared, where, and for whom, are therefore key issues to decide on, not least for LGBTQ people who may not be open about their sexuality in all contexts.

The digital world thus seems to be increasingly blurring the boundaries between private life, working life, and public life, which means that a double life situation is enabled almost even more clearly online than offline. Helen, who has lived openly as a lesbian for over twenty years, describes, for example, how she never clicks “interested” in LGBTQ issues or queer events on Facebook, to prevent her children from having to experience their mother outed as homosexual. And Henrik does not mark his relationship status as engaged, for the sake of his boyfriend’s parents who are not comfortable with this. Both Helen and Henrik thus choose selective concealment, illustrating what Liliequist calls the “digital closet”. Unlike the at once symbolic and actual closet that LGBTQ people have been relegated to throughout history, this digital variant should be understood as a flexible space, which can be expanded or shrunk depending on the intended audience and the specific forum.

The analytical inputs of this study are, as I said, congenial in their simplicity. That the book in addition is easy to read, at times both entertaining and striking and not least socially relevant, makes it all the better. My objections, above all, concern a certain lack of historical contextualization. The fact that the author covers thirty years, and that the age difference between the youngest and oldest research subject amounts to almost forty years, should provide for a discussion of historical changes.

Growing up with automatic access to social media probably generates somewhat different experiences from encountering the internet first in adulthood. This should apply not least to people outside heteronormativity, which has gone during the same time period from being considered deviant and incomprehensible to “almost” normal.

Another underdeveloped theme in the thesis is gender. The research subject of the study is LGBTQ people – a category that is gender marked

in a variety of ways. Judging by the empirical evidence, the different categories also seem to move and socialize in different environments and in partly different ways. While the gay men’s forum Grindr focuses on temporary sexual contacts in the big city (and makes Norrland appear as more of a vast, sparsely populated area than it is), the lesbian and trans-populated Facebook and Instagram groups instead veer towards the countryside. Although these divisions may seem stereotypical, it is clear that gender is active in the constructions both of digital space and of notions of centre and periphery. It is also clear that a more sophisticated gender perspective therefore could have contributed to a deepened and more refined analysis of the digital spaces and relations of queer orientations.

Fanny Ambjörnsson, Stockholm

Rootless Youth

Camilla Maartmann, Rotløs ungdom. En kulturhistorisk undersøkelse av hvordan femtitallets ungdom ble fremstilt og konstituert innenfor en kommunalpolitisk diskurs. Det humanistiske fakultet, University of Oslo 2020. 298 pp. Diss.

■ The doctoral thesis *Rootless Youth* by Camilla Maartmann is a cultural-historical investigation of how youth, and particularly what were seen as “problem youth”, were described and constituted in Norway during the 1950s. The thesis, which was successfully defended at the University of Oslo, is centred on a research problem with two main parts: to examine how the youth problem and problem youth were formulated in a municipal policy discourse, and to investigate what consequences this could have in the form of municipal practices, policies and measures. The author also presents an additional research problem, seeking to examine how notions of gender, masculinity and femininity influenced the understanding of what was regarded and described as problem youth and the youth problem.

In order to examine these research problems, the author has studied a great deal of archival

material. This material comes mainly from the 1950s, but the author has also included some material from the late 1800s and early 1900s, which she uses as a historical background and comparative element. The presented empirical material for the thesis is quite extensive, and gives a good, firm foundation for the analysis performed in the thematic chapters. The thesis is placed within the research field of youth research, primarily in the Norwegian context and more specifically positioned in relation to studies on youth and gender and youth and the municipality.

The theoretical and methodological framework is largely based on discourse theory and discourse analysis. The author has chosen not to use a specific discourse-analytical or theoretical perspective, but instead presents discourse as a more general analytical tool starting from the social constructivist and post-structuralist understanding that language contributes to constituting the social and to shaping reality. Even though it may appear appealing not to adhere to one specific discourse-analytical model or theory, to keep the analysis more open and flexible, there are certain problems or disadvantages connected with this choice, for instance in that the theoretical framework becomes less stringent. The author writes about several different kinds of discourses which she has discerned in her material, sometimes described as discourses about a phenomenon, sometimes described as discourses within a field, and she uses a number of discourse-connected concepts in the various chapters, without clarifying how these various understandings are related to each other. Moreover, analytical and theoretical concepts such as media panic, gender, power and resistance are introduced at various points in the empirical chapters and used in the analysis, without having been presented in the introductory section on the theoretical approach of the thesis. Methodologically, the author wants to combine discourse analysis with a cultural-analytical approach, but the latter is not particularly prominent in the thematic chapters. The thesis would have benefited from integrating all significant theoretical concepts in the theoretical framework and

clarifying their relation to discourse theory, as well as from a more consistent discussion of the relationship between discourse analysis and cultural analysis and their significance for the analysis and presented results.

In addition to the introductory parts and the concluding discussion, the thesis consists of five thematic chapters, which are divided into two main parts. In the first part Maartmann presents various aspects of the youth problem and problem youth and also uses the older archival material to put the studied era into a historical perspective. Several central themes are introduced in the first thematic chapter, such as how young people's spare time often was described as a problem, and how the descriptions of youth criminality and the youth problem were related to ideas about immorality and perceived lack of respect for the elders. In the second chapter, the author delves deeper into the gendered aspects of how the youth problem and problem youth were formulated, through a discussion of how boys and young men who were seen as problematic tended to be described in relation to criminality, while girls and young women tended to be described in relation to sexual promiscuity.

This first part of the thesis thus gives the reader a substantial background to and understanding of the studied phenomena and time period, and the historical backdrop puts the material from the 1950s into a wider context in a constructive way. Especially interesting are the discussions about the gendered aspects of the perceived youth problem, for instance in how the author shows that there was a double conception of young women as either victims or temptresses. The boys, similarly, were described both as culprits concerning criminal acts, and at the same time as victims of their biological situation, in a way that apparently lessened their responsibility for their actions. It would have been interesting, in this first part of the thesis, to have seen even more focus on the author's own study and results, and in what ways these not only resemble but also add to and develop what has been shown and said in previous studies on similar issues.

In the second main part of the thesis, Maartmann continues with a discussion about the reasons behind and solutions to the youth problem, as it is described and formulated in the collected material. Themes that are introduced here include how risk factors and youth at risk were formulated in relation to home and family life, a perceived shortage of youth organizations and associations, class aspects and notions of normality. In the following chapter the author looks at how popular culture and media were portrayed as potential contributors to the youth problem, in everything from cartoons to rock music, which she relates to the concept of media panics. In the final chapter in this part, the author examines the proposed solutions to the problem, and discusses these in relation to discursive changes during the period as well as to power and resistance.

There are several notable issues discussed also in this second part of the thesis, not least how family conditions and home life were described as significant risk factors in the municipal discourse. This concerned in particular the absence of mothers, through work or "self-realization", which the author relates to both gender and class in an interesting way in her analysis. Another significant theme is how the state or authorities were regularly described as responsible for various aspects of the youth problem, for example in whether they managed to provide places and environments where young people could meet and socialize in an "appropriate" way and in how they regulated media and young people's media consumption. The school, on the other hand, appears as quite absent in the descriptions of where the roots of the youth problem may lie and who is responsible, which is an interesting aspect in relation to how problem youth and the youth problem in the present day are often discussed in relation to the role and responsibilities of the school.

In the chapter on the measures taken by the municipal authorities to try and solve the described youth problem, the author, among other things, discusses how the analysis of the material indicates a perceived causal connection between young people's use of spare time on the one

hand and criminality and social problems among children and youth on the other. Spare time for young people could be depicted both as part of the solution, if it was spent in a "good" way, such as in organized youth activities, and as part of the problem, if it was spent in a "bad" way, through "hanging around" apparently doing nothing or up to mischief of various kinds. Maartmann also shows how the discourse turned during the investigated period, from describing organized spare-time activities for youth as a pedagogical tool or a tool for promoting health, to describing them as primarily preventive and regulating measures against, for instance, criminality and promiscuity.

The concluding chapter of the thesis aims to highlight the main results in the previous chapters and contextualize them even further in relation to the society and time they stemmed from, as well as to further develop two main aspects of the youth problem which the author wants to focus particularly on: the double image of youth as innocent and guilty, symbolizing both hope for the future and cultural decay, and how notions of gender, masculinity and femininity influenced the understandings of the youth problem and the measures that were taken to solve it. These are significant aspects, well worth developing.

In this final chapter the author does not give an explicit description of her own contribution to the existing research, but it becomes clear here and in other parts of the thesis that her research gives several important insights into the views on youth and the youth problem in the 1950s and how the municipalities understood and acted in relation to this. The author furthermore shows how this related to earlier ways of handling similar problems, and points to certain factors that influenced the dominating discourse on the perceived problem and thus the measures taken to solve it. I would like to add to this that the analysis and results of the thesis may also contribute to our understanding of today's discourses about youth, problem youth and the youth problem, and how we choose to handle this, since many of today's discussions about the youth problem and problem youth resemble the discourses Maartmann describes in

the 1950s. Also in this sense, as well as through its solid empirical material giving us insight into a particular time and place and the discursive changes taking place there and then, this thesis is a valuable contribution to the cultural-historical and ethnological research of today.

Maria Zackariasson, Stockholm

From Prehistory to Futures

Maija Mäki, Polkuja esihistoriasta tulevaisuuksiin (Pathways from Prehistory to Futures – Futures of Tourism at Archaeological Sites in Finland). University of Turku, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Kansatietellinen Arkisto 61, Helsinki 2020. 324 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISBN 978-951-6655-20-8.

■ Maija Mäki defended her doctoral thesis in ethnology at the University of Turku in November 2020. Mäki's research focuses on the possible futures of tourism at Finnish archaeological sites from multiple perspectives, of which future studies is at the core of the work. As she has a master's degree in archaeology herself, her interests have included the experiences of archaeological heritage workers. By looking at the past first, the futures thinking can be understood in the present.

The multidisciplinary character of Mäki's work deals with different concepts that challenge the reader to understand their meaning for the work. The terms of the research task are quite ambitious and extensive, and the dissertation provides an excellent basis for embarking on further research on the subject, if Mäki so wishes.

Mäki seeks keys to developing tourism at archaeological sites in Finland, to the understanding of the work of archaeologists and to the heritagization of archaeological sites. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of the thesis, the work would have needed a clearer positioning in the field of ethnological research. Some of the discussion of the positioning is done in the footnotes. It would have been more suitable, though, to discuss previous research in the text itself to give the reader a better overview of Mäki's research in relation to the other ethnological research.

The main research question in Mäki's work is: "What will tourism connected to archaeological heritage possibly be like in the future?" In addition, as Mäki states in her summary, the study investigates the different kinds of futures thinking of various actors involved in archaeological heritage and the tourism sector. Creative futures thinking and different kinds of imaginary futures affect the processes of developing archaeological tourism by creating possible futures in the various actors' minds.

In practice, the future means here the period 2030–2050. The sites are located mainly in south-western Finland, and therefore not representative of the whole country. The sites in focus include the Rosala Viking Centre and the Untamala Archaeology Centre (2000–2010).

The research material consists of 35 future-oriented thematic interviews in the field. As an addition to the interviews, the future wheel method was also used during the interviews to awaken the interviewees' future-oriented thinking. The interviewees were professional archaeologists, experts on travel and hobby archaeologists. Archaeological sites serve as examples in the study, although the future thinking of the site developers could have been analysed in depth.

Mäki also conducted an eDelphi survey, which was done after the interviews and in which questions were asked about themes such as technology, marketing and services, among others. In addition, she used material from one future workshop to complement other research methods and data. Mäki analysed the research material using cultural analysis – a method commonly employed in ethnological research. Mäki describes the methods and the different phases of her fieldwork thoroughly. She reflects upon the conditions of producing knowledge. The work includes appendices that explain the starting points and ambitions of the interviews and the questionnaire. Observation is often used as a method alongside interviews, but Mäki did not perform observations as part of her fieldwork, nor did she include an observation report in her thesis.

Mäki has visited sites and the dissertation includes a set of photographs of the sites. The vis-

its could have enabled more active observational work, which would have concretized the theoretical side and strengthened the ethnological analysis. Had observations been done, the affective and multi-sensorial phenomena of the living heritage of the sites could have been introduced and analysed. Furthermore, the visitors' needs and ways of experiencing the place, spending time in the area and its heritage landscape could have given a better view of the complex cultural meanings of the sites.

Based upon her findings, Mäki arrived at four future images of tourism at archaeological sites and four avatars of future thinkers. Additionally, and with the help of case studies, several good practices and procedures for future thinking were identified. Therefore, the theoretical framework of Mäki's study is based on the concept of futures thinking, as represented by images of the future. In addition, these four future images are the main research result of this study. Firstly, in "Small is beautiful", Mäki links archaeological heritage strongly with local tourism and positive environment. Secondly, in "Let's combine the scarce resources", she emphasizes the growing professionalism of archaeological tourism. Thirdly, in "When the last one turns off the lights", Mäki points out some issues that need special attention such as the neglect of archaeological sites and artefacts, changing values as well as the lack of money. In the last and fourth one, "Internet addicts and digitally resistant", Mäki highlights the possibilities of enlivening prehistory in the future through novel technologies.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework of Mäki's study is based on the concept of futures thinking, as represented by avatars of future thinkers. Four avatars of futures thinking were also devised as part of this study. *The realistic, developer-actor's* futures thinking is directed at the near future and she perceives herself as being able to affect it. *The visionary* takes her own futures thinking path, which is aimed far ahead in the future. *The determined leader* is a strategic thinker who orients herself toward the future across multiple generations. *The pessimistic*

mourner's thinking is more oriented toward the past than the future.

The voices of archaeologists working in the field of the tourism industry are strongly visible in the research. Mäki emphasizes the importance of reflecting on the future in tourism issues when it comes to the archaeological heritage.

Her aim has been to distinguish different perspectives on the future from the interviews, of which Mäki formed the four aforementioned images of the future and of the avatars. They were also more generally used to reflect on future thinking. The strength of the dissertation is also the consideration of current international and national cultural heritage policies and legislation. Analytically, the dissertation provides the necessary ethnological gaze that is to be expected when cultural analysis is performed.

The analysis would have gained if different futures related to the services and activities of one municipal site and one entrepreneurial site had been presented with ideas for development, especially when alternative nature and cultural tourism is on the rise and we have already seen an interest in local tourism. In the dissertation, the sites are named as examples, although they are explicitly missing from the future images of the study.

Mäki's study strengthens the idea of tourism being a strongly cultural phenomenon. The framework for Mäki's multidisciplinary work with its many merits brings to light aspects of sustainable development that could rightly have been incorporated in the research, especially in terms of cultural sustainability and the economic sustainability associated with the growing exploitation of cultural heritage. In addition, the work often argues for features and concepts belonging to cultural sustainability.

The message of the work seems to be that, ideally, the future developers of archaeological heritage tourism are forward-looking and move smoothly between past, present and future, understanding cultural heritage and cultural heritage work as a link between these time levels. From the point of view of tourism, for the professionals working at archaeological sites today, the disser-

tation lists the desired operating models and best practices, which emphasize the democratized heritage discourse, such as cooperation with archaeological enthusiasts and prehistoric animators as well as resourcing volunteering and communicating its importance.

The analysis would have been more convincing if the material had been processed through concepts. Maija Mäki's research examined the perspective of the supply of tourist destinations, i.e. how the archaeological cultural heritage has been productized in Finland during the twenty-first century in archaeological sites, while the perspectives of demand remain in the shadow of the dialogue. In other words, the participants in the study specifically refer to those working in the field of tourism and the archaeological cultural heritage or enthusiasts of archaeology, as well as their future thinking and the effects of thinking in development work.

The dissertation, which is set in the field of applied ethnology and humanistic futures studies, is a sign of extensive familiarity with its field, and the work can be credited with utilizing the new knowledge it provides. The work brings much-needed discussion to the cultural heritage work development sector and demonstrates the social, local and individual value of cultural heritage in many ways. As a rising tourism trend at archaeological terrain sites, Mäki highlights place-related environmental art as a means of emphasizing community.

Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti and Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Turku

The Automation of Driving

Christopher Martin, *Shifting Gears. Automated Driving on the Eve of Autonomous Drive*. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 25. Lund 2020. 232 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-9854459-4-4. ISSN 2001-7529.

■ Christopher Martin's dissertation on automated driving is an elegantly written and well-structured work. It addresses the question why so many drivers tend to hesitate about the possibility to operate

an autonomous-drive car. How can that be when driving a modern car is already automated to a high degree? The book provides the reader with many intriguing answers.

Three research questions that organize the dissertation are formulated in the introduction:

1. How has the car developed through time in a manner which facilitates, or hinders, automation?
2. In what ways can driving be understood as having become automated at present and what role does the technology of the car play in this?
3. What does driving become once it is automated?

The questions are formulated to achieve the aim of the dissertation: to understand the automation of driving in everyday practice, how driving is experienced, and how that affects attitudes towards new forms of driving automation. The three research questions define the chapters that follow, each of them addressing one of the questions: chapter 2, "Historical Perspectives on the Automation of Driving"; chapter 3, "On the Road"; and chapter 4, "Daydreams and Time Machines", thus correspond to one of the research questions. This is an elegant arrangement in which the author consistently returns to the main questions, the aim, and the reasons for conducting the study.

There are likewise three reasons for conducting the study. Firstly, the starting point of the dissertation is that to understand attitudes to autonomous driving, the approach of cultural analysis is needed: when people make sense of new objects, they do so through already existing understandings and experiences. Secondly, the dissertation aims to fill a gap in existing research on driving in which the act of driving is often taken for granted, and the micro practices conducted when driving are overlooked. Thirdly, how people relate to automation and why they react as they do, are questions asked outside the academy, and of interest both to the public and to specialists.

Chapter 1, "Introducing the Study: Aims, Concepts, and Methodologies", presents research in the field together with the theoretical considera-

tions that form the basis of the analysis. Important sources of theoretical inspiration are materialized practice (Giddens), perception and phenomenology (Heidegger, Husserl, Merleau-Ponty), embodiment (Griffin, Pink), and contextualization (Goffman, Lefebvre). The spatial triad (representations of conceived space; perceived space; representational space) devised by Lefebvre is another analytical tool used in the dissertation. Actor-Network Theory, on the other hand, which is frequently applied in studies of the use of technology, focuses too much on machinery and technology to be useful in this study, where the experience of automation is at least as important as the technology, according to the author.

The empirical evidence comes from interviews, historical newspaper material, participant observation, and autoethnography. The fieldwork was carried out in Sweden and the USA, in cities and suburbs. The author wisely considers the pros and cons of the different methods. He points out, for example, that it is impossible to be a passive passenger on the occasions when he has accompanied his informants on car rides. The driver's behaviour inevitably changes, albeit unintentionally, when there is someone else in the car. The chosen methods work well in this ethnological study where the author tries, through in-depth interviews and observations as a passenger, to understand what the personal experience of driving is all about. It is a matter of interpreting and describing the automation of driving as everyday practice.

Chapter 2, "Historical Perspectives on the Automation of Driving", answers the first research question about the historical development of the car. It is based on American advertisements for cars from two particularly transformative periods: the early twentieth century with mass production, and the 1950s and early 1960s, when the suburb came to characterize American family life and when American cars were fitted with automatic transmission. The USA has been selected for the historic survey because the automotive industry here set the style and led the way for other car manufacturers.

The author brings us along on a breathtaking journey through the history of the car as an extension of the home; the role of the family in driving and being driven; advertising; interior design; and comfort. The car reshapes the landscape, not just in the USA. Tourism on the coasts of the Mediterranean, for example, was made possible by the car, and urban planning gives priority to the motor car. Here, "representations of space", planned and carefully conceived engineering, can serve as a useful analytical tool. Futurism, of which the car is a part, was admittedly put on hold during the Second World War, but during the post-war period the car became a fashion accessory and its appearance grew in importance. The design gave connotations of spaceships and jet aeroplanes, looks took precedence over safety, and automatic transmission became synonymous with the future.

From there, the line of development is followed as far as today's connected cars. But it has taken a century to create today's expectations of driving, what driving should be like and how it should be done. We are talking about a hundred years of embodied experience in the practice of driving. Automation must fit in and be capable of incorporation in previous experiences if it is to gain acceptance. This is a theme running through the dissertation, something that must be borne in mind in the analysis of the relationship between people and technology.

If the second chapter deals with the development of the car at the macro level, chapter 3, "On the Road", focuses instead on the individual driver and on how the automation process is perceived. It deals with the second research question about automated driving in the present and the role of the car in this. It is a chapter that focuses on a gap in our knowledge about the relationship between humans and technology: the cultural context in which driving takes place. The chapter has a phenomenological approach whereby the embodiment of technology is viewed as the key to automated driving.

The author accompanies some drivers, three in the USA, two in Sweden, to find out what it

means to drive automatically. It can be compared to cycling, walking, or doing handiwork – something you do without every movement needing to be considered or thought out. It is about tactile knowledge, but also about the ability to adapt, adjust, interact. Practice gives skill, and simultaneous capacity is required. A driver must also learn to ignore impressions and rely on his or her cognitive subconsciousness. An embodied aspect of driving is the key both to how automatic driving is done and the meaning of driving itself. Driving cannot be reduced to a reactive cognitive process, the author notes. A skilled driver is both relaxed and simultaneously observant of others.

When responsibility is handed over to technology and the driver learns to rely on GPS, rear-view camera, or cruise control, it also means that old routines must be abandoned. However, not everyone wants to use the technical aids. What is convenient for one person is inconvenient or unpleasant for another. The technology has to fit the driving behaviour. The same applies to the technologies of the future: they will have to go through the same processes, become embodied and familiar in order to be accepted.

Chapter 4, “Daydreams and Time Machines”, deals with the third research question, about the space that is created when driving is automated. This creates a unique intermediate space with the possibility for contemplation and daydreaming. For a commuter, it can be a time for reflection, perhaps the only chance in the whole day. Having time for oneself in the car provides small openings, windows, in an otherwise abstract space, according to the author.

In the car, abstract space is transformed into absolute space, and a private place arises within a public flow. The unique aspect of the spatiality of driving is often overlooked in discussions about self-driving cars, as there tends to be an excessively narrow focus on the car as solely a means of transport. Another interesting observation is that commuters do not care so much about exactly how many minutes they spend commuting. What is important for them is rather the extent to which they feel they can manage and control the percep-

tion and planning of time. This is a fact that also tends to be underestimated.

Advertisements for self-driving cars emphasize the time that is freed up to be used for other purposes. But the protected space for personal time in the car also disappears and the driver/traveller is always accessible. The drive allows for so many other things – daydreams, for example, which tend to arise in situations of transit. The car is therefore not only a means of transport through the spatial sphere, but also through the temporal sphere, through time. In this way, the car is also a time machine. In automated driving, thoughts are directed towards the future.

In 5 chapter, finally, “The Automation of Driving”, the arguments are summarized on the basis of the three initial research questions. The conclusion is that, in order to understand the hesitation about self-driving cars and the new methods of driving that they require, we must first understand what driving is today – and what it has been in the past. Acceptance of new technology takes place in a process of small steps. Semi-autonomous cars have a greater chance of being accepted by drivers who would rather take on the role of co-driver than be reduced to mere passengers.

Christopher Martin’s dissertation undoubtedly helps to fill a knowledge gap about human–technology interaction that concerns what the relationship looks like at the micro level, in individual action and personal practice. The dissertation is rigorously and lucidly structured, and the author never loses sight of the underlying research questions. By combining theories from different intellectual traditions, he arrives at a deeper understanding of what it takes to grasp how new technology has to be incorporated into personal experiences if it is to be adopted. In methodological terms, the dissertation can serve as an instructive example for anyone who wants to understand how autoethnography, in combination with other methods, can be used to create new knowledge. Christopher Martin is a highly skilled fieldworker and a proficient writer who allows the ethnography to be seamlessly integrated into the scholarly prose. The analysis is elegantly intertwined with

the empirical material. The dissertation *Shifting Gears* is a well-conducted cultural analysis in which the research findings communicate important knowledge both within the discipline and to a much broader audience outside academia.

Lynn Åkesson, Lund

Doing Museum Objects

Janne Werner Olsrud, Om "Et av de viktigste arbeider ved et museum". En studie av dokumentasjonspraksisenes gjøren av museumsgjenstander. Det humanistiske fakultet, Institutt for kulturstudier og orientalske språk, Universitetet i Oslo 2018. 276 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ How do museums do their collected objects? This question takes its point of departure in a reoccurring theme in museology during recent years, where practices for documentation and collection management are not just seen as handling techniques but also as defining and situating the objects incorporated in museum systems. Though often discussed in academic circles, and taken for granted in theoretical debates, there has been a lack of in-depth studies detailing how this is actually done and providing examples and context to back up theoretical standpoints. Janne Werner Olsrud's dissertation in museology, treating documentation practices and focusing on the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo in a long-term perspective, does precisely this.

The dissertation is divided into six main chapters and follows a standard academic outline stating research questions, theories and methods first, then presenting an empirical analysis (chapters 3–5) and finally the results. It is written in Norwegian – and unfortunately without an English summary – contains few illustrations (11 to be precise). The preface states that it has been part of a larger research project at the University of Oslo, *Museum: a Culture of Copies*, led by museology professor Brita Brenna, who has also supervised the dissertation.

In chapter 1, Olsrud introduces and justifies the choice of the overall theme for the disserta-

tion and its four central concepts: doing (*gjøren*), documentation (*dokumentasjon*), documentation practice (*dokumentasjonspraksis*) and technologies of documentation (*dokumentasjonsteknologi*). The chapter also presents and reviews previous research in the field, though not to a degree that adequately situates Olsrud's own work within the field of research or clarifies her own contribution. In international museological research there is a string of works from the last ten years based on Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and analysing collecting practices in a range of ways similar to Olsrud. The 2011 edited volume *Unpacking the Collection* (Sarah Byrne et al., Springer, New York), may serve as one example.

The central question of the dissertation is presented as to investigate how museum objects are enacted or done (using terminology adapted from Annemarie Mol) through documentation practices and primarily cataloguing. Investigating this, Olsrud claims that a better understanding can be achieved of how museums work. Based on Mol's work on the "body multiple", Olsrud formulates the hypothesis that (1) museum objects can be investigated through the "praxiography" of documentation practices, and (2) that museum objects are multiple, as they are enacted simultaneously in different versions through different practices. She sets out to demonstrate this by analysing three periods in the history of Norsk Folkemuseum: 1900–1920, the 1970s and the latest era from 1990 onwards. All three periods have one thing in common and that is that during these periods old documentation practices were replaced by new ones. For each period Olsrud asks what brought earlier systems to a halt, how new practices were negotiated and established, how the different cataloguing techniques worked, in which versions the museum objects were enacted, and finally how these different versions were coordinated and added to each other.

This leads to chapter 2, which offers a discussion of the theory and methods of the dissertation, mainly what it means to work within a praxiographical paradigm. Olsrud starts with a detailed comment on Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's Foucault-

inspired classic *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992) and of Camilla Mordhorst's more Foucault-critical *Genstandsfortællinger* (2009). She details how the growing interest in practice, of such importance for these works, can be developed further by using Mol's praxiography, for example in the form it has taken in the works of Christian Buerger. In this way she develops a range of praxiographic strategies: to identify sites where structures are established, crises and controversies, and to follow objects, technologies and concepts/metaphors. In contrast to Mol, however, Olsrud doesn't primarily work synchronically and ethnographically, but diachronically and historically. To counter a potential criticism of her eclectic choice of method, only partially following the ANT tradition of Mol, Olsrud also presents Bruno Latour's concept of "inscription" in the framework, to bridge praxiography with the text-analytical and empirical level of the dissertation. Though this methodological innovation is followed by some difficulties, it testifies to Olsrud's ability to find new paths rather than just following the footsteps of others. At the end Olsrud outlines how she will conduct praxiography in the museum; by studying present practices through ethnographic observation and interviews as well as past practices through archive studies.

The main part of the dissertation consists of three extensive historical and ethnographic chapters (3–5). In these, Olsrud undertakes a close analysis of documentation practices at Norsk Folkemuseum in the three periods mentioned above. The changes that characterize these are the introduction of a new accession catalogue in 1919 (the *innføringsbok* or *tilvekstprotokoll*), the first attempts at computer registration and attempts at a new national standard in the 1970s and finally the application of the currently used collection management system Primus from the 1990s onwards. The three analytical and empirical chapters are the main body of the dissertation and are similarly structured. The new technologies are first discussed in relation to contemporary debates on museum needs as those debates can be discerned in seminars, publications and projects of the pe-

riod. After that, the use of the new technologies is followed in detail through the documentation process of a single registered object. Olsrud investigates the different "versions" of the object created by the different technologies and methods, and what these techniques actually do with the object. In the first period, four distinct versions of the object are identified: the museum version (identifies, numbers and classifies the object), the historical version (recounts the history of the object before it entered the museum), the museum-historical version (recounts the history of the object in the museum) and the technical version (describes the material and other properties of the object). These four versions of museum objects are found in all three studied periods, though they also change, not the least in their relative importance and priority. In the current period (1990s onwards), the four versions are supplemented with a "hyper-relational" version that involves new types of relations (to other objects, people and so on in digital networks). Although Olsrud's use of theory and methods sometimes appears somewhat mechanical and stiff when meeting the empirical material, Olsrud manages well to demonstrate how the different practices actually enact the objects and – crucially – how there is convincing merit to her main claim, that the objects can actually be said to be done by the said practices. This is the best described and most convincing result of the dissertation.

In the conclusion (chapter 6) Olsrud summarizes and discusses the results in seven short sections. The versions of the objects are discussed and Olsrud makes the interesting observation that the possibility of, in principle, an endless variation of classifications of objects (when seen from different perspectives) enabled by a system like Primus is not at all used. Olsrud also discusses the gradually changing functions of museum catalogues over time, the consequences of using different technologies, the multiplicity of museum objects and the changing possibilities for objects to function as sources of knowledge.

All in all, the dissertation documents good academic craftsmanship. There are clear research questions. Theories and methods are well de-

scribed, justified and discussed. The empirical investigations are thoroughly conducted, and the questions answered and discussed at the end. Academic standards are fulfilled, the structure and the language clear and easy to follow. The strength of this dissertation is its detailed, systematic, and convincing contextual analysis of practices that support the main argument.

Nevertheless, the analysis could have been more reflective. Some methodological and analytic choices are taken for granted rather than discussed and argued. The differences between the present analysis of historic versions of several objects and Annemarie Mol's praxiography, which deals with different but simultaneous versions of one disease, are not critically discussed. Neither does the dissertation discuss the role played by construction and how something is stabilized in relation to the more momentaneous enactment or doing.

Another point that could have been further developed concerns what is actually constructed. Olsrud demonstrates how different technologies enact the museum objects, but there are other phenomena being practised as well. In the documentation practices, a much wider regime of ideas (or discourses) about history, about pasts and futures, about what a museum is or should be, and so on, are enacted and at the same time transform reality. Finally, a discussion of how the documentation practices relate to other kinds of museum work, such as exhibitions, is missing. However, documentation practices do not exist in a vacuum but instead in a wider museum context, and also in relation to society outside of the museum, which, in some respects is also enacted in museum practices. The wider relations and consequences of the practices studied could have been pursued further, which would probably have demonstrated the value of the praxiographic analysis even more.

In the end, even if the dissertation has its shortcomings, this does not change the overall impression of the qualities at the core of the dissertation, which is a solid, well-written and in several ways original contribution to the field of museum studies.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Fredrik Svanberg, Stockholm

An Ethnographic Approach to Alternative Food Networks

Jón Þór Pétursson, Intimate Food – Establishing Relationships Within the Food Chain. University of Iceland, Faculty of Sociology, Anthropology and Folkloristics, School of Social Sciences, Reykjavík 2020. 195 pp. Diss.

■ The dark blue cover printed with white letters gives a neutral but tasty aspect to this doctoral thesis which emphasizes the appetizing title of "Intimate food". The dissertation consists of five chapters and four appended articles. The chosen format is a compilation "of several separate scholarly articles focusing on a cohesive topic" introduced by an overview, here referred to as "the cape", which builds this PhD thesis on two major and complementary parts. The first part (about 100 pages) consists of a presentation in five chapters of the subject, the methods, the theoretical background and the conclusions of the thesis, including 18 pages of references. The second part reproduces four articles (also about 100 pages.) Two of the four articles have been published (in 2013 and 2018) in "peer-reviewed, reputable, international scientific journals" and the two others have been submitted for publication in such journals. Let's note that two of the articles were neither accepted nor published yet in May 2020, but were submitted – in the form presented in the dissertation.

I could summarize the dissertation in a single and multifaceted sentence like this: It proposes an ethnographic approach to different Icelandic actors in alternative food networks in the last ten years, and mainly aims to explore their relationships to organic food and to each other, as well as how this interaction builds on emotions and how it participates in the idea/co-creation of organic/local food. This short presentation reflects the complexity, and the richness, of a work that sheds light on interactions between people (given informants) sharing a common interest in organic products and Icelandic local or traditional food.

Originally interested in organic food as a field of research, the candidate decided to focus on re-

relationships and emotions linked to food products and food practices, and more specifically the way “people create meaningful relationships through food” (p. 13) by means of their engagement. The author defines the aim of the thesis as: “to describe and analyse food-related practices in the twenty-first century, particularly focusing on the emotional aspects of food practice and the creation of meaningful relationships between different actors within the contemporary food value chain” (p. 14). To help the reader in the task of finding the main perspectives in a vast topic, the candidate defines three research questions based on (1) relationships between actors in a market characterized by distance and anonymity and (2) the role of emotions in the creation of those relationships and in food practices. Finally, a third and overall angle examines (3) the cultural construction of the food value chain today, with concrete references to organic, local and heritage food.

The aim of the dissertation seems first to be ambitious at several levels. First because the “main phrasing” does not express any delimitation, neither in time nor in space, of the “food-related practices in the twenty-first century” (i.e. is the study about food practices in Iceland, or Nordic countries, or global?) and because several concepts are used in a broad sense (e.g. “people” or “food practices”). Secondly several academic concepts – such as emotions, meanings, practices or value chain – open up for a huge repertoire of previous works and disciplines such as psychology, economy, history, anthropology, linguistic, rural sociology, narrative studies etc. and are used without definition or appropriation (i.e. the author’s own delimitation for the concept). However, the text describes the frontiers of the study in further specifications, and it turns out to be delimited to an ethnographic approach to Icelandic informants’ relationships to organic food and to each other, during the last ten years or so. With this in mind, the topic becomes more concentrated, more innovative and more realistic, giving a concrete entrance to the doctoral work.

The ethnographic framework is a central part of the dissertation. It built on almost 40 interviews

and several hours of observation and participation in the field, both in a shop and on the website. The candidate quickly confirms the fundamental role of ethnography, both as a method and as a way of understanding the world. Studying interactions will emerge from the field and from the informants and therefore illustrate the complexity of food practices where “people” cannot differentiate between products, experiences, emotions or values (p. 15).

Furthermore, the dissertation offers good descriptions of the co-creation of meaningful values and ethical qualities of organic food when different actors in the value chain (consumer association, shop owners, producers, intermediaries and consumers) meet each other in reality or virtually – through the website, food activism, direct contact and chat. The main intention of the thesis is obviously both to describe and to analyse the way organic/local food products and values shape each other through narratives and practices. Relationships, emotions and cultural construction are key dimensions that the dissertation attempts to further develop and analyse.

The subject is not only important and interesting in term of academic and scientific research but also both in term of political concern and market innovation. The title and aim are attractive and at least two aspects make this dissertation original and valuable: (1) Such ethnographic approaches to food are rare in Iceland and the other Nordic countries, and it is delightful to be able to learn more about the Icelandic organic, or alternative, food market. (2) Studying emotions and co-creation of an alternative food value chain with the focus on consumption is unusual, as most studies concentrate on eating practices, ethical consumption or local and heritage food. The ethnographic approach and data of this dissertation are alone a substantially original contribution to the knowledge of the subject.

The book builds on five chapters, including a description of the articles and a conclusion.

Chapter 1 tells the story of a research process over almost ten years, where an initial genuine interest in organic food evolves towards an interest in the way practical and emotional relationships

through food are created. The ethnological prelude (part 1.3) is a central pillar of the dissertation, emphasizing the weight of European ethnology and folklore. The focus on exploring “micro processes of everyday life” is presented as an essential method in the doctoral work. New ethnological publications constitute part 1.4, giving a pertinent overview, mostly related to Nordic countries. The lack of reference to ethnologists from Southern Europe becomes problematic later, when the concepts of local food or *terroir*, which have been the core of such research in the last thirty years, are taken into consideration. The part about interdisciplinary food studies (part 1.5) refers to central authors such as S. Mintz, R. Wilk or C. Fischler, who have had a huge impact on food studies. Nevertheless, other major scholars are missing, as European food studies has exploded after the 1990s after the groundbreaking book by J. L. Flandrin and M. Montanari about Food History (see e.g. P. Scholliers’s article “Twenty-five Years of Studying un Phénomène Social Total”, 2007). The last part (1.6) presents an enriching multidisciplinary approach and leads the reader to perspectives considering agency and negotiation of food values through practices.

This first chapter undoubtedly takes the reader to the heart of the dissertation. It is promising, although several concepts are used without concrete definition or reference to the research field, which can create some ambivalence in the communication between author and reader (i.e. current concepts or fields of research which are very much studied at both multidisciplinary and disciplinary levels such as (1) *food practices* (especially everyday food consumption and eating practices with the movement of Social Practice Theory), (2) the *meaning of organic/alternative consumption* (especially with works on sustainable consumption – which is not only Goal 12 of the UN’s sustainable development goals – but also ethical consumption, which is named but through older publications such as Guthman or Johnston), and *traditional food and heritage*.

Chapter 2 presents methods and material. The empirical material is obviously one of the greatest

strengths of the work, both because of a certain continuity in time (over a decade) and because of its specificity. This part is well written and convincing, introducing nethnography, participant observations and semi-structured interviews as the main methods for data collection.

Chapter 3 concerns the theoretical background. After some pages displaying good critical reflection, part 3.2 presents and justifies the emotional practices as a potential theoretical framework, with sentences like “theories of emotion and affects helped to analyse the production and consumption of organic, local and heritage food” (p. 55). The part about narratives (3.3) is less convincing, however, while part 3.4 on heritage and tradition shows a profound knowledge of some of the central works in this field (Grasseni, Paxson, Heinrich). The political framework and the role of market innovation are missing in this discussion, but the micro approach is an appealing perspective. Chapter 4 gives brief presentations of the four articles presented in the dissertation, explaining the aims, results and places of publication or submission (see under). Chapter 5 is an effort to create a link between the chapters of the “cape” and the four articles by emphasizing a certain homogeneity and logic in the work. This may not be totally convincing but can open to further discussion.

The second part consists of four articles.

Article 1: “Eduardo’s Apples: The Co-Production of Personalized Food Relationships” (published in *Ethnologia Europaea* in 2013) is definitely a good publication. This is a descriptive paper, with a good empirical background offering colourful illustrations of real and virtual relationships to emphasize how people/informants “co-produce” values and knowledge. The perspective is original. The concept of co-production is appropriated here by the author, who uses it at a meta-level. This is not the classical co-production of material products but the one of immaterial meanings and ethical values created through relationships.

Article 2: “Organic Intimacy: Emotional Practices at an Organic Store” (published in

Agriculture and Human Values in 2018) is also a descriptive article where ethnographic material is at the core. The story of a local alternative organic shop is valuable and interesting, both as a testimony and as an academic work. It is an enjoyable narrative emphasizing the co-production of room/space and organic values/meanings, with delightful parts (e.g. the way an “organic space” is shaped by gestures and design (p. 590). Nevertheless I would appreciate hearing more about the *organic intimacy*, and why this concept gives a new analytical approach.

Article 3: “From Food to Mood: Co-consumption and Emotional Management”, submitted to *Food, Culture & Society* (no date), is about the Organic Consumer Association in Iceland. This is also a narrative about the rise and fall of an organic “product”, as the association almost lived and lasted in parallel to the Yggdrasil shop. The author is good at describing the small details shaping the continuity and the practices, but such a “micro story” is difficult to understand without the macro level of national regulations, global market rules or policies. The article is perhaps more about food activism than food practices.

Article 4: “Stirring up Skyr: From Live Cultures to Cultural Heritage”, submitted to *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (no date) has a very exciting title. Reading about the cultural construction of skyr is novel (at least I had not read about this before) and the story is fascinating. The good story is the strength of a paper which does not seem really achieved. The article offers many thought-provoking ideas that are unfortunately not developed (e.g. the dynamism between innovation and tradition in the construction of a product), and the reader eagerly awaits an elaborated version

The articles differ in purpose and focus, although they all follow the same research direction by developing the concept of co-production and insisting on the role of emotions. The four “key concepts” are developed each in its respective article, which emphasizes the lack of homogeneity in the thesis and the reader might miss a sort of Ariadne’s thread leading to a better understand-

ing of the main research questions. But the dissertation testifies to a thoughtful ethnographic approach and an exciting research question, illustrated by rich fieldwork. The originality of the research obviously rests on the novelty and quality of the data collection and the attempt to approach the subject through emotional practices.

Virginie Amilien, Oslo

Temporality and Materiality of Villages

Eeva Uusitalo, *Etnografian reitteä kylien ajalli suuteen ja aineellisuuteen (Ethnographic Routes into the Temporality and Materiality of Villages)*. University of Jyväskylä, Ruralia-instituutti, Helsinki 2020. 185 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISSN 1796-0657 (pdf).

■ Eeva Uusitalo’s doctoral thesis, which she defended at the University of Jyväskylä in August 2020, is based on ethnographic fieldwork in the villages of Ahvenselkä in the municipality of Salla and the village of Koli in the town of Lieksa. Uusitalo approaches her villages through two key concepts, *materiality* and *temporality*, and examines them as time-varying and adaptable formations, compositions and random places where the past, present and the future of the villages coexist.

Uusitalo explores the materiality of the villages mostly through the built environment but also by including the surrounding nature and the landscape of the villages. The villages are also examined through the concept of temporality, which has formed the cultural diversity of the villages. Therefore, she asks “What kind of temporal trajectories have formed the villages? What kind of things, events, processes or connections have in the course of time been part of the village?”

Uusitalo examines the transformations of the villages by focusing on how the past and the future are related in the present in certain moments. To capture these moments, she has conducted interviews and discussed with people, walked on the roads and paths of the villages making observations, and by sensing the environment. Uusitalo describes her research approach as walking,

watching and listening including both physicality, emotions and senses in her world of experience.

In Ahvenselkä, which Uusitalo describes in chapter 4, the building of the village infrastructure has been connected to hopes for a better future. This was also the case with the Vuotos reservoir, which had been planned to the vicinity of the village since 1970s. It created expectations and hopes among the villages but ended in disappointment and a feeling of indifference as the process went back and forth. In 2018 the idea was finally buried for good. According to Uusitalo, Ahvenselkä is stuck in an eternal present, waiting for a better future to come. Therefore, the temporality of Ahvenselkä includes a lesson of the past, namely that the belief in a better future does not guarantee it to become reality one day.

Uusitalo's findings strengthen the idea that although villages like Ahvenselkä are often described as dying villages, there is no reason to claim it is turning into a non-place or non-village where no village life exist but instead, although being a quiet village, Ahvenselkä has its own identity, pace and memories. It's special temporality and materiality become visible in the stories told by the villagers.

The other village of Uusitalo's interest is Koli, described in chapter 5, which she studies through the lens of tourism. The tourism activity started at Koli in the late 19th century when Finnish artists came to Koli to paint the landscapes from the Koli hill. Following the artists' footsteps, a growing number of visitors came and still come to witness the beauty of Koli. In 1991, the Koli National Park was founded. On the foot of the hill is the Koli village, where the first settlers came in the mid-18th century. The villagers adopted to tourism, although there have been moments of cultural friction between the locals and the visitors. In the course of time the Koli landscape has attracted tourists, artists, environmental conservationists and real estate traders.

Koli is responsive to various interests and interpretations, and according to Uusitalo the village is in the wake of tourism constantly in a process of becoming. In the early years of Koli

tourism, it was the artists who defined the way of looking at and from Koli. Now the production of Koli imagery has democratized as anyone can share their favourite spots in Koli in the social media. Therefore, the strength of Koli lies in its versatility, where everyone can define it in their own way and create a personal relationship to it.

The starting points of the study are interesting but also challenging. The main material of the work consists of interviews, observations and the researcher's own reflections. Older newspaper material as well as the guest book of Kolin Ryynänen's artist residency have also been utilized. The subjective or autoethnographic approach of the work is thus dominant but also justified, giving her work a personal touch. Thus, Uusitalo travels different routes not only at the sign of the interviewed villagers but also towards her own research questions and materials, anchoring her research to sensory ethnography and, with reflection, to the autoethnographic research tradition. Uusitalo's openness to the challenges of doing research, the significance of the decade between data collection and active writing, becoming familiar with the villages and the interpretation of the data show maturity to look at oneself as a researcher as well.

Eeva Uusitalo's work continues the tradition of village research in the field of ethnology and in this study introducing the everyday and everyday environments of the villagers of Ahvenselä and Koli. Uusitalo's research is a welcome addition to village and rural research, as there is relatively little research, especially about villages in Lapland. In Finland, the roots of village research date back to the interwar period, when villages across the country were documented. In the 1960s, rural construction was enthusiastically studied until ethnographers and ethnologists became increasingly interested in urbanization and urban living. Since then, a new interest towards the countryside and villages as a contradiction for urban research has increased as part of the rural reconstruction taken and taking place.

The work of Eeva Uusitalo continues this new research tradition. The work has a clear anthro-

political approach and theoretical frame, although Uusitalo moves in the fields of ethnology and anthropology, bringing both methodological and interpretive tone to the study of villages. Uusitalo's research complements the tradition of ethnographic and ethnological village research, to which it also brings its own clear addition through new perspectives and reflection.

In Uusitalo's research, reflexivity forms both a tool and empirical material through which she makes insights, interpretations and analyzes of the villages of her study. Uusitalo's personal experiences bring interesting and added value to the interpretations, but the experiences also take the researcher to the brink of challenges and uncertainty. Uusitalo is experimental and bold, and the things and sensory experiences experienced in the villages take Uusitalo's research in different directions, which is reflected in both the fieldwork and the concepts of work. Indeed, they are abundant in research and it is difficult to understand the significance of all of them for the work as a whole. The research is also marked by the problem of material acquisition and the low use of other materials. A material- and source-critical discussion could also have been more in-depth.

The polyphony of the villagers and the researcher's personal experiences bring depth and personal tone to the work. In Eeva Uusitalo's work, theories and concepts dominate the first and especially the third chapter of the work, in which she engages in an interesting dialogue with the methodology and the villages she explores. However, the theoretical discussion does not

continue with the same intensity in the analytical chapters, which are descriptive in nature. The descriptions of Ahvenselkä and Koli are captivatingly written, and especially in chapter 4, where she describes the village of Ahvenselkä, Uusitalo's enthusiasm and empathic approach to her research object is clearly noticeable. Chapters 4 and 5 are rich in content but the concepts of the work have not been applied to the analysis. As a reader, I therefore missed an in-depth dialogue between empirics, theories, and concepts in these chapters.

Despite the criticism, as a whole the work of Uusitalo with a rich empirical material, adequate quotes and with field notes is ethnologically and socially relevant. The significance of the work extends therefore beyond the university, offering valuable perspectives on Ahvenselkä and Koli that can be utilized for regional development as well as, for example, the villages' own development activities and their planning.

As a whole, Eeva Uusitalo's research is an interesting and important addition on the temporal development and material diversity of Finnish villages, which are influenced by their past, present and future prospects, residents, decision-makers and visitors, as well as wider social and global influences. As a result, each village is also special in its own way – just like a thesis completed at the end of a long research project. Eeva Uusitalo's research is an indication of the multidimensional nature of ethnological research, which enables the social interaction that research in our field has been known to have made and for which it is valued.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Åbo (Turku)

Book Reviews

Memories and Identities Manifested in City Life

Anna-Maria Åström & Laura Kolbe, Stadsbornas Helsingfors. Helsingfors stads historia efter 1945, 5. Edita Publishing Ab, Helsingfors 2018. 645 pp. Ill. ISBN 98-951-3-483-7.

■ In this stout volume, which constitutes part five of the history of the city of Helsinki, Anna-Maria Åström has summarized many years of research on city life and urban history, not least concerning Helsinki. Most of the book consists of Åström's urban ethnological study. The historian Laura Kolbe rounds off the book with a shorter account of the urban space in the nation, along with the post-war politicization and ideological currents, but that will not be considered in this review.

Åström begins by discussing her material in relation to her interpretations. She interprets the city from a textual level, which combines perceptions and experiences with ideas about the city. Her perspective on change allows her to see the tenacious structures of everyday life in Helsinki. Since the book is based on the city dwellers' recollections, there is a discussion of the large corpus of questionnaire responses on which the presentation is based. Åström asks interesting questions about how we remember, what we forget, how history is perceived, and how people relate to official historiography. The three questionnaires that resulted in 390 responses mainly describe the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, but also the time when they were written in the mid and late 1990s. All social classes are represented in the material, including the upper class and those who have lived on the margins of society. It is particularly meritorious that the quotations from the interviews state the age and occupation of the person quoted. Åström calls her informants "memoir writers", and they have all been given a place in the book through a separate list in the appendix.

To be able to describe the 1980s and 1990s as well, a great deal of press material has been

used, and in some cases fiction and other historical accounts. Throughout the book, this material is also interlarded with hard facts in the form of population statistics for different parts of the city, patterns of consumption, and matters related to housing development, gentrification processes, and changes in the public space. For example, the reader is given detailed background descriptions of the stock of flats at different times, how different social classes lived, the number of inhabitants per room, and the surroundings of the different properties. But these facts serve only as a background. What is interesting in the depictions is the ethnological gaze with its eye for everyday life and the places where it is lived.

Åström is also able to interweave the large body of factual material with an analysis that shows her great insight into much of the basic theory of the city and its life, as propounded by scholars such as Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, Mats Franzén, Bosse Bergman, Louis Mumford, and Richard Sennett. Her approach to the culture of memory is largely based on the theories of Maurice Halbwachs and Paul Connerton. Under the heading "The City as a Place – the City Dweller as a Witness" she discusses topics such as individual versus collective memory and how space relates to experiences.

The presentation is both thematic and chronological, which allows the text to be read in both ways. It is preferable, however, to follow the themes and the informative headings. These tell us, for example, that the stairwell served as a shared space, and how the middle class around 1970 were on the boundary between two periods. By the 1990s the first refugees have arrived, and the headings now concern integration and the dilemmas of multiculturalism.

The book is far too rich to do justice to it all in a review. Here are just a few examples of the contents.

A distinctively Finnish feature, of course, is the sauna. In Helsinki there were still public saunas in every part of the city in the 1950s. It was not until the 1970s that the number decreased radically. The sauna was for a long time an important meet-

ing place outside the home and the courtyard. This was also where the children were socialized by the parents and learned how to meet other people.

The neighbourhood city has proven to be a well-functioning type of conurbation, and Åström describes it as an extended home, where the private is connected to the public. Here people knew each other well and there was also a mix of social classes. The neighbourhood structure created courtyards, and the descriptions of the 1950s and 1960s courtyards are wonderfully nostalgic, a place for games, social interaction, and frequent meetings between people but also for waste management and other things to do with public services. Here Åström shows how homogenized the accounts of the 1950s are when they tell similar stories of the home and neighbourhood life. The neighbourhoods were socially mixed, there were plenty of shops as well as parks and public spaces. Åström's depiction of life in the city is not based solely on quotations from the memoir writers. She herself plays a very active part through her explanatory and problematizing analysis.

The construction of suburbs in Helsinki began in the 1950s, but it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the major development took place. Now there are also recollections of how it felt like coming to heaven to get a flat with a balcony and a bathroom of your own with hot running water. But the suburbs also brought social problems and gangs. Åström observes that social problems were often attributed to the physical environment, and she turns to Henri Lefebvre, who in 1968 urged city dwellers to take possession of their own city. However, it was not until the 1990s that the city of Helsinki set about urban planning in order to prevent segregation and social problems.

The well-functioning neighbourhood city gradually disappeared after the 1970s, as buildings were turned into offices and housing gave way to commerce in the city centre. However, there was a partial return to housing with the construction of new residential buildings at Skatudden.

Helsinki's department stores, its squares and streets, reflect the changes to the cityscape. Different memoirs show different boundaries and

contents in city life. In this respect, Åström believes that Helsinki has formed its very own memory system by passing on its traditions on the basis of public buildings, places, streets, and squares. Senate Square is described as Finland's historic monumental centre. Tourists tend to visit the Old Market Hall while the city people themselves shop in a simpler covered market. Flea markets, exhibition centres, and new hotel complexes will also increasingly set their stamp on life in the city. At the same time, there are descriptions of what lingers on. With a nod to Walter Benjamin, the passages in Helsinki are presented as if they were children of the same spirit as Les Halles.

The theme of urban festive culture is covered in examples such as children's day, May walks, and spring parties in the 1950s, and the festivals and marathons of more recent times. The city's glades are its cafes, restaurants, and bars, visits to which are described as civilization projects. Stories of visits to the standard cultural institutions – theatres, cinemas, libraries, museums, etc. – are not lacking either. Here it is often also the buildings themselves that are interesting, such as *Kiasma* and the *Finlandia* building, to name but a few.

Perhaps, however, it is towards the end of the book that the ethnologist really comes to the fore. True, she has already given us much new insight through the many memoirs, but here she deals with identifications, for example on the basis of speaking Swedish or Finnish, along with the Russian-speaking minority and the Roma population. As in all cities, the uniqueness of Helsinki, in Åström's opinion, can be found at the intersection of the city's spaces and places and the individual and collective experiences of them. But she also discusses how the individual aspect conceals structural interpretations, which she believes arise precisely in the dialogue with the special Helsinki landscape and the collective memories in which her writers are involved.

The book's illustrations consist not only of evocative photographs in colour and black and white documenting the city's different eras, but also maps and plans of furnished flats in the spirit of Börje Hanssen.

Åström concludes her rich depiction of life in the big city of Helsinki with a reminder that the extensive memoirs on which her account is based can be used in the future by researchers to analyse the narratives from different angles.

Reading this book has made me stroll around Helsinki with new eyes. I have been enabled to see things I have not previously reflected on, while learning so much about the city of Helsinki in particular, but also about city life in general. The book is a rich concentrate of both.

Birgitta Svensson, Lund

Festive Customs of Swedish-Speaking Finland

Anne Bergman & Carola Ekrem, Stora finlandssvenska festboken. SLS, Helsinki/Appell förlag, Stockholm 2020. 456 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-461-4.

■ It feels strange, almost obscene, to read about gatherings and parties, about meeting and socializing in these times when physical and social distancing are concepts that we have all become increasingly familiar with. At the same time, it is highly appealing to have the privilege of devoting myself to something else for a while, with the help of Anne Bergman and Carola Ekrem and their “Big Finland-Swedish Festival Book”. It is a solid book in glittery pink, with colour-coded chapters also visible on the edge, which actually helps the reader to navigate in the book. The colourful look contrasts with my everyday life in the hastily reorganized walk-in closet that has served as my study for just over a year. This is where I have now read about customs, peasant weddings, birthday celebrations, Easter witches, and *memma*.

The authors of the book both have long careers working at the archives of the Swedish Literature Society. A few years ago, together with several others, they published the book *Arkiv, minne, glömska: Arkiven vid Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 1885–2010* (2014), a brick of a book about the extensive documentation that takes place at the archive of Swedish culture in Finland.

In this their latest book, it is once again the extensive material in the archives of the Swedish Literature Society that is at the core. Several generations of knowledge constitute the foundation of the book. As a cultural historian, it is particularly interesting to be presented to researchers in the field both past and present. We also get a lot of Finnish history presented in small portions.

The book is divided into two parts, one covering annual festivals, the other festivals of the life cycle, written by Anne Bergman and Carola Ekrem respectively. They wrote the final chapter together, focusing on what research on festive customs looks like today and how it was pursued in the past. They also describe how they went about the work. This division into annual and life-cycle festivals is traditional, following the pattern displayed by most festive practices.

The part about annual customs starts with New Year, or at least almost. Among the year’s festive customs, it is of course Christmas and New Year customs that attract most attention, and it is also this that the book begins with. From the festivities of the old year and the new, we follow the year through Runeberg Day, Friends Day (Valentine’s Day), May Day, Midsummer, and Halloween – and of course a lot of other important days until the next Christmas and New Year season. Annual festivals are commonly illustrated as a wheel. Having grown up in Sweden, I recognize many of the customs described here. There are, of course, some differences, such as Swedish Day, which dates back to the early twentieth century, when the Swedish People’s Party established a special Swedish Day in an attempt to increase the sense of solidarity among Finland’s Swedish-speaking population. The date chosen for this marked the death of Gustavus Adolphus and its associations with the era when Sweden was a great European power. Neither the day’s celebrations nor the chosen date have been uncontroversial. There has been friction between the two language groups, although the focus has been increasingly on similarities rather than differences between Finnish and Swedish speakers. The links to Gustavus Adolphus have not been entirely unproblematic,

arousing associations of imperialism, militarism, and nationalism.

I am particularly fond of the idea of following the traditions from the past to the present and seeing similarities and differences, what has been preserved and what has been added. Halloween is one new addition that nevertheless has a historical foundation, although there is no tradition of celebrating it in the American way in either Finland or Sweden.

The section on festivals of the life cycle has a similar arrangement. Here the special occasions follow a human life, from the cradle to the grave and everything in between. The very first party is for a newborn baby – or even an unborn baby – with the rather new custom of the “baby shower”, although there was a predecessor in the *barnsängskalas* (childbed party). Baptism, confirmation, weddings and finally funerals form the backbone of a person’s life-cycle occasions, but of course there are others, such as birthday celebrations, Mother’s Day and Father’s Day, and various school parties. Annual festivals and life-cycle festivals intersect, giving a structure to life. They drive the individual, the family, and society forward. The traditions are viewed in the light of social development and it is clear how they are not only interconnected, but also change over time.

The focus is of course on Finland-Swedish customs, and it is clear that these are in constant change. In the classical ethnological manner, they are considered in terms of time, place, and social context, but of course, gender too is an important category here. I would have liked to see more discussion of how Finnish-Swedish customs relate to Finnish, Swedish, Nordic, and also Russian customs. This does come up in some parts of the book, as in the section about Swedish Day, but it would have been good to see more of it.

How to do research on festive practices is the topic of the final chapter in the book. This serves as a conclusion that gathers the threads together, but also as a look ahead to what remains to be studied. There are tasters of major topics in research on festive customs, such as the relative nature of the concepts, the connection to historical

and social aspects – celebrations can be as much a matter of identity as how we dress or speak.

It is perfectly possible to read the book from cover to cover. The texts are very well written, making it easy to follow the descriptions, discussions, and analyses. But perhaps it is as a reference work that the book will be most durable, a volume that is good to have on the shelf and keep returning to. The excellent references provided by the authors in each section and chapter deserve special mention. This means that the book can also function well as an introduction to the subject.

Anne Bergman and Carola Ekrem have rigorously conducted the various studies that make up the foundation for *Stora finlandssvenska festboken*. Perhaps it is precisely how the concept of *fest* is filled with content and how this can be exemplified that is the great benefit of reading the book from cover to cover. The reasoning is followed consistently to a conclusion, and it is fascinating to see how questions and perspectives are examined from every angle. This is a highly readable and easily accessible book, even for those who are not already interested in or familiar with discussions about the cultural history of festivals and their customs. As such, it clearly fills a gap, not only for students in higher education but also for general readers.

Marie Steinrud, Stockholm

From Practice of Folklore to Theory of Tradition

Simon J. Bronner, *The Practice of Folklore. Essays toward a Theory of Tradition*. University Press of Mississippi, Jackson 2019. 359 pp. Ill. ISBN 478-2-4968-2263-5.

■ It is surely a daunting task that the American folklorist Simon J. Bronner has set for himself, working towards a theory of tradition by way of the concepts of practice and folklore, or to be more precise the practice of folklore. The challenge is further underscored by the fact that in doing this he is invoking three so-called *general-*

ia words, keywords (to use Raymond Williams' term) with an alarmingly broad set of syntagmatic and paradigmatic possibilities, thereby making them extremely fluid and difficult to pinpoint as to their possible meanings in context, to say nothing of the possibility of making them part of a theory.

What can be said of the three words or concepts is that all three are temporal by nature. They work in time and by time, although in different, often overlapping ways. Of the three the one that is closest to Bronner's mind, most central to his project, it seems, is folklore. It the narrowest of the trio as to its various connotations, although it also has a tendency to slip away into other designations such as folklife, folk culture or just plain folk. Paradoxically, folklore today is a concept which in certain North European countries is retreating (or disappearing) as a disciplinary unit, when neighbouring concepts such as ethnology/ethnography, cultural studies, cultural analysis and popular culture studies are making inroads into its ever more contested field of analysis. When I studied folklore in the 1990s the idea of folklore was one about the mental, immaterial, imaginary aspects of folk culture, both oral and written, often involving questions of superstition and also the performative, even the artistic to a high degree, while ethnology was more about things, materials, everyday life as it was lived by the *ethnos*, the people, groups of people more or less in the present (or in history but not necessarily a folkloristically defined one). Folklore seemed to hold a slightly awkward position somewhere between literature and folk ideas, or indeed as part of a cultural history and a culture in the broadest sense. Today the discipline is under pressure from more "materialist", more "presentist", more "activist" varieties of cultural inquiry, e.g. in the form of ethnographies of various kinds, such as in the Nordic context the one studying "life-modes" as practised by Thomas Højrup and others in Denmark, the phenomenological ethnology of Jonas Frykman, Maja Povrzanović Frykman, Nils Gilje and others in Sweden and Norway, also an experiential form of ethnography which I associate with Orvar Löfgren, Billy Ehn and Richard

Wilk, and a more narrative variant of folkloristics pursued e.g. by the Gotlandic folklorists Ulf Palmfelt and Owe Ronström and my colleague Lena Marander-Eklund at Åbo Akademi, to name just a few of these often quite divergent research variants and their practitioners in the field of ethnology/folkloristics/oral studies.

But as Bronner himself surely is well aware, the names of researchers are of less importance in trying to establish a way of doing research, although they are important, as he also shows eminently in his book, as ways of refining and stabilizing various research traditions (sic!). This he does by way of an impressive historiographical survey in the book under review, performed mostly on the American side of folkloristics, although his book also gains some traction as a comparative study mainly of different uses of folklore and ethnography as analytical tools, including some interesting takes on Dutch folklore, society and politics.

The book, with its impressive length and breadth is in itself quite a daunting task for a reader to get through, as it is packed with information not only about the three central concepts of the work, but also several lengthy case studies (at least eight if my reading is correct). In this review, however, I will focus on the theoretical questions arising from this task which Bronner has set himself, a task which one, before starting to read the book, might think of as almost impossible to accomplish, working his way from the practice of folklore towards a theory of tradition.

My reflections on the challenge faced by Bronner are meant to encourage further discussion of these topics, and not in any way to argue that his project is doomed from the start or impossible even to consider (though a more circumspect researcher might have thought one or two times before starting such an experience, because of the hurdles it sets up for the writer).

What seems to me to be a possible starting point when one is trying to work out a theory of tradition by way of the practice of folklore is firstly to try to get a fair evaluation of the concepts themselves, their usefulness as explanatory concepts in this case. But where to begin, since, as I indicated,

they are in themselves extremely slippery, multifaceted, multivocal. If one starts with the concept of practice as Bronner does with a broad and even-handed brush, one quickly realizes that the concept is heavily loaded with theory from day one. Going back at least to Aristotle's praxis theory in his *Nicomachean Ethics* and continuing via Thomas Aquinas' reworking and refining of the Aristotelian concept as practice, coming up into the era of the great metaphysicians (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz) and the early "pragmatists" or empiricists (Bacon, Newton, and earlier on Bruno and Cusanus) the concept is in a position of being at the intersection of immanence and transcendence, and at the same time, with the emergence of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century the concept, with its perhaps hidden roots in the other concept under consideration, tradition, it enters a new world, so to speak, a world in which this other concept, tradition, as noted by the sociologist Edward Shils in 1981, was fast disappearing from the scholarly horizon. The Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko, in an essay in 1999 on traditions in the construction of cultural identity, referring to Shils' understanding of the values of traditions, seen as constituents of a worthwhile life, notes that the desire to be free and the inclination for reason coexists with the respect for rules, with the need for continuity with what has gone before, with the sense of the past and an attachment to locality and collectivity. But according to Shils this was no longer so in the era of Enlightenment, which in his view was antithetical to tradition. Instead the Enlightenment became the new tradition. But it did not wholly erase the other older variants, although it became the substantive tradition. A balance was struck between respect for authority on one hand and self-confidence in those exercising authority on the other hand, making it possible for the Enlightenment's ideal of emancipation through the exercise of reason to move forward.

But as noted by Shils and Honko (neither of whom Bronner mentions), the ultimate failure of the programme of total rationalization in our society restores the possibility of substantive traditionality in the setting of moderate individualism

and a more limited rationalism. The paradox is set by Shils this way: human beings cannot survive without traditions even though they are so frequently dissatisfied with their traditions.

Practice as a concept then seems closely related to tradition and thereby to various forms of groups, communities – which also goes the other way around – which in my view surely is one of the most interesting and intriguing ones in this respect, namely the question of how practices are related to folk/community/locality, or we-ness, as Bronner calls it. In this way practice is also related to questions of a more "transcendental" nature, the first of which is the one concerning the inherent values and norms in these practices and traditions. If they are valuable, why is this? How are we to understand the questions of normativity in practices and traditions? A radical and much debated thesis has of course been put forward by the Scottish philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre, a scholar who for a long time has been active in American universities, who connects these concepts to a third one, that of virtues. This concept is also one which Aristotle and Aquinas both were busy studying and trying to understand. For MacIntyre (an ex-Marxist turned Catholic) virtue is a key concept when trying to understand what he sees as the ethical difficulties confronting modern rationalist, indeed capitalist society. Or rather, he states that the lack of virtues, such as the four classical ones and the three Christian ones, but more broadly qualities connected to tradition and community, is what ails the post-Enlightenment world. As he states this in his *After Virtue* (written in 1981, the same year as Shils' book on tradition): "The hypothesis which I wish to advance is that in the actual world which we inhabit the language of morality is in the same state of grave disorder as the language of natural science in the imaginary world which I described. What we possess, if this view is true, are the fragments of a conceptual scheme, parts which now lack the contexts from which their significance derived. We possess indeed simulacra of morality, we continue to use many of the key expressions. But we have – very largely, not entirely – lost our comprehen-

sion, both theoretical and practical, of morality.”

This kind of reality envisioned by MacIntyre (via Aquinas and Aristotle) is marked by the interconnection of the concepts of community, practices, tradition and a fourth one, *telos*, this latter one establishing an ultimate aim or an arc consisting of the preferred values, norms and practices of a human lifetime. This world view might be seen as a triangle or rectangle in constant movement, not up or down, from side to side, but with constant internal feedback circuits between the different “pillars” or points in the structure, forming and upholding the whole moral enterprise. It is a view which could be called moralistic or anachronistic if one prefers such a critical outlook. But it is one which is not that easy to refute, since it can be shown to have something as a truth value in trying to come to terms with the present situation in the world, not least in the United States.

Bronner’s move when confronted with this challenge of the slippery nature of tradition and therefore also of practice, and as I tried to show, inherently also questions of norms and virtues, is a pragmatist one. He acknowledges the normative status of tradition seen in this “folkloristic” way. He does this most eminently in the longest and most thorough of his case studies in the book, the one about the Amish of the American Midwest, especially in the state of Pennsylvania. Here is a close-knit community of “true believers”, Anabaptists who have escaped the atrocities they faced in their old homeland of Switzerland and are still to this day living a life which might be deemed highly anachronistic and by some even troublesomely so, with various taboos against the practices of the neighbouring capitalist society. But not wholly, and as Bronner so instructively shows, they manage these pressures via a shrewd adaptation to this same “fast capitalism” by way of a much slower, more “intimate” form of capitalism in which e.g. owning cars is prohibited as is higher school education, since they both might disrupt the community and its core values.

This example goes a long way to show how important the question of both core values and canon might be to a tradition, but it can’t say much about

where the critical values and the worth of a canon actually are to be found, how they must constantly be revitalized, re-evaluated, reconstructed in a world which is changing fast and in which the value systems at the same time seem to move at hyper-speed, to use a prefix Bronner is fond of, hyper.

What Simon J. Bronner is trying to achieve in his monumental book is something quite remarkable, namely a great synthesis of several divergent streams when it comes to the conception of folklore. Paradoxically he does this by tapping into the twin concepts of praxis/practice and tradition, which are much older and more established than the concept of folklore, or for that matter even folk which as a concept has a rather quaint history and now has to share semantic space with both *ethnos* (Greek) and *populus* (Latin). But there is a further problem with the folk concept in this case, something Bronner must be aware of but does not address straight on in his theory-building. It is the question of the word *folk* in American English, often understood in connection with radicalism both socially and politically, something which was highlighted in the 1960s with the folk music and civil rights movements which to a large extent converged. Indirectly Bronner acknowledges this, of course, by tying the American folklore concept and its history to a performativeness much less active in the European idea of the concept. Here questions of roots and nationality have instead been at the forefront of the scholarly discussion about folklore, something e.g. Honko’s article from 1999 is an example of. The concept of practice and tradition (the latter understood by Bronner as pointing back to its original meaning in Latin, derived from *tradere*, to hand on, as thus related to hand and handiness. He then makes the handiness of tradition the key to the analytical strategy of folklore and folklife studies.

The idea is, Bronner notes, that the way people *perceive* the hand – active, immediate, instrumental, gestural, and visible – particularly in relation to the mind – passive, remote, non-productive, individualized, and unseen – dictates the way scholars *conceive* folklore as pervasive, relevant,

contemporary, functional, expressive, and ultimately meaningful. Being a cultural resource *at hand*, he adds, tradition represents everyday processes of social control and expression, and these processes are often set in contrast to modernization associated with standardization, commercialization, discontinuity, and artificiality.

The problem with this kind of analysis is only that a metaphorical explanation, slippery as it is, is not quite sufficient to carry the weight this explanation gives it. But Bronner, being a great synthesizer and a pragmatist, might be well-schooled in an especially American way of dealing with value issues and paradoxes, it seems to me. Another metaphor he brings to his analysis is crossroads, surely one which is often used when it comes to American music, not least in blues and rock'n'roll. But of course it is also convergent with the methodology of intersectionality put forward by black feminist thinkers and scholars in the 1970s, the idea of a cumulative oppression mechanism operating in society in a way which often makes is paradoxically invisible. Therefore intersectionality, a variation of the crossroads theme, is viewed as an apt instrument for highlighting questions of dominance/subservience in human affairs, especially concerning race/ethnology, gender and class, but might also be applied to generation, disabilities and so on.

Bronner is aware of this usage, of course, but it is beside his main point in the book, which is about using practice and tradition in a new way. Here he is also applying his synthesis-making point of view to the questions of digitality, which he reads as above all a question of speed and presentism. The idea of movement (whether personal or societal, real or symbolic), of progress, of a fast capitalism which holds the whole society more or less in its grip and of an extreme individualism seen by the society as a core virtue, in this type of a relentlessly moving society, is in Bronner's analysis checked and balanced by a contra-move in the other direction, that of folk, of community, of we-ness practised in real life situations, something which he as a folklorist is eager to explore. His inquiry into various forms of community and

identity, such as the Amish, but also several other important issues such as school shootings and the question of autism, the symbolism of sailor and sea in bawdy singing events and a praxeological inquiry into the origin, form, and cognition of a troubling folk character, the boogieman, leads him to a kind of stance more or less temporally defined and therefore perhaps movable, concerning questions of imminent or openly visible racism and other forms of inequity, economic, social, political, in "fast capitalism" and an era, as noted, of often extreme individualism.

But questions still unanswered when it comes to the digital revolution and its social, economic and political consequences are those concerning the possible breakup of analogically construed communities and groups by the virtuality factor today, something which social analysts are being made more aware of lately. And the other thing Bronner's take on the digital perhaps does not address forcefully enough is the related question of a possible co-existence between digital and analogue versions of "reality", which the Swedish historian Rasmus Fleischer has called a post-digital society.

To conclude, Bronner's book is a stimulating read and his views on American society have an optimistic bent. He is able to mobilize a more or less calm way of dealing with these difficult questions of e.g. school shootings and toxic masculinity. But at the same time, when reading these essays published in 2019, the question that keeps popping up in my mind is the one about what could be called malicious practices, which Bronner of course is aware of and discusses in a couple of his case studies. I am thinking of the insurrection at the Capitol building in Washington D.C. on 6 January 2021. What was so striking with this explosion of anger and hate and desecration of American democracy, its most "sacred" rooms and settings, was at the same time the parade of various symbols and gestures of community and collectivity the rioters showed off, often with deep historical roots in American society and with openly racist, white supremacist, secessionist or apocalyptic aspirations. The practices of these

insurrectionist groups could and should in my mind be analysed in their full symbolic and practical detail, in order to get a fuller understanding of what the American Dream/Nightmare/Mind as of today might be about to some Americans, as a practice, a reality and indeed a form of tradition. I hope Simon Bronner or some of his colleagues will have the time and the energy to dig into this whole complex. I think it would be of great service both to Americans themselves and to the discipline of folkloristics.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Five Centuries of Food Habits in Norway

Annechen Bahr Bugge, Fattigmenn, Tilsørte bondepiker og rike riddere. Mat og spisevaner i Norge fra 1500-tallet til vår tid. Cappelen Damm, Oslo 2019. 560 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-02-54934-3.

■ Historically oriented research on food and meals has enjoyed a renaissance in the Nordic countries in recent years. A younger generation with new eyes has returned to questions of food and eating that were studied in the 1970s and 1980s. Consumption, identity, sustainability, and the tension between global and local have replaced the focus of previous studies on when dishes and meal patterns were shaped and spread. To simplify, I would say that researchers have gone from asking *what* was eaten and *how* it was eaten, to ask *why*. However, the question of why eating habits arise, develop, and change requires a knowledge of what is eaten. For those of us who are active in research on meals, it has become increasingly obvious that the general works we have relied on have become obsolete. In addition, much of the knowledge about techniques of preserving, seasoning, and cooking that was still alive when those works were written is no longer general knowledge.

It is therefore to be welcomed that Annechen Bahr Bugge has tackled the project of summarizing Norwegian food habits from the sixteenth century to the present day. Bugge is a sociologist, working at the National Institute for Consumer

Research SIFO at OsloMet – the metropolitan university. In a book of well over five hundred pages, she has created a new survey that should live at least as long as its predecessor, Fredrik Grøn's classic *Om kostholdet i Norge* from 1942. Fredrik Grøn is also palpably present in the first part concerning the period up to 1900. This is in large measure an updated version of Grøn's pioneering work.

As we approach the present it is other sources and literature that dominate, not least what can be found in SIFO's own archives and reports. SIFO has its roots in the desire among nutritionists and politicians for a healthier and more rational life within the framework of the modern nation state. In this way SIFO, ever since its forerunner the State Institute of Home Economics Research was founded in 1939, has been at the centre of development of the modern food system that has fundamentally changed the content of food and the structure of meals. Modern kitchens with electric stoves and rational interiors, "the Oslo breakfast", the emergency food of the war years and the humanitarian aid in the form of "Swedish soup", milk in cardboard packages, the microwave oven, pasta, light products, TV dinners, tapas bars, and many other phenomena bring us right down to the present day. Unlike most historical surveys, considerable space is devoted to the last twenty-five years, with a heavy focus on eating out, and on food and drink as a lifestyle marker and as self-fulfilment.

There is a clear ambition to answer questions about what was eaten and why it was eaten. In this way, we are given a good blend of the different traditions in food and meal research. There is also an ambition to follow meals in various arenas. The self-sufficient peasant household, home cooking, industrial food, and fine dining restaurants are all given space here. I am somewhat ambivalent about this desire to cover everything related to changes in food, drink, and meals. Sometimes as a reader you are snatched away from a topic just as you are beginning to grasp it. At other times, however, it works well, showing the dynamics and reciprocal connections between ingredients

and dishes, home meals and eating out, industrial food and home cooking.

The book is chronologically arranged, with brief introductory and concluding discussions. In the introduction Bugge touches on an interesting question about the historiographical narratives. While traditional history writing is often based on a presumed evolutionary process, the history of meals is thought to go in the opposite direction. The notion that we ate better and more wholesome food in the past and that civilization has spoiled our eating habits is a very tenacious myth, to which most food historians, regardless of geographical location, need to relate. Pre-modern diversity is thought to give way to high-yielding crops with low nutritional content, which are then mistreated by a food industry that fills the food with salt, sugar, and pathogenic additives. The population gets sick and obese, and no one can cook from scratch anymore. My description is deliberately exaggerated, Bugge is content to observe that SIFO has often received research funding on the premise that something must be done about our modern eating habits. But the gnawing question remains: wasn't it better in the past after all?

The story of modern food production can also be written as a success story, in which food has become cheaper, more accessible, tastier and safer than ever before in human history. We live in a world where almost everyone can eat their fill, and most of the time that people used to spend on producing raw materials and cooking can now be used for something else. It would be frivolous to deny that the modern food system has, on the whole, achieved a dream that utopians have nourished as long as they have written about utopias – a world where almost everyone can eat as much as they want every day and do not have to spend more than a limited part of the day to ensure that there is food on the table. At the same time, recognition of this progress must not obscure the fact that development has also created new problems. The modern food system poses challenges for ecological, economic, and social sustainability. Impoverished soils, collapsed marine ecosystems,

reduced biological diversity, shattered village communities, and collapsed local economies are phenomena that have affected Norway too. On the whole, the book navigates this historiographical minefield skilfully, without descending into either evolutionary romanticism or unnuanced critique of civilization.

With the ambition to give this history both substance and vigour, different types of text appear in the book. There are abundant tables with data and keywords, but these are mixed with in-depth considerations of certain phenomena, where history is brought to life through people and food-stuffs. It is commendable, and most of the time it works well. Sometimes, however, it becomes a bit cluttered and difficult to maintain the focus on the main lines in the history. But that is probably inescapable in a book of this type. What is worse is the format, an unwieldy book in flimsy binding, which unfortunately does not invite reading it all at a stretch, no matter how endlessly fascinating it is to hear stories of how people in a country on the outskirts of Europe have filled their stomachs over the centuries.

This can hopefully be corrected in future editions. For as a valuable reference work this book will surely enjoy a long life, both as a basic textbook in education concerning food and meals and as a book for the general public with an interest in history.

Håkan Jönsson, Lund

Maritime Culture in a Danish Archipelago

Palle O. Christiansen, Med skipet i kroppen. Mennesker og maritimt miljø i Det sydfynske Øhav 1750–1950. Marstal Søfartsmuseum 2020. 184 pp. ISBN 978-87-89829-74-6.

■ In many respects it is the sea and maritime culture that unites the Nordic countries. I have often stood in maritime communities in Skåne and criticized the term *fiskeläge* or “fishing hamlet”. Surely people don’t believe that poor fishermen built these large symmetrical stone houses on high socles? Most nineteenth-century ships have long

since been wrecked or chopped up, but some of the old dwelling houses of captains, skippers, and shipowners still stand as impressive witnesses to the nineteenth-century era when shipping was an important industry along the Nordic coasts.

In *Med skipet i kroppen* ("With the Ship in the Body") Palle O. Christiansen takes us to "the South Funen Island Sea" (the archipelago south of Fyn) during the period 1750–1950 to meet people and maritime environments in one of Denmark's leading shipping regions. The book tells the story of shipping and the local community, describing how skippers, family businesses, and master shipbuilders developed their fleet of sailing ships and wooden ships in the nineteenth century instead of winding it down, and how they thus took a different path from the steamship companies in Copenhagen. This book shows how shipping and society are connected, what the maritime environments of southern Fyn, Thurø, Taasinge, Langeland, Ærø, and the small islands meant for the everyday lives of the inhabitants. The book focuses on the last days of sailing ships and motor sailors in the twentieth century, but also comes close to the people and their way of thinking, both at home and at sea.

The main lines of this history are familiar from the other side of the Sound in Sweden, not least from the Kullen peninsula (as documented, for instance, in *Höganäs historia* I–II, 2011–13), but the Danish history is on a much grander scale which has left a larger number of cultural sites and settings. We see, for example, the tensions between the urban merchants and the peasant shipping, the coastal communities as a recruitment base for the fleet, the transport boom with industrialism after the introduction of freedom of trade (in Denmark in 1857) and how the small yachts of the eighteenth century were replaced by schooners and brigs and how the risks were distributed through shipowning partnerships, as also expressed in ship names such as "The Three Friends". The large scale of Danish shipping meant that the coastal communities were small market towns that were definitely more urban than Swedish places like Brantevik, Råå, or Viken. The closet parallel in

Skåne would in fact be Simrishamn. A strange coincidence is how the urban plans of these Danish towns are described: a Main Street that expands into a square and the large trading houses close to the church, crossed by a Harbour Street leading to the quayside. The similarity to the historic centre of Malmö is obvious.

Christiansen moves from ships, trade, and the transport economy to the people of the coastal communities. Boys played in the harbour, often deadly dangerous games as a way to impress each other, and were more or less destined to go to sea as soon as they were confirmed, first working as the cook's helper and not infrequently exposed to gross bullying. I would say that this is an undervalued dimension of the patriarchy, how an older generation of men exploit the young people's thirst for adventure, the testosterone and the recklessness. In the home ports, the worried women sat waiting, carrying all the responsibility for the home, and they panicked if the priest approached the house, as he could be bringing the news of a death. The women had to take care not to be seen with other men, and all the family gatherings had to be held during a short winter season (and this was usually when children were conceived, to be born in September). Then the men went back to sea.

While iron ships and steamships made their breakthrough in the big cities, not least through DFDS (Det Forenede Dampskibs-Selskab, which behind the neutral literal wording "The United Steamship Company" concealed private monopolistic ambitions), there were good opportunities for inventive coastal dwellers to earn a living with their boats, right up until the First World War. Then motorization took over and sails disappeared. Even before that, however, there was competition from land transport, with the tax-funded state railway company, DSB, taking over much of freight transport. Later on, road and bridge construction projects gradually transformed the population of the seafaring islands into landlubbers.

The book devotes a chapter to other Nordic countries, both Norway and Sweden. Norway's maritime identity, and its preservation, has recent-

ly been examined in a dissertation in the subject of cultural conservation by Erik Goth Småland, *Det frivillige fartøyvernet i Noreg* ("Voluntary Ship Preservation in Norway", 2020). Christiansen's well-written and well-designed book likewise feels like an important comparative perspective for the study of Swedish maritime culture, whether it the west coast of Skåne or the east coast. What is missing is a presentation of the author, but Pelle O. Christiansen is both a trained boat builder and a well-qualified Ph.D. in ethnology, which explains the quality of the book.

Henrik Ranby, Gothenburg

Sámi Media and Activism

Copp  lie Cocq & Thomas A. DuBois, *S  mi Media and Indigenous Agency in the Arctic North*. New Directions in Scandinavian Studies series. University of Washington Press, Seattle 2020. 334 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-0-295-74662-3.

■ In the last fifty years or so, S  mi people have been using new media formats and genres in order to build solidarity and self-respect, challenging stereotypes and powers of societal structures, to reach out to other indigenous peoples around the world, and to claim their presence in public society. Expressive culture affords strong channels for expressing and performing self-conscious subjectivities. This development is covered in this joint project monograph by Cocq (Ume   University, now at Helsinki University), and DuBois (University of Wisconsin, Madison). There is a rough division of the book into chapters written largely by DuBois focusing on music, poetry, film, and pictorial art, and by Cocq on social media and language revitalization. But they have also expended a lot of effort to make the book an integrated whole. Different S  mi denominations for varieties of snow and evocations of different geographical places are used to name and characterize the chapters, thus functioning as metaphorical devices that give a loose narrative structure to the outlay and serve as smooth transitions. I can see three themes that are recurring general

features through the book: Media use and media presence; The (re)formation of S  mi as political actors, and Artistic expressions as political stance.

Of course, using contemporary media in order to enhance your situation is not a new phenomenon, although the extent of it is restricted by the actual possibility to gain any control of the means of production. The efforts of Olaf Sirma in the late seventeenth century and Elsa Laula and Johan Turi at the beginning of the twentieth century to project a S  mi subjectivity to the European literati and political power are drawn upon to form a backdrop to the more recent development. The protests against the dam construction at   ltt   around 1980 are held up as a turning point where S  mi activism took a step further, in political subjectivity as well as in communicative strategies.

Two chapters follow the development of artistic work as cultural and political statements by close reading of different works of art that had a significant impact on international audiences. The selection is Nils Gaup's film *Ofela  * (The Pathfinder, 1987–88), Nils Aslak Valkeap    s cross-art *Beaivi,   h        * (1989), Mari Boine's *Gula!* music album (1989), An    l Niedat's music album *Dolla* (1992), Paul-Anders Simma's film *Oaivveskaldjut* (Give Us Back Our Skeletons, 1999), Nils Gaup's film *Guovdageainnu stuimmit* (Kautokeino oppr  ret, 2008), Mari Boine's *Bas riikka      *, a re-make in north S  mi of Ole Paus's song *Mitt lille land* (2009), Sofia Jannok's album *    * (2013), John Henrik Fj          s Eurovision entry song/video *Manne leam friije/Jag   r fri* (2015), J            s yoik/video *Vuortjis/Kr      * (2013, 2015), Katja Gauriloff's film *Kuun mest     Kaisa* (2016), and Amanda Kernell's film *Sameblod* (2016). The adaptation of traditional expressions for contemporary communication, the ways of dealing with the new possibilities available in the new media and genre formats, the connections established to other indigenous peoples, and the changing political topics are in the focus of the discussions.

One chapter deals with S  mi uses of social media. Drawing upon interviews, it shows how social media complement and intensify existing relations,

such as keeping up family bonds; furthermore, from interviews with activists and internet ethnography it also examines how social media provide platforms for establishing pan-Sámi networks, strengthening existing organizations and building new, often occasional networks around specific events and campaigns – here the protests at Gállok/Kallak from 2013 against the plans to open a mine in a reindeer grazing area are used as an example. A third use of social media is as a communicative strategy alongside, instead of, and in interaction with mass media – here again, the Gállok case shows how the communication for a long time mostly went through social media until the *Washington Post* brought the issue to international attention.

There is one chapter that is a contribution to the historicization of social media, starting with the story of the SameNet, a platform founded in 1996 as an outgrowth of a distance education project, using a FirstClass server, financed by two Swedish counties and the Ministry of Communications. Making e-mail contacts and chats on relevant topics available, it also worked as a forum for using the Sámi language; another aim was the computerization of Sápmi. Apparently this meant a great deal in making the internet available for inter-Sámi connections and the use of the Sámi language on the web. However, the high speed of technical innovations soon made it obsolete and after some years of decline, when the efforts of Sámi organizations to obtain financing for technical renewal did not get anywhere, it was closed in 2011. Superseded by Facebook and other platforms for everyday contacts, the SameNet is still remembered with nostalgia, and some Sámi express a loss of a digital context where Sámi could meet as Sámi. This is further underlined by discussions of contemporary social media use and the problems of what information to convey on Facebook, the harassment and the internet trolls. The need for trust and safety is a crucial issue.

The digital competence gained by SameNet and other efforts has resulted in a distinct Sámi presence on the internet and in social media. This contemporary situation is covered by examples of projects reaching inwards as well as outwards. The

community-strengthening aspects, and also the use of the internet as a base for language policy, are exemplified with the efforts to vitalize Ume Sámi, one of the smallest Sámi languages, until recently spoken by very few and with almost no teaching materials available. In 2014 the Ume Sámi organization started a course project where first an Ume Sámi lexicon was constructed, using the Memrise app; later on, videos were added, making it possible for people to hear the language spoken in interaction. In 2016 an official orthography established Ume Sámi as a written language. In 2018 the project had some 400 individual users – to be compared with the “ten or so” speakers numbered in recent accounts. The internet possibilities of enabling contacts between geographically scattered people has shaped new situations where a language can be spoken, written, heard, and read.

There are also many forms in which to reach out to others. Instagram accounts with rotating curators are used to show everyday Sámi life. Posters and videos produced by the anonymous artist collective *Suohpanterror* are presented; they often comment on international politicians’ ignorance and claim a Sámi presence.

The concluding chapter returns to the importance of the Gállok/Kallak protests in 2013 as a moment of increased awareness, an impetus for activism, and increased international indigenous solidarity. The interplay between online and localized offline activity and the inter-media aesthetics enables both an international outreach and simultaneously a strong connection to local contexts and events.

The book gives a solid presentation of contemporary Sámi activism, artistic creativity, and media strategies, with a historical perspective spanning all of the twentieth century and up to the present day. As a bonus, we also implicitly get a potted history of mass media development since the 1960s, in the shape of innovations that Sámi have evaluated, adapted, and applied, in a dialectical interplay with contemporary media ideologies. For instance, the story of the SameNet gives insight into the digital imagination at the turn of the millennium, when Sámi actually built

that kind of community-reinforcing platform that supposedly was one of the potential functions of the worldwide web. It also shows the fragility of relying on a single media technology when there is a high-speed turnover in software development.

The book also inspires asking new questions, and I would like to end this review by proposing some themes to proceed with – mostly on the artist-as-activist topic but with relevance for questions of media strategies as well.

How do the logics of the global attention economy affect the possibilities of being visible at the right times? There is always a risk of being overshadowed by other urgent topics, or still worse, getting caught on the wrong side of a divide. There is also the sad fact that there is a kind of competition for attention with others who really should be the first allies.

The precariousness of the artist as a professional is hinted at. Besides the unstable conditions for any artistic career, the risks of being classed as having a “niche profile” further contribute to insecurity, especially when the professional status comes from interaction with an international, mostly non-Sámi audience. But can the integration in Sámi society make for a different and stronger base to work from? This leads to the question of the importance of family relations in order to be a trustworthy activist – which can be problematic when claiming a Sami identity in itself becomes an activist position, particularly when family bonds have been severed and Sámi identity denied for generations because of oppression.

For artists there is also the balance between the activist stance and the middle position as translator and mediator interacting with the outer world. This is a point where authenticity is made as well as challenged.

There is also much to gain from analysing relations between Sámi artistic expressions and the category and genre systems of state cultural policies and international markets. Is the album the end-point of music making? Is yoik poetry, narrative, or music? What are the artistic and political consequences of relating or not relating to the “ethnic slot” or the world music market?

The history of ethnology and folklore studies reminds us of the strong political force potentially inherent in artistic expressions of oppressed peoples. Sámi uses of new media technology and genres further underline the importance of this perspective.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Gender Roles in Fishing Communities

Anders Gustavsson, *Women and Men in Fishing Communities on the Swedish North-Westcoast. A Study of the Responsibilities of Women and Men and of Cultural Contacts*. Strömstad Akademi, Nordiskt institut för avancerade studier, Strömstad 2021. 53 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-86607-04-4.

■ This inviting book presents a subject with which Professor Anders Gustavsson has worked since he was employed at the Centre for Ethnology of Religion in Lund, where he was also engaged in the interdisciplinary Kattegat-Skagerrak project in the 1980s.

The book reviewed here analyses cultural encounters in fishing communities in Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden. The main question is how responsibilities were divided and what this meant for the power relationship between the sexes. The study covers the time from the end of the nineteenth century to around 1940.

The book has four main chapters. The first of these, “Women at Home and Men at Sea”, depicts the different conditions of men and women, due to the division of the annual cycle in the fishing community, where the men were away deep-sea fishing in the summer months off the Norwegian coasts and near Shetland and Iceland, while the women held the fort at home, busy making preparations for the fishing, looking after the home, and rearing the children. Men and women did not intervene in each other’s worlds – and the man’s sphere was confined to the sea, the harbour, and the boathouse; only exceptionally did they mend nets in the woman’s kitchen.

The second chapter, “The Men’s Contact in Foreign Ports”, describes how fishermen landed parts of the catch in Norwegian ports and forged

both economic and social contacts. Not least of all, they were exposed to the new religious movements in the coastal towns: Pentecostalism and the Salvation Army. We get an impression of the difference in status between the Norwegians in coastal towns and the clog-wearing fishermen from the Swedish archipelago, but also of their economic interdependence. The fishermen's openness had the result that quite a few Norwegian girls were brought home to Bohuslän as brides.

In the chapter "Norwegian-born Women's Encounters with Women in Bohuslän Fishing Villages" we see the cultural encounter between the Norwegian women and the local fishermen's wives in Bohuslän. The local women were highly sceptical of the new imported religious movements, feeling that the traditional norms and values were under threat. As it happened, however, the locally dominant pietist orientation of the church, known as Schartaunism, which was espoused by the majority of the Bohuslän fishing communities, was able to maintain control over the situation and "uniformize" the outsiders. The foreign Norwegian women were unable to set the agenda, nor could they change the local diet, which was quite different from Norwegian potato dumplings, cod, and sheep in cabbage. In terms of diet, interestingly, the fishermen proved less culturally open and preferred to stick to their domestic sweet bread, pork, and pudding.

In the depiction of the strong position of local women, Anders Gustavsson refers to Professor Bjarne Stoklund's studies of gender role patterns on the Danish island of Læsø, where the fishermen's wives similarly exercised leadership and self-reliance through their permanent presence in the home and their management of the economy, including the earnings from the fishing. "The fishermen's women were responsible for more than what was usual a bit inland." Another interesting observation is the way the women passed on their own important role to the children (p. 38). The reports clearly indicate that the children – and the men – took the fisherman's wives' self-understanding at face value and accepted it.

The fishermen's wives also defended themselves against the ideologies and lifestyles brought

by summer visitors, as depicted in the final chapter, "The Fisherwomen's Experiences with Inland Cultures". The fisherman's wives did not approve of the strangers' extravagant ways with food and referred to their religious outlook in the words "you have turned food into being your god". There was a chasm between the two worlds, and despite being economically dependent, for example, by renting out summer homes, the fishermen's wives managed to keep their distance from the norms of the visitors and continued, for instance, to observe the sabbath: "the religious views of the landladies were stronger than that of the social hierarchy" (p. 43). In contrast to this, the fishermen's wives had good contact with farmers on the same social and economic level. The farmers, for example, harvested grass on the islands and the fishermen's wives helped with the potato harvest and bought milk or leased cows.

Unfortunately, the account in this book ends in 1940. It would be interesting to follow the story of this place down to the present day. Do the gender roles still allow this female domination, with its strong religious foundation? Or is the process of acculturation between the fishing community and the alien summer guests, in search of the "simple life" in a marginal area, in full flow?

This thought-provoking book is easy reading, with photographs and paintings by the local folk artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson, who is represented at the Bohuslän Museum. The paintings document and evoke the life of the fishing people, conveying the atmosphere in a way that would be difficult to achieve in words and photographs.

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Årøskøbing

Medical Knowledge

Movement of Knowledge. Medical Humanities Perspectives On Medicine, Science and Experience. Kristofer Hansson & Rachel Irwin (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2020. 263 pp. ISBN 978-91-88909-34-3.

■ This volume edited by Rachel Irwin and Kristofer Hanson presents us with an illuminating insight into contemporary Swedish studies on

the movements of medical knowledge. Besides an introduction in which the editors outline the chapters and the overall idea on the movement and co-production of knowledge, the book is split into four sections with two chapters in each that deal with themes related to the overall subject.

In the first section, “Medical Knowledge and the Political”, we are presented with a chapter by Anna Tunlid on prenatal diagnosis, in which the author discusses the co-production of medical knowledge between laboratories, clinics and the public. Tunlid shows how a medical technology such as prenatal diagnosis could only gain legitimacy by adhering to regulations based on societal norms and values. Rachel Irwin’s chapter on the objects of global health policy looks at the political negotiations between knowledge, experience and evidence in the health policymaking processes at the WHO, and argues that what is considered to be evidence used in policymaking is inherently political.

The second section, “Circulating and Sharing Medical Knowledge”, opens with a chapter by Åsa Alftberg on the sharing of knowledge between neuroscientists, exploring how this process is both competitive and collaborative, partly due to the idea of knowledge as commodifiable property. Karolina Lindh’s chapter on press releases as medical knowledge highlights how medical knowledge may be adapted when translated into a press release, and how such a release can both mediate and facilitate dialogue with the public.

The third section, “Co-creation of Medical Knowledge”, features a chapter by Markus Idvall on informed consent procedures, in which Idvall argues that informed *trust* rather than *consent* is crucial to the co-production of medical knowledge. Kristofer Hansson, Gabriella Nilsson & Irén Tibergh’s chapter is of a more experimental nature, exploring how ethnographic methods may be utilized when evidence-based care is to be implemented in health care settings.

Finally, the last section, “Knowledge in Everyday Experience”, features three chapters. Kristofer Hansson’s chapter on how the blood test HbA1c is used to create normative guidelines as standardized

knowledge in diabetes care that impacts the relationship between professionals and patients; Max Liljefors’ chapter on a research project that featured an art exhibition for patients with Parkinson’s disease, in which a method of art pedagogy was developed to allow for a focus on aesthetic experience and bodily self-knowledge; and Rui Liu and Susanne Lundin’s chapter on medicine in the grey market, which touches on the online purchasing of medicine from illegal sources. Liu and Lundin explore how investigating the online purchasing of medicine gives us insight into doctor-patient relationships, and how this relationship is not as hierarchical as we sometimes think it is.

Although the chapters do not always follow in a clearly logical order and the thematic sections seem slightly forced, there is indeed a synergy between the chapters (i.e. referring to other chapters in the volume; the theoretical approaches etc.) that the editors and authors should be highly commended for. With the emphasis on Sheila Jasanoff’s concept of co-production both in the introduction and throughout the book, it is obvious that the influence of STS studies looms large in most chapters, sometimes interestingly combined with phenomenological approaches such as Husserl’s lifeworld. To some extent the volume follows the path of many recent studies on the co-production of knowledge particularly within the health sector, but whereas many of these studies outline how the interaction between different stakeholders will benefit the creation of medical knowledge, the volume focusses on the tacit co-production of medical knowledge. In other words, medical knowledge *is* co-produced and not necessarily a goal in and of itself.

In this day and age this edited volume touches on a very current subject, namely the epistemological question of what counts as medical knowledge. With a global pandemic followed by a general sense of uncertainty, the experience of trust in the medical establishment has become ever more important in our everyday lives. As seen in France, the lack of trust in the French authorities’ handling of the pandemic has led to vaccine hesitancy, and questions as to the efficacy

of the vaccines. Suddenly, some laymen claim to be medical experts, conjuring fragments of information together to shape alternative facts, while medical experts do their very best to quell the resistance and reclaim their authority by insisting on the validity of evidence-based medicine as what counts as medical knowledge. This excellent volume paves a way for how to study these different positions, and potentially facilitate a dialogue that acknowledges the co-production and inherently political aspects of medical knowledge.

Michael Andersen, Copenhagen

When We Were Peasants

Peter Henningsen, Den gang vi var bønder. Gads forlag, København 2019. 240 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-12-05793-2.

■ Peter Henningsen's book is an easy-to-read popular survey of life as a peasant in Denmark during the pre-industrial period, the time that shaped the nation's view of Danish agrarian society. In eight richly illustrated chapters the reader meets the traditional environment and work of the peasant, treated in terms of the geographical conditions, the agrarian economy, and the strong bonds that tied the peasants to the nobility and their manors, to the village and the farm; we learn about the peasants' conceptual world, styles of dress, foodways, and, not least of all, the way the upper classes looked down on the peasantry, and finally the reappraisal of peasant society during the period of nation-building at the turn of the twentieth century, with the advent of ethnographic collections in museums and open-air museums.

According to the author, the museum question is one of the two main lines followed through the book, the other being the historical context that forms the background to this memorialization of the peasant in the twentieth century. The light tone of the book makes it suitable for a broad audience, and no great prior knowledge is expected of the reader. For Swedish readers, of course, there are some obstacles, for example in our general ignorance of the Danish farmer's harsh feudal bonds

to the nobility, far more extreme than anything that existed in our own country. In many other respects, however, we can recognize our own peasant history.

There are always difficulties in attempting to paint an all-round picture in a survey like this. For example, should the presentation be based on an overall thesis, on a chronology, on selected topics, or on a combination of the above? Henningsen has chosen to confine himself to the time before the nineteenth-century transformations and with an emphasis on the eighteenth century. Within this time span, he highlights different themes in separate chapters.

When reading this book one notes the author's great love of the subject and his personal involvement, his delight in storytelling with a literary sensibility, but there is also a nostalgic undertone that sometimes grates on me. The bygone peasant society can still be experienced in the form of the landscape and the buildings, but Henningsen says that the old peasant culture disappeared long ago and is lost forever. Of course this is true, but it applies to everything in the past. The same could be said about the Roman Empire, and it will soon be true of the society of traditional industrialism that we have just left as well. Memory is short, and it is surprising how quickly it becomes a task and an opportunity for historians to reconstruct and recreate pictures of life in the past through artefacts and narratives. This justifies our role as professionals, and we must be grateful for the pace of change through time.

The first chapter gives a very brief description of the Danish manorial system, which was fundamental to the peasants' lives as estate tenants; until the end of the eighteenth century they were, if not exactly serfs, at least much less free than the tenants of Swedish manors. It is necessary to know about the manorial system to understand the history of the peasantry in both Denmark and Sweden.

The main part of the chapter under the heading "Peasant Land" deals with the climatic and natural conditions that have led to so many regional differences in what is a relatively small coun-

try. Regional differences also affected society in the different parts of Denmark, from the poor and sparsely populated barren heaths of western Jutland, to the islands where the manors were wholly dominant, to the completely different island of Bornholm which lacked manors and was inhabited by freehold farmers.

In the next chapters the reader meets the peasant and the natural circumstances in which he farmed the land, but the spotlight is especially directed at the intangible history, including folk beliefs. This and subsequent chapters recurrently invoke what has been said about peasants through the ages, and the text is spiced with illustrative quotations. This is a good way of arguing that Danish peasants were long treated as an immature group, unable to take care of themselves, an idea that was politically prevalent right up until the end of autocracy in the mid-nineteenth century – a crucial difference from the growing importance of peasant estate in Sweden. At the same time, I feel that rather too many upper-class voices are heard expressing their opinions about the stupid peasants. Readers might almost get the impression that Danish peasants actually were rather ungifted, with the risk of missing the point about the oppressive power of the nobility.

Two chapters deal with the material world of the peasants from a private perspective, or rather the perspective of the household: how they dressed and what their diet consisted of. This is mainly about what we call folk dress and, in particular, the Sunday-best costumes of the women. Folk dress is presented as highly traditional, with women embracing modern fashions to a very limited extent, as a complement to peasant costume or as small details in it; there were also the women of Amager who, as a distinctive form of “brand marketing”, stuck to their petrified Renaissance costume to attract buyers of agricultural produce in the market squares of Copenhagen. A Swedish reader will recognize this, along with the description of the unappetizing diet based on cereals and completely lacking vegetables, far from our erroneous conception of the nutritious peasant diet of the past.

The chapter “The Peasant in Politics” is almost exclusively about the second half of the nineteenth century. Henningsen believes that the hundred years before that also witnessed significant changes, but that in political terms the peasants then were a completely closed group, almost a caste, with no influence. This arouses the reader’s interest, indeed suspicion, regarding alternative viewpoints. Could this really have been the case? Nevertheless, the chapter is of great interest, considering not only politics but also the familiar topics of Grundtvigian popular education and the economic success of the farmers’ cooperatives, as well as their, let us say, political liberation in 1901 when aristocratic rule collapsed. We meet the cooperative dairies but are told almost nothing about the equally successful slaughterhouses. This misses the important economic point once expressed by the Swedish architectural historian Göran Lindahl, that the Danish farmers laid the foundation for the English breakfast, an insight that encompasses everything from the customs disputes in Europe to the founding of the export harbour in Esbjerg.

With the chapter “The Peasant in the Museum”, the second part of the book begins. From a Swedish perspective, we are well informed about the emergence of ethnology and about the endeavour to “rescue what can be rescued”, which stimulated ethnographic collection at museums and resulted in the creation of a completely new museum concept, the open-air museum. This also happened in Denmark, where several such museums were built. Henningsen, however, deals almost exclusively with just one, the Frilandsmuseum in Lyngby outside Copenhagen, the process by which it was established and the men behind it. This brings Henningsen to the obvious giant of the time, Artur Hazelius, and the monumental role he played internationally.

By depicting the museum in terms of its founders, Henningsen has, as I understand it, made a discovery of his own. All international research about open-air museums proceeds from Hazelius’ magnificent creation, Skansen in Stockholm, inaugurated in 1891, which is described as the

world's first open-air museum and has even become internationally synonymous with the concept. Henningsen, however, shows that Hazelius was not first. Ten years before, Oscar II, monarch of the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, had made sure that a large farmer's house from Telemark could be re-erected at Bygdøy Kungsgård outside Oslo, with the addition soon afterwards of loft-stores and a stave church; the place was opened to visitors in 1882. In this connection Henningsen says that in 1897 the founder of the Frilandsmuseum, Bernard Olsen, wrote sarcastically that he believed that Hazelius had been wrongfully given the credit for an idea that King Oscar had thought of first. This was news to me at least.

The book concludes with two large chapters about the buildings on the farm, "Farm and Architecture" and "The Anatomy of the Farm". Together they fill almost 40 per cent of the book and provide a good survey of regional differences in Denmark, with the timber-framed house (admittedly in general use all over the country), and occasionally post-and-plank as well, but also with clear differences in form and material in different parts of the country. The text here is lavishly illustrated. Like the book as a whole, the focus is on older times, that is, the eighteenth century for preference, but – and this is important to point out – viewed from the perspective of the early twentieth century and in the form of plans and photographs produced during that age of national romanticism. That so much space is devoted to buildings can be explained in different ways. Today's increased ethnological interest in material culture, in this case collections, once again makes the buildings an arena for the use of history after a time of self-critical reflections on how incorrectly they were collected, moved and re-erected, not least with the use of non-traditional materials and methods.

Another reason for Henningsen's focus on buildings has to do with the state of research. His account may not fill a vacuum, a lacuna in the history of agrarian buildings, but to my knowledge this is the first survey in many years to deal

with the whole of Denmark. Admittedly, much of the presentation derives from Axel Steensberg's *Den danske bondegård* from 1974, but with more modern approaches to the material, as in the chapter about the anatomy of the farm. The survey is a much needed and not least invigorating supplement to the standard work *Det danske landbrugs historie* in four volumes from 1988, which mostly omits to cover the function of farm buildings in agrarian history.

I would nevertheless like to make two critical points. The first is perhaps a little unfair because it misses the point of Henningsen's focus on the peasant, but I think the chapters would have gained in depth if the peasants' buildings had to some extent been contrasted with the corresponding buildings on the manorial estates. This applies both to construction methods and to functions, where there are many similarities and where the old manorial farm buildings, as opposed to the peasant houses, are in many cases still standing in situ. And the traditions of construction were at least as strong as on the peasant farm. My own experience of studying farm buildings in Denmark has focused on manors but has given me many comparative insights regarding agrarian architecture in general.

My second criticism is that the presentation does not really have any functional descriptions of the buildings. What did a barn or a byre look like behind the facades, and how were they used? What did the peasant do in the barn? What spaces were dominated by men's work and women's work? Where was the threshing floor? Where did the peasants store hay and straw, together or in separate places?

Summing up, I think that the instructive regional narratives are the best part of the chapters, while the information about the form, materials, and uses of the buildings seems to rest on a research trend that is rather old, from the time when scholars were most interested in forms, as in the works of the architect Halvor Zangenberg from the 1920s. In this respect, however, we in Sweden cannot boast that we are any better. Here too, comparable material, such as the contem-

porary measurements of buildings by the Royal Institute of Art, has had a major impact, combined with the same lack of ethnological descriptions of the functions and practical use of the buildings in relation to architects' drawings. Paradoxically, if I were to strike a blow for such research in the future, I would also look to the past, above all to the work of Sigurd Erixon, for example.

Finally, for those who want to get to know the peasant country of Denmark before the breakthrough of industrialism, Peter Henningsen's book is an excellent companion. The easy language, the thematic chapters, and the many rich illustrations make for a very pleasant reading experience.

Ulrich Lange, Gothenburg

Bridging Borders

Checkpoint: Människor, gränser och visioner i Öresundsbrons tid. Markus Idvall, Anna Palmehag & Johan Wessman (eds.). Centrum för Öresundsstudier vid Lunds universitet, Lund 2020. 231 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-306-7.

■ On March 23, 1991, a decision was made to build a land connection across Öresund and by 2000 a tunnel and a bridge had made this decision a reality, connecting Greater Copenhagen with Malmö and Skåne, Sweden with Denmark. The book *Checkpoint*, with the subtitle "People, borders and visions in the age of the Öresund Bridge", at once celebrates, questions and criticizes the construction of the land connection and its consequences, now twenty years after it was inaugurated. Time has invited the editors and authors of the book to make a reality check, not least because of more recent European developments, making flows across this connection difficult again and thereby questioning its usefulness.

In the book's chapters we hear the murmuring of multiple voices telling us their stories entangled with the land connection; stories of interaction, crossing and unification. The book thus deserves praise for the way it conveys a complex image of the meaning and importance of "the bridge". With its up-and-close view of "what things are really

like" in locations and for people influenced by border-crossing activities – from high-school students, via fishermen and artists to police officers, from love migrants, work migrants and intellectual migrants via entrepreneurs and politicians, to those who always lived the region – the book provides the reader with a comprehensive coverage of a part of Europe which, unlike many other places, has actually managed to integrate relatively quickly and fairly well across national boundaries.

These real-time complexities of regional cross-border interaction (and the study of it) are worlds away from claims that this topic, usually located on the periphery of discussions of European integration, has nothing to offer us scholars. Unfair, our editors shout out, providing the reader with plenty of evidence of this! While European integration scholars now crow over institutional economics fuelled by big data, the authors of this book illustrate how the bridging of borders between people has always been and remains the most important task of the political community if integration is to be successful. Along the way, some of the book's authors also manage to overturn many stubborn beliefs about cross-border interaction and integration, and in the many interviews with borderland inhabitants we are given illustrations of how this kind of integration opens possibilities for mundane everyday practices to unfold and prosper.

The book is at its best when complexity and tension are at stake, bringing several versions of bridging into play, showing how the bridge acts as multiple border object, working as an organizational instrument, thus paving the way for projects and visions that subvert uniform beliefs about what is possible and what is not in cross-border collaboration. In the chapter "From the Öresund region to Greater Copenhagen", the border object appears in three versions: as influencer; as media darling; and as branding strategy. All these versions have had an impact on flows in the region, whether human or economic, and have played an enormous role in making populations across the waters aware of each other's existence. In

the chapter “The Øresund region as centre and periphery”, the border object becomes the main reason why Copenhagen and Skåne have changed in status from a European/Swedish periphery to become an integrated European centre. The critical eye is maintained, however, because even when the bridge has experienced many a success as a border object, it remains exactly that, an “object” in its own right, thus leaving the unanswered question of whether “there is one Øresund region, or if the Øresund region consists of many proximally close geographical areas sharing a bridge?”

Hence, the book constantly reminds us of how bridges are more than signs of great human engineering skills; they make interaction possible, but they also destroy the very same possibilities again. Illustrated in the most telling way to date in Ivo Andrić’s novel *The Bridge Across the River Drina*, bridges enable spaces of dialogue and co-existence, and they enable violent confrontation, not only for practical reasons, but also because they are places set apart from the bordered world, spaces of transition, used for movement and often also for refuge. People divided by rivers and waters use bridges to interact in ways that would not otherwise have been possible; bridges cross borders and enable interaction between nationalities, yet they are “objects” and they may be blown up, leaving previous functions void. And as is made explicit in the book’s introduction, bridges have a paradoxical tendency to remain forgotten in the activities they make possible, acting as a quiet foundation for a wide range of activities, what could be called “that thing life cannot be without” but in our dependence on them we may neglect their importance.

The forgetfulness and neglect may however have reached its limits because of the way the connecting function of the specific bridge is currently challenged, indeed, almost under siege. Precisely for that reason, readers too impatient to engage with all of the many fragments of voices and discussions represented in the book may begin at the end, where the theme of “the return of the border” is taken up by Per-Markku Ristilammi with frightening clarity, also enlightening us as

to the meaning of the book’s title, *Checkpoint*, something which otherwise gets lost somewhere among all “the stuff” the book intends to engage with. These concluding remarks illustrate very lucidly how easy it is for “bridges” to change from being a foundation for and a symbol of interaction and border-crossing, into being a barrier of control imposed by “the deep state”, as Ristilammi calls it, reminding us of the Janus-face of so-called modernity and the way history always seems to be guided by “the eternal return” of destruction – in this case the destruction of “the bridge” as a crossing point.

On their side, readers responsive to the intricacies of everyday life will be intrigued if not swayed by the way Marie Sandberg deploys the symbolism of the bridge to open its border-crossing universe to actors other than the local ones. By intertwining the body parted by the state-border between Denmark and Sweden at the mid-point of the bridge in the television series *The Bridge*, with bodies appearing in other European border regions, as well as migrant deaths and press photos of corpses on Mediterranean beaches, thus also intertwining the secular and the sacred in ways which make them almost identical, and yet again, not identical at all, Sandberg does justice to the centrifugal fragmentation of “bodies at bridges”, wherever they may or may not belong, to their persistent, unifying force, and to their ambiguity as parted material objects. Bridging thereby becomes a strategy for the living in the face of death, a worldly here and now, pointing towards a transitional order, at the same time as it reminds us of the existence of the nation-state, security and sovereignty, two logics living and breathing in and by each other.

In the contribution by Tina Askanius, also referring to the television series, we are invited to understand “The Øresund region as an imaginary place and a Utopian borderland”. Here the bridge finally gains the glorious lead role it has had all along, appearing fully as an actor, inviting us to imagine spaces beyond national cages, thus actively opening for fantasies of unification and transnational civil society action. Whereas

the bridge as a border object is limited by its own objectivity, so to speak, the bridge is here subjectivity and movement, contributing to the continuous construction of new places of belonging, new homelands, new ways of being. Understood thus, the bridge becomes a means of emancipation for people, opening possibilities that would otherwise not have been available. Taking this to an extreme, the chapter “Faith may move mountains, but a bridge moves people” takes us to a place where the bridge becomes the centre of a hungry search among ordinary people for transition, a will to continue living, driven by the politics of everyday life. The inhabitants of the region turn into pioneers of the new, strangling the serpents of ignorance who think nothing good comes from hybridity, let alone the ordinary, all too ordinary. On this note, the book could have been even more explicit with its underlying message; the celebration of bridges – because look at this fantastic construction, the Öresund Bridge, opening so many great new possibilities for interaction, ways of constituting life, ways of imagining life and thus for new senses of belonging.

In the light of the book’s focus on the possibilities of bridging, one could legitimately ask if it is not also too positive, too much of a celebration of bridges? Together with the region’s inhabitants, the bridge seems to be infested with powers making it a repository of integration, and utterly politically informed by mnemonic power, seemingly just unfolding the complexities of everyday life unless halted by the violence of geopolitics. Relating to the book’s wonderful display of complexity, one could rightfully ask the question whether it is not *even more* ambiguous than that. The attentive critic senses the chilly draughts through the tiny holes in this splendid tapestry of multiplicity when thinking about what is left out of the picture. If you want to know about the flows of human trafficking and other types of crime made possible for decades now by the bridge and its openness, also making Malmö into a hotspot for violent crime, you only get to the television series mentioned and then ... nothing. Forgotten is thereby also the real world of the armies of corps-

es left in exactly those places the book so thickly describes, a suffering justified in the name of free mobility and mentioned only in passing.

Thus, taking a closer look at the volume, it may be just a little too quick – not much, but a little – to repeat the stereotypical notion of the benefits of cross-border interaction and integration and, despite sporadic glimpses, in its typical Scandinavian way, it does not really manage to also connect to and confront the cruelties of international crime and geopolitics – which continue, both *in spite of* all the world’s bridges and *because of* the constant intrusion of a Janus-faced modernity. The book’s fragments thereby remain disconnected and ... fragmentary ... cutting out connections in the same way as the intensified border controls cut through multiple bodies of refuge, as if they were only spectacles for us to watch in our television series.

Dorte Jaegtic Andersen, Sønderborg

Changes in Faroese Housing

Jóan Pauli Joensen, Í stovuni sofu, í køki komfýr: Bústaðarviðurskipti og sethús til umleið 1960. Ein etnologisk lýsing. 2 vols. Sprotin, Vestmanna 2020, 212 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-99972-1-374-4.

■ When the Norse ancestors of the Faroe Islanders colonized the islands during the Viking Age, they lived in long-houses, of a kind called stave-buildings, with walls of stone and sod. Housing customs habits changed slowly over the centuries. Available building materials were limited (stone), while wooden structures had to be made of driftwood, wrecked ships, or expensive imported wood. Birch bark was also imported for the roofs, to be laid under the peat covering. Later the farmers built farms with a “smoke room” (the main room with a fireplace) and perhaps an additional room. A house of this type can still be seen at Dúvugarðar in Saksun on Streymoy. Such houses predominated for a long time, and people often shared the room with calves and lambs. Heat came from a hearth where peat was burned as fuel. The wool trade gave the farmers some

prosperity, and from the eighteenth century they could afford a “glass room”, a room with glazed windows, and iron stoves. The smoke room was where people cooked food, socialized, prepared wool and knitted, and it could even be used for slaughtering and for cleaning fish. This room had tables and chairs, and it was where the people of the house slept. Sometimes there was also a room for the priest, where he or other people of rank could stay overnight when visiting remote settlements and islands. Eventually, the glass room took on the character of a parlour or sitting room.

It was not until the twentieth century that rural dwelling houses were modernized. This led to houses consisting of a cellar, ground floor, and loft. For a long time the cellar, behind a high stone foundation, was used to house cows in the winter. The house itself was made of wood. Peat was almost the only roof covering for a long time, and this can still be seen on some houses, giving a special character to older houses both in the capital and in rural areas. Tin roofs, however, became common in the twentieth century. During the Second World War, dwelling houses became larger, with more storeys and rooms. In recent decades, prefabricated houses have been imported from the Nordic countries (including Sweden) and lately even from Poland. This book deals with the changes in housing practices until around 1960. It is based on extensive ethnological records, printed sources, archival material of various kinds, and a rich supply of illustrations. The author, the ethnologist Jóan Pauli Joensen, has chosen to reproduce long quotations from the source material, thereby keeping it close to the empirical evidence, which is typical of the research tradition he represents, and which gives this type of cultural history its strength. The work is divided into two volumes, with part one primarily concerned with the houses, while part two provides a detailed account of the interiors and the changes in living conditions, with a focus on furniture, beds, lighting, and fireplaces, all depicted in great detail and accuracy.

The illustrations include drawings by Daniel Bruun from the early twentieth century and a large number of historical and some contemporary pho-

tographs that, besides showing buildings and interiors, also present street scenes from a bygone era when outdoor life was different. There are fascinating photographs of women washing clothes in a river that runs through Tórshavn, early gardens, and what duck keeping could look like in an urban setting. Part two contains many interesting pictures of lavatories, kitchens, beds, coal-fired stoves, parlour interiors, and potted plants. The cover photos in colour also deserve a mention. It should be emphasized that this is a beautifully designed two-volume work. Incidentally, the main title of the book (“a sofa in the living room, a range in the kitchen”) is taken from a song by Hans Andrias Djurhuus, a famous poet in the Faroe Islands.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Fifty Years of Faroese Ethnology

Jóan Pauli Joensen, Ketilostur, maðurin umborð og putursukurveðrar. Sprotin, Vestmanna 2020. 212 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-99972-1-404-1.

■ Fifty years as an ethnologist. That is how Jóan Pauli Joensen presents himself in the introduction to this collection of three long articles. The cover of the book shows a recent photo of the scholar in his mature years, that is, the author today, while on the back we see a portrait of the same scholar as a young man fifty years earlier. Fifty years have passed between the images, but this ethnologist has used the time with exemplary diligence, filling the years with publications of his research. More than anyone else, he has helped to explore Faroese folk culture, especially in the forms it has taken throughout the twentieth century and up to the present day. Fishing, catching pilot whales, farming, wedding customs, food culture, animal husbandry, housing, and folk beliefs are just some of the topics that Jóan Pauli has managed to cover. In 1975 he defended his doctoral dissertation in Lund, and the influences from there are unmistakable, but as the introduction to this book shows, he has also been influenced from other quarters. Those who studied ethnology in Sweden in the late 1970s and the 1980s have also had the pleas-

ure of reading Jóan Pauli's book on Faroese folk culture, translated by Margareta Tellenbach into Swedish as *Färöisk folkkultur* (the textbook that replaced the articles by Ragnar Jirflow and Alfa Olsson that we had to make do with when we studied the subject in the early 1970s; now, unfortunately, interest in comparative Nordic studies seems to have vanished).

Three previously published essays, from different periods in Joensen's research career, make up the major part of the book. The articles represent different phases and different aspects of Faroese culture and history. The first article is perhaps the most interesting because it deals with an important but rarely considered part of the rural economy of the Faroe Islands, namely, cattle husbandry and the beliefs associated with it. While sheep farming in the Faroe Islands is well known, cows are rarely mentioned. "The cow is forgotten, the sheep is culture" is a revealing subheading in the essay. This is a revised version of a text that was first printed in Faroese in 1981 in the annual *Fróðskaparrít*. The second paper, previously published in Danish in the journal *Arv* in 1975, deals with *Lemperen*, the Faroese sailors' variant of the Klabautermann, 'the man on board', a kind of supernatural being or force on board boats. The article is also reproduced here in Danish, with some minor differences from the original paper. This supernatural being on board could sometimes be female. It may be noted, however, that this being does not take any characteristic outward form, but looks like an ordinary human being. *Lemperen* did the same work as the other crew members, kept a watchful eye on the boat, warned of approaching ships, and often took in the sails well before a storm came. Otherwise, he fished, pumped, and worked with the cargo. He also served as a kind of *ominant*, warning against dangers, storms, the risk of running aground or colliding with an oncoming ship, but he also could portend good fishing. The source material for the essay was collected through a questionnaire distributed in autumn 1971 when Joensen was collecting material for his dissertation on fishing and fishing boats. It is an exemplary study of folklore on board fishing boats.

The last essay is about ram rearing in the Faroe Islands, and has previously been published in English in the Danish *Geografisk Tidsskrift* in 1999. Here it is reproduced in Danish. It is about the breeding of rams as a kind of hobby, with the aim of producing the biggest and heaviest individual. You simply fatten the males. The result is a ram consisting of lardaceous mutton, which is basically unfit for human consumption. Instead, there is a competitive element here. The winner was the one who could show off the largest ram. The custom still occurs on Suðuroy and elsewhere in the Faroe Islands.

The three papers are well-chosen examples from the first half-century of Joensen's research. The book concludes with an exhaustive bibliography of books, essays, journal articles, and reviews written by the author over fifty years. It is a very impressive list which shows that, despite other commitments, he has also had time to do research and cover a wide range of subjects. More of these studies could surely be collected in book form and thus made accessible, not least to a wider audience in the Faroe Islands. Other articles could perhaps even be translated into English and made available in book form to international colleagues. We hope, of course, that more studies will emerge from Joensen's computer. Much remains to be written about the eras that Jóan Pauli has chosen to focus on.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Swedish Food Culture

Håkan Jönsson, Svensk måltidskultur. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2020. 186 pp. Ill. ISBN 9778-91-8906-316-7.

■ On several occasions I have had the opportunity to listen to Håkan Jönsson at ethnological conferences and seminars. The most recent time was at the Nordic Conference of Ethnology and Folklore in June 2018, where Jönsson presented a paper entitled "Whisking modernities – a microethnography of kitchen artefacts". He began with the story of how he felt embarrassed that,

despite his PhD in ethnology, he did not know what a *tvåra* was. This brought him on to kitchen whisks of different kinds, how the Swedish Home Research Institute standardized the range of utensils and decided that two models were more than enough, i.e. balloon whisk and spiral whisk, how the balloon whisk came to symbolize the professional kitchen world but then became a marker of expert knowledge in ordinary homes as well.

That study is incorporated in the chapter “In the hidden nooks of kitchen cabinets” in this book about Swedish food culture. The chapter deals with how different utensils have disappeared from the kitchens and have returned with a new status. The latter include, for example, the coffee grinder. Some items have been purchased as trendy artefacts, others have entered the kitchen as gifts. What they have in common is that many kitchen items, after a while, have been stored away for good or are only used on special occasions. Jönsson notes that the kitchen is a place where people seek to achieve the good life, with the help of cookbooks or special tools. By extension, it is a matter of consuming in abundance and learning how to deal with this, in other words, navigating between objects, people, and relationships. Narratives about the kitchen and cooking are in fact life stories that describe how people have created themselves in the kitchen.

The book *Svensk måltidskultur* (“Swedish meal culture”) consists of nine chapters that examine changes in food during the twentieth century and up to the present day. Jönsson discusses the kitchen, utensils, meals, how milk turned into wine; he reflects on spices and the globalization of everyday life, and considers cultural patterns, norms, and values. He begins by stating that the book has its background in personal experiences and interests and that he first trained as a chef and thus has professional experience that proved valuable later in his career as an academic and a researcher. He possesses a practical knowledge of life in the restaurant world, with one leg in both camps, so to speak. This combination of the practical and the theoretical gaze is probably quite unique. The discussion in the book, however, is not only based on

his personal experience. Håkan Jönsson supports his reasoning with empirical material, responses to questionnaires collected by the Dialect and Language Archive in Uppsala (Changes in Diet, 1972; Kitchen Utensils and Machines, 1988), and a questionnaire that he himself compiled (Meals in Change, 2016), and distributed through the Folklife Archive at Lund University. In addition, he has conducted 27 interviews and five observations. In classical ethnological manner, therefore, the discussion is based on solid fieldwork and archival studies.

Swedish meal culture also concerns the dynamics between the cooking and the eating of food. The modernization of kitchens, the open floor plans, the standards, values, and norms constitute an arena where the performative and the normative do not always agree. The happy community of the meal can be a chaotic field of tension in the home. People want one thing, but the conditions of everyday life result in something different. All this may vary depending on where you are in the life cycle. Jönsson points out that there are many distinctive national characteristics that have been imprinted in the kitchen region. In particular, the chapter on milk and wine describes how political decisions and deliberate propaganda have been used as a way to influence public health. No one today drinks milk without reflection; what formerly symbolized healthiness is now questioned. Alcohol has in turn lost its drama and the position of wine as a class marker has been greatly weakened now that wine is linked to a new era of internationalization. The ethnologist’s gaze also seizes on the importance of packaging in the process of change: the status of water was raised when it was bottled in the 1990s, while the status of the wine was lowered when sold in a bag-in-box.

Jönsson devotes a chapter to the visible and the invisible, i.e. that certain changes take place virtually unnoticed. Despite the fact that more and more people say they are eating more vegetables, meat consumption has gone up. This is because meat has been trivialized, as increased availability and reduced prices have lowered the status. Older vegetarian dishes such as porridge have almost

vanished and meat meals have become the norm. The invisible factors also include the industrial food chain, which lacks transparency, an endless supply of foodstuffs that is difficult to grasp, and the changes that have taken place in our use of time – also in the case of meals. The structuring role of meals, as regards both the daily regularity and the position of different dishes during the week, has been disrupted and is increasingly replaced by irregularity. Old norms have been abandoned and new ones created, and this has happened without much reflection on our part. Here, says Jönsson, is where researchers have an important task, to find out what people do *not* talk about – to discern in these unreflected matters how society and power relations change.

In most chapters, Jönsson sums up in an instructive way what he has been discussing. The last chapter of the book – “Is there a Swedish meal culture?” – can be viewed as a summary of the book as a whole. Here the text takes on a more personal tone and Jönsson also reveals his frustration about how research is classified today. Only articles in scholarly journals are counted as an academic merit, while “narrative” with many nuances and ambiguities is treated with scepticism, even within his own discipline ethnology. Jönsson wants the trivial objects and the individuals to be seen and heard, rather than reality being forced into a theory that is supposed to represent the truth. He criticizes the deconstruction, without reconstruction, that characterizes scholarly research today.

The term *Swedish* meal culture is also debatable for Håkan Jönsson. He hesitates to give individual dishes and traditions national labels. It was instead the standards and recommendations of the twentieth century that in large measure organized the practices and shaped Swedish meal culture. The increasing internationalization may mean that *Swedish* food culture is in fact a historical parenthesis.

The book concludes with reflections on what a political minefield meal culture actually is. In Sweden there is political anxiety that also affects the national food strategy. Words like tradition, history, and cultural heritage are suppressed. Not

one meal-related Swedish phenomenon has been nominated for the UNESCO list of intangible cultural heritage; this may be a result of what has been described as a culture-denying culture. Here, too, Håkan Jönsson has personal experience of sitting with officials at the Cabinet Office and discussing national food strategies, and leaving with a clear sense of frustration.

Having read the last chapter, one can thus regard the book *Svensk måltidskultur* as a protest. A protest against diminishing the importance of a coherent narrative, a protest against the scholarly discourse, a protest against political anxiety and the lack of pride in Swedish food culture. It may be a controversial chapter, but we should also remind ourselves of the debate about how researchers ought to be better at reaching out and that academic research must be accessible. Here I think Håkan Jönsson is one step ahead in saying that it must be possible to communicate research outside a closed group. One day, perhaps the narrowest form of peer review, along with the classification system for scientific publications that squeezes everyone into the same discourse, might actually be abandoned. Storytelling has played a major role in the world of business for several years now. Stories are the surest way to sell, and also to reach out with information. I readily admit that I was drawn into a captivating scholarly narrative about Swedish food culture in a changing world, and that I enjoyed it all the way.

And finally, a *tvara* is made from a tip of pine or spruce and was used as a whisk when cooking porridge in a pot, but it also had magical properties in folklore.

Yrsa Lindqvist, Helsinki

Ethnography with a Twist

Challenges and Solutions in Ethnographic Research: Ethnography with a twist. Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto et al. (eds.) Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon 2020. 266 + xxix pp. ISBN 978-0-367-37688.

■ This book is based on papers and workshops given at a similarly named conference in Finland,

it is principally a book *about* rather than *of* ethnography. Many contributions, deal more with the experiences of the ethnographers than anyone else.

Though 'twist' has many connotations, here 'ethnography with a twist' is that which adopts 'innovative' methodological tools and is alert to those 'twist moments' when new ways of framing or understanding the data or the research process suddenly reveal themselves. The Introduction calls ethnography a practice typically based on 'the researcher's presence and participation in the daily lives of people and communities' in order to grasp their ways of life and understanding of their world. Stark ['Ethnographic challenges to studying the poor in and from the global South'] sees the ethnographer as responding to events as they emerge, rather than following a predetermined research design, whilst Boellstorff's Epilogue suggests ethnographers aim to illuminate particular cases rather than establish general laws. Inability to emulate the rigorous repeatability of natural science experiments does not invalidate their kind of research.

Turunen et al. ['Polyspace: Creating new concepts through reflexive team ethnography'] reminds us that early ethnography typically investigated non-Western, often colonial subjects, or as in the early Chicago school, the urban poor. It was principally concerned with 'the Other' and making the initially strange understandable. However, worlds change, prompting new research approaches. The societies the early ethnographers investigated were never as timeless or isolated as sometimes implied. But today, partly due to the new communication technologies several chapters mention, global interconnection has increased. Rapid economic shifts [hardly touched on here], urbanization, inter and intra-regional population movement, also encourage reconfigurations of the ethnologist's tool kit. As do new modes of research funding and organization. Early ethnographers were seldom scrutinized by the kind of ethics committees, mentioned by Everri et al. ['Ethical challenges of using video for qualitative research and ethnography: State of the art and guidelines']. Also partly connected to these transformations are shifts in social theory.

The Introduction references, post-colonialism, feminism, and not least the 'affective turn' as recent influences. The latter, drawing attention to the 'embodied self' and to 'impulses, attitudes, emotions and feelings as sources of knowledge and knowledge production', plays a strong role in many of the chapters. With science typically [if erroneously] considered an entirely rational and emotion-free endeavour, ethnologists' can be further encouraged to present their activity as some kind of 'arts' practice.

The main chapters of the book are organized into four sections – 'New collaborative practices in ethnology', 'Visuality and multi-modality in ethnology', 'Ethnology and power dynamics in challenging contexts' and 'Embodied and affective ethnology'. In his closing comments Boellstorff suggests an alternative grouping around themes of 'emergence', 'memory', 'representation' and 'authority'. 'Time', 'trust' and 'ethics' strike me as further recurring threads, and the reader is likely to be stimulated to consider the way these various motifs continually inter-relate.

Thus power differentials are relevant beyond the articles in the 'Ethnology and power dynamics in challenging contexts' section. For example, Strandén-Backa's 'The involuntary ethnographer and an eagerness to know', grouped as 'Embodied and affective ethnography', offers a retrospective deconstruction of her originally chance interaction with a Romany woman and subsequent failure to use her as an informant. It points to how societally subordinated and marginalized categories – who may never have asked to be studied – can sometimes exert their own kind of power by refusing to co-operate. The author interestingly highlights the discomfort she, as would-be ethnographer, felt in the woman's apartment when not quite understanding what was going on, what the 'script' was or which rules for interaction were being imposed on her. But doesn't she misrepresent the novelty of finding herself in *some* kind of uncertain situation as an ethnographer? Do even textbooks present the researcher as normally entering the field with 'a good pre-knowledge of what is going to take place and about the content of their study'?

Lounasmeri ['Elite interviewing: The effect of power interactions. The experiences of a northern woman'] also documents difficult interactions, noting the feelings of dread, fear and humiliation she felt when researching, in this case persons in formally powerful positions, in the energy sector. Despite Finland being well ranked on gender equality, she found herself at the wrong end of the 'micro politics of power' when her questions were blocked and her competence challenged by some of the male, but none of the female professionals. Lounasmeri recognizes the 'intersectionality' of her relative powerlessness – her comparative youth, early career stage, and social science affiliation [the 'wrong kind of cultural capital'] also affected her reception – and thus the kind of knowledge she could create. She doesn't however, ask whether her hostile male subjects might have been equally antagonistic or contemptuous to interviewers of their own gender – collaborative research with a male ethnographer would have been useful here. But she does suggest that gaining research funding from prestigious bodies and assuring anonymity might make the powerful more receptive to investigation – perhaps showing they are not necessarily immune to status and reputational anxiety themselves.

Stark's chapter ['Ethnographic challenges to studying the poor in and from the global South'], sits alongside Lounasmeri's in the 'Ethnology and power dynamics in challenging contexts' section of the book. This account of researching the poor in Dar Es Salaam definitely shows its difficulties. Stark's gender was presumably an advantage, possibly a necessity, for dealing with female respondents, and all her interpreters and key informants were women. But a perceived status as comparatively wealthy foreigner was problematic. It caused safety concerns [she never visited the neighbourhood she was studying unaccompanied and didn't stay overnight] and made establishing friendships difficult. She was torn when asked for money or other kinds of help, fearing demands would escalate, only gradually understanding that these requests linked to the norms and the internal structuring of power in the society she was

studying. Establishing dependency relations to a wealthy patron, she came to realise, could itself confer status and other benefits. Strandén-Backa, Lounasmeri and Stark's chapters all show that interactions between researcher and researched can be affected not just by power differentials between societies but by the internal distribution of power within them. It would be useful to know if any of Lounasmeri's troublesome respondents were in challenged or marginal positions within their own occupational hierarchies. Her reference to cultural capital also reminds us that there are different kinds and sources of power, a point which other of the contributors might have considered further.

Power differentials are also central to the ethics of ethnography. Where they lie firmly in the researcher's favour, special care is required to ensure subjects' agreement to participate is really freely given. Work with children, such as described in Siim's 'Drawing and storycrafting with Estonian children: Sharing experiences of mobility', is one such case. As is that with adults from cultures which, Stark suggests, lack 'Western concepts of the person as an individual' able to make independent decisions about themselves. She worried that some of her respondents felt constrained to co-operate because they were members of a key informant's network. Others may have 'chosen' to be interviewed because they needed the small amount of provisions given as a 'reward'. None in any case had a clear concept of what academic research involved. 'Hypothetical third-person elicitation' where respondents are asked not about themselves, but what's typical for their community, is suggested as a possible, partial, solution where respondents may not fully grasp the implications of providing personal information.

In a rather different context, Everri et al. consider ways in which ethical challenges arise from increased use of video recordings in research and the ease of potentially uncontrolled dissemination of data via social media platforms. They usefully review existing material and guidance on this issue, suggesting that protocols developed in the bio-medical world are not easily adapted to the complex, continually developing and cul-

turally varied situations ethnographers deal with. Anonymization of people, or places, is trickier in videos than with written presentations and may sometimes be impossible. So, when, for example, should consent be required from those peripherally captured in research images before the researchers make them publicly available? Privacy legislation [also discussed by Stark]] and the vetoing capacities of risk-averse ethics committees are two sources of external power to which the modern ethnographer can be subject.

As the above suggests, issues of power can link to those of collaboration, most particularly between the researcher and researched. In all projects where the latter agree to being studied, we have an element of collaboration. The researched can also unintentionally influence the way a project develops when they fail to respond in anticipated ways, shifting the investigation in new directions. Hänninen's 'Participant induced elicitation in digital environments' provides a case in point. And, as Koskinen-Koivisto et al. remind us, ethnographers have often relied on [well connected] key informants. They see as relatively new, however, the kind of 'co-production' or 'participatory research' where the researcher asks 'ordinary people to play an active part in research processes... inviting [their comments]... from the beginning of planning the research project and throughout the fieldwork and writing process'. Everri et al.'s chapter mentions recent moves to get respondents to video research material themselves. It also suggests that 'participants' voices should be included during the interpretation of the data however it has been obtained, creating a third voice' combining the views of the researcher and the researched in a kind of 'democratic collaboration'. Meanwhile Sandberg describes moments of 'collaborative knowledge production in which divisions of roles between researchers and interlocutors became contorted' ['Retrospective ethnographies: Twisting moments of researching commemorative practices among volunteers after the refugee arrivals to Europe 2015']. But in general, the volume's ethnographers don't appear to have granted subjects a directive role in their re-

search. None of the researched seem to have contributed to initially framing the studies or getting them off the ground, which is probably unsurprising given the differential distribution of access to funding bodies. None are cited as co-authors of the chapters and only Bradley names someone she studied [and worked with] in an acknowledgement. It seems as if it's the researchers who have decided how their interaction with the researched is presented in most of this volume's chapters.

The kind of collaboration the volume most exemplifies is between researchers themselves. The work has thirty contributors, four editors and the majority of the chapters are multi-authored – in two cases by seven individuals. Turunen et al. suggest one reason collaborative work has grown is the increase in multi-locational ethnography. As in their own investigation of European heritage sites, or Sandberg's study of four different North European locations of refugee/host interaction in 2015, the object of interest is dispersed. Or it may become the nature of *interconnection* between different sites. Either may require separate ethnographers with appropriate language skills in each location. Inter-disciplinary projects are also intrinsically collaborative. Not mentioned is that EU funding bodies' drive for collaborative projects may also play a role. However, authors clearly recognize that new communication technologies affect their collaborative opportunities, both during and after data-gathering.

Turunen et al. present their joint endeavours as challenging but rewarding. They note, for example, how team members from different national backgrounds had different 'notions of class status' and more generally that the varying 'affective capacities and registers' of researchers had to be negotiated. But this, they claim, advantageously led to greater reflexivity as they sought to clarify not only the character, but the causes of their differences. They argue that accommodating varied perspectives often leads to new insights the lone researcher might never have achieved. The latter may dismiss unexpected feelings and intuitions, but where fellow workers report them too, they can jointly recognize their significance. As was

the case with their new concept of 'poly-space', which they devised to reference sudden, unexpected, affective rather than cognitive feelings of time-compression and of empathy between the present moment, and events, places and people of the past. Once arrived at, the authors note, they could use it retrospectively to unpack previously collected data and to recognize that heritage sites are particularly active poly-spaces.

They make a strong case for the upsides of collaborative data-collection and analysis, but may be over-optimistic about how far multiple researchers can replicate in a short period, the achievements of the traditional, solitary ethnographer studying the same place and people over many years. These embedded researchers [unconstrained by contemporary academia's demands for quickly publishable results] could directly document change, following events unfolding over time. They could spot the small details that only slowly reveal themselves. Multiple, short-term observers, may well each notice different things, but the subtleties might possibly elude them all. Perhaps most importantly, long-term observers have opportunities for building up through repeated interactions, relations of trust which facilitate respondents opening up to them. Where power differentials give reason for the studied to doubt the good intent of the studiers, the latter may need to incrementally establish trust through gradually developing a history of creditable action. However, in a contemporary twist, Stark was able to utilize the trust she had already built up with her interpreters, and key persons in the neighbourhood, when illness forced her to complete her interviewing from many miles away via Skype.

Time is also central to memory. And both Turunen et al. and Sandberg's original research concerned individual and collective interpretations of the past. The formers' consideration of collaboration derives from investigating the memorialization of 'European heritage'. Sandberg meanwhile calls herself a 'midwife of memory' and speaks of doing 'retrospective ethnography'. Her project seemed not only to trigger but to con-

solidate her respondents' recollections – as when she returned with volunteers to the site where they had previously helped refugees and joined with them in a circle, holding hands, whilst they reminisced. Finding that volunteers did not want that 'summer of welcome' to be forgotten, she feels her documenting their memories might contribute here. Stark's previously mentioned chapter also concludes with a discussion of memory, one relevant to difficulties asylum seekers may experience with gatekeepers in the immigration process. She considers how, without deliberately aiming to deceive, migrants' accounts of their pasts can be unreliable and unstable. Trauma and stress, lack of documentary evidence around which to anchor key life cycle events, plus culturally-related lack of experience in presenting lineally structured life histories, can lead to their presenting accounts unacceptable to interrogating officials.

Dalbello and McGowan's 'Memory narrations as a source for historical ethnography and the sensorial-descriptive experience of migration' also involves a migration experience and a kind of retrospective ethnography. They depict the principles they used to sample the Ellis Island Oral History Archive and its associated transcripts to find, and subsequently code, segments referencing the sensory experiences of central and southern Europeans arriving in early 20th century America. Their work is doubly retrospective, for the Archive presents memories, elicited by interviewers many years after their interviewees' migration, which yet later, have been subject to Dalbello and McGowan's scrutiny. They mention, but don't seem too worried by the possibility that responses may have been affected by the original data collectors' desire to show American immigration in a celebratory light. They also seem to fluctuate between presenting migrants' memories of their [perhaps culturally mediated] sensations, as of interest in themselves, and as significant because of their Proustian capacity to trigger and organize other migration-related recollections. From whichever perspective, the author's focus on capturing a 'migration sensorium' and retrieving the sensory – rather than, for example, the

economically-related memories of migration – chimes with the ‘affective turn’ by emphasizing the bodily and emotional states of respondents. In their concluding paragraphs they also briefly suggest that their coding and interpretation of the life histories was affected by their own ‘sensory affective lenses’, though in precisely what way remains unclear.

Exponents of an affectively-oriented ethnography frequently present this as both an ontological and epistemological commitment. They see the human subject as irredeemably sensual, emotional and embodied. And hold that we do not know the world through the workings of some kind of abstracted, and purely rational ‘mind’ alone. Cartesian dualism is rejected. Turunen et al. suggest the body should be considered as a vehicle for creating ‘authentic knowledge,’ whilst Koskinen-Koivisto and Lehtovaara claim ‘the role of the researcher as an embodied subject is crucial’. As Lounasmeri however points out, this need not exclude a role for culture. Emotions and sensations have a bodily substrate, but their experience and modes of expression are partly learned, generally in social contexts. Koskinen-Koivisto and Lehtovaara, for example, [‘Embodied adventures: an experiment in doing and writing multisensory ethnography’] suggest that western cultures particularly privilege the visual. Their workshop, requiring pairs of participants to pay attention to, variously record, discuss and write about the sensations they experienced moving around the conference locality, revealed sharpened perceptions as a consequence and also the impact of prior ‘training’. Those already experienced in studying sound in particular environments, were especially alert to the auditory dimension. Whilst suggesting heightened sensory sensitivity can help the ethnographer, the authors acknowledge that ‘continuous observation of subtle nuances without interruption is quite impossible in many social situations’, or, we might say, a certain amount of routine ‘screening out’ is necessary for much everyday functioning.

The organization and style of Cheeseman et al.’s ‘Ramblings: a walk in progress [or the minutes

of the Society of the Imaginary Perambulator]’, demands a lot of its reader. It too relates to a communal and reflective conference-time walk, one taken by the chapter’s seven authors. It considers subsequent reflections on, and exchanges about this walk and the previous motion-related activities the authors had conducted separately and described in their conference papers. These included interviewing while running, exploring the pedestrian practices of a Jewish woman, and walking a familiarly significant route while ‘interpreting it musically’. Possibly – I’m not clear about this – further individual walks were subsequently undertaken, feeding into the second part of the chapter’s presentation of the minutes of the [imaginary] ‘Society of the Imaginary Perambulator’. Here further observations and thoughts about their experiences of walking are interleaved and exchanged. These perambulators see their activities as ‘align[ing] with the paradigmatic stance of arts-based practice as research’ and as ‘refram[ing]... walking as an innovative arts-based [method] of enquiry into ethnography’. Arts-based for them, signals accepting the relativism of different participants’ perspectives. Facts, control, distance and neutrality they say have little relevance to them as practitioners.

Bradley [‘Ethnography, arts production and performance: Meaning making in and for the street’] directly studied a group of art practitioners, from what she also sees as an arts-orientated perspective. Her research, was part of a wider, multi-site, multi-national project. Here her discussion relates to a four month burst of fieldwork spent with an English and a Slovakian group collaborating to devise and present a street art performance in Ljubljana. She comments on the possibilities of combining such short interventions with a continued, longer-term commitment to an overarching research project, but also attempts to discuss and mobilise ‘translanguaging’. This is presented as a means for ‘describing, analysing and theorizing dynamic multilingual [and multi-modal] practice’ through offering ‘a holistic lens for understanding fluid communicative practice’. That is, if I have correctly grasped a somewhat

convoluted and reference-packed text, she wants to look at how people use different verbal and non-verbal channels of communication, often simultaneously, in their interactions with the world and with each other. The production, enactment and reception of a highly physical street performance by a multi-lingual cast, would seem to offer excellent opportunities for unpacking examples of translanguaging; hopefully the full write up of the research delivers on this promise more successfully than this chapter did for me.

Hänninen 'Participant induced elicitation in digital environments' does better when showing how communication can be facilitated by combining verbal with other channels. She clearly reports how her study of life-style bloggers and of older IT users became much more successful when she got them to actually show her, and simultaneously talk through, some of their blogs or the digital equipment they used. New issues of importance were revealed to the ethnographer as she examined actual blogs with their creators, whilst her older respondents, anxious when asked about their IT competence in the abstract, relaxed when showing what equipment they had, what apps they used etc. Getting subjects to bring their own materials into the research context for participant-induced elicitation, Hänninen suggests, reduces power differentials between researcher and researched, increasing feelings of collaboration and trust. PIE elicited data can also be used to triangulate that obtained via interviews or questionnaires, potentially illuminating the connection between what people say and what they do.

Siim's 'Drawing and storycrafting with Estonian children: Sharing experiences of mobility' stands alongside Hänninen's chapter, in the 'Visuality and multimodality in ethnography' section of the book. It argues that drawing and storytelling are useful for establishing co-operation and trust between unequally powerful participants in the research process. In yet another discussion of migration experiences, it looks at her investigation of children's orientations to their mobility between Estonia and Finland. She describes how her subjects were encouraged to make and talk

about drawings related to their lives in these two countries. They also participated in 'storycrafting' – a technique, already used in Finnish schools, through which adults help children produce the stories that they want to tell. In this case, Siim gave her respondents free reign to work in small groups to generate 'creative narratives' about migrating children like themselves. That their output typically 'combines fact with fiction', is not seen as problematic since 'descriptions which seem to be inaccurate or too fanciful to be 'true' in a strict sense, have their own validity and help to understand the child's perspective', also allowing them to raise concerns they might not in a more direct interview situation. Unlike some therapeutic traditions using similar techniques, Hänninen doesn't link her interpretations of their work to any universal theory of child development, suggesting 'we still don't know much about how children move back and forth between the literal and the non-literal, the real world and the imaginary' and arguing for the mediation of childhood experiences by place-related social, cultural and moral norms.

Drawing as a research tool is also central to Tervahartiala's sometimes confusing 'Sharpening the pencil: A visual journey towards the outlines of drawing as an autoethnographical method'. Here it is her own drawing practice that's the focus. 'Auto' seems to signal a type of reflexive ethnography of the self and its response to external circumstances, although there are also hints of 'auto' as in 'automatic'. The drawing process she describes, with its continual spontaneous interaction between the drawer and the drawn, seems, initially at least, to hover below the level of conscious control, thus usefully triggering unexpected insights. Her drawing, says Tervahartiala involves a kind of letting go and serves to 'overcome her mental boundaries'. She also claims that 'drawing sketches me into being'. Indeed, she accords what is drawn some kind of selfhood and active agency, calling it an 'active being' and also 'an equal co-researcher'. The process of spontaneously drawing whilst, for example, reading, or listening to a conference seminar, can be dialogic – a kind of developing conversation between the drawer and what they

draw, about what is being heard or listened to. The second potential function of drawing is to communicate with others, and Tervahartiala begins to suggest that the drawer's product may do more than just *illustrate* for example the linear, written text, favoured by academic publishers. It may also have the capacity to express and convey what can't be captured verbally. Those taking the 'affective turn' are particularly likely to query the adequacy of words to fully capture human experience. The previously referred to 'imaginary perambulators' and Koskinen-Koivisto and Lehtovaara's 'embodied adventurers' were both concerned with how far they could 'write multi-sensory ethnography'. The former suggest that 'enactments' might help where the verbal failed. The latter mention how specialists in sound have developed particular vocabularies through which to talk about it. They could also have asked whether these reciprocally influenced what they could perceive and feel.

These are complicated, but by no means new concerns. Phenomenologically-inclined philosophers, for example, were considering the relationship between language and our experience of the 'life world' some time before ethnographers announced their affective turn in the 1980s and 90s. And one possible criticism of at least some of this collection's authors is their tendency to present their ideas as more novel than they are. Not least, sudden moments of revelation, conceptual shifts and breakthroughs during the course of ethnographic research have surely been more the rule than the exception. As Boellstorff's Epilogue confirms, 'twisting' is nothing new. A second disappointment is that few of the chapters fulfil the Preface's claim that the collection shows ethnography's potential for 'transforming society'. Self-reflexive ethnographers uncovering *how* people [other than themselves] cognitively and affectively understand their worlds is necessary but not sufficient for this task. Ethnography should also, as some contributors suggest, contribute to explaining *why* people feel, believe and act as they do. It should consider more than power differences between researcher and researched, and show how the broader distribution of different kinds of resources, material and

otherwise, contribute to constraining and enabling action and the objective possibilities for change.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea University

A Case of Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Stockholm

Rebecka Lennartsson, Mamsell Bohmans fall. Nattlöperskor i 1700-talets Stockholm. Stockholmia förlag, Stockholm 2019. 350 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7031-316-5.

■ What did it mean to live on the moral periphery in the mid and late eighteenth century? What was perceived as promiscuous behaviour? Or the sale of sexual favours for money? How did the authorities view this? And the general public? Were there gender differences? It is questions like these that the ethnologist Rebecka Lennartsson, head of research at Stockholm City Museum, seeks to answer in her microhistorical study, "The Case of Miss Bohman: Night-Walkers in Eighteenth-century Stockholm". And she provides relevant insights in this well-written and insightful account.

The book is based on a criminal case in the Stockholm archives: "Mamsell Bohman", daughter of a master carpenter, is in court on suspicion of having had sexual intercourse with men for money. The carpenter's daughter conceals nothing. She willingly shares her personal experiences and she talks about the whole organized practice that was built up around the exchange of sexual services. In her case, this concerned a procuress who arranged contacts between a wide range of male customers and women who sold their bodies, of whom Bohman was far from being the only one. The court case is a scoop that gives the book its verve. It exposes the contours of the environment surrounding prostitution – trafficking in sexual services – and it gives a sense of how such things were viewed in eighteenth-century society.

Rebecka Lennartsson has done an impressive piece of research work in inaccessible sources. She uses the trial to bring out various relevant themes which are then addressed, partly through

further work with the sources, partly through historical discussion. In the first half of the book, where we are introduced early on to the protagonists in the trial, the author alternates between the trial as it proceeds and broader reflections on topics such as: the outlook on prostitution in the law and in the public sphere; the environment surrounding promiscuous behaviour in taverns, urban neighbourhoods, and private quarters; the practical logistics, and so on. This manner of presentation works nicely, which means that the book avoids what is sometimes the Achilles heel of microhistorical studies, namely, that the author's enthusiasm for exotic and spectacular sources ends up in journalistic anecdotes and fragmentary insights that never give a deeper understanding of the phenomena under study or the broader context. Lennartsson has a pleasing open, reflective, and analytical approach to the material. Most of the time, when a pattern seems to be emerging, she uses the insight to raise new questions, to challenge the pattern, to wonder, to seek new answers that can provide explanations for the contradictory material. In that way the case works as a means and never becomes an end in itself.

However, the reader is not given any real overview of the social history of the various groups of people in the eighteenth century society and their mutual relations. Moreover, we jump too quickly from portraits of persons to issues related to sexuality and morality. To some extent, Lennartsson tries to draw a general profile of the characters in the case and to give some suggestions as to how they were placed in society as a whole. To (re)construct historical totalities is an enormous and time-consuming undertaking, not least when we have to rely on what is preserved in the archives and have to work creatively to combine many different types of sources. Here too, Lennartsson involves the reader in the work and uses the notes to point out the uncertainties, other possible interpretations, and the guesswork that is always involved in such work, and therefore a nerdy reader feels in good company; at the same time, one can easily skip these details if one prefers to accept the readymade interpretations in the text.

We are given glimpses of the less prosperous section of the townspeople to which Miss Bohman belongs, and we hear about the lower gentry, the clergy, about life in the court and about the people who come from deep poverty – albeit mostly in the form of slightly extended portraits of the persons and types who are somehow involved in the court cases. As a result, this spectacular case is given rather too much freedom to determine what we are informed about. Even if you maintain your focus on Bohman's case, the kaleidoscopic picture of various social groups means that you never really get an understanding of the alternative opportunities a young woman like her might otherwise have had in life. What did other young women do in circumstances like hers? Her choices thus appear as a somewhat random personal story.

It is always a challenge in ambitious historical studies for the researcher to persist in setting the agenda and holding the tiller as the insights continue to increase, rather than that the sources themselves take control and, so to speak, create their own problems; ultimately this often depends on what people at the time felt it necessary to commit to writing for administrative purposes. What the sources happen to tell us thus risks becoming what posterity regards as the central thing, if the researcher does not take this bias into consideration. Lennartsson does not fall into that trap, however. She shares relevant reflections on how the different sources not only came into existence for different reasons, but also have their own story to tell, and that this has to be made to work in relation to her research interest. Nevertheless, there are passages in the book that are rather too long, where one specific source has a disproportionate influence on what is communicated to today's reader.

This applies, for example, to the very long account of the libertine Gustaf Hallenstierna's view of women and sexuality, as expressed in his erotic memoirs "My Adventures in Love". Of course, this is not irrelevant – although it is not new knowledge – in relation to the book's broader interest in the different views and understandings that prevailed at the time. Yet this long account

appears oddly disconnected from the stricter disposition in the first half of the book. On the whole, this book becomes a little less stringent as it progresses.

There is probably a logic of its own here: one of Lennartsson's important conclusions is how incredibly complex the phenomena of sexuality and prostitution were in those days (and still today), and how difficult it is to see clear patterns, for example, as regards which women pursued a career on the margins of virtue; for instance, that it was not only penniless girls from the countryside. Likewise, it is difficult to find any unambiguous expressions of what was considered to be amoral, and this was not necessarily linked to particular social groups, because attitudes diverged, just as they did between the sexes. Not all men shared Hallenstierna's view of women, and not all women regarded promiscuous behaviour as reprehensible. These are important insights, and Lennartsson deserves credit for drawing attention to this complexity. But the reader is left rather unsatisfied with this observation, because Lennartsson makes no serious attempt to explain how the contradictory features could exist simultaneously. Instead, she devotes much of the book to an account of the "whore stigma", that is, the fact that women who were involved in extramarital sex – as opposed to men who did the same – were held in contempt. This account is less grounded in the practice than in the ambitious first half of the book, and it becomes a much broader and more familiar presentation of views associated with women's behaviour on the margins of morality. The whore stigma – with all its inherent double standards – is in a way assigned the role of "explaining" the contradictory material, but instead it becomes just another expression of complexity, not really conveying any deeper insight.

In addition to her starting point in the spectacular case of a Stockholm carpenter's daughter in the mid-eighteenth century, Lennartsson also seeks to examine the broader context in time and place: how the outlook on and conditions for prostitution changed in the nineteenth century with "regulated" prostitution, and the form this commerce took

in other European countries such as England and France. These perspectives are useful and enlightening (a Danish reader may miss a mention of the immensely insightful study *Boliger og bordeller* ("Housing and Brothels") by Grethe Hartmann, 1967, which examines prostitution, its settings and its management in Copenhagen in the late eighteenth century). Here Lennartsson makes the point that there was no language for the commerce in extramarital sexual services and sex trafficking in the eighteenth century (the word *prostitution* was not in general use, although it appears in a source from 1768), nor were there any special rules; this is in stark contrast to the state inquiries and the emerging moral police in the following century.

For anyone with a knowledge of the situation in Denmark, this will come as a surprise. There is no doubt that major changes took place throughout the nineteenth century, but a large share of these were due in particular to the increased knowledge about venereal diseases, which Lennartsson does not even mention. In the nineteenth century, the increasing effort to avoid the spread of infection led to registration and regular inspection of prostitutes. It was thus not only a matter of prostitution being recognized as part of "the social problem" in the second half of the nineteenth century (and of prostitutes being identified as a group), but also of being recognized as a threat to public health. But if it is true that prostitution as a phenomenon in eighteenth-century Sweden was not regarded as a pursuit that was so institutionalized that there were rules about how it was to be practised, then this is very different from the situation in Denmark. For example the laws of King Hans from 1497 (incidentally, at a time when parts of present-day Sweden were Danish), prostitutes were required to wear a special cap, and both before and after this there was a consistent judicial practice concerning "whoring", brothels ("whorehouses", sometimes formalized in the form of guilds), and trafficking in sexual services, as documented, for example, in police ordinances and by-laws – also in the eighteenth century. The Danish Law of 1683 explicitly mentions *ruffere* and *ruffersker* – that is, male and female procurers

who, for their own gain, assisted others to engage in sexual intercourse, including running brothels. Lennartsson's *kopplare* and *kopplerskor* seem to fall into this category. I would be surprised if there were no similar provisions in Swedish law – and hence both a conceptualization and an institutionalization of prostitution (contrary to what Lennartsson points out). If so, it would of course still be interesting to know, in concrete judicial practice as in Miss Bohman's case, not so much *whether* money was involved in the sexual exchange, but all the more important to investigate *how* and *why*.

This book about the case of Miss Bohman can be recommended to anyone interested in eighteenth-century society and morality, and of course in prostitution specifically. It succeeds in giving a vivid impression of some places and people at the time, and to some extent the context around them. It is less successful in charting the most relevant connections between morality and different social groups and settings, and thereby establishing the link that must exist between the microhistory and the macrohistory.

Niels Jul Nielsen, *Copenhagen*

Museum Competence

Kompetens i museisektorn. Politik, praktik och relationen till högre utbildning. Katja Lindqvist (ed.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2019. 320 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-8890914-5.

■ Museums are complex institutions, and they are subject to continuous change. New or revised acts on museums have been passed or presented by the parliaments in Finland, Sweden, and Denmark in recent years, and the pronounced tendency towards centralization in the sector is also found in Norway. In these circumstances, what kind of capabilities to do things – *kompetens* – do museums need, now and in the future? Do universities meet these needs by educating candidates with the capabilities that museums seek? These questions are addressed in a recent volume edited by Katja Lindqvist, who has also contributed no fewer than

six of the book's fifteen chapters. In her opening article, Lindqvist points out that *kompetens* is a difficult term to translate into English, the dominant equivalent in research and practice being "human resource management". Her main point is that there is an increasing demand for something other than traditional competences among museum employees – in addition to knowledge about collections and related historical periods and cultures, museums and their staff must be capable of dealing with inclusion, digitalization, economics, and cooperation, among other things.

The rest of the volume is divided into two parts. Chapters 2 to 6 deal with the needs of museums in terms of *kompetens*. Sofia Dahlqvist's attempt in chapter 2 to outline future competences that museums will need in order to stay relevant, is, however, somewhat difficult to grasp: What "hybrid competences" in "participation, dialogue, involvement, democracy, and digitalization" are, and how they are to be achieved through competence profiles such as pedagogical curator, community manager, and audience advocate, among others, remains somewhat unclear. The contribution is based on a previously published report by a Swedish trade union from 2017. In chapter 3, Cecilia Bygdell and Anna Hansen present results from a 2017 survey conducted among Swedish museums by the Swedish network Forskning vid Museer (Research in Museums). Their main conclusion is, perhaps unsurprisingly, that there is a need to develop and stimulate the capability to do research in Swedish museums through better financing, enhanced cooperation, clearer pathways of qualification or merit, and strengthened research infrastructure in museums. While interesting, a discussion of what kind of competence research in museums requires would have strengthened the text – particularly in the light of the discussion on knowledge production in museums in chapter 7 (see below). Chapters 4, 5, and 6, all written by Katja Lindqvist, chart differing competence and developmental needs in a number of Swedish museums. Chapter 4 presents a 2016 survey – conducted, somewhat confusingly, not by Lindqvist, but by Åsa Hallén on behalf of

Länsmuseernas samarbetsråd – among regional and county-level museums on their capabilities in the light of perceived needs; the relationship between this survey and the present volume is not explicated. Chapter 5 is a thorough investigation of how four different museums in the Skåne region deal with capability and competence development. This 45-page, rather detailed, investigation is supported by 15 pages of diagrams and figures. It shows, according to Lindqvist, that museums aim at developing their capabilities according to analyses of what the surrounding society expects of them. What museums need, the author says, is digital competence, communication skills, and employees that are multicompetent. Chapter 6, which wraps up the first part of the volume, presents a number of different scholarly takes on “collaboration”, ostensibly aiming at enhancing collaboration between museum employees, work groups, and museum organizations.

The second part of the volume presents more or less current offerings in museology or other related topics from institutions of higher education in Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Denmark. The emphasis is on rather detailed descriptions of examples of collaboration between universities and museums in the education of candidates. In chapter 7, Karin Gustavsson discusses knowledge production in Helsingborg museums and the associated collaboration with Lund University. In chapter 8, Maria Brunskog and Susanna Carlsten describe a collaboration between Uppsala University and Gotland Museum, while the museology programme at Umeå University is presented by Richard Pettersson in chapter 9. Carolina Jonsson Malm and Bodil Petersson present the offerings at Linnaeus University, campus Kalmar, in chapter 10. The past, present and future of museology in Danish universities is discussed by Ane Hejlskov Larsen (chapter 11); the Finnish case differs somewhat from the other contributions in this part, as Sirkku Pihlman explicitly discusses in chapter 12 how recent developments in Finnish museum policy impact on higher education in museology. Chapter 13, by Brita Brenna and Kristina Skåden, offers an insight into how the Department of Culture Studies

and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo thinks about and collaborates with museums and other heritage institutions. Wrapping up this part, Katja Lindqvist summarizes Nordic educational offerings related to museums in chapter 14. Although the chapter is more descriptive than comparative, she points out that the courses offered by institutions of higher education seldom are multi-faculty, thus not meeting what museums according to Lindqvist ask for – truly multidisciplinary competence. What academia can offer is, rather, “a critical perspective on the museum institution and cultural heritage work” (p. 298).

In the concluding chapter 15, Lindqvist emphasizes that even though universities actively seek to meet the needs of museums through active collaboration and produce candidates with knowledge and skills relevant for museums, they still fail in providing “multicompetence” which is what museums truly need.

While informative and mostly well-written, the volume as a whole is somewhat uneven. Some chapters are analytical, others are very descriptive; the Nordic perspective which is promised on the blurb is not systematically applied. Swedish cases dominate, and the comparative discussion is rather limited. The opportunity to critically discuss the various visions of what museums need – or rather, what museum leaders on different levels say that they need, now and in the future – is not systematically seized; rather than a critical analysis of how the needs of museums are defined and met, the needs seem to be taken for granted.

Teemu Ryymin, Bergen

Portait of an Island Community in the Danish Capital

Søren Mentz, Portræt af et lokalsamfund. Fra amagerdragt til røvgæv. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Aarhus 2020. 190 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7184-452-8.

■ Amager was for a long time a place I only knew from books about Danish folk dress. When in August 2019 I finally had the time to visit Museum Amager in Store Magleby, just

outside Copenhagen, two things struck me: (1) How difficult it was to get there from downtown Copenhagen, and (2) How lively the museum was. With those two things in mind, I happily agreed to read Søren Mentz's book about Amager.

The author of this written portrait of Amager has been head of Museum Amager since 2015. First of all, it is impressive that a manager of a museum with limited resources and a small staff finds time to publish books. Secondly, I will credit Museum Amager for taking responsibility outside the museum buildings, by asking questions about how the local community works today.

This book presents several perspectives on Amager. The story is framed by a work of art, painted by Peter Carlsen and given the name "Amager 2019". The painting is also on the cover, and it is thoroughly presented inside the book. Most of the text, though, focuses on history. First, we are introduced to Amager as the painter Julius Exner depicted it in the mid-nineteenth century. Then the history of Amager as an area for Dutch immigrants during the sixteenth century is presented. Chapter 4 brings us to maritime Amager, before the last chapter brings back Carlsen's painting.

I have learned a lot from the book. It covers a variety of approaches to Amager's history. As must be the case in a small book with a broad scope, no topic can be explained in depth. Moreover, there are several topics I would like to know more about. Let me mention two examples: How has Copenhagen University influenced Amager? And what about Amager Fælled? When I last visited Copenhagen, a huge demonstration was taking place in the city centre. The protesters felt that the green recreation field out at Amager (former grazing areas for cattle) was threatened by development. I am eager to know what Amager Fælled means to both Amager and Copenhagen citizens of today.

Throughout the book, Mentz sets up a contrast between tradition and modernity. Tradition is stable, it belongs to the past, and it is almost dead. I would have liked to know why the author chose this take on the concept of tradition. Hardly any

approach to cultural history is as thoroughly researched as how we can deal with tradition in our time. Museum Amager is important in the story Mentz tells about the island. From his examples, I understand that the museum staff deal with tradition all the time. In this book, however, tradition is kept at a distance.

In chapter 3, Mentz introduces his readers to Pierre Bourdieu and his different kinds of capital. This well-known theory structures the story about the Dutch immigrants. Farming is cultural capital, folk dress, houses and the church are social capital, and the governmental privileges offer economic capital. It seems to me that this understanding of Bourdieu's theory is somewhat static. I fear that Mentz interprets Amager's history as less dynamic than his examples show.

Let me take folk dress as an example. Mentz presents it as social capital, and that is fine. But when the descendants of Dutch immigrants kept on using folk dress to promote vegetables at the marketplace, to stand out from the crowd and to signal quality, what was the economic effect? I claim that Bourdieu's theory could be more crucial to the interpretations if Mentz had shown more about how negotiations between different kinds of capital were at stake.

As a tourist without a car or a bicycle, you have to use both train and bus to find Museum Amager. Or you can do as we did, take a taxi. But don't expect the taxi driver to know where the museum is. For many Copenhagen citizens, this is a foreign place even though it is so close to Copenhagen. Why is that so? That was one of the questions I had when I started reading. The book gave me some suggestions, but I am still wondering about some things.

Museum Amager is beautiful. We visited it during the dahlia season, when the gardens as well as the houses sparkled with colour. What impressed me most, besides the flowers, animals and neatly arranged exhibitions, was all the volunteers. They were friendly, welcoming and engaged. I wonder how they feel about this book.

Mentz tells us how shocked he was when he met the organization of the volunteers at the muse-

um. From the way he expresses this, I ask myself if he really wants his volunteers to read this. In my opinion, it takes both time and engagement to fully understand the dynamics of volunteer work in museums. A dynamic approach to how tradition is part of today's interest in history would be helpful, I claim. A conversation about Amager, tradition and the museum could be a start.

I definitely get the impression that Mentz wants to start a conversation about Amager, both by commissioning Carlsen's painting and with this book. Working together with schools seems to be important. Together with the painter, Mentz writes, he visited several schools at Amager, holding workshops with the children and having them reflect on what the local community means to them. In the book, however, instead of highlighting workshops and communication, Mentz often writes that he visited the schools and gave lectures about Amager. My impression after reading the book is that Søren Mentz is more of a lecturer than a listener.

I am tempted to say that the book as well is a lecture. It is Søren Mentz's well-written lecture about how he understands Amager. If the book (and the painting), are followed up by listening, by discussions – then the book (and the painting) can be a conversation piece.

Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, Oslo

The Gender of Violence

Gabriella Nilsson & Inger Lövkrona, Våldets kön. Kulturella föreställningar, funktioner och konsekvenser. (Andra uppdaterade upplagan.) Studentlitteratur, Lund 2020. 357 pp. ISBN 978-91-4413-879-4.

■ At the time of writing, in the spring of 2021, there is an ongoing debate about two highly publicized cases, both of which involve famous men accused of raping women. Both were released without charge and both have since allowed to present their side of the story unchallenged on prime-time Swedish Television. One of the cases concerns a live press conference with the senior jurist Göran Lambertz and the other is a docu-

mentary about the comedian Soran Ismail (www.svt.se 23 March 2021; www.svt.play *Persona non grata*). The criticism of these two public service broadcasts has been massive, the main objection being the preferential right of interpretation granted to these two men at the expense of the women who were their alleged victims. Many feminist debaters and spokespersons, such as Katarina Wennstam and Maria Sveland, have long since lost their patience with this bias, and now more and more voices are being heard. These cases thus reflect both a kind of backlash in that men are allowed to occupy a prominent place while women continue to be silenced, and the progress that has been made thanks in part to the #metoo movement.

For those who want to deepen their understanding of what is happening before our eyes and put these cases in a broader context in both time and space, there is now perfect reading in the form of this book, now published in a revised edition by the ethnologists Gabriella Nilsson and Inger Lövkrona, titled “The Gender of Violence: Cultural Notions, Functions, and Consequences”.

The book is divided into ten chapters. It describes, explains, and analyses historical events, political and legal changes, and shifting cultural notions about violence. As the title indicates, *Våldets kön* opens a huge field in which *våld* (violence or force), which in itself appears to be a neutral term, is shown to carry gendered interpretations and meanings. Take, for example, the term “deadly shootings”, which currently occupies a large part of the political discourse in Sweden and which has led to calls for more police resources and an increasingly repressive migration policy. Concealed behind this designation are notions of gender, age, class, and ethnicity. The authors make a good argument that terms like this, which also comprise hierarchies and power structures, are necessary since we have to name the things we want to act against. “Deadly shootings” are thus not neutral events that affect everybody; they take place in vulnerable residential areas, among people living in precarious circumstances, with a background in migration, and they involve boys.

What would the policy look like if it were phrased to state that in Sweden today teenage boys murder each other in public places in our cities?

Våldets kön is not about these young boys' violence against each other, although they are part of the problem of men's violence; instead the book focuses on men's violence against women, and sexual violence in particular. This delimitation is not explicitly stated until the last chapter, but it permeates the entire book from the very first examples, about the normalization of heterosexual intercourse and the purchase of sex services, in Chapter 1, "What is Violence?" At the end of this chapter, the authors write that they have "sought to paint a background to the way cultural notions of violence can be clearly linked to notions of gender, even though official descriptions and definitions are often characterized by a gender-neutral intention" (p. 46). I have no objection to this aim, quite the contrary. However, this is done within a specific context that should be made more explicit already in the introduction and perhaps should also be obvious from the title of the book.

The ten chapters of the book have concise headings announcing different themes. Each chapter begins with a clear introduction. In this way, each chapter can be read as a standalone essay. One objection of a more editorial nature, however, is that the authors try to tie the book together through cross-references such as: "we will come back to this later"; "as we described in a previous chapter"; and so on. These could easily have been deleted, and an example of the frequency of such rather unnecessary markers can be found on pages 153–154, where there are three instances in the space of ten sentences.

The theme of each chapter is underpinned by historical retrospectives, a survey of political stances, accounts of preparatory legislative work and discussions on the development of legislation in this area. In addition, the authors report extensively on their own and other people's research in the field, theories and perspectives that have dominated in different times and contexts, and current cases from the media in particular.

Chapter 2, "Men's Violence against Women",

provides a thorough review of the discussions and arguments put forward by various actors about the use of the terms in the chapter heading, which makes it clear who uses violence and against whom. The chapter also clarifies the concept of "violence in close relationships", which in contrast to "violence against women" can include violence in same-sex relationships. The authors additionally describe the emergence and establishment of a clear gender power perspective that challenges previous dominant theories that men who practise violence against women do so because they deviate in some way and that the practice of violence is a consequence of powerlessness rather than superior power. A gender power perspective assumes that men's violence against women is a structural problem, not just an individual one, and that men's violence against women must be understood as part of a continuum where serious violence lies on the same scale as less serious or even accepted violence. This means that, as long as the less serious or accepted violence is allowed to continue, the serious violence will continue to be practised too. In this chapter the authors also dwell on the present-day obsession with measuring in order to find evidence that a phenomenon actually is widespread and needs to be addressed. This is particularly discussed on the basis of a major victim survey from the early 2000s, *Slagen dam: Mäns våld mot kvinnor i jämställda Sverige, en omfångsundersökning*.

In contrast to this kind of evidence-based knowledge, the authors instead discuss more existential aspects of men's violence against women in Chapter 3, "Living with Violence". The chapter is structured around two dominant theories of violent relationships: the normalization theory and the break-up staircase. The theories concern why women do not end the relationship. One theory chiefly explains what causes the woman to stay in the relationship, while the other examines what causes the woman to break up. The chapter also describes the emergence and activities of women's shelters and the consequences of violence for health. Finally, the authors write about the violence perpetrated by men that leads to women's

death. Here they proceed, among other things, from Weigl and Edblom's book *I händelse av min död* (2019). It is depressing that so many women have to die among us in today's society – just as depressing as the fatal shootings I mentioned above, and which the authors also use for comparison at the end of the chapter. There they highlight the difference between the police action against men's beating and killing of women in the *Dawn Initiative* and the police action against violence and murder among teenage boys in *Operation Rimefrost*. The examples show, each in its own way, how important it is to be clear about what is involved and not to hide it behind gender-neutral or otherwise power-neutral terms.

Chapter 4, "Violence and Masculinity", is about ideas of masculinity. Here, different explanatory models compete with each other, genes and biology on the one hand, and culture, socialization, and discourses on the other. The latter are created and reproduced in everything from the heroic tales of popular culture to the laddish atmosphere of the hockey rink. Men have to be ready to fight, go to war, and be heroes; that is the positive side of violence. An important question that the authors ask about the biological explanation is, if violence were part of men's genes and biology, why aren't all men violent? Another very interesting discussion concerns violence, othering, and social filtering. This section of the chapter is based, among other things, on the study of reported rapes and convictions between 2005 and 2008 by the criminologists Diesen and Diesen. They observe that in percentage terms it is not the same groups of men who are reported for rape who are ultimately convicted. One group that is more often convicted consists of men of foreign origin. This leads on to the current populist debate that men from other cultures are more prone to violence.

This essentialistic understanding of cultural differences as something that people are born with and steered by is examined in a separate chapter entitled "Violence and Culture" (Chapter 8). Before the reader gets there, the book covers "Sexuality and Violence" in Chapter 5, "Violence and the Law" in Chapter 6, and "Violence and the

Internet" in Chapter 7. The chapters on sexuality and legislation belong together and the authors show, through concrete cases, how legislation, interpretation of the law, and thus judgments are imbued with dominant cultural beliefs and interpretative frameworks concerning what relations, mainly sexual, between a man and a woman are supposed to be like. The man is the one who is active while the woman is passive, and this comes up, for example, in the question of consent, where sex appears to be something that the man initiates and feels entitled to receive as long as the woman does not say no. The authors write: "Instead of asking 'did he force her?' the investigation asks 'was she willing?'" (p. 172). Chapter 6 deals with legislation, chiefly in the sphere of rape and prostitution, and the genealogy of the Sexual Offences Act. Chapter 7, "Violence and the Internet", which is a completely new chapter in this second edition, gives the reader a good overview of the state of knowledge and the gaps that exist in today's legislation regarding online violence and abuse. Similarly, Chapter 8, "Violence and Culture", surveys the minefield that is honour-related violence. In the ninth chapter, the authors turn to look at women's violence, describing, for instance, violence against children and *barnadråp* (infanticide), a crime that only women can be charged with in the otherwise gender-neutral legislation. The authors also carry on an important discussion of how violence perpetrated by women and girls, as opposed to the violence of boys and men, is gendered through concepts such as *kvinnoträta* (women's quarrel) and *tjejeväld* (girls' violence). This in itself is a telling example of how the violence that predominates, namely men's violence, is described in neutral terms such as gang violence, street violence, domestic brawls, while women's violence appears to be gender-specific. The last chapter of the book considers violence and resistance, and here too the exercise of power and hidden cultural beliefs recur in a discussion about how women's hatred of men is challenged while men's misogyny is left unchallenged.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to the way in which the authors take on such a complex

subject as violence and gender. Although I began by calling for a clearer demarcation, I end up as a very satisfied reader of an important and useful book that deals with engaging and upsetting topics. It is certainly not relaxing reading. Yet despite the hard-hitting language, the many angles of approach, and all the references to relate to, the authors also give the reader room to take a step back. They do so by continuously asking new and critical questions about the arguments they have just put forward. The book gives the reader a chance to understand gender and violence, and especially men's violence against women, and thus also in the long term the possibility to change what may be perceived as self-evident. But even there, the writers do not use pointers; on the contrary, the whole book ends with a number of questions that are challenging, to say the least. The first of these is: Do we really want to curb men's violence by changing the male role?

Kristina Gustafsson, Växjö

An Eighteenth-Century Recipe Book

Hushållsbok för Stensböle gård. Receipt, råd och huskurer från 1700-talet. Märtha Norrback (ed.). Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors/Appell förlag, Stockholm 2020. 288 pp. Ill. 978-951-583-508-6.

■ Everybody knows that food can be a gift of love. But writing a cookery book together, or as a gift to your life partner, must surely be one of the most grandiose expressions of love. This is what a couple did at the Finnish manor of Stensböle, five kilometres south-east of Borgå (Porvoo). This book of recipes, household advice, and home cures was written by the husband and wife Barbro Hästesko-Fortuna (1698–1771) and Johan Wentzel Rotkirch (1699–1758). Now the battered old manuscript has been published in modernized Swedish by Märtha Norrback and the Swedish Literature Society of Finland (SLS) in a beautiful and accessible volume titled *Hushållsbok för Stensböle gård*. The manor of Stensböle was donated to the SLS in 1990, and the publication of the book can be regarded as a way to use the gift and bring it to life.

The manor itself dates back to the Middle Ages and has been a centre for the Swedish-speaking nobility of Finland for a long time.

Handwritten notes like this about household wisdom and recipe collections are well known from noble homes in the eighteenth century. They are descendants of the older literature on farm management beginning at the end of the sixteenth century, sometimes referred to as *Oeconomica*, in which noble men and sometimes women wrote down their experiences of agriculture and forestry, as well as livestock breeding and the conversion of raw materials into marketable foods. Some of these notes were published as complete books and thereby influenced the development of estate management during the heyday of the manors. In the eighteenth century, the category split into books purely about agriculture and books concentrating on recipes, household advice, and not infrequently household remedies or “health foods” as we would say. The household book from Stensböle belongs to the latter genre. The most famous example from Swedish-speaking Finland is the collection of domestic wisdom by the noblewoman Cajsa Warg, published as a cookbook in 1755. It comes from roughly the same time as the Stensböle household book, and it is written in the same spirit, guided by the ideals of the Enlightenment: discovering, recording, and structuring.

The household book from Stensböle farm is divided into three parts: First, an analysis (57 pages) by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Märtha Norrback of the conditions for managing a manor house, and the role played by the household in the economic development of the property. There is also an analysis of the food culture of the time and how recipe books are related to it. Then comes a philological text by Märtha Norrback about the manuscript and the reflections made for the translation into modern Swedish (13 pages). Finally, the newly translated “Barbro Christina Hästesko’s Household Book” (159 pages). For those who would like to see the original of the household book, it can be found on the website of the Swedish Literature Society (sls.finna.fi). In

addition, the book has a commentary and a glossary of words, a table of eighteenth-century units of measurement, a list of sources and references, an index of food recipes and three additional indexes: one for medicinal recipes and domestic remedies, one for dyes, and one for other recipes. This is highly valuable. More than twenty pictures from the manuscript and Stensbøle estate illustrate the book very nicely.

The first section puts the manuscript in relation to the contemporary interest in the proper management of an estate and the requirement for a family to display itself with the right kind of dishes. It is this section that is perhaps closest to my own field of expertise. The sumptuous taste of the Baroque era overlaps here with the more intimate and reflective ideals of the Enlightenment. Manor owners of the time gathered advice from people they trusted, as a way to confirm their interest in their fellow human beings and their desire to forge relationships. However, the real ties of friendship that lie behind the household book, or the networks that can be detected through an analysis of the recipes, are not clearly revealed in the text here.

Household books, whether handwritten or the few that were printed, were important for the development of domestic knowledge during the more than half a century that preceded the creation of agricultural societies that took on the task of disseminating new scientific findings about the running of farms. We may note here that the first agricultural society in Sweden was the one in Gotland, founded in 1791, which almost certainly had commercial contacts with the port of Borgå and the nearby Stensbøle, but the second was in Finland, the Åbo County Agricultural Society, founded in 1797. The ground was prepared during the century with various scientific initiatives, "from farm to fork", as they say in the EU. In this section the reader sees the connection between the utilitarian ideals expressed in the works of Carl Linnaeus, but also in Bengt Bergius' gigantic project to survey all the world's food types, and Reinerus Broocman's slightly earlier work of systematization for his complete household book, as he called it.

The aim of the recipes is to convert various seasonal surpluses that must be preserved in order to be eaten during the time of year when nothing grows or before next year's harvest has been saved. Then the food has to undergo yet another transformation into dishes and flavour combinations for meals. The fashion of the time demanded smooth textures in preserves, fricassees, and pies. They are recognizable from European cookbooks. It is possible that one could make a kind of sociogram of the recipes because they are clearly not unique; instead they show relationships that were considered important. The excellent commentary in the book almost has this function of describing relationships.

The recipes give the impression of not being based on personal experience. The authors believe that they may have been copied and compiled from various printed sources in the possession of acquaintances. Books were a costly and scarce commodity, and the way selected recipes were copied is in fact reminiscent of the work of the medieval monks.

Barbro Hästesko appears to have been knowledgeable in what can perhaps almost be described as the borderland between folk medicine and the pharmacopoeia. She was trusted for her skills in curing the farm's employees, the family, and others. The medicinal recipes are supposed to cure ailments ranging from burns to the many fevers and chills of the time, and to provide everything from abortifacients to toothache relief. Plants were used at the time that we know today actually cause disease, such as common rue (can give allergy and burn-like blisters on the skin), and people spread arsenic on beds and cracks in the wall to keep bedbugs away. Many recipes are about textile care, such as removing visible stains. In a military family, there is also almost always a need to make gold braid shinier when it has lost its lustre. There are also recipes for that, the secret being saffron.

This particular household book may have been created before the marriage of the spouses in 1721 or after; it is unclear which. It cannot be excluded that it may have been the man's gift to his be-

trothed, to which additions were then made over time, right up to the second half of the eighteenth century. The authors believe that it reflects conditions in Sweden rather than in eastern Finland. Readers are given good insight into the management of a manor house and the organization of the work required to preserve the fluctuating yields of the seasons.

There are almost 250 food recipes, besides all the recipes for household remedies, dyes, etc. Much of the work on the estate involved saving fruit, berries, and vegetables during an intensive growing season. There is no record of what the estate actually grew, so the text of the analysis comes with the reservation that the list of vegetables, berries, and fruit is based on an estimate. Recipes for pastries and sweet desserts dominate, because exact amounts are important for a successful result with these, in comparison to other everyday cooking where the experience of the cook far excelled the advice of a cookbook.

Ilmakunnas and Norrback write that this household book is a window on women's work (p. 63), and this is true, but only partially I would say. The running of a farm, whether a smallholding or a large manor house, required two equally competent and specialized leaders. There was a male leader for the external activities, to plan the sowing, harvest the crops, manage the forestry and fishing, invest in the future, and so on. Then there was a female leader for the indoor work, to convert the farm's resources into marketable food and to look after the employees. If one of the spouses died, the survivor usually had to remarry within a few months. The necessity to run the farm could not wait for a period of mourning to end. So even if it was a woman who did the work, it is more a matter of the joint management of the family enterprise than a woman's sphere.

The second section consists of a very well-informed literary and, above all, linguistic study of the manuscript, examining many details; the binding, the paper quality, consonants and vowels, and the ink types used are examples of topics that receive expert presentation and commentary. There is also a discussion of the decisions that

had to be made when faced with the delicate task of putting an eighteenth-century text into a twenty-first-century form. Translation and the history of Swedish are beyond my area of expertise, but this section gives a very authoritative impression through its wealth of detail and its ability to analyse the manuscript from many different angles. It is impressive that it can be revealed that the book was written by several different hands, has different forms of address over time, and that the person who wrote the last part of the manuscript was skilled in the handwriting style of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

An index is one of the most important tools for progress in research on cultural history. Without an index, a non-fiction book is almost useless. *Hushållsbok för Stensböle gård* has several very good indexes of dishes, domestic remedies, and dye recipes. They amply fulfil the promise of the book. But an index of persons could have been appropriate, because one of the fundamental claims of the book is that household books and recipe collections like this also tell the story of the noble family's networks and friendships. Similarly, an index of places would have been valuable, especially for scholars of manor history who use geography as part of their method. As a researcher of food culture, I appreciate historical maps showing estates with their fields, meadows, and outbuildings which put the economic aspect of food culture in the proper perspective. An annotated map of Stensböle and its geographical location in Finland would have been of great value, although maps nowadays are never further away than our smartphone. Birth and death years are shown in brackets after the first mention of each person, but this is not consistently done.

Research on Swedish-Finnish manor houses must be congratulated on acquiring this book, and especially the history of food culture, a subject that is starting to take shape so that it will soon be possible to teach courses about it.

Richard Tellström, Funbo Spångtorp

On High Heels in America

Siv Ringdal, På høye hæler i Amerika. Unge Agderkvinner i etterkrigsårenes New York. Pax Forlag, Oslo 2018. 395 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-530-4040-0.

■ On the cover of Siv Ringdal's book, "On High Heels in America: Young Women from Agder in Post-war New York", two women look back at the reader. They are dressed in smart skirt suits, high heels, and fashionable headwear, standing on the corner of a New York street. Except for some rosy cheeks and a touch of blonde hair, their outfits and accessories are the only details that have been colorized in this otherwise black and white photograph. The busy metropolitan street might be the setting, but the fashion is clearly the star of the picture.

Between 1946 and 1965, the two decades following World War II, almost 10,000 people emigrated from the Norwegian county of Agder. On the inside of the cover we read that stories of emigration have mostly been about men, even though women also made the journey across the Atlantic. The ethnologist and cultural historian Siv Ringdal has interviewed sixteen of these women, some of whom went to New York and stayed there, while others returned to Norway after some years in the big city. The stories of these women, represented through quotations and accompanied by a large amount of visual material such as photographs and printed advertisements, create a grander narrative regarding the cultural dispositions they left, brought, and entered.

Ringdal focuses on three main themes: firstly the young Agder women's encounter with American working life; secondly, their encounter with the American consumer society; and thirdly, the ways in which the young women interpreted and related to their new reality. In thirteen empirical chapters, Ringdal discusses what the New York life represented and meant to the young and unmarried women who left Norway. Through a thematic structure, the reader follows the informants' experiences regarding specific subjects that carried a set of meanings in a modern western context. Alongside the personal narratives of the

women, Ringdal presents a historical background to illustrate the contexts the women walked into.

Women from Agder went to New York and applied for work – this was part of a traditional life script where the men went to sea and the women to America, since jobs were scarce in post-war Norway, as an informant of Ringdal recounts. Sometimes one could get work through female relatives already working there, others had to start their search for employment from scratch. European immigrants were sought after, since white American women did not apply for servant positions, which were occupied by European immigrants. Different kinds of characteristics were attributed to different nationalities – Ringdal also discusses whiteness as an American norm. This was a class-related factor, where a white person from the working classes was considered "less" white than a middle- or upper-class white person.

Once in New York, the women from Agder had to deal with the new and modern ideals and practices they were confronted with. Cooking with new ingredients and units of measurement was a skill they had to learn, along with new bodily practices. These new bodily customs concerned the use of make-up and fashion, but also habits of cleaning and grooming the body, as well as using certain sanitary products when menstruating.

The relationship between employer and employee could take different forms, and the employees could be fortunate as well as unlucky depending on what family they were hired by. Some families considered their servant girl or nanny as part of the family, while others viewed the employee as strictly a servant, and imposed strict rules of conduct. The employer could also take the employee on with a guiding ambition, where the adults of the house helped the young woman learn American ways. By providing clothes and hygiene products not accessible in her previous home in Norway, they Americanized her and introduced her to American practices.

The high-heeled shoe gave another way of conducting the body, and walking in high heels with the head held high demonstrated an urban assertiveness, corresponding well to the American

standard. Wearing the wrong clothes signalled one's outsiderness, and a makeover of the wardrobe was therefore necessary to blend in. The women became consumers, transitioning from Norwegian frugality to the abundance of the new world. The enormous department stores and their vast range of goods were overwhelming. A new, modern way of consumption meant buying clothes of lower quality, and more frequently, than they had done in Norway. The wardrobe was updated and expanded regularly to conform to the American standard. However, their Norwegian frugality stopped them from throwing things away when they bought new clothes, and instead they sent their old ones to relatives. Hence, they did not uncritically conform to the American way of life, but rather combined routines as where their Norwegian habits met the American practices. This is an interesting and significant point that Ringdal makes, and one of the strengths of the study. The same went for the application of American fashion – the women took factors such as practical/impractical, moral/immoral, and sober/extravagant into consideration when creating their look. One of Ringdal's informants wore sturdy Norwegian shoes as the weather got colder, contrasting with the American women's finer shoes, which they wore without regard for weather.

Ringdal describes the bodily and behavioural practices that the Norwegian women worked with as a *choreography*, a set of coordinations from both the society they left and the society they entered. The high heels became both a part of the outfit, as well as a physical coordination – a woman had to practise wearing and walking in them, until her walk looked effortless. The new clothes represented the leap they had taken regarding wealth and living standard, and they became a concrete expression of the American dream.

However, the transition was not only meaningful or implemented through physicality and materiality. Ringdal devotes a chapter to spiritual practices as well, more exactly the different ways of being a Christian. Americans were believers, but it did not affect the individual's looks or way of life. Faith was enough to be considered a Christian, while in Norway a set of practices and a

certain behaviour was required. Make-up, dances, cinemas were all considered immoral, while these practices were both allowed and accepted in the US. Therefore the journey from Agder to New York could result in a transition from a pietistic to a worldly choreography for the women who had experienced a strict set of attitudes and appropriate ways of behaving. For the women who had already practised a worldly choreography in Norway, Ringdal points out that the biggest change was that this way of life was now considered acceptable.

For some of the informants this opportunity to leave a pietistic home environment, and to acquire more freedom in her daily life, was the main reason for the journey across the pond. However, Ringdal reflects on whether this journey really was an emancipatory project after all. Didn't the women who moved to New York in reality just exchange one set of disciplines for another? The women had to pay for their newly found freedom with the physical pain and discipline that came with practices such as walking in high heels, wearing uncomfortable underwear, and losing weight. Furthermore, the increased opportunities in fashion wear and updating of the wardrobe resulted in weekly shopping for clothes, and more frequent washing. This expansion in supplies and possibilities hence led to more chores.

On the back cover it says that the women became modern women – but did they really? Or was it rather to be understood as a site-specific choreography that they later discarded, or brought with them to evolve further in the Norwegian setting? The reader is left somewhat abandoned from what happened next. It is implied on the back cover that this will be explored, and that the returning women brought the modern American customs with them, thus transforming the Norwegian society. I would have liked to know more about this, to get some closure from the narrative. Did they become inspirational role models to young Norwegian girls, just as they themselves had been inspired by the Norwegian Brooklyn women while growing up?

Hence I feel somewhat snubbed by some of the narrative, but all in all this is a well-structured historiographical account of the Norwegian women

who travelled to America for work, and were confronted with a whole new set of practices and customs. The subject of the book builds on Ringdal's doctoral dissertation, though here the material has been adjusted to address a wider audience. This popularizing ambition is quite apparent throughout the book, with rich visual material and an accessible language. This book is not only for those who didn't make this journey but want to know more about it, it is just as much for the women and the families who actually went there and experienced this. While the narrative as well as the language is highly accessible for a wider audience of readers, a prior familiarity with Norwegian geography is beneficial. A minor remark is that with such a plentiful amount of pictures, I lacked a map or other geographical assistance to provide some insight into the regional circumstances.

Alongside and through the stories and experiences of Ringdal's informants the reader is guided through the cultural history of the emigrant women of Norway. This merit of the study is that it is a contribution to the somewhat unaddressed cultural history of women. As is stated on the cover, the history of men's emigration has been explored and investigated, while women's journeys tend to be neglected. The highlighting of the different transformations, and especially how the women created their own practices by combining and challenging current ones, makes this study great source material for cultural studies and ethnology. Ringdal presents an astounding amount of visual material, illustrating the story in a meaningful way. This makes *På høye hæler i Amerika. Unge Agder-kvinner i etterkrigsårenes New York* a very pleasant read, accessible for researchers, students, and cultural history buffs alike.

Kristina Öhman, Göteborg

Modern-day Coastal Fishing in Norway

Bjarne Rogan, *Kystfisker. Med sjarken Havsund fra Agder til Troms*. Novus forlag, Oslo 2020. 230 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-8390-049-1.

■ Since the 1980s the Norwegian ethnologist and cultural historian Bjarne Rogan has done several

spells of fieldwork on boats fishing along the long Norwegian coast, from the far south to Lofoten in the north. Fishing is one of the Norway's most important industries. In 1996 Rogan published the book *Fra Hydra til nordsjøbankene: Et nærbilde av moderne kystfiskere i tradisjonelle fiskerier*, a study of fishing technology and life on board a small fishing vessel, the MS *Garmy*.

The book reviewed here is based on the author's fieldwork on another small fishing boat, the MS *Havsund*, built of aluminium in 2013, 15 metres long and 6 metres wide, of a type called a *sjark*. The crew consists of just two or three men. The men in charge are the father, Alf Ulland (born 1955), who has been a fisherman since 1973, and his son Alf Erik (born 1987), who own 60% and 40% respectively of the company.

The work on board and fishing technology with different catching methods is the focus of the detailed and vivid empirical description that Rogan provides. However, he does not consider the men's relations with the family members who stay at home during the fishing trips.

The fieldwork involved the author being on board the whole time during the trips. He observes, converses, and helps with certain tasks. Some of the conversations have been recorded on tape. A large number of high-quality colour photographs have been taken by the author, and some by the photographer Arthur Sand. In addition, the author has consulted several government inquiries and fishery regulations on the subject of catch quotas, inspections, and climate considerations. He has also followed discussions in various newspapers and digital media regarding the fisheries.

An important starting point for this study was the author's interest in studying the changes that have taken place in coastal fishing since 1989, when the formerly free fishing became subject to heavy regulation through the state fisheries policy. This has allocated catch quotas that change year by year. It started with the complete ban on cod fishing in Lofoten in 1989. The aim of the regulations is to combat overfishing or predatory fishing and to ensure sustainable fishing for the future. This has led to encounters – and sometimes con-

flicts – between the men on the fishing boats and the marine biologists studying fish stocks and fish migrations. This research, led by the Norwegian Institute of Marine Research (IMR) with around a thousand employees, can clash with the fishermen's experience-based knowledge, according to which there are larger fish stocks than marine biologists have concluded from their calculations. The IMR is in charge of inspections so that catches do not exceed the quotas granted to each boat.

Another recurring point of conflict for the fishery concerns oil drilling under the seabed. Seismic blasting to find new oilfields or to extract more oil at existing oilfields can cause fish to move far away from these explosions. Climate change, with warmer seawater, acidification, changing ocean currents, and more severe storms are other factors that have had an impact on the fishery in recent years. The warming of the ocean is greatest in northern Norway and the Barents Sea. A new heat record was set in 2017, causing the prawn population to move further east to colder seawater in a Russian zone.

During an annual cycle the *Havsund* does various types of fishing. In southern Norway and on the North Sea banks, they fish prawn all year round, while other kinds of fish are caught seasonally. They catch herring off the west coast of Norway. Mackerel is caught along the entire coast, and a special variant of cod called *skrei* is caught in the north near Lofoten. Hundreds of boats fish there side by side. Cod in southern Norway is known as *kusttorsk* or coastal cod. It would have been useful if the author had included a map of the various fishing areas along the long coast of Norway.

A distinctive feature of fishing is the variation and uncertainty, not just from day to day but also from one season to another. Sometimes the boat has to stay in a distant harbour for several days due to storm warnings. A great deal of time on board is spent repairing nets that have been torn on the seabed. One trip can render a good catch but the next can be bad. Great patience is required. The journey up to Lofoten to catch cod takes five days day and nights in each direction.

The weather plays a crucial part, but there is also the difficulty of finding out where the fish are. This cannot be calculated in advance. There are no set working hours for the fishermen. There are often long hectic working days that can extend into the night every day of the week, sometimes with a good catch, other times with poorer dividends or virtually no catch at all. At the same time, the fishermen seem to appreciate the freedom and the variety. Accepting and even valuing flexibility seems to be something that characterizes the occupation of fisherman.

What impresses most in this study is the author's penetrating and repeated fieldwork, extending over a long period of time. Here we see the value of what has sometimes been called the ethnography of return. Rogan's study concerns an occupational culture that is constantly changing, with uncertain premises regarding the chances of a good catch, changes in the weather, and official regulations with the consequent inspections. The book can be warmly recommended as an in-depth study of an occupation that is important for society today, but subject to vulnerability.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

On Nordic Ethnomusicology

Sounds of Migration. Music and Migration in the Nordic countries. Owe Ronström & Dan Lundberg (eds.). The Royal Gustav Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture/Svenskt Visarkiv, Uppsala/Stockholm 2021. 202 pp. ISBN 978-91-87403-39-2.

■ Some years back, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork concerning a singing contest that was advertised as multicultural one and targeted at the representatives of the first and second generations of migration to Finland. In my interviews with the judges, a curious juxtaposition emerged between global pop and what was perceived as the contestants' "own" music, with the former dismissed as derivative and the latter lauded because of its authenticity. The songs performed were nevertheless chosen by the singers themselves, and when interviewed, they stressed the personal significance of

the songs. To some extent, the jury's critique was gendered, as the most stringent misgivings were expressed towards female contestants covering contemporary r&b hits; in comparison, the two male rappers who made the final were not accused of inauthenticity by the jurors.

The incident came to my mind when I began to read *Sounds of Migration*, a collection of eight essays that has its genesis in a seminar held in Stockholm in 2019 where "the significance and meaning of music for migrants, minorities and ethnic groups in the Nordic countries" were discussed, with an explicit retrospective emphasis on the participants' earlier studies and the lessons to be learned from them, especially in terms of theoretical, methodological and empirical generalizability and applicability "in studies today" (p. 8). Thus my reading of the volume stems mainly from questions that relate to the shifts in multiculturalist policies, conceptualizations of authenticity and the identity politics of genres in the context of music. Additional points of interest include the relevance of postcolonial theorization and what might be termed prepositional politics, that is, what is the significance of "in" that connects music and migration *to*, or *with*, the Nordic countries in the subtitle of the volume? Crucially, this pertains to whether "migration in" translates as immigration, or more broadly as a diversity of issues within the region that relate to migration.

As the retrospective stance suggests, what we have here is an exercise in disciplinary self-assessment, and judging by the foreword by the editors Owe Ronström and Dan Lundberg, the discipline in question is ethnomusicology, regardless of the authors' variegated affiliations and the associated difficulties "the subject has had ... in establishing itself as an independent academic discipline" (p. 7). Indeed, only one of the authors holds a position in ethnomusicology, while others work in ethnology, musicology or cultural studies, and one as a consultant. This raises questions about the disciplinary nature of ethnomusicology that concern not only the implicit suggestion that it should be an established discipline in its own right but also the recent debates about decoloniz-

ing curricula and the problematic associations of the prefix "ethno". Also at issue are local, national and regional circumstances, as the disciplinary status of the field in the Nordic countries is quite precarious when compared to the Anglophone world; in the late 2010s in Finland, for instance, relevant units and study programmes have been restructured and even terminated altogether. Music, it appears, is only valuable in the local universities as either art, economy or brainwaves, rendering complex cultural analyses unproductive and worthless.

All this is to stress that I warmly welcome the underlying agenda of the volume, as it carries the potential to convince – hopefully – not only academic readers but also a broader international audience of the benefits of ethnomusicological approaches when dealing with societal and cultural change. In the introductory chapter, Lundberg and Ronström reiterate an earlier methodological metaphor of theirs (and Krister Malm's) about music as a "keyhole" through which to "peer" and study "a wide array of cultural and social issues in society at large"; when combined with issues of migration and minorities, this results in "a laboratory of sorts for studies ... of culture-building, sociality, change, development, power relations and a number of other issues of concern for cultural and social studies" (p. 9). As these quotations demonstrate, on the formal side more careful proof-reading would have been in order, as alongside occasional clumsy phrasing there are quite a few typographical errors throughout the chapters as well as certain inconsistency with subheadings. Yet I trust a patient and sympathetic reader will not find these too distracting but instead will embrace the overall methodology for further contemplation. It would be of course nice to have one's own surname doublechecked and spelled correctly... (instead of "Kärje", p. 29).

Much food for methodological thought in this respect is provided by the somewhat lengthy introductory chapter, to the extent that it may in fact be best considered a full-fledged contribution of its own. After presenting the keyhole approach, editors Lundberg and Ronström discuss the regional

dynamics of migration, and while the emphasis is on immigration from outside the Nordic countries, they appropriately point to intraregional movement, urbanization and tourism as part of “the global framework of ... a mobile world” (p. 14). From this they move on to considerations about the migrants’ possibilities to create “cultural space”, or, to “(re)construc[t] a lifeworld that they can find real, coherent and credible” (p. 14). The editors deem this an all-pervasive issue in the volume, yet to connect their extended explanation of the related relevance of “institutional completeness” to the chapters requires a fair deal of interpretive labour on the part of the reader. The same goes for the following multipage sections on ethnicity and “an ethnomusicology of the [*sic*] becoming” (p. 27); while all three issues are undoubtedly central for the overall topic, they are explicitly deliberated on only in incidental chapters. For instance, while references to ethnic communities abound, ethnicity is not mentioned in the first three chapters following Lundberg’s and Ronström’s account. This again foregrounds the qualities of their input as an independent contribution, and raises a slight suspicion about an underlying need to build connections between the “actual” contributions almost forcibly. There is furthermore an evident risk of fragmenting the treatment unnecessarily.

Indeed, when editing a collection of original essays, there is ever the challenge of consistency and coherence, both stylistically and content-wise. *Sounds of Migration* is not an exception to this rule, and when comparing the chapters, the editorial promises of overarching themes and modes of treatment become increasingly hollow. To be sure, there are propitious differences in terms of theoretical, methodological and empirical emphases, but often there is much to be desired regarding the disciplinary reflection stressed by the editors. By far the strongest chapter in this respect is the one by Johannes Brusila on the enduring “risks involved in studying music and identity” (p. 102), including an intriguing insinuation of the re-emergence of essentialist conceptualizations of identity in the guise of neuroscience and genetics. I would have gladly read more about his thoughts on this, particularly

concerning the concluding assertion that “increasing migration ... instigates new formulations of the old questions” (p. 108), and juxtaposing this idea with the rise of eugenic racism and populism both in the Nordic region and around the globe. In fact, I find it a tad surprising that there is virtually no explicit discussion of racism in the volume.

The article by Tormod Wallen Anundsen, on how immigrant performers negotiate multicultural expectations in Norway, likewise exhibits a laudable stance of critical reflection, even if it is based on the author’s fairly recent doctoral research – or maybe precisely because of the freshness. Certainly, my estimation may be biased, as the themes he deals with have been central in my own work as well. The chapter stands out from the others also because of the balance between empirical, methodological and theoretical facets, although there is some confusion over the Foucauldian “archaeological” and “genealogical” approaches. To some degree this may result from nonchalant referencing, signalled also by the reliance on one’s own unpublished doctoral dissertation when directing the reader to “a broad and critical discussion of the ‘world music’ term” (p. 123, n. 13). Incidentally, “otherization” (p. 114) is not recognized by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and should be replaced simply with “othering”. Such formal discrepancies notwithstanding, Anundsen manages to capture the paradoxes and dilemmas of multiculturalism neatly, by keeping the performers’ agency and agendas at the centre of the discussion, thus also avoiding the pitfall of uncritical and even idolatric celebration of the perceived musical talent that occasionally pesters ethnomusicological advocacy.

Of the remaining six chapters, Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius’s take on “not so much people in migration as music that has migrated” and “made understandable and meaningful in ... new contexts” (p. 172) is lucid and commendable in its argumentative clarity. To a considerable degree, the chapter nonetheless appeared to me as an English-language encapsulation of the central ideas of his 2014 book *Retrologier*, collated under the rubrics of “ethnification, allochronism and borealism” (p.

173) and supported by points made in some of his more recent publications through the emphasis on progressive rock. Whether this constitutes disciplinary reflection in the sense intended by the editors is debatable, yet the contribution is astute as it foregrounds the multiplicities involved, or, “a range of retrologies, tying together widely different fragments from the past” (p. 181) – even if the conceptual emphasis on fragments may make historians wonder whether this means historical traces or something radically different, and whether Hyllén-Cavallius is aware of microhistorical approaches.

The chapters by Pekka Suutari and Owe Ronström on the dance music practices of the Sweden-Finns in Gothenburg and the Yugoslavs in Stockholm, respectively, are similar to Hyllén-Cavallius’s in orientation in that they are effectively English-language summaries of earlier research projects. As attractive as the topics may be, the treatment is in both cases rather detached from latest developments and hence quite superficial in terms of reflexivity. A clear indication of this is that amongst the total number of fifty-six references to research literature, there are only five from the 2010s. Admittedly, more recent generational dynamics are addressed in the concluding sections but only briefly and virtually without any theoretical support. This risks baffling the reader about the relevance of the articles; additionally, knowing Suutari’s work in Karelia after finishing his doctoral project with the Sweden-Finns, I cannot but wonder if this signals a certain (hopefully inadvertent) geopolitical axiom concerning *Nordic* ethnomusicology.

Similar issues of tenuous reflection also mark Jasmine Talam’s chapter on Bosnian *sevdalinka* in Sweden, which in the end borders on a promotional piece about the “musical brand” (p. 99) in question. Jill Ann Johnson’s description and discussion of Chilean, Macedonian and Dalmatian Croatian immigrant groups in Sweden and the US in turn comes across as a fairly elementary and mechanistical student paper that leaves a great deal for the reader to infer, starting from the very first sentence in its blatant circularity: “Creating a cultural space and filling it with cultural content

is a challenge for any person or group” (p. 139). Finally, Dan Lundberg’s account of select collections and their associated practices at *Svenskt visarkiv*, or the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research (lit. “Swedish Song Archive”), is likewise informative and useful mainly if not exclusively on the descriptive level, and closes with a pertinent remark about the value of studying “not only the collections as materials that reflect the aesthetic and expressive forms of music and migration, but also the collecting process as a tool for change and expression of ideologies” (p. 169).

Overall, as might have been expected, some of my initial expectations about multiculturalism, authenticity and genres were met, some were not. Regarding styles and types of music and dance, it is reassuring to note how Nordic ethnomusicology is not fixated on possibly essentialist ideas of “traditional music”, even if there is an emphasis on genres of folk and popular music. In fact, I would welcome attempts to pursue the editors’ discussion about the significance of institutions further towards genre classifications and their interrelations with ethnicity and migration. One way to proceed is a more careful consideration of the alleged Nordic postcolonial condition, now only briefly alluded to by Anundsen, yet evident also elsewhere in the volume in references to exoticism, indigeneity and borealism. This would necessitate explicit interrogation of racism as well, because portraying twenty-year-old cultural dynamics as if nothing has changed risks dismissing one of the most profound ideological formation that has shaped the world – and unfortunately continues to do so.

Antti-Ville Kärjä, Helsinki

Migration and Cultural Heritage

Malin Thor Tureby & Jesper Johansson, Migration och kulturarv. Insamlingsprocesser och berättelser om och med de invandrade ca 1970–2019. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2020. 315 pp. ISBN 978-91-88909-46-6.

■ The title of this book means “Migration and Cultural Heritage: Collecting Processes and

Narratives about and with Immigrants from c. 1970–2019”. It deals with the collection and analysis of texts about immigration into Sweden, but it can also be read as a book about failures and loopholes in ethnological research. The main research question is: “How did migration become part of the cultural heritage?” The question comprises two sub-questions, namely, “Why did the institution that is Nordiska Museet and others of the same kind start collecting narratives about migration?”, and “How do people tell about their migration and encounter with foreigners?”, but it also offers answers to quite a lot of other questions. Actually, the investigation is twofold and could be read as two separate studies, the first one about how an ethnological collection is realized, the other one about what the investigated people tell the collector. The common theme is immigration, the theoretical starting point and the methods are from post-structuralism, oral history and intersectionality studies. Oral history is understood in a broad sense here, for not all the material was really orally performed. The perspective of the analyses of the narratives is that of the immigrants and not that of the corresponding or responsible authorities.

The two authors, Malin Thor Tureby and Jesper Johansson, claim to have written an investigation that differs from immigration studies in general. This is true, for although immigration is the hub, most of the text deals with how researchers have handled this issue.

Half of the book is about how three projects at the Nordiska Museet found their design. The first of them touched on the immigration of Finns in the 1970s, the second revolved around Swedish children’s memories of foreigners and the third one pinpointed the memories of the immigration process. The other half of the book reflects the narratives of people asked about their emigration from abroad to Sweden and about their encounter with Swedish everyday life. Thor Tureby and Johansson refer to other scholars who have used the same material and compare their outcome with their own interpretations. This sometimes leads to critical standpoints, sometimes to a supportive opinion which gives an added value to the book.

The outcome of the chapters studying immigrants’ relationship with Sweden based on methods of oral history and intersectional analyses is hardly surprising: It turns out, depending on the participants’ position in the conversation and their subsequent chance to exercise power, that there are quite a lot of ways to tell about one of the most important events in one’s life. Moreover, Thor Tureby and Johansson demonstrate how this power position changes, or even disappears, within one and the same source, be it an interview, an answer to a questionnaire or something else. The interviewees can even hold most of the power for they definitely select what to tell and what to conceal. When life stories became the core of folkloristics the relationship between interviewer and interviewee was thoroughly examined, and since then the two parties are regarded as alternately equal. Obviously, this means that those who answer the questions retain their right to decide how and what they want to tell and will not surrender to the wish of the collecting institution. The interviewers may show their power in the commentary that they can add to the collected material afterwards. Consequently, the process of deciding how a cultural heritage is composed is clear, but to explain what will become a cultural heritage is certainly much more complicated than to state that the collecting institution alone decides about this matter.

To my mind the most interesting parts of this book are the chapters preceding every analysis of the informants’ formulations. In those chapters the background of the three projects are reconstructed and deconstructed. Today, according to recent problems with some politicians not telling the truth, not keeping themselves from making things up from their imagination, we would probably label these chapters in-depth pieces of source criticism. Hardly ever do we see meticulous investigations answering questions such as “why”, “when”, “who”, “what else happened” around a project of cultural documentation. They rather belong to research projects.

I mentioned that this is a book about failure. The authors frequently point out that their research plan had to change due to the lack of relevant

information. The plans of the three investigated projects were not thoroughly documented, and disappointingly, even some decades ago, the necessary funding was not granted to the projects. The project leaders had to turn to other tasks and new leaders were installed, which influenced the entire project. Presumptive interviewees did not show up and the ones who answered the questionnaires or other kinds of incentives did not stay within the framework constructed by Nordiska Museet. Moreover, there were no tables of contents or other instructions for the two historians Thor Tureby and Johansson for how to handle the great amount of documents today. There are numerous examples of how these two experts had to invent solutions to more or less crucial problems in order to advance.

I found it exciting to read about all kinds of weaknesses in connection with the collections. Actually, when we work with archived material, we cannot in general always know who took the initiative to start a research project. We do not always know what people were involved in the different phases of planning. We cannot always tell who made decisions on how to work, how to find narrators, how to finance the venture, how to justify why a project should receive financial support. Very often this kind of information is not available even if there are minutes of meetings or letters, notes or something else left from this phase of the groundwork of the project. Such questions could arise here because the authors are historians typically concerned about the value of their sources and about the context of the thoughts reflected in them. The process of how the work of exploration starts, proceeds, runs into a blind alley, and how it is set on the right course again is hardly seen in the written reports of investigations within the humanities. Therefore, this book is a nice piece of archival research history.

Unfortunately, it turns out that it was not possible always to find all these details about preparing a project. In reality, there were no minutes left, there was no documentation, neither from the Nordiska Museet nor in the contemporary newspapers, other investigations of the material or anywhere else. This lack of context has always been a problem to

historically interested folklorists and ethnologists. The two historians do not give in, however. They build a context from the available jigsaw pieces dealing with immigration in quite different sources (newspapers, government inquiries, statistics and so forth), varying depending on the project. Yet another strength of this book is the diverse kinds of material that Thor Tureby and Johansson have scrutinized to build a more or less complete picture of the context of immigration in Sweden. I even maintain that the greatest importance of this investigation lies in the points made about the background to the three investigated collections.

Consequently, the reader learns what Swedish society was like when immigration was in progress. The reader learns a great deal about Sweden when immigration from Finland was at its peak, what circumstances prevailed in the world when the immigrants left their home countries or what Sweden as a monocultural society was like to immigrant children in their memories – and the other way around: what children in a monocultural Sweden saw when they met their first foreigners. The image of immigration thus becomes deeper and more informative than generally in studies of narratives about international moves from one country to another.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

The Green Register

Annette Vasström, At sætte tingenes verden i system. Om udarbejdelsen af en saglig registrant for de kulturhistoriske museer i Danmark ved Dansk Folkemuseum og Nationalmuseet, i årene 1885–1940 med eksempler på registrantens betydning for det efterfølgende museumsarbejde, 1940–1985. Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology & History Vol. 28. Copenhagen 2020. 362 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-408-3118-4.

■ Museums make exhibitions. But they do a lot of other things too. They collect, register and preserve artefacts over centuries to be part of research and a base for future exhibitions in order to give us more knowledge of ancient times and the present.

Vasström's book is an impressive work on a not-so-common subject when it comes to museum literature. Museums are often described in terms of communication and pedagogy and the museum's role in society. What we see here is a deep description and an analysis of the internal work in a museum of cultural history, how the registration of artefacts, objects and collections is done. It is also a memorial to an era and to people who worked in the process of turning museums into professional institutions.

It may seem as if it is mainly aimed at museum staff, but discussions of principles for collecting and how museums turn objects into heritage should appeal to a wider interested readership, as should the extensive parts that illuminate Danish and Scandinavian museum history and cultural history.

The purpose is to study, trace and illustrate, the system of classification used in the management of artefacts from Danish history during the period from 1660 until today. The system was developed and introduced at the National Museum in Copenhagen 1940. It soon became a standard tool in all Danish museums.

The green register, as the system was called, with Svend Jespersen as a portal figure, became almost a bible for generations of museum staff, even in Sweden.

Vasström claims, inspired by Foucault's thoughts that classification is a prerequisite for the museum's other functions and therefore should be mirrored in collecting and research as well as intermediation. She takes us backstage in the museum, or as she puts it, into the engine room of the museum, where she formulates three questions: What were the reasons for the preparation of the register? How was it built up? What visible consequences did the introduction of the register have for the museum's collection practice?

The basis for the register was the collection Folk Museum (*Dansk folkemuseum*) that Bernhard Olsen created from 1885 after inspiration from Hazelius' opening of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. Olsen's collection sought to visualize folk culture as the nation's genuine and original culture, but in practice it came to re-

flect wealthy peasants and the bourgeoisie, mainly by showing their homes. Agricultural work and the farms' own production of textiles and food-stuffs were to some extent satisfied by the establishment of the Open-Air Museum in 1901.

Between 1885 and 1935, Bernhard Olsen's Folk Museum grew rapidly and the collection became difficult to understand due to substandard registration. The collection was transferred to the National Museum in 1935 and required an improved classification system.

The contemporary discussion on how this should be done is thoroughly described in the book, resulting in a broad cultural-historical exposition of the thoughts and ideas that characterized the museum world at this time and an analysis of the professional platform that would form the basis of museum and research networks in Denmark, the Nordic countries and Europe during the years 1920–40. This was a time in the museum world which was dominated by diffusionism, the historical geographic method, with the preparation of atlases of the various manifestations of folk culture. We get to follow the discussions and how the development of the new classification system went on in collaboration with the two Nordic sister museums, the Nordic Museum in Stockholm and the Norwegian Folk Museum

the year when work on the new classification began, 1935, was also the year when new standards were introduced. From big folio journals, the museum now introduced index cards which offered a more flexible way of ordering the objects and made it possible to place the index cards under a main group as well as a second group. By this time Danish curators also established contact with scientific networks in the Nordic countries and in Europe as a whole, connecting ethnologists, folklorists and linguists. One major issue was the introduction of questionnaires.

The old registration system was meant to handle objects. The new system offered ways of bringing different kinds of material together: photographs, films, questionnaires, interviews, to link oral and written material to the objects and to classify them according to the same system. The establishment of the ethno-

logical survey department was one of the reasons for the creation of the new system. The period between 1920 and 1970 was actually the time when the museums' professionalization took place. This process is well described and interesting to follow.

A great part of the book contains examples of objects, photographs and register information from different aspects of everyday work in Danish museums.

One result of the new system was an augmentation of the collection and the introduction of a broad range of research projects related to the main groups of the register. Whereas the curators were responsible for the collecting activity as well as research and planning of exhibitions, in practice the collected objects were handled by students of history, geography and from 1959 also European ethnology. Gradually the students were introduced to the heart of museum practice and through time became curators at the National Museum or at museums in the provinces. The author herself is a brilliant example of this, as she has been in the Danish museum world since 1964.

She has also been connected to university and ethnology throughout her career.

Another important result of the green register is that Danish ethnologists, in spite of the distancing in the 1970s from diffusionism, maintained an interest for material culture, for instance, in built structures such as housing and allotment gardens. The situation in Sweden was different, as Swedish ethnology distanced itself from material studies and lost contact with the museum world.

This is a beautiful book, richly illustrated with an immense number of pictures which ably support the presentation.

For readers who really want to get into what happened after the introduction of the new classification system, there are 21 appendices to illustrate this.

The story of the green register is an inside story from the engine room of a museum, told by a person who has spent most of her life in that room and really knows what it's all about.

Göran Hedlund, Lund

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should be sent by e-mail. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; language will be reviewed and edited by the journal. Articles will undergo peer review. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

Articles should not be longer than about 20 pages of typewritten text with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 50,000 characters. Please aim for clear, concise language, remembering that you are writing for a non-Scandinavian audience. Quotations should not be too numerous nor too long.

Legends should be written on a separate paper and clearly numbered. The illustrations – photographs, drawings, and tables – should be clearly numbered. Credits (archives, photographers, etc.) should be stated at the end of the legend. Figures should be referred to by their number, not “the table below” or “the photograph above”. The placing of the figures in relation to the text should be clearly marked. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

Notes should be avoided as far as possible. References to authors or book titles should be included in parentheses at the relevant point in the text. Notes should only be used for clarification or discussion.

The list of *References* should include field and archive material as well as books referred to in the text. Literature references should be presented as follows:

Balle-Pedersen, Margaretha 1981: The Holy Danes. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 11.

Frykman, Jonas 1988: *Dansbaneeländet. Ungdomen, populärkulturen och opinionen*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Löfgren, Orvar 1992: Landskapet. In *Den nordiske verden I*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup. København: Gyldendal.

Reviews of new dissertations and other books of broad general interest should be 4–5 A4 pages long with 1.5 line spacing, 8,000–10,000 characters. A review should consist of a brief presentation of the content and method of the work, followed by a comparison with similar significant works, and ending with a personal evaluation.

Reviews of other ethnological and closely related works should present the content and method and a personal appraisal. The length should be 1–2 A4 pages with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 5,000 characters.

Reviews written in English or German should be submitted by e-mail.

When in doubt, check the format of previous issues of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*.

The author will have an opportunity to proofread.

Translations and proofs should be returned to the editor as quickly as possible. The deadline for manuscripts, at present 1 November, must be observed.

Authors of articles receive two copies of the journal.

With this volume *Ethnologia Scandinavica* celebrates its 50th anniversary. The reader will find articles and reviews on a variety of themes. Together they reflect where Nordic ethnology stands today, in 2021. In this volume we also pay particular attention to the first fifty years of the journal. We do this with four articles written by younger scholars whose assignment was to highlight and comment on prominent themes in the history of the journal, as well as the disciplines of ethnology and folkloristics as a whole.